

**RESPONDING TO ANTI-SEMITISM AND ANTI-ISRAEL
BIAS IN THE UN, PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY,
AND NGO COMMUNITY**

HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON GLOBAL HEALTH,
GLOBAL HUMAN RIGHTS, AND
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
OF THE
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RESPONDING TO ANTI-SEMITISM AND ANTI-ISRAEL BIAS IN THE UN, PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY, AND NGO COMMUNITY

THURSDAY, JUNE 22, 2023

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON GLOBAL HEALTH, GLOBAL HUMAN
RIGHTS, AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 11:14 a.m., in Room 2200, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Christopher H. Smith [chairman of the subcommittee] presiding.

Mr. SMITH. This hearing of the Subcommittee on Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations will come to order. And good morning.

The rising tide of antisemitism worldwide is cause for serious alarm. With no sign of abating anywhere, Jewish men, women, and children continue to suffer bias, hate, cruelty, and violence, simply because they are Jewish. This pernicious manifestation of evil needs to be exposed, and it needs to be more effectively combated.

The purveyors of antisemitism never take a holiday, nor should we. Silence is not an option.

A few days ago, as I think everybody in this room knows, Robert Bowers was found guilty of dozens of federal hate crimes for murdering 11 people at Pittsburgh's Tree of Life Synagogue in 2018, the deadliest antisemitic attack in U.S. history.

In April of 2022, Dan Marsh from my hometown of Manchester attacked a Jewish man waiting at a stop sign in Lakewood, New Jersey, stole his car, and ran over two other Jewish men and stabbed another. He awaits trial on numerous charges, including antisemitic hate crimes.

Just two weeks ago, Ron Carr also of Manchester, my hometown, painted swastikas on 15 houses and burnt a house to the ground. The perpetrator has been arrested and charged with 36 criminal counts.

Today's hearing focuses on rampant antisemitism, anti-Israel bias, in the United Nations, the Palestinian Authority, and the NGO community. In the past, I have chaired 20 congressional hearings on combating anti-Semitism, but this year we are going to do a whole series—and into next year—that will cover every aspect of this horrible hate.

One of our witnesses today, Dr. Sharon Nazarian of ADL, notes that antisemitic hate and prejudice is deeply entrenched globally,

including throughout Europe and the United States, and that the Middle East and Northern African countries have “by far the highest level of antisemitic attitudes.”

Israel, as we all know, faces an ongoing existential threat, and it is due in large part to antisemitism. America and the free world must continually strengthen the bond of friendship and tangible support for Israel.

Among the distinguished—our distinguished panel of experts today—and what a distinguished panel—we welcome the legendary human rights leader and former Soviet political prisoner Natan Sharansky. As part of the delegation led by NTSJ that included my good friend Mark Levin, we met with Natan Sharansky’s mother 40 years ago—that is, in 1983—in Moscow, who asked us not only to press for her son’s release from the Gulag but to insist that he get desperately needed medicine. And in every meeting we had with Soviet officials, Natan Sharansky was what we began with.

A few years later, Congressman Frank Wolf and I traveled to Perm Camp 35, the infamous concentration camp where Natan Sharansky bravely resisted every Soviet attempt to break his indomitable will. Pushing Gorbachev’s glass nose to the limits, we videotaped every conversation with political prisoners and shared that with Natan when we got back, as he had just recently been released, so we gave it to him, and he said, “They were my friends.”

At a hearing that I chaired in June of 2004, and at the OSCE Berlin Conference, Natan Sharansky powerfully articulated his incisive 3D test for identifying antisemitism and said that it often tries to hide behind the veneer of a legitimate criticism of Israel.

He said, and I quote, “Of course, if you want to be successful in the struggle against antisemitism, as against any other evil, there must be moral clarity on the issue, what we are talking about.”

It is important to define the line between legitimate criticism of Israel and antisemitism. Israel is a strong democracy and the only democracy in the Middle East. And it is built on the criticism for both within and without. “Of course, we support all forms of legitimate criticism,” he went on, “but it is very important to see the difference, draw the line between legitimate criticism and antisemitism.”

According to history, D test, criticism of Israel is nothing less than antisemitism when it passes over into demonization, the first D, of Jews in Israel. Being legitimized as the Jewish state, the second D, or applies a double standard, and that certainly happens all over the world, particularly at the U.N. And there is one standard for Israel and another standard for every other country.

Another witness today, Hillel Neuer, executive director of U.N. Watch, has been a mighty force for the good of exposing and fighting an unconscionable human bias against Israel, including at, of all places, the U.N. Human Rights Council. He underscored that bias late last year again when he pointed out that the U.N. General Assembly condemned Israel for a total of 15 resolutions targeting the Jewish state in 2022 compared to 13 for the rest of the world.

He said, and I quote, “The U.N.’s latest assault on Israel with a torrent of one-sided resolutions is surreal,” he said, “despite the

fact that Israel is the Middle East's only democracy, and instead the U.N. is empowering the region's despots."

Itamar Marcus, director of the Palestinian Media Watch, exposes the PLA's unrelenting antisemitic attacks and notes that "The combination of political and religious antisemitism with hatred of Israel, all in the name of Allah, directly leads to the PA's policy to see murdering the Israelis as heroic and Allah's will."

And as a result, 100 percent of the murders of Israelis are honored, 100 percent of terrorists in jail for murdering Jews receive PA salaries, 100 percent of terrorists killed while murdering Jews are declared to be martyrs.

Each of our witnesses are uniquely qualified, have been leaders for years in this struggle, and are making a significant difference in this human rights struggle.

Finally, as the author of the original provisions of the Global Anti-Semitism Review Act of 2004, originally the bill was just going to be a 1-year review, we added a special envoy and made it an office. It was opposed by some in the State Department, surprise, surprise, including Colin Powell who wrote a 4-page letter against it, which only got us even more worked up to get it passed.

I also am the author of the Frank Wolf International Religious Freedom Act, which also provides a great push for all religious bias and prejudice and hate, and also, in 2021, wrote the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism Act, which upgraded and strengthened the special envoy to the rank of ambassador, reporting directly to the Secretary of State. And I, like I think every—I know everyone on this panel—interact regularly with Ambassador Lipstadt and her staff and are truly grateful for her leadership.

I would like to now yield to my good friend and colleague, Congresswoman Wild.

Ms. WILD. Thank you so much, and thank you to all of our witnesses, including our virtual witness, for being here on this incredibly important topic.

And thank you to our chairman for convening this hearing.

Less than a week ago, a man in Michigan with a history of neo-Nazi associations and antisemitic social media posts was charged with planning to attack a local synagogue to attack—to mark the fifth anniversary of the attack on two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand.

On the same day that he was arrested, the man responsible for the attack on the Tree of Life Synagogue in my home state of Pennsylvania, the worst single antisemitic attack in our Nation's history, was finally convicted.

The threat connecting these incidents is clear in my view. It is the viciously antisemitic, racist, and xenophobic ideology of white supremacists, who have been emboldened by far too many extremist far right movements in governments around the world in recent years, including right here in the United States.

This was the ideology on display as neo-Nazis stormed the streets of Charlottesville in 2017 chanting "Jews will not replace us." I remember watching that on television and just the horror that I felt as I saw that.

This is the ideology that fuels dangerous conspiracy theories, like the claim that a cabal of Jews is organized mass influxes of immigrants and refugees into our societies. This is the ideology that leads Victor Orban in Hungary, arguably the most influential sitting leader in the global far right ecosystem today, to amplify that very same conspiracy theory and to devote the full force of his government to scapegoating a prominent Jewish public figure, George Soros, with blatantly antisemitic rhetoric.

In the year 2023, the forces of antisemitism remain incredibly deadly and pervasive here in our country and around the world. And I have to add parenthetically that just yesterday I learned there was media in my home district, Pennsylvania 7, about antisemitic leaflets that were being dropped in neighborhoods from the sky.

Horrrifying in this day and age. Horrrifying in my own community. And I received a number of very concerned texts and phone calls and emails from people in my district, and I was just stunned. But if you care to look it up, it is in the media in Allentown, Pennsylvania.

So this is what I intend to devote the bulk of my time in this hearing to today. But of course there is a disturbing pattern of antisemitic rhetoric from Palestinian leaders that has also been present in Palestinian textbooks. And antisemitism is the driving ideology of the Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad terror organizations.

These antisemitic views must be confronted as well for the benefit of all, and there is no doubt that there is antisemitism and anti-Israel bias at the United Nations. This has been documented extensively over the years, including by the witnesses before us today.

The disproportionate focus of the General Assembly and its sub-agencies on the Jewish state should be alarming to all. At the same time, we know that progress only comes when we are engaged and we have a seat at the table. Tough, robust, principled, diplomatic engagement on the international stage, not retreating and surrendering to isolationism is the only path forward.

Here is what I also believe. As a steadfast supporter of the U.S.-Israel partnership, who precisely because of that strong support that I have, believes passionately in a two-state solution, I have and I will always support the policy of using the full force of the vote and voice of the United States to stand with our ally, Israel, while advancing peace, security, rights, and dignity for both Israelis and Palestinians.

I am a proud Jewish American, and my Judaism anchors my belief in universal rights and dignity. That means two states for two people living peacefully and securely. That is the only way we can guarantee that Israel remains a democratic Jewish state indefinitely while providing equal freedom and justice for the Palestinian people.

And I say this not just as a member of Congress, but as the mother of two young adults who have been raised in their Jewish faith, who have been to Israel on multiple occasions, and who I want to have the land of Israel there for in their future long after I might be gone.

In this hearing, and more broadly, I hope that we can focus on genuinely taking on antisemitism around the world wherever and whenever it occurs, and that starts with taking on the forces of white supremacy that seek to deny the fundamental humanity of the Jewish people. Let us work together to protect Jewish communities by advancing the landmark U.S. National Strategy to Counter Anti-Semitism that was recently released by the Biden Administration.

Let us redouble our efforts to support the work of the Office of the Special Envoy to monitor and combat antisemitism around the globe. Let us stand together and in doing so demonstrate that our Nation stands strong against the murderous poison of antisemitism.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Ms. Wild.

I would like to yield to Ms. Manning such time as she may consume.

Ms. MANNING. Thank you so much, Chairman Smith and Ranking Member Wild, and thank you to all of our witnesses for joining us today. And hello to my friend, Natan, who I believe is joining us from Israel.

And, Mr. Chairman, let me say how proud I am to serve with you as co-chair of the House Bipartisan Task Force for Combating Anti-Semitism.

The scourge of antisemitism has infected societies around the world for centuries. It is the hatred of Jews drawn from conspiracy theories, lies, and malign ideas that has led to the murder of Jews during the Crusades, the Inquisition, countless pogroms, the systematic annihilation of 6 million Jews during the Holocaust, violent attacks on Jews in our country walking down the streets of New York and Los Angeles and the murder of 11 Americans praying in a synagogue in Pittsburgh.

It is something that I have been working to try to defeat my entire adult life. It is a history I carry on my shoulders every day. Anti-Semitism is a persistent, shape-shifting hatred that knows no bounds. Sadly, it is on the rise here in the United States and around the world. It is also undeniable that anti-Israel rhetoric can often fall outside the bounds of legitimate discussion of policy differences and lurch with ease into antisemitism.

We must stand against antisemitism in all its forms. That is why it is so important that members of both parties call for and help secure the first ever U.S. National Strategy to Counter Anti-Semitism. This whole-of-society strategy gives us a one-of-a-kind opportunity not just to counter antisemitism in this country but to lead countries around the world to do the same.

I want to congratulate the Biden Administration for taking this issue seriously and for coming up with a strategy that is actionable with timelines and accountability, and it contains a variety of action steps for Congress to take.

I look forward to working with my colleagues in Congress, with my good friend Ambassador Deborah Lipstadt, and the Administration, to make sure a terrible past is not repeated under our watch.

Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Kathy.

We are going to again do a quick mic check with Natan Sharansky, but I will introduce him and all of our witnesses very briefly. And your full resumes will be included in the introduction, but these are the shortened versions.

Natan Sharansky is chair of the Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy. In the past, he has also served as chairman of the executive of the Jewish Agency for Israel, as minister or deputy prime minister in foreign government of Israel. Prior to that, he established a party in order to accelerate the integration of Russian Jews into Israel. And before that he was a political prisoner, as we all know, and an incredible refusenik and a man of great honor and courage.

He is the author of four books and the recipient of America's two highest awards, including the Congressional Medal of Freedom and the Presidential and the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Our second witness, Yona Schiffmiller, is director of research at NGO Monitor, a Jerusalem-based research institute. His research is focused on issues related to the provision of humanitarian assistance, including the diversion of aid by terrorist organizations in Gaza and the West Bank. He has also researched and written on the nexus between terror-linked NGOs and U.N. agencies, as well as relationships between these organizations and donor governments. Important work.

Our third witness is Itamar Marcus, who is the founder and director of Palestinian Media Watch. For over 20 years he has researched the Palestinian Authority world and has written hundreds of reports and articles on PA activity, statements, education, sports culture, and other frameworks the PA controls as it relates to the peace process.

Mr. Marcus was appointed by the Israeli government in 1999 to represent Israel in negotiations with the PA, incitement in the "Trilateral Anti-Incitement Committee" that was chaired by the United States.

Our fourth witness, Eugene Kontorovich, is a professor at George Mason's Scalia School of Law, and director of its Center for International Law in the Middle East. He is also the head of the International Law Department at the Kohelet Policy Forum, a Jerusalem-based think tank, and is recognized as one of the world's preeminent experts on international law and the Israeli-Arab conflict.

He has emerged as pretty much of a one-man legal lawfare brain trust for the Jewish state according to Haaretz.

We will then hear from Hillel Neuer, who is the executive director of U.N. Watch, a human rights NGO in Geneva, Switzerland. Mr. Neuer taught international human rights at the Geneva School of Diplomacy and served as vice president of the NGO Special Committee on Human Rights in Geneva.

I know that I frequently—and I told him this a moment ago—go to his website. When the human rights—U.N. Human Rights Commission matriculated to the Human Rights Council, there was no change. All this talk of reform, and Israel is still an overwhelming focus, you know, to, where is North Korea? Where is Iran? Where is China? And so many other despotic states.

So he does an amazing job, and, again, thank you for that leadership.

Our sixth witness will be Dr. Sharon Nazarian, who is a member of the Anti-Defamation League's National Board of Directors, and is president of the Y&S Nazarian Family Foundation, with a regional office in Israel named for the Ima Foundation. She is founder of the Younes & Soraya Nazarian Center for Israel Studies at the University of California, UCLA.

And, again, thank you for all that ADL does in terms of chronicling with polls and empirical data this terrible cancer called antisemitism.

And our seventh witness, Yair Rosenberg, is a staff writer at The Atlantic, where he covers the intersection of policies, culture, and religion, and writes a newsletter. He has reported on antisemitism for over a decade across multiple continents.

Previously a senior writer at Tablet Magazine, he has also written for the New York Times, the Washington Post, and the Wall Street Journal. Thank you as well for being here.

I would like to now just do a mic check to make sure that Natan Sharansky can provide us with his comments.

[Pause.]

STATEMENTS OF NATAN SHARANSKY, CHAIR, INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF GLOBAL ANTISEMITISM AND POLICY; YONA SCHIFFMILLER, DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH, NGO MONITOR; ITAMAR MARCUS, FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR, PALESTINIAN MEDIA WATCH; EUGENE KONTOROVICH, DIRECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL LAW DEPARTMENT, KOHELET POLICY FORUM; HILLEL NEUER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, UNITED NATIONS WATCH; SHARON NAZARIAN, DIRECTOR, ANTI-DEFACTION LEAGUE NATIONAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS; AND YAIR ROSENBERG, STAFF WRITER, THE ATLANTIC

STATEMENT OF NATAN SHARANSKY

Mr. SHARANSKY. Dear Congressman Smith, we are comrades in arms for many years. And Congressman Smith, Congresswoman Wild, and all the other members, thank you for organizing it, and thank you for permitting and agreeing that I will speak in such a way through Zoom.

But please, if the connection will be bad, don't suffer and move to the other speakers. I will not be upset.

So I am dealing with the problem of antisemitism practically for the 50—last 50 years as a human rights activism political prisoner of the Soviet Union, and then as a minister in Israel government dealing with antisemitism, and then as the head of Jewish agency.

And let me show—share some of my experience. So recently, the White House released the first ever U.S. National Strategy to Combat Anti-Semitism, a very comprehensive plan, and we thank President Biden, Second Gentleman Emhoff, Special Envoy Lipstadt, and Ambassador Rice for compiling this comprehensive plan.

And I have to say that Jewish organizations, Jewish world, reacted very positively. But there is one point, one paragraph, in this plan, which caused confusion or mixed reactions. And I'll read it. There are several definitions of antisemitism which serve as valuable tools to raise awareness and increase understanding of anti-

semitism. The most prominent is the non-legally binding, working definition of antisemitism adopted in 2016 by the 31 member states of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, so called IHRA definition, which the United States has embraced.

In addition, the Administration welcomes and appreciates the Nexus Document and notes other such efforts.

So why should this be a problem? Because IHRA definition is the only one which really connects the old antisemitism attacking Jews and the new antisemitism attacking state of Israel.

Well, what should be their connection? I had to answer this question for many, many years. After all, antisemitism, the oldest existing hatred directed against Jewish people. And Israel is a relatively young state, 75 years old. Why disagreement about the way it was created, the fact that it was created?

The disagreement with the policy of this or that government, why it should be called antisemitism? And I have to say that the—that in the Soviet Union there was no such a question, because in the Soviet Union it was clear at the moment. Soviet Union starts new round of attacks on Israel. Everybody knew that Jews have a problem.

The Jews who have no idea what the word Zionism means, but they should be concerned about their place of work, about their career. They should be concerned that they will be demanded immediately to condemn Zionism, because the Jewish religion would condemn any connection with Jewish nationalism.

And when another round of attacks on Jews where there is nationalist or so-called cross-mobilized started almost immediately moving also. And I believe that it is because Soviet Union was a dictatorship, and dictatorship always needs scapegoat, enemy, and there was no better enemy scapegoat, internal and external, than Jews and the state of Israel.

And that is why when I moved to the free world, I was really surprised when the year 2000 at the U.N. conference, which was the first United Nations global conference against racism, they came with one conclusion, that Israel is an apartheid state, the one which follows the example of South Africa. And suddenly all the democratic states in the Middle East is questioned about the legitimacy of its existence, such as the cartoons against Israeli leaders look exactly like the cartoons at the times of Nazis, also with propaganda.

Suddenly, Israel is a tool that is treating Palestinians exactly as Nazis about treating the Jews, and we—part of the cultural intersect that Palestinian refugee camps, that is exactly the Auschwitz of today. And all this, it was insisted that it is all a legitimate criticism of Israel. That is when I proposed my three D's: demonization, double standard, and delegitimization. They were saying these are the main tools against Jews for 1,000 years.

Of course, being a double standard, in law or without law, Jewish demonization, the Jews are the claws of Satan, et cetera, and the famous denial of the legitimacy of Jewish religion, but replaced entirely, and the famous article by Jews about the nation. These were the tools.

So I said when there is clear demonization, a double standard of Jewish state, or the delegitimization of Jewish state, it should be

treated as antisemitic. And then, if you accept this formally, understand why the treatment of Islam, the Human Rights Committee of United Nations, is antisemitic, why BDS movement, which has singled out Israel is antisemitism, while denial of the right of Jewish people to have their own state is antisemitism, and of course why demonization of Israel as some satanic force or neo-Nazi force is antisemitic.

And, in fact, later in 2016, IRHA definition—that is the exact definition which does deal with the formulas, which gives examples when criticisms of Israel becomes antisemitic, that is exactly the demonization, double standard, delegitimization.

So when I was traveling—in the last 20 years, I visited about 100 American campuses. I could see very clearly how dis-confident, how badly feel Jewish students, especially Zionist students, because of this new antisemitism, and vice versa, the attacks on Jews almost immediately are accompanied by the attacks on Israel.

So that is like very closely linked phenomenas, and we get it—that's—when Americans, the antisemitism rise on both sides. You can't make a deal with this phenomena without recognizing all of the—part of it. But we really have to have one definition in order to do this, and that is why IHRA definition is so important. And that is why I really call American station does such a wonderful job in building comprehensive plan to stick to this definition of antisemitism.

We will not be able to win if people on the left will be attacking antisemitism of the right, and the people on the right will be attacking antisemitism on the left. There should be no left and right. Demonization of Jewish people and demonization of the state of Israel, the double standard of Jews, the double standard of Israel, delegitimization of Jews and state of Israel is one and the same phenomena. And please let's stick by this definition.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Sharansky follows;]

Natan Sharansky

**Chair of Combat Antisemitism Movement (CAM)
Advisory Board**

House Committee on Foreign Affairs

**June 22, 2023 – 11:00 AM Responding to Anti-
Semitism and Anti-Israel Bias in the UN, Palestinian
Authority, and NGO Community” - Subcommittee on
Global Health, Global Human Rights**

The White House released the first-ever U.S. national strategy to combat antisemitism. We thank President Biden, Second Gentleman Emhoff, Special Envoy Lipstadt, and Ambassador Rice for compiling this comprehensive plan. For the first time, a leading state characterizes the problem and develops such a comprehensive plan to combat antisemitism. This plan is a good reaction to the fact that antisemitism is growing in all its manifestations. Antisemitism on the right against the Jews and on the left against the State of Israel. This initiative is very welcomed by the Jewish world. At the same time, one very important point causes a mixed reaction.

"There are several definitions of antisemitism, which serve as valuable tools to raise awareness and increase understanding of antisemitism. The most prominent is the non-legally binding "working definition" of antisemitism adopted in 2016 by the 31-member states of the International Holocaust

Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), which the United States has embraced.

In addition, the Administration welcomes and appreciates the Nexus Document and notes other such efforts".

Why should this be a problem? But what is the fundamental difference between IHRA and other definitions? The IHRA definition is the only one that links between new and old antisemitism. Antisemitism which directed against Jews, and antisemitism toward the state of Israel.

However, a question is being asked, which we have been confronting for many years - Why can criticism of Israel be called antisemitism? The oldest hatred directed against the Jews. Israel is a relatively young state with quite a few political disputes. People who disagree with the idea of the existence of a Jewish state, but at the same time do not hate Jews - why can they be called antisemites? This is a significant point, as it is today one of the main causes of controversy that weakens the fight against antisemitism.

I'm dealing with this question practically all my life. First, as a human rights activist and political prisoner in the Soviet

Union, later as the minister in the Israeli government dealing with the problem of antisemitism, and later as the head of the Jewish Agency, dealing with the connections between Israel and the Jewish communities all over the world.

I want to turn to the history of this question. In the Soviet Union, where I grew up, this problem did not exist. Each time when official Soviet propaganda starts a new round of attacks on Israel, every Jew, whether he knows what Zionism means or not, knows that he has a problem. They are all treated as not loyal to the Soviet Union, but loyal to Zionist Israel.

Attacks on the Jews have always been a convenient platform for attacks on Israel and vice versa. Assuming that all this is a direct result of the dictatorial regime of the Soviet Union, which needs a convenient scapegoat for accusations, an external and internal enemy, and a more convenient scapegoat than the Jews and Israel cannot be imagined.

Therefore, when in 1975 the Soviet Union initiated a resolution that Zionism is racism, it was adopted only thanks to the communist bloc. The Free World voted against it.

I thought that in the free world, this would not happen.

It was all the more surprising when at the beginning of 2000 at the first U.N. conference against global racism in Durban - the only result of this conference was the accusation of Israel as an apartheid state. Soon the cartoons published in the international press against Israel surprisingly began to resemble those in the Soviet and Nazi press against the Jews. Israel, which fights against terrorist attacks daily in defense of itself, has been declared to be fighting the Palestinians, as the Nazis fought the Jews, and Palestinian refugee camps were compared to Auschwitz. All this had nothing to do with constructive criticism of the policies of Israel, which deserved this or that criticism like any other democratic country. It was then, 20 years ago, that I proposed my three-D test to distinguish justified criticism of Israel from new antisemitism. The Demonization of Jews, Delegitimization of Jewish people, and Jewish religion and clear Double standard applied to Jews for centuries in different countries of the world -were three main tools used by antisemites. Whenever there is Demonization of the Jewish State or Delegitimization – denial of its right to exist, or Double standard applied to Israel, which is not applied to any country in the world – should be

considered as new antisemitism. Exactly, like watching a three-D movie. You cannot understand what you see without putting on the three-D glasses. I proposed to use the three-D principle in order to identify new antisemitism among the criticism of Israel. Using these glasses, we would clearly see a double standard applied to Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East, when it condemned by the UN for violations of human rights more than all the dictatorships in the world together. We'd see the Demonization of Israel, when it is called a Nazi state, and building a barrier against terrorists is called apartheid. We would see a Delegitimization of Israel while its right to exist is denied.

In 2016 The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance adopted the antisemitism definition, which soon became internationally recognized. This definition shows when criticism of Israel turns into antisemitism through 13 specific case studies that clearly show why Demonization, Double standard, and Delegitimization of Israel are antisemitism. It is the only definition that makes the connection between old and new antisemitism. 39 states and a wide range of

organizations, have adopted or endorsed the IHRA working definition of antisemitism.

Very clear examples show how demonization, delegitimization, and double standard lead to antisemitism. Here are a few of them:

- Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.
- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.

CAM – Combat Antisemitism Movement, which Advisory Board I Chair, monitors all contemporary manifestations of Jew-hatred, as delineated by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism, and committed to getting as many organizations as possible to adopt this definition.

Over the 20 years, I have visited about 100 American campuses, where I have clearly seen how the new antisemitism is creating a very difficult environment for Jewish students who consider themselves Zionists. There is much evidence of how the growing attacks on the Jews are encouraged, developed and reinforced by the attacks on Israel, like colonial white racism. Much like in Soviet times, antisemitic attacks on Israel are weakening the sense of security of Jewish students at American universities. And attacks on Jews are often accompanied by anti-Israeli slogans. It is impossible today to analyze the growth of antisemitism without seeing that these phenomena are very closely linked. That is why there must be one explanation linking the

demonization of the Jews, the double standard towards the Jews, the denial of the Jews as a nation with the demonization of the State of Israel, the double standard towards the State of Israel and the denial of Israel's right to exist.

There can be no success in the fight against antisemitism if we do not fight it on all fronts. Therefore, the exact definition of antisemitism is crucial.

It is very important that the US administration adheres to this definition of antisemitism in its policy.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Sharansky, thank you so very much again not only for appearing today—and I know you have a hard stop at 11:50—but above all for your leadership for the last half-century. It has been extraordinary. Your bravery is, like I said at the beginning, the stuff of legends.

I remember asking you once how—because I went to Perm Camp 35 to visit, saw the SHIZO where—the solitary confinement, and was just—cells and you spent time there. And I remember asking you once how you got through that, and you did make mention of how you meditated on the psalms and how important that was to you.

So, again, I want to thank you, and I know my good friend, Ms. Wild, would like to just say something as well.

Ms. WILD. Yes. Thank you very much. Sorry for the delay in getting started, but we really appreciate your testimony.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you so very, very much.

I would like to now ask Mr. Schiffmiller if you would present your remarks.

STATEMENT OF YONA SCHIFFMILLER

Mr. SCHIFFMILLER. Mr. Chairman, Madam Ranking Member, distinguished members of the subcommittee, I thank you for convening today's hearing and for the opportunity to testify.

Appearing today in my personal capacity, I am director of research for NGO Monitor, founded by Professor Gerald Steinberg in 2002 following the antisemitic proceedings of the 2001 Durban Conference Against Racism described both in my written testimony and by Mr. Sharansky.

NGO Monitor is a globally recognized research institute promoting democratic values and good governance. By publishing independent analyses of NGOs, their funders, and other stakeholders, we work to ensure that decisionmakers and civil society operate in accordance with the principles of accountability, transparency, and universal human rights.

In a 2017 presentation, the late Rabbi Lord Jonathan Sacks, who served for over 20 years as the chief rabbi of the United Kingdom, was a member of the British House of Lords and an internationally renowned scholar, noted that antisemites often couch their anti-Jewish rhetoric in the language of the highest ideals of the day.

During the Middle Ages, it was religion; in the 20th century, science. And today it is human rights discourse, which is used to mask and legitimize antisemitic agenda.

The pathological obsession with Israel that permeates institutions and organizations that claim the mantle of human rights has led to the manipulation, distortion, and perversion of these truly lofty ideals. In my written testimony, I summarize several NGO-driven campaigns, including BDS initiatives, attempts to blacklist and sanction the IDF, threatening Israel with ICC investigations, and explicit calls for dismantling the Jewish state.

NGOs that oppose Jewish self-determination have learned that adopting the language of human rights and international law is the most effective strategy for achieving their goals.

However, when responding to acts of terrorism and violent antisemitism, many of these organizations reveal their true beliefs.

Some actors ignore these phenomena altogether, while others, particularly officials at European government-funded Palestinian NGOs, justify violence.

In my written testimony, I described Human Rights Watch, HRW, invokes human rights principles to accuse Israel of committing apartheid and to lobby for a host of BDS measures. However, when the rights of Jews are violated, HRW is absent. In 2021, the ADL recorded 2,717 antisemitic incidents in the United States, the highest total since the organization began tracking in 1979.

HRW's 2022 World Report covering 2021 does not mention anti-semitism in the United States even once.

Jews appear to be the exception to the supposed pursuit of universal human rights. Abhorrent as this indifference is, the celebration of and justification for violence expressed by officials at European-funded Palestinian NGOs is uniquely disturbing.

Take for instance the cases of the Palestinian Center for Human Rights, PCHR, and Al-Haq, an organization whose terror ties, as well as its extremely anti-Zionist and international BDS campaigning, are described in greater detail in my written testimony.

These two European government-backed NGOs are among the architects of many of the anti-Israel efforts detailed in my written testimony, successfully lobbying for the U.N. blacklist of companies operating beyond the 1949 armistice line, including American firms, as well as the launching of an ICC investigation into Israel, a worrying precedent for U.S. officials and military personnel.

As I describe in my written testimony, Al-Haq in particular is one of the leading actors seeking to apply the apartheid label to Israel and defines the Jewish state as inherently illegitimate.

Last month, as Islamic Jihad and other terrorist organizations launched over 1,200 rockets towards Israeli population centers—each one a war crime—PCHR published a statement in which it “affirms the Palestinian people to resist the occupation by all available means, including armed struggle.” Under pressure from donors, this text was amended.

Statements by PCHR's board members and by officials at Al-Haq and other Palestinian NGOs reveal how pervasive those attitudes are. In a Facebook post published during the fighting, PCHR board member Nadia Abu Nahla referred to Israel as “the Nazi criminal occupation,” adding “May the resistance,” a euphemism for Palestinian terrorist organizations, “have victory.”

Following a January 26 IDF operation in Jenin in which 10 Palestinians, mostly armed members of terrorist organizations, were killed in a gun battle, Abu Nahla wrote, “Oh he who guides the blood vengeance. May you guide our blood vengeance.” Are these the words of a human rights defender?

On January 28, 2 days after the gun battle in Jenin, seven Israeli civilians were murdered by a Palestinian terrorist outside of a Jerusalem synagogue. In an interview given 2 days later, the deputy chair of PCHR's board of directors said that Palestinians are not prevent “from taking revenge against the massacres that are occurring in Palestine,” adding “The flame of Palestinian resistance shall not end but continue as long as there is occupation, settlement, and Judaization.”

Al-Haq officials have also legitimized the text on Israeli civilians. Following the massacre outside the Jerusalem synagogue, Al-Haq legal researcher and advocacy officer Aseel Al Bajeh wrote, “Why are settlers allowed to be in occupied Jerusalem, a war crime that the world recognizes?” Adding separately “Forcing Palestinians to defend their right to resist is another complicity with Israel’s colonialism.”

Just yesterday she wrote, “Shedding Palestinian blood and destroying entire families and futures is Zionism.” She accompanied the statement with pictures of Palestinians killed in clashes with the IDF this week, including two Hamas members who murdered four Israeli civilians just 2 days ago and three members of Islamic Jihad killed last night after they opened fire at an Israeli border crossing.

There are other such statements from board members and officials from these and other European government-funded Palestinian NGOs. But to catalogue them all would require more time than we have here today.

Allow me to conclude with a word on the European funding that I have been referencing. In recent years, Al-Haq has received grants from the European Union as well as from the governments of France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. PCHR has received funding from the European Union as well as from the governments of Switzerland and Norway and from U.N. agencies.

The director of PCHR, Raji Sourani, a man who has been publicly celebrated by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a U.S. designated terrorist organization, was hosted this week by Dutch officials in The Netherlands.

In addition to being funded by U.N. governments—excuse me, by European governments, both organizations are cited and relied upon by U.N. agencies and mechanisms and have interacted directly with the ICC. Simply put, this must end. Organizations like these, of which there are unfortunately many more, should be expelled from the policy-making community, not funded, sought after, and consulted with.

Governments, U.N. frameworks, and international legal bodies, as well as ESG firms and other corporate actors, should shun these groups and implement effective vetting measures that ensure that no like-minded actors are supported or their reporting relied upon in the future. There can be no Jewish exception to the cause of universal human rights, nor should those professing violence be permitted to masquerade as human rights practitioners.

I thank you again for the opportunity to testify, and I look forward to the subcommittee’s questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Schiffmiller follows:]



Yona Schiffmiller
 Director of Research, NGO Monitor
 House Committee on Foreign Affairs
 June 22, 2023, hearing on "Responding to Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israel Bias in the UN, Palestinian Authority, and NGO Community"

Written Testimony to Subcommittee on Global Health, Global Human Rights and International Organizations

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) claiming to promote human rights are among the leading purveyors of "new antisemitism" – often expressed through the vilification of Israel and Zionism, and the exclusion of Israelis and Zionists from the realm of human rights. These NGOs deny the legitimacy of Israel, regardless of borders; negate Jewish connections to the land; and promote campaigns to reverse Jewish self-determination. A common theme is that Israel is uniquely evil – equated at times to Nazi Germany, inherently racist, and irredeemable. Through their exploitation of human rights discourse, these NGOs are often shielded from criticism of their antisemitism, and governments, particularly in Europe, continue to fund them.

Furthermore, prominent NGOs such as Human Rights Watch (HRW) and Amnesty International repeatedly reject calls to join meaningful campaigns to combat antisemitism, despite the global rise in attacks on Jews.¹ This behavior makes Jews the exception to universal human rights.

At the same time, these NGOs are very active in campaigns to undermine or replace the consensus International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of antisemitism and other tools that identify and seek to combat all forms of modern Jew-hatred – including antisemitism from anti-Israel activists claiming progressive agendas. The NGOs intensively lobby governments, UN bodies, and professional organizations to reject the IHRA Working Definition, in service of their anti-Israel bias.

The denial of antisemitism as is manifested in singling out Israel, also extends to attempts to influence content moderation policies, allowing bigotry to be amplified on social media platforms.

IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism

Adopted in 2016, the IHRA Working Definition of antisemitism ("IHRA") is the most widely accepted modern definition of anti-Jewish prejudice, adopted and implemented by hundreds of national and local governments, international bodies, and public institutions.² Developed in response to the infamous 2001 UN Durban conference, as discussed below, IHRA's unique contribution to the struggle against antisemitism is its acknowledgement of modern manifestations of anti-Jewish sentiment and deed, alongside and often combined with forms of classic antisemitism.

IHRA's examples of antisemitism include behavior and rhetoric that characterizes many NGO campaigns and statements, such as:



- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.

The NGO Campaign to Dismantle Israel

The systematic NGO campaign to delegitimize Israel and deny Jews their right to self-determination began in earnest at the UN's 2001 World Conference on Racism in Durban. This conference and its NGO Forum were attended and organized by over 1,500 NGOs from around the world and powerful international actors such as HRW and Amnesty International were active participants.

Writing at the time, Congressman Tom Lantos – one of the leaders of the US delegation to Durban – labeled the gathering a “debacle,” “diplomatic fiasco,” and “an anti-American, anti-Israeli circus,” and described the vilification and exclusion of Jewish delegates both during, and in preparation of the conference.ⁱⁱⁱ

The participating NGOs approved, by consensus, a Final Declaration that singled out Israel; declared “Israel as a racist, apartheid state”; and referred to “the Israeli apartheid state and its perpetration of racist crimes against humanity including ethnic cleansing, [and] acts of genocide.”^{iv} Thus, the NGOs relaunched the infamous 1975 UN resolution labeling Zionism as racism, sponsored by the Soviet bloc and the Arab League.

Specifically, the Final Declaration:

- “Call[s] for the launch of an international anti Israeli Apartheid movement as implemented against South African Apartheid through a global solidarity campaign network of international civil society, UN bodies and agencies, business communities and to end the conspiracy of silence among states, particularly the European Union and the United States.”
- “Call[s] upon the international community to impose a policy of complete and total isolation of Israel as an apartheid state as in the case of South Africa which means the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions and embargoes, the full cessation of all links (diplomatic, economic, social, aid, military cooperation and training) between all states and Israel.”

Since Durban, NGOs, under the banners of human rights and international law, have repeatedly and concertedly advanced this agenda, which seeks to dismantle Israel as a Jewish State.

This strategy manifests in several ways.

First, NGOs openly campaign to brand the Jewish State as inherently illegitimate and its founding an ill to be remedied, as they criminalize Jewish self-determination by branding Israel as an “apartheid state.”



Second, through the tactics of BDS – boycotts, divestment, and sanctions – NGOs seek to isolate Israel and cause economic harm to the country and to those conducting business there or maintaining business relationships with Israeli entities – including American corporations. Congress has rightfully rejected these campaigns, noting that “the Global Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement targeting Israel is not about promoting coexistence, civil rights, and political reconciliation but about questioning and undermining the very legitimacy of the country and its people.”^v

Third, the NGOs, in cooperation with Palestinian officials and their allies, successfully lobbied the International Criminal Court (ICC) to launch an investigation into Israel, despite it not being a member of the Rome Treaty – a concerning precedent for the US. NGOs continue to provide reports and information to the ICC Prosecutor, with the goal of having Israelis prosecuted in The Hague.

Lastly, NGOs seek to weaken Israel’s security, by agitating for arms embargoes and encouraging the PA to freeze mutually beneficial security cooperation with Israel – a particularly obscene demand that increases the likelihood of terrorism. In both instances, these efforts are underpinned by double standards, distortions of international law, and the erasure of Palestinian violence and basic context for evaluating Israeli policies and actions.

This testimony provides illustrative examples of these phenomena.

Denying Israel’s Right to Exist – The NGO Apartheid Campaign

The antisemitic apartheid charge against Israel began with anti-Zionist Soviet propaganda in the 1950s, and has since been adopted and refined, including the rhetoric of Arab states and the PLO of the 1960s, and revived with the Durban Conference and the work of UN Special Rapporteurs John Dugard and Richard Falk.^{vi}

In 2021, a network of Israeli, Palestinian, and international NGOs launched a concerted effort to emphasize the apartheid allegation and advance a narrative of unparalleled Israeli criminality. They published dozens of reports, made numerous submissions to UN bodies, and invested heavily in media campaigns. As shown by detailed analyses published by NGO Monitor, the definitions of apartheid used by these NGOs cannot be legally substantiated. Instead, these groups promote artificial and manufactured definitions designed to extend the ongoing agenda of delegitimizing and demonizing Israel.^{vii}

Perhaps the most extreme version was a May 2022 submission to the UN Human Rights Council’s permanent “Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and in Israel” (COI).^{viii} A coalition of 90 Palestinian, European, Canadian, and American NGOs – many funded by the EU or European governments – articulated their absolutist rejection of the notion of a Jewish State.^{ix}

These NGOs declared:

- “Colonised Palestine refers to the self-determination unit of the Palestinian people and territory of Mandate Palestine (prior to 1948), and which today constitutes the occupied Palestinian territory (oPt) and the territory recognized as the State of Israel in 1948.”
- “The 1948 Territory refers to the territory of the settler-colonial State of Israel, established by the displacement and dispossession of the vast majority (around 80 percent) of the

indigenous Palestinian people during the Nakba and the maintenance of a settler colonial and apartheid regime over the Palestinian people since its creation.”

- “The Palestinian people argued that the incorporation of the Balfour Declaration was illegal.”

Similar language can be found in a 200-page manifesto published on November 29, 2022 – marking the 105th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration – by the Palestinian NGO Al-Haq.^x Funded by a number of European governments, Al-Haq is designated by Israel as a terrorist entity due to its ties to the US-designated Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).^{xi}

In it, Al-Haq defines Zionism and Israel as fundamentally racist and illegitimate, and extorts the international community to dismantle the Jewish State.^{xii} In addition, Al-Haq refers to “the Zionist movement’s racist character” and “Israel’s institutionalised discrimination against the indigenous Palestinian people” is “inherent in the ideology operationalised in the founding institutions of the Zionist settler colonial project in Palestine.”

In attacking those who fail Al-Haq’s purity test of seeking Israel’s complete elimination, the group writes, “According to this approach, apartheid can be ended if the Israeli occupation comes to an end. Thus, the colonisation of Palestinian land by the Zionist movement from the late 19th century onward is legitimised, as is the dispossession of Palestinians and the denial of the right of return of Palestinian refugees since the start of the Nakba.”

Likewise, an April 2021 document by HRW focused on allegations of “apartheid” delegitimizes the notion of a Jewish State, echoing the Final Declaration from the NGO Forum of the Durban conference and its “call for the repeal of all discriminatory laws within the state of Israel, including those of return and citizenship, which are part of the institutionalized racism and Apartheid regime in Israel.”^{xiii}

In addition to distortions of the legal and lived reality in Israel, HRW focused specific opprobrium on laws – such as the Law of Return and laws defining Israel as “Jewish and democratic” – that guarantee its status as the nation-state of the Jewish People.^{xiv}

Amnesty International followed in February 2022 with a similar publication.^{xv} The NGO circulated a draft that declared, “This system of Apartheid originated with the creation of Israel in May 1948 and has been built and maintained for decades” – meaning that Israel is inherently illegitimate.^{xvi} When the draft was leaked, triggering extensive public criticism, Amnesty changed this line to read, “This system of apartheid has been built and maintained over decades.”

More broadly, numerous NGO “apartheid” reports published as part of this coordinated campaign – including those described above – contain a litany of demands on Israel, which, if enacted, would mean the dismantling of Israel as a Jewish State. Other governments and international bodies are encouraged to apply sanctions on Israel if it fails to repeal laws that encourage Jewish immigration and that preserve the country’s status as the nation-state of the Jewish People.

No similar accusations are made by these NGOs regarding any other country. In this respect, as with the BDS campaign, Israel, as the nation state of the Jewish people, is the target of double standards under the facade of human rights.



Erasing Jewish History

A central tactic in NGO campaigns of delegitimization is erasing Jewish – and Christian – history and presence in the land.

In a January 2019 publication, Amnesty International called for governments to prevent tourism companies from promoting travel over the 1949 Armistice Line – including in Jerusalem's Old City – accusing them of “contributing to, and profiting from...war crimes,” and “legitimizing” an “illegal situation.”^{xvii}

In this context, in a section titled “The Importance of Tourism to the Settlement Economy,” Amnesty notes that “The top three most visited places by foreign tourists in 2017 were all in Jerusalem's Old City,” suggesting that this is a problem in need of remedy. In a footnote, Amnesty reveals that these sites are “the Western Wall, the Jewish Quarter and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.”

Amnesty also complains that the “financial benefits both to Israel and to businesses operating in occupied territory ...is because most foreign visitors also enter the OPT.”

Following the release of the report, Mayor of Frankfurt Uwe Becker stated, “Amnesty International is promoting ethnic cleansing...[and] walking in the footprints of the antisemitic BDS movement.”^{xviii}

Economic Warfare

The NGO-led campaign to harm Israel and dismantle the Jewish State also harms material US interests, with American companies a particularly salient target of these activists.

In February 2020, the UN Human Rights Council published a “blacklist” of 112 companies operating over the Israel/West Bank 1949 Armistice Line, including 6 US corporations.^{xx}

The defamatory list was based on consultations with BDS groups, including HRW, and was the subject of a multi-year NGO campaign to both convince the UN to launch the initiative, and to ultimately create the database and populate it with companies.^{xx}

Importantly, there is no international legal prohibition on conducting business activities in conflict zones, situations of occupation, or disputed territories. Many of the companies on the list engage in business activities mandated by Israeli-Palestinian agreements endorsed, guaranteed, and witnessed by the international community, including the US and the UN. For instance, many of the listed companies provide utility services (water, gas, electricity, phone) to Palestinians and even have contractual agreements directly with the PA.^{xxi}

The NGO motivations therefore were not to apply international law, but rather to further their efforts to isolate Israel.

Anti-Israel groups are also instrumentalizing business and human rights frameworks at the UN to promote BDS. By manipulating these bodies, they can influence ESG analytics and due diligence legislation in Europe that applies to American and Israeli companies.^{xxii}

Similarly, anti-Israel NGOs have launched failed attempts at pressuring a number of US companies to cut ties with Israel, or substantially limit their operations there. NGOs have called for BDS measures against US tourism operators (described above) and defense contractors, alongside

similar campaigns against the Israeli banking, telecommunication, infrastructure, retail and other businesses.^{xxiii}

Common to all these NGO activities are distortions of and disregard for international law, Israeli-Palestinian agreements, and global business standards.

International Criminal Court (ICC)

On March 3, 2021, then ICC Chief Prosecutor Fatou Bensouda announced the launch of a formal investigation. This announcement was to a significant degree the product of consistent and substantial NGO lobbying and engagements.^{xxiv}

The goal of prosecuting Israelis in international courts was already articulated at the Durban Conference, where the NGO Forum Final Declaration called for the establishment of a "war crimes tribunal" against Israel "to investigate and bring to justice those who may be guilty of war crimes, acts of genocide and ethnic cleansing and the crime of Apartheid."

Throughout, NGOs have been central to promoting the Prosecutor's activities: lobbying the Court to accept the PA as a member – thus providing jurisdictional cover to prosecute Israelis; filing complaints; representing "victims"; and submitting briefs. The European Union, EU-member states, and other European governments have substantial funding to NGOs leading anti-Israel ICC campaigns and related lobbying.^{xxv}

Manipulating the Rights of Children to Blacklist the IDF

A related campaign, also based on distortions and manipulations of international law and Israeli practice, is intended to generate international sanctions and arms embargoes against the IDF, thus degrading Israel's security.

The UN Secretary-General publishes a yearly report on "Children and Armed Conflict," (CAAC) which surveys instances of alleged "grave violations" of children's rights around the world.^{xxvi} The CAAC report includes an annex listing "parties to armed conflict" that perpetrate these "grave violations."

The annex is designed to generate "targeted measures against violators, including the possibility of sanctions." To date, the annex almost entirely consists of failed states, state-sponsored militias, and terrorist organizations such as ISIS, Boko Haram, the Taliban, and Al-Qaeda.

As documented by NGO Monitor in several publications, Israel is the target of an ongoing, multi-year, NGO-led campaign that exploits children by advocating for the IDF's inclusion on this blacklist. Critically, NGO reporting and data collection serves as the basis for UN documentation, bestowing the imprimatur of the UN on the agendas and claims of politicized anti-Israel actors. Many of these NGOs are funded by European governments.^{xxvii}

In recent years, corresponding to this campaign, NGO publications and Secretary-General CAAC reports have used criteria that are unique to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and not applied by the UN anywhere else in the world.

Reflecting the centrality of anti-Israel NGOs to CAAC reporting – particularly those linked to the PFLP terrorist organization – the indoctrination of Palestinian children to engage in violence against Israelis, and their recruitment and use by designated terrorist organizations is widely ignored. This



pervasive phenomenon of Palestinian teens engaging in violence against Israeli civilians and security personnel is essential context for understanding Israeli responses, including the use of lethal force and detention of minors.

Since January 2018, NGO Monitor has identified approximately 90 Palestinian minors killed while engaging in violence against Israelis, including shootings and stabbings, as well as lobbing explosives, Molotov cocktails, and stones, and other violent acts. These include at least 37 teens affiliated with terrorist organizations, including Hamas, Islamic Jihad, Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, Lions' Den, PFLP, Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), and other factions.^{xxviii}

This represents the "grave violation" of recruitment and use of children. The UN claimed it could only verify four such instances of recruitment and use by Palestinian terror organizations in 2021, reflecting the inability, or unwillingness, of the agencies and NGOs involved to conduct effective research.^{xxix}

The NGO campaign against Israeli defense also includes pressuring the PA to cease security cooperation with Israel – a practice that both protects Israelis from terrorism and thwarts efforts by Hamas to launch a takeover of the West Bank. In 2021 and 2022, publications by HRW and Amnesty International, respectively, called for ending this coordination, alleging that it contributes to "apartheid."^{xxx}

Notably, NGO anti-IDF messaging has included comparisons to Nazi Germany. During the 2014 conflict between Israel and Gaza-based terrorist organizations launching rockets at Israeli population centers, Ken Roth and another HRW official promoted a letter equating "Nazi genocide" with "the massacre of Palestinians in Gaza," and that exclaimed, "'Never again' must mean NEVER AGAIN FOR ANYONE!"^{xxxi}

The NGO Campaign Against IHRA

As a powerful tool for identifying various forms of antisemitic behavior, the IHRA Working Definition exposes the hatred and animus underpinning the "Durban strategy" and the NGOs implementing it.

Concurrent to an increasing number of states, state-entities, local jurisdictions, and public institutions adopting IHRA, anti-Israel NGOs and their allies seek to blunt these developments by undermining the IHRA Working Definition and lobbying against its adoption by governments, the UN, public institutions, and social media companies.

As demonstrated by the intense attacks on Israel's right to exist and numerous initiatives to harm it and its allies – those discussed in this testimony represent a small percentage of the examples involving NGOs – anti-IHRA efforts are largely self-serving, as NGOs seek to shield themselves from scrutiny and criticism. For instance, on April 3, 2023, HRW, Al-Haq, Amnesty International and their NGO allies published a letter to the UN Secretary-General, urging the UN to reject the IHRA Working Definition.^{xxxi} In this text, the signatories acknowledge that their motivation is to forestall widespread recognition that much of their activity related to Israel is considered antisemitic, noting that the IHRA Working Definition "opens the door to labeling as antisemitic... findings of major Israeli, Palestinian and global human rights organizations that Israeli authorities are committing the crime against humanity of apartheid against Palestinians," as well as NGO-supported efforts "to transform Israel from a Jewish state into a multiethnic state."

Europe – IHRA Implementation but anti-Israel NGO Funding

In the context of NGO-generated antisemitism, the role of Europe cannot be ignored. As noted above, the EU and European governments are major funders of many of the most blatant and heinous organizations working to dismantle Israel, bestowing both financial largesse, as well as access and respectability to extremists.

In all of the thematic examples described in this testimony, from denying Israel's right to exist, to targeted economic and lawfare efforts, to manipulating the UN to promote sanctions, European government-funded organizations are key players.

European policy has not been monolithic, with different governments, ministries, parliaments, and constituencies advancing different agendas.

On the positive side, 30 European countries have adopted the IHRA Working Definition, as have the European Union's Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), and the Council of Europe.^{xxxiii}

Encouragingly, in January 2021, the European Commission published a "Handbook for the practical use of the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism," which relates the definition "to the contexts of real-world antisemitic incidents and crimes" and illustrates "good practices in the application" of the definition. A section is devoted to how the definition can "help direct funding to civil society organisations and human rights organisations."

Additionally, a series of parliamentary and governmental decisions, resolutions, and directives in Switzerland,^{xxxiv} France,^{xxxv} Germany,^{xxxvi} the Netherlands,^{xxxvii} and Denmark^{xxxviii} have instituted funding guidelines denying funds – in principle if not always in practice – to NGOs that engage in antisemitism, promote BDS, or deny Israel's right to exist.

Conclusion

NGOs claiming to act in the name of human rights are leading forces behind modern manifestations of antisemitism, in particular as they pertain to denying the Jewish People self-determination, delegitimizing Israel, and working to dismantle the Jewish State. This not only harms Israel, its allies, and Jews around the world, but it also distorts and perverts the cause of universal human rights.

Effectively confronting this NGO antisemitism first requires building consensus on the basic definitional elements. The IHRA framework has clear value as a yardstick for evaluating whether a particular statement or incident is marked by antisemitism, and where hatred of Jews is expressed through anti-Israel sentiment.

NGO Monitor recommends that governments explicitly address antisemitism by developing rigorous procedures for vetting of potential NGO partners to ensure that public funds are not awarded to organizations that advance antisemitic discourse.

Likewise, as NGOs serve in key roles as UN implementing partners, coordinators of UN-sponsored operations, and data collectors and analysts for UN agencies, donor governments should extend their bilateral vetting procedures to cover their support for the UN.

Similarly, governments and businesses should conduct thorough and independent evaluations of conflict-related developments when formulating policy, not relying on publications of politicized anti-Israel actors seeking to harm the Jewish State.

- ⁱ *NGO Monitor*, "HRW and Antisemitism: Sins of Commission and Omission," February 7, 2023, <https://www.ngo-monitor.org/reports/hrw-antisemitism/> ;
- NGO Monitor*, "Amnesty Silences Human Rights, Extends Hate Campaign," January 22, 2018, <https://www.ngo-monitor.org/amnesty-silences-human-rights-extends-hate-campaign/> ;
- ⁱⁱ *AJC*, "5 Common Questions About the IHRA Definition of Antisemitism Answered," March 27, 2023, <https://www.ajc.org/news/5-common-questions-about-the-ihra-definition-of-antisemitism-answered> ;
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Mr. SMITH. Thank you so very much for your very eloquent statement, and your written statement just has so much even more. So I deeply—we deeply appreciate it.

Mr. Marcus.

STATEMENT OF ITAMAR MARCUS

Mr. MARCUS. Chairman Smith, Ranking Member Wild, esteemed members of Congress, thank you very much for calling this hearing, and thank you very much for inviting me.

I appear before you today as head of Palestinian Media Watch to shed light on a fundamental and lethal component of Palestinian Authority ideology, which is Palestinian Authority antisemitism. Palestinian Authority antisemitism is not a collection of isolated hate speech. By today, it is a fundamental part of Palestinian ideology, and it is a great motivator of Palestinian Authority terror.

I will focus today on two aspects of Palestinian Authority antisemitism, which is the political antisemitism and the religious antisemitism. The Palestinian Authority political antisemitism has three stages. The first is presenting the Jews as inherently evil and endangering not just Palestinians but endangering all of humanity.

Number two is that Jews are, therefore, hated and themselves are responsible for antisemitism.

Finally, the Western countries are anxious to solve their problem of—the Jewish problem by getting rid of the Jews. They were the ones who initiated Zionism, and they were the ones who initiated the establishment of the state of Israel to solve their Jewish problem. Israel, therefore, is a colonial implant with no right to exist.

Now, I want to show you—give you some examples of this in Palestinian Authority leadership as well as from their official media. Already in 2023, this following interview with a Palestinian researcher, Palestinian Authority broadcast three times already this year, and it goes as follows.

He quotes, “Jews are arrogant by nature. They do not accept the other. The Jewish thinking is based on racism that caused them to be hated everywhere, and the Jewish thinking is based on the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. The Europeans hated them and wanted to get rid of them, so they had the idea of establishing a Jewish state.”

And, like I say, PATV broadcast their entire horrific interview three times already this year. Elie Wiesel has said about the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, if ever there was a piece of writing that could produce mass hatred, this is one, and yet the PA continues to present this as an authentic document of Jewish plan to subjugate humanity.

Mahmoud Abbas, in a televised speech, said the following, that 10 centuries of massacres of Jews, as well as the Holocaust itself, were caused by the Jewish “social role, usury, and banks.” Abbas was literally saying that the Holocaust the Jews brought on themselves because of the social role.

Now, just now at the U.N. last month, Abbas spoke, and this is what he said. Britain and the United States decided to plant a foreign entity in our homeland for colonialist purposes. These countries wanted to get rid of the Jews and profit from them in Palestine. Two birds with one stone.

Abbas was revealing this fundamental of Palestinian ideology, which is that Israel is the result of settler colonialism and, therefore, has no right to exist.

Now, what is clear from this is that Palestinian anti-Zionism is founded in Palestinian antisemitism.

Now, this PA demonization of Jews has been accepted by Palestinians as fact. And according to a 2014 ADL poll, they found “87 percent of Palestinians say it is probably true that people hate Jews because of the way Jews behave.” Eighty-seven percent of Palestinians were hated—Jews are hated because of the way they behave.

Now, this denial of Israel’s legitimacy leads directly to the PA teaching that Israel will eventually inevitably be destroyed. And I will give you some examples from children’s education in the Palestinian Authority. This is a Fatah children’s magazine called Waed, and they have quotes in there like “There is no invader who invaded this land that did not leave it defeated. That is what will happen to the Zionist invaders.”

The goal is to liberate Palestine that was stolen by the colonialist and aggressive Zionist movement. A key to the colonialism appears—and this as well—Algeria’s experience, which was the end of French colonial rule, talks about assures that the Jewish settlers in Palestine will disappear in the end. Jews will all leave Palestine. This is Fatah education.

Now, I just read a poll this morning which is added in, which connects to this teaching that Israel will eventually be destroyed, will disappear. The poll was done by Khalil Shikaki, the most important Palestinian pollster, and the question was, will Israel celebrate its 100th anniversary? Sixty-six percent of Palestinians said no; 27 percent said yes. So two-thirds of Palestinians have accepted this ideology that Israel inevitably will be destroyed.

And I will add that as long as Palestinians believe there is a chance to destroy Israel, that is a great motivator for terror.

Now, Palestinian Authority antisemitism has also become an important source for global antisemitism. Last week when Fatima Mohammed spoke at CUNY University law school graduation, she said, “Israel is a project of settler colonialism.” She was literally repeating this fundamental part of Palestinian Authority ideology.

Now, with the political antisemitism embedded in Palestinian ideology, then comes the religious ideology, the religious antisemitism, which puts Allah’s stamp of approval on this hatred.

And I will quote some of the things from Mahmoud al-Habbash. He is the most important religious figure in the PA. He is Mahmoud Habbas’ personal adviser on Islam, and he is head of the Sharia courts.

And this is what he said on TV. Jews are humanoids, creatures that Allah created in the form of humans, those who Allah has cursed and made them apes and pigs.

He also taught that Jews throughout history have worked together with Satan disseminating evil. Israel, he said, because it is a Jewish state, is Satan’s project, and that is the reason the Palestinians are in conflict. Again, this is the most important religious figure in the PA, Habbas’ adviser.

This same adviser also taught the religious reason to kill Israelis. He started by quoting from the Quran where the Quran says kill them, and then he, in his own words, defined 10 categories of crimes for which to kill people. All are crimes that he routinely accuses Israel of doing—taking their land, taking their homeland, et cetera.

So here he was saying the Quran is telling you to kill, and then he ends with a quote from the Quran, “Kill them wherever you find them.” Again, this is Habbas’ adviser on Islam.

Last year during the Ramadan, PATV preacher prayed, “Allah, delight us with the extermination of the evil Jews.” And an important Palestinian religious figure who teaches, he is responsible for teaching preacher training, he said, “Allah willing, the end of the Jews and America that supports the Jews will be in Palestine.”

This combination of political and religious antisemitism results in the PA’s justifying every single murder of every Israeli and honoring every murderer.

Two months ago, an Israeli mother and her two daughters, Lucy, Maia, and Rina Dee, were murdered in a drive-by shooting. After Israel tracked down the killers, the murderers and killed them, Prime Minister Muhammad Shtayyeh posted pictures of the murderers of the Dee family on his Facebook page with the text “Glory and eternity to our righteous Shahids,” our righteous martyrs, people who died for Allah.

The automatic Palestinian Authority support for every murderer, no matter what Israeli is killed, including Israeli children, can only be understood when recognizing the centrality of Palestinian Authority antisemitism, which sees murdering of Jews and Israelis as justified as an ideal act for Allah.

Now, a new Palestinian poll I mentioned, I found this morning something also shocking that I want to read to you related to the support for killing Israelis. Eighty-six percent of the Palestinian Authority of Palestinians—I am sorry, 86 percent say the Palestinian Authority does not have the right to arrest members of these armed groups to prevent them from carrying out attacks against Israel.

The armed groups that are doing all the recent terror, 86 percent of Palestinians say the Palestinian Authority should not arrest them and disarm them.

Palestinian Authority antisemitism I would say is the elephant in the room that the international community has ignored, looking for all sorts of other reasons to blame the conflict on. It is now embedded in Palestinian Authority world view and is being echoed in CUNY University and around the world. It is urgent that PA antisemitism be put front and center, and discussions about any future solution have to include a major focus on Palestinian Authority antisemitism.

Only after this fundamental reason for Palestinian hate is eliminated can the Palestinian Authority be a potential peace partner and will be the chance for stopping the spread of Palestinian antisemitism around the world.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Marcus follows:]



**Palestinian Authority Antisemitism:
A fundamental and lethal component of PA ideology**

Written testimony :

Itamar Marcus, Director, Palestinian Media Watch (PMW)

**House Committee on Foreign Affairs
Subcommittee on Global Health, Global Human Rights, and
International Organizations**

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Hearing:

**"Responding to Anti-Semitism and Anti- Israel Bias in the UN,
Palestinian Authority, and NGO Community" - June 22, 2023**



(Arabic to English translations by Zachy Ben Hamu, Roee Cohen,
Amiram Degani)



Palestinian Authority Antisemitism: A fundamental and lethal component of PA ideology

Chairman Smith, Ranking Member Wild, esteemed members of Congress. My purpose before you today is to shed light on an overlooked yet fundamental and lethal component of Palestinian Authority (PA) ideology: Antisemitism.

PA Antisemitism is not a collection of disconnected hate-speech; it is a systematically disseminated ideology that is by now deeply ingrained in the Palestinian national and political identity. It serves as a primary source of loathing towards Jews and Israelis and is a significant motivator for Palestinian terror.

I will focus today on two aspects of PA Antisemitism: Political Antisemitism and Religious Antisemitism.

The PA's Political Antisemitism asserts the following:



1. Jews are inherently evil, endangering not only Palestinians but all of humanity.
2. Accordingly, Jews themselves are responsible for the Antisemitism and hatred they have faced throughout history.
3. The PA turns this demonization of Jews into its political ideology: the Western countries were anxious to get rid of the Jews and solve their "Jewish problem," so they initiated the establishment of a Jewish state. The Jews would never have come to Palestine on their own because the Jews have no history in the land. Israel is defined as an illegitimate result of "settler-colonialism" with no right to exist.

This ideology is disseminated by PA leaders, Mahmoud Abbas appointees, and through the structures controlled by the PA. Here are some examples.

A Palestinian researcher interviewed on official PA TV this year, described the worlds problems with Jews:

- "Jews are by nature arrogant, do not accept the other."



- “Their [Jewish] thinking is based on racism that caused them to be hated everywhere. The Zionist thinking is based on... *the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*”
- “The Europeans hated them and wanted to get rid of them, so the European countries ... had the idea of establishing a Jewish state.”

The Protocols is of course a fabricated document about which Elie Wiesel said: "If ever a piece of writing could produce mass hatred, it is this one." The Nazis used it extensively to promote hatred, and although it was exposed as a forgery, the PA still presents it as an authentic Jewish plan to subjugate humanity. Official PA TV chose to broadcast this hateful interview already 3 times in 2023.

[Official PA TV, *Returning*, Jan. 17, 2023 and Feb. 27, 2023, May 14, 2023]

Similarly, Mahmoud Abbas' Fatah Movement produced an educational documentary, disseminated on Fatah's Facebook page, filled with hate speech such as:

- Jews see others as their animals;
- Jews allied with Nazis to accumulate wealth;



- Jews “led the project to enslave humanity.”

This ideology originates from the highest levels of the PA. Mahmoud Abbas himself said in a televised speech that 10 centuries of recurring massacres and the Holocaust the Jews brought upon themselves due to their “social role ... usury, and banks, etc.”

And Abbas speaking in the UN last month, said:

“Britain and the United States... decided to plant a foreign entity in our historic homeland, **for colonialist purposes of their own...**
these Western countries wanted to get rid of the Jews – and profit from them in Palestine. 'Two birds with one stone'.”

Abbas was telling the UN the most fundamental principle of PA ideology spread since the early days of the PA: Israel exists solely because the colonial powers wanted to get rid of their Jews and have a foothold in the Middle East. Israel, as a result of “settler colonialism,” has no right to exist.



An article in the official PA daily recently warned that Jews continue to pose the same danger to humanity:

“They [Jews] are continuing to fulfill the same negative social, economic, and political role that caused societies in Europe to vomit them out.” [Official PA daily *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, Dec. 19, 2022]

This PA demonization of Jews has been embedded into the Palestinian worldview. According to the 2014 ADL Global 100 Poll, a full **87% of Palestinians say it is “probably true” that “People hate Jews because of the way Jews behave.”** This poll shows the effectiveness and danger of incessant hate incitement.

The PA’s denial of Israel's legitimacy leads directly to its message that Israel, like all colonial endeavors, will inevitably be destroyed. Here are a few examples from Fatah’s educational magazine for children, *Waed*:

“[The] goal is liberating Palestine from the thieving Zionist entity and restoring the right to its Palestinian owners.”



“[The] goal is to liberate Palestine that was stolen by the colonialist and aggressive Zionist movement.”

“There is no invader who invaded this land and did not leave it defeated in the end, and that is what will happen to the Zionist invaders.”

“Palestine from the river to the sea.”

“Algeria’s experience [of the French leaving] assures that the Jewish settlers in Palestine will disappear in the end.”

PA Antisemitism has not only permeated Palestinian society it has become a source of global Antisemitism, including here in the United States. Last month when Fatima Muhammad said at the CUNY law school graduation that Israel is a “project of settler colonialism,” she was echoing this PA ideology.



With political Antisemitism firmly entrenched in the Palestinian psyche, the PA's religious Antisemitism intensifies the hate by adding God (Allah's) stamp of approval, including God's curse of the Jews.

The PA's religious Antisemitism also comes from the leadership. The most important PA religious figure is Mahmoud Al-Habbash, appointed by Abbas as his advisor on Islam and Chief Justice of the Islamic Courts. He also gives almost all the Friday sermons on official PA TV. Last year, he demanded Palestinians not abandon the Temple Mount to Jews, who he described as:

“Herds of humanoids, people or creatures that Allah created in the form of humans... Those whom Allah has cursed and with whom He became angry and made of them apes and pigs.” [Quran 5:60]
[Official PA TV, Sept. 30, 2022]

Significantly, this interpretation of the Quran by the PA that today's Jews are descendants of apes and pigs is not a necessary interpretation of the Quran, but it is the interpretation the PA has chosen to disseminate.



Al-Habbash has also taught that Jews throughout history have been the ally of Satan, disseminating evil and falsehood around the world. And THAT is the reason for the conflict with Israel:

“This is a conflict between two entities, good and evil, between two projects: Allah’s project vs. Satan’s project.” [Official PA TV, Oct. 23, 2015]

Al-Habbash and other PA religious leaders openly support killing Israelis and Jews. In a televised lesson Al-Habbash quoted the Quran: “Kill them” [Quran 2:191] and then defined 10 categories of people to kill. “If someone takes ... my home... my land... my homeland...” etc – all 10 “crimes” Israelis are routinely accused of. Al- Habbash continued: “I am commanded to fight him and I am allowed to kill him if necessary as Prophet [Muhammad] said: “kill them wherever you find them.” [Official PA TV, *Review*, Feb, 2, 2020]

Last year, during the Ramadan, the PATV preacher prayed: “Allah, delight us with the extermination of the evil Jews.” [Official PA TV, April



17, 2022] And the PA director of Preacher Training Sheikh Majed Saqr taught on PA TV: “Allah willing, the end of the Jews and America that supports the Jews will be in Palestine.” [Official PA TV, May 9, 2021]

This combination of political and religious Antisemitism with hatred of Israel, all in the name of Allah directly leads to the PA’s policy to see murdering Israelis as heroic and Allah’s will, and as a result:

- 100% of the murderers of Israelis are honored;
- 100% of terrorists in jail for murdering Jews receive PA salaries;
- 100% of terrorists killed while murdering Jews are declared “Shahids” - meaning “Martyrs” who “died for Allah”.

One recent horrific example:

On April 7, a Jewish mother and her two daughters Lucy, Maia and Rina Dee were murdered in a drive by shooting. After the initial shots caused their car to crash, the terrorists drove back and at point blank range shot and murdered them. After Israel tracked down the murderers and killed them, PA Prime Minister Muhammad Shtayyeh posted pictures of the murderers on his Facebook Page with the text:



“Glory and eternity to our righteous *Shahids*” – i.e., Martyrs who died for Allah [Facebook, Muhammad Shtayyeh, May 4, 2023]

According to the PA, murdering 3 civilians is a “righteous” act and was done for Allah. The families of the murderers will now receive a lifetime monthly stipend from the PA. The shocking PA support for murder of civilians can be understood when recognizing the centrality of PA Antisemitism. Since Jews are “humanoids,” “cursed” by Allah, and Israelis are settler-colonialists, about whom the Quran instructs “kill them,” then murdering each and every Israeli is a “righteous” act for Allah and dying while killing Jews is Death for Allah. Suicide bombers who murdered children and infants are also coined by the PA as *Shahids* – meaning that their dying in the act of murdering children was an ideal act on behalf of Allah.

Not surprisingly, PA Security Forces are actively involved in terror, even as the international community continues to fund to fight terror. In an interview just two weeks ago, Muhammad Al-Masri, former deputy head of PA General Intelligence, describe the PA Security Forces current activities:



“More than roughly 63-65% of the number of Martyrs in the West Bank, in the daily confrontations, are members of the Fatah Movement, and most of them are members of the [PA] Security Forces or their sons – in other words, Security Forces officers or their children – and the ones who are being pursued in the streets, arrested, and imprisoned are the Palestinian Security Forces officers.” [Official PA TV, Topic of the Day, June 14, 2023]

The PA has been tragically successful disseminating Antisemitism to its people. That same ADL Global 100 Poll I referred to, found Palestinians to be the most antisemitic people in the world, with 93% of Palestinians believing that at least 6 of the 11 antisemitic claims in the poll were "probably true."

This hearing is also to discuss “the Martyrdom of children in suicide attacks.” Today unprecedented numbers of Palestinian children are dying in terror or combat, and their parents’ statements as well as the children’s farewell notes show that the goal of their terror acts were to achieve Death for Allah. This is a direct result of the PA’s indoctrinating its children that Dying for Allah – *Shahada* – by fighting Israel is the



greatest achievement. We have testimony of many Palestinian parents, relatives and friends, and farewell letters of the dead children confirming this.

There has been much talk about the recently released U.S. NATIONAL STRATEGY TO COUNTER Antisemitism, which says the US “has embraced the IHRA” definition of Antisemitism and “welcomes and appreciates the Nexus Document,” which has different definitions of Antisemitism.

As far as PA Antisemitism is concerned both are extremely relevant: the PA violates almost all the definitions of IHRA and at least 4 of the 6 categories of the Nexus definitions. The PA has made Antisemitism a central part of its ideology and national policy.

Recommendations: It is time for the international community to change its attitude to the PA. The activities described above, the PA’s demonizing Jews and Israelis, denying Israel's legitimacy, justifying the murder of Jews and Israelis, and rewarding the murder of Jews and Israelis, are activities of a terror organization. Even though the PA is not



designated, penalties should be imposed fitting these terror-like activities:

1. The US should designate, blacklist and deny visa to every Palestinian, including PA and Fatah officials who disseminate Antisemitism, promote, justify, glorify or reward terror, and promote or glorify child Martyrdom.

2. US funding to the PA and Palestinian projects through all channels, should be dispersed quarterly. Any quarter in which the PA has continued to promote Antisemitism, terror and terror glorification and this can be defined and quantified, the PA would lose the next quarter's funding. PMW is able to submit reports immediately at the end of every quarter, with Arabic originals and translation.

3. Something valuable that should be encouraged as a tool to fight terror worldwide: In addition to compensatory damages there must be punitive damages for terrorists, for those who send them, and for terror financing.



4. Finally, since this hearing is also discussing the UN, I will add that there are 2 UN resolutions 3236 and 3246 that refer to the Palestinian right to “use all means,” the PA repeatedly claims gives them the right to murder civilians. These resolutions must be cancelled, like the UN ‘Zionism is Racism’ resolution was cancelled. (More details appear in the appendix.)

I will end with one more piece of striking background information. In 1996, after 30 years of Israeli rule and soon after the PA was created, Palestinians thought Israel was the best in the world in democracy and human rights. In the poll by the Khalil Shikaki, director of the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research, 78% of Palestinians gave Israel a positive rating in democracy and human rights, whereas only 65% gave the US positive, 55% gave France positive, and 50% gave the PA positive ratings. The poll was repeated 4 years in a row with slight changes in the questions, and in every year, Israel was best democracy and/or human rights according to Palestinians.

So 30 years of direct Israeli rule made Palestinians conclude Israel was best in the world in democracy and human rights; and after 30 years of



PA rule Palestinians believe everyone hates Jews because they endanger all humanity, Jews brought Antisemitism on themselves, and Allah supports the killing of Israelis.

It is time for the international community to recognize the antisemitic terror-supporting nature of the PA and take concrete steps to treat them as befits a terror-supporting government.

Thank you.



Appendix: US should initiate the cancelling of UN Resolutions 3236 and 3246

One year before the infamous UN decision to declare Zionism is Racism (Nov 1975) there was an equally evil and lethal UN resolutions 3236 that “recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to **regain its rights by all means,**” and in 1975 UN 3246 that “Reaffirms the legitimacy of the people's struggle for liberation from colonial [etc]... **by all available means including armed struggle.**” The Zionism is racism resolution was eventually canceled. Resolutions 3236 and 3246 are more lethal and cited regularly by the PA to justify the murder of civilians.

Two example of the PA citing the UN to justify murder:

Fatah Central Committee member Abbas Zaki: “All the forms of struggle complement each other according to UN Resolution 3236, which says that the Palestinian people may use all forms of struggle, including armed struggle.”



"Commission of Prisoners and Released Prisoners' Affairs Director Issa Karake said that the recent ruling of the American court in New York, according to which the PA must pay 218 million dollars in compensation to [the families of] those killed, who were US citizens... contradicts international law. In addition, he called [the case] a political lawsuit against the legitimate Palestinian national struggle, **which is sanctioned by international law and UN resolutions... UN resolutions have established that resisting occupation (i.e., killing civilians) in order to achieve self-determination and independence is a legitimate right...**"

The PA claims that all murderers even murderers of children have status of prisoners of war - because of UN 3236.

The PA has justified its Pay for Slay policy that rewards terror by arguing there is no such thing as Palestinian terror because of UN 3236.

It is critical that the UN's vote to cancel or amend those resolutions and send a unequivocal message to the PA that the UN does not sanction the murder of Israelis as legitimate "resistance."



A full report on the PA's justification of murder based on these resolutions is now being prepared by PMW and can be supplied to the committee.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much.
Mr. Kontorovich.

STATEMENT OF EUGENE KONTOROVICH

Mr. KONTOROVICH. Thank you. Chairman Smith, Ranking Member Wild, honorable members of the committee, I am honored to be invited here to discuss contemporary antisemitism.

Opposing antisemitism is easy because everyone is on your side. Certainly, in polite society, you won't find anyone embracing the label. Today the general anathema on antisemitism makes anti-Zionism a convenient and common substitute. At the same time, criticism of Israel, as one would of any other country, is entirely legitimate, thus defining "antisemitism" accurately is crucial.

Those who seek to single out, delegitimize, and harm the world's primary Jewish community claim that they are merely responding to the bad things the Jewish state actually does. They have reasons, you see. They have reasons.

The notion of antisemitism, how does one answer this? The notion that antisemitism only applies to unreasoning, foaming at the mouth, purely emotional Jew hatred, misunderstands what antisemitism is and has always been as I will show.

These remarks are very timely, because the Biden Administration's new National Strategy on Anti-Semitism harms efforts to respond to it by referring to two different and fundamentally contradictory definitions of it.

The remainder of my testimony explains why the IHRA definition discussed by Mr. Sharansky is correct in identifying Israel as a major focus of antisemitism and addresses the claims made by the Nexus Document cited in the National Strategy, which argues that double standards against Israel should not be presumed to be antisemitic.

The only widely accepted definition of antisemitism today is the working definition of the International Holocaust Memorial Association, IHRA. It crucially states that anti-Zionism or anti-Israel conduct can be manifestations of antisemitism.

IHRA's definition provides several examples, claiming the existence of Israel is illegitimate for ab initio, the widespread practice of applying double standards to the Jewish state or "requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation."

This IHRA definition obviously struck a chord. It has been formally adopted by at least 39 countries, the EU, the EC, the OSC, most U.S. states, and the vast majority of ideologically diverse jurisdictions, universities, and entities around the world.

The U.S. has also adopted the IHRA definition, and the National Strategy on Anti-Semitism reaffirms that while also "welcoming what is known as the Nexus Document," an effort designed to undermine the Israel-focused aspect—the Israel antisemitism of IHRA's definition.

Nexus does not treat as presumptively antisemitic either the questioning of the basic legitimacy of Israel's existence or the application of double standards, discriminatory standards to Israel. According to Nexus, such views may have legitimate grounds. We will discuss what those may be.

Unlike IHRA's adoption by a wide range of countries, not a single country has adopted the Nexus definition. So Nexus last month leaped from discussions of like-minded academics straight into a White House policy document. While the IHRA definition remains the only one officially used by the Government, the National Strategy citation of Nexus harms efforts to respond to antisemitism by referring to these two different definitions.

Israel bashing is ostensibly directed against the state of Israel, not the Jews. So how can it be antisemitic? In anti-discrimination law, American anti-discrimination law, it is well known that discrimination need not be 100 percent congruent with the targeted class.

Proxies for race, sexual orientation, and so forth, can be discriminatory using proxies. Moreover, no one disputes that the political treatment of a country could potentially be a proxy for bigotry against the faith or ethnicity of that country. For example, when the prior Administration adopted immigration restrictions on five Muslim majority countries, many members of this House denounced it as a Muslim ban, even though it cited countries, not religions.

Israel is by far the largest Jewish community in the world, and the home to the plurality—and soon the majority—of the world's Jews. The vast majority of American Jews identify closely with Israel, making Zionism a convenient proxy for Jewishness.

Unfortunately, some people who understand that proxy—a country could be a proxy for bigotry, who vigorously denounced, for example, President Trump's immigration rules as a Muslim ban, now argue that it is okay to single out Israel and apply to it double standards. This is a double standard within a double standard.

The claim that anti-Israel obsession is merely about Israeli policies needs to be evaluated in a historical context. For 2,000 years, the obsessive focus on the supposed wrongs of this one tiny group has resurfaced across an amazing array of cultures and epochs. From the Romans to the Crusades, from the Reformation to the Inquisition, from national to international socialism, the justifications change, the target remains the same.

Finally, the Jewish people in our times reconstituted their nation and immediately found it the subject of unparalleled international defamation and libel. Jews have been hated sometimes as adherents of a faith, sometimes as members of a people. Now the extraordinary enmity is aimed at their state. The coin lands on the same side on every toss. It is an amazing coincidence. The segue from earlier modes of antisemitism to anti-Zionism is stunning.

Now, effective antisemites have always sought to justify their bigotry by claiming that they simply object to the bad things that Jews do. Capitalism, communism, monarchy-ism, not accepted Christianity, even Hitler had elaborate policy reasons for his opposition to Jewry. In contemporary terms, he thought they harmed global human rights.

The accusations leveled against Israel today resemble those made by antisemites throughout history. Instead of Jews being accused of killing Gentile children, Israel is accused of deliberately killing Palestinian children. Instead of Jews being accused of caus-

ing a plague among Gentiles, Israel is accused of causing disease amongst Palestinians.

The accusation of apartheid is a modern blood libel, an absurd big lie, and responding to it justifies it more than it deserves, but inciteful in ways that cannot be rectified by mere refutation.

Just as the classic blood libel resonated with religious preoccupations of earlier ages, today's claims resonate with the ethnic justice concerns of our own times. That is the power of apartheid. That in our times several members of Congress can level such accusations against the Jewish state is truly distressing.

Now I want to say that the Nexus Document says there may be a valid reason for people to care more about Israel. They say maybe people care about Israel because Israel gets more U.S. foreign aid than other countries.

Now, in my written testimony, I have a chart of how much aid different countries get from the United States. And as you will see, Israel does in fact get more, and there are—there is much more hostility to Israel. I have various measures of hostility to Israel, New York Times' resolutions.

As you see, after Israel it drops off very disproportionately. Egypt, King Jordan, massive recipients of U.S. aid. They don't get half of the criticism of Israel, not in Congress, not in the United Nations, and not in the pages of The New York Times.

So whatever this phenomenon is, it seems to only work for Israel, this aid-focused justification.

And, finally, I will close by pointing out of course countries around the world have very harsh policies against Israel. I have a table in my testimony where I show U.K.'s votes against Israel. Are these other countries voting against Israel because of U.S. foreign aid? It doesn't stand to reason.

So this form of antisemitism is one of the dominant forms of our day and must be taken very seriously.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Kontorovich follows:]

George Mason University Scalia Law School



**What Antisemitism Means Today:
Invoking the Jewish State to Justify Jew-Hate**

Written testimony of Prof. Eugene Kontorovich

U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs

Subcommittee on Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations

*Hearing on Responding to Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israel Bias in the UN, Palestinian
Authority, and NGO Community*

June 22, 2023

Chairman Smith, Ranking Member Wild, and honorable members of the Committee, I am honored to be invited here to discuss modern antisemitism. Opposing antisemitism is easy because everyone is on your side. Even Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent*, in its notorious series *The International Jew*, complained that the term is "used indiscriminately and vituperatively" against those who merely want to "discuss... Jewish world-power," which would be an important topic if it were real.¹ One cannot address antisemitism unless one can define it.

Much of the testimony at today's hearing focuses on the delegitimization of Israel by international organizations and NGOs. There is a broad consensus that casting Israel as a uniquely problematic entity, or applying double standards to it, is a major form of contemporary antisemitism.² Today, the general anathema on antisemitism in polite society makes "Anti-Zionism" a convenient and common substitute. Yet recent actions by the Biden Administration show that the issue of antisemitism manifesting as "anti-Zionism" (distinguished from ordinary disputes about the policies of a foreign country) requires further clarification.

When Anti-Israel Sentiment Becomes Antisemitism: the IHRA Working Definition

The only widely accepted definition of antisemitism today is the working definition of the International Holocaust Memorial Alliance (IHRA), an intergovernmental organization of over thirty member countries. After several years of consultations with academic experts from around the world, including debate about the role of "anti-Zionism," IHRA unanimously adopted its definition in 2016.³ It crucially states that "anti-Zionist" or "anti-Israel" sentiments *can be* "manifestations" of antisemitism. IHRA's definition provides several illustrations: claiming Israel's existence is illegitimate; the widespread practice of "applying double standards" to the Jewish State; or "requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation."⁴

To be clear, IHRA does not equate criticism of Israel with antisemitism. It explicitly states that criticism of Israeli government policies is legitimate, as with any country. However, condemning Israel based on standards or supposed norms that are in fact applied only to the Jewish State may cross over

¹ See Henry Ford, *The International Jew: The World's Foremost Problem*, DEARBORN INDEP., Nov. 1920 (v. 1-4), at 56.

² See U.S. State Dept., *Contemporary Global Anti-Semitism: A Report Provided to the United States Congress*, at 4 (2008).

³ See Andrew Baker, et. al, *The Origins of the Working Definition*, in Alan Johnson, ed., IN DEFENSE OF THE IHRA WORKING DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM (2021), <https://fathomjournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Fathom-eBook-In-Defence-of-the-IHRA-Working-Definition-of-Antisemitism.pdf>.

⁴ See IHRA, *About the IHRA non-legally binding working definition of antisemitism*, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism>.

into antisemitism. Even for such double-standards, IHRA only creates a presumption that must be corroborated by other contextual factors.

Opponents of IHRA claim it is designed to silence ordinary criticisms of Israel.⁵ (If so, it is singularly ineffective – as a growing number of jurisdictions adopt the IHRA definition, there seems to be no abatement in hostility to the Jewish State.) Yet IHRA stresses that its working definition is non-legally binding. The definition’s only role is to help create a consensus on what *is* antisemitism, not how to regulate it. Under the First Amendment, the government must not, under almost all circumstances, restrict antisemitic speech (or other forms of hate speech), and can only deal with actual discriminatory conduct, such as boycotts.⁶ Similarly, principles of representative democracy demand that members of this House should be permitted to say whatever they want about Israel, whether it involves classic or contemporary forms of antisemitism, or both.⁷

The IHRA definition struck a chord. It has been formally adopted by at least thirty-nine countries, including the U.S., and endorsed by the European Union and Commission, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, most U.S. states, and a vast number of ideologically diverse jurisdictions, universities, and political entities around the world.⁸ For example, Ahmed Shaheed, the U.N. Special Rapporteur for freedom of religious belief, called on all states to adopt the IHRA definition. The U.N.’s “action plan” for combatting antisemitism does not even mention any definition other than IHRA’s.⁹

Criticism of the IHRA: the Nexus Definition

Not surprisingly, the IHRA definition is opposed by those who wish to engage in precisely the kind of anti-Israel double standards that it warns of. In an effort to confound or counteract the legitimacy and clarity of the IHRA working definition, a few other groups have offered definitions of antisemitism that greatly minimize the role of Israel-focused antisemitism. One such effort is the Nexus Document, a project hosted by Bard University. The Nexus definition differs from IHRA

⁵ See Chris McNeal, *UN urged to reject antisemitism definition over ‘misuse’ to shield Israel*, GUARDIAN, Apr. 24, 2023 (describing letter signed by Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and other groups saying IHRA definition will “suppress or chill” criticism of Israel).

⁶ See, e.g., Eugene Kontorovich, *The Anti-Semitic Nature of Boycotts Singling Out Israel*, testimony before H. Homeland Security Comm., Subcomm. on Intelligence and Terrorism (Jan. 15, 2020); Eugene Kontorovich, *Boycotting Israel Isn’t Free Speech*, WALL ST. J., July 6, 2022, at A15.

⁷ This of course does not mean that such views are not relevant to committee assignments. See H. RES. 76, 118th Cong., *Removing a certain Member from a certain standing committee of the House*, Feb. 2, 2023.

⁸ Zvika Klein, *More than 1,000 global entities adopted IHRA definition of antisemitism*, JERUSALEM POST, Jan. 17, 2023.

⁹ Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, *Rep. on combating antisemitism to eliminate discrimination and intolerance based on religion or belief*, U.N. Doc. A/74/358 (Sep. 20, 2019).

primarily in its treatment of Israel-focused conduct. Nexus does not regard as presumptively antisemitic either the questioning the basic legitimacy of Israel's existence or the application of double standards to Israel.¹⁰ According to Nexus, such views may have legitimate grounds.

Unlike IHRA's adoption by a wide range of countries (including many states that are often sharply critical of Israel), not one single country has adopted the Nexus Declaration. The IHRA definition was developed by an international group of scholars not known for their views on Israel or their politics one way or another. The Nexus Advisory Board, by contrast, is overwhelmingly left-wing and includes people, like the head of J-Street,¹¹ who can only be described as professionals in the field of Israel bashing. Members of Nexus's advisory board have described Israel as "fascist," denounced it as an "apartheid state," and justified those who say it should have never existed.¹²

While IHRA has become the global benchmark, the narrow Nexus definition has languished in total obscurity—that is, until the White House suddenly announced its "welcome and appreciation" of the Nexus Document last month, while still "embracing" IHRA.¹³ Nexus leaped from the discussions of like-minded academics straight into a White House policy document. While the IHRA definition remains the only one officially used by the government,¹⁴ the White House's *National Strategy* harms efforts to respond to antisemitism by referring to two different, and fundamentally contradictory, definitions. The remainder of this testimony explains why IHRA is correct in identifying Israel as a major focus of antisemitism and addresses the claims made by Nexus.

Israel as a Proxy for Antisemitism

The notion underpinning IHRA's focus on "double standards"—that treating one national group radically differently from another can create a rebuttable presumption of discrimination—is commonplace in anti-discrimination law. It is also uncontroversial that discrimination need not be 100% congruent with the targeted class.¹⁵ Proxies for race, sexual orientation, and so forth can be

¹⁰ The Nexus Task Force, *The Nexus Document* (2021), <https://israelantisemitism.com/the-nexus-document>.

¹¹ THE NEXUS TASK FORCE, <https://israelantisemitism.com/nexus-task-force>.

¹² Rabbi Jill Jacobs (@rabbijilljacobs), TWITTER (Mar. 1, 2023, 4:07 PM), <https://twitter.com/rabbijilljacobs/status/1631038430875377666?s=20>; Rabbi Jill Jacobs (@rabbijilljacobs), TWITTER (Jun. 2021, 10:37 AM), <https://twitter.com/rabbijilljacobs/status/1407347027487383554?s=20>; Raja Khouri (@khouri2000), TWITTER (May 17, 2021, 5:36 PM), <https://twitter.com/khouri2000/status/1394406572642738179?s=20>.

¹³ See U.S. *National Strategy to Combat Anti-Semitism*, at 12 (May 2023).

¹⁴ See Exec. Order No. 13899, 84 Fed. Reg. 68779 (Dec. 11, 2019); U.S. DEP. OF STATE, DEFINING ANTISEMITISM (2016), <https://www.state.gov/defining-antisemitism.c>

¹⁵ See e.g., *Pacific Shores Properties v. City of Newport Beach*, 730 F.3d 1142, 1160, n.23 (9th Cir. 2013) ("Proxy discrimination is a form of facial discrimination."); *McWright v. Alexander*, 982 F.2d 222, 228 (7th Cir. 1992) (gray hair as proxy for age)). Proxy discrimination occurs when a policy "treats individuals differently on the basis of seemingly neutral criteria that

discriminatory. Moreover, no one disputes that the political treatment of a country *could potentially* be a proxy for bigotry against a people or faith. For example, when the prior administration adopted immigration restrictions on five Muslim-majority countries, many members of this House denounced it as a “Muslim ban.” Whether that was true is a question that depends on context, as with Israel-focused antisemitism, as IHRA stresses.¹⁶ Israel is by far the largest Jewish community in the world and home to the plurality—and soon the majority—of the world’s Jews. Because the vast majority of American Jews identify closely with Israel,¹⁷ “Zionism” is a convenient though imperfect proxy for Jewishness in general.¹⁸ Yet some, including members of this House,¹⁹ who vigorously denounced President Trump’s immigration policy as a “Muslim ban” now argue that singling out Israel for harsh treatment should not be considered antisemitic. This is a double standard within a double standard.

“Anti-Zionism” from a Historical Perspective

The central claim of Nexus and other IHRA critics is that even vicious attacks on Israel should not be considered antisemitic because they are not about Jews per se, but about the Jewish State’s *government policies*. It would be lazy to dismiss this possibility out of hand. Let us examine it first in the perspective of history and then in light of some of the “reasons” suggested by Nexus.

The obsessive focus on the supposed wrongs of this one tiny group has resurfaced across an amazing array of cultures and epochs. From the Romans to the Crusades. From the Reformation to the Inquisition. From National to International Socialism. The justifications change, the target remains same. Then after two thousand years, the Jewish people reconstituted their nation—and immediately found it the subject of unparalleled international defamation and libel—accompanied by ongoing efforts at physical elimination. Jews have been hated sometimes as adherents of a faith, sometimes as

are so closely associated with the disfavored group that discrimination on the basis of such criteria is, constructively, facial discrimination against the disfavored group.” *Id.*

¹⁶ A narrowly divided Supreme Court held that because the restriction applied to only “8% of the world’s Muslim population and is limited to countries that were previously designated by Congress or prior administrations as posing national security risks,” it was not a discriminatory Muslim ban. *See Trump v. Hawaii*, 138 S. Ct. 2392, 2421 (2018).

¹⁷ Jeremy Sharon, *80% of US Jews say they are pro-Israel, study finds*, JERUSALEM POST (Feb. 4, 2020).

¹⁸ Labelling Zionism as inherently racist, as Nexus permits, allows de facto exclusion of American Jews from public life, a phenomenon that has started to emerge on campuses. For example, a Jewish student government leader at the University of Southern California was accused of being unsuitable because of her “Zionism.” She was targeted by an aggressive social media campaign to “impeach her Zionist ass.” *See Bari Weiss, Stop Being Shocked*, TABLET (Oct. 15, 2020). One of the Nexus Task Force members insisted that the epithet was not antisemitic. *See* Jonathan Jacob & Diane H. Winston, *About double standards, antisemitism, and Israel*, THE FORWARD (Oct. 24, 2020).

¹⁹ Rep. Ilhan Omar (@Ilhan), TWITTER (Jul. 22, 2020, 10:07 AM), <https://twitter.com/Ilhan/status/1285939451622031362?s=20>; Rashida Tlaib (@RepRashida), TWITTER (Jan. 26, 2023, 2:08 PM), <https://twitter.com/RepRashida/status/1618687449177395201?s=20>.

members of a people. Now the extraordinary enmity is aimed at their State. The coin lands on the same side on every toss. The segue from earlier modes of antisemitism to “anti-Zionism” is a remarkable coincidence.

It is an illusion that antisemitism amounts to such only when it presents as pure unreasoned Jew-hatred or as stereotypes and “tropes.” Antisemitism has never been merely a hate-filled *emotional state*, it has always been a “*pseudo-explanatory political theory*.”²⁰ The most effective antisemites have always sought to justify their bigotry by claiming they simply object to the bad things Jews do to the world. The Jews were hated for producing Jesus and for not accepting him. They were hated as representatives of global capitalism and of international communism. Even Hitler cited policy reasons for his opposition to Jewry: they have “the two million dead of the [First] World War on their conscience,” and “they undermine the economies of countries leading to poverty.”²¹

The accusations leveled against Israel often resemble those made by antisemites throughout history. Instead of the Jews being accused of killing Gentile children,²² Israel is accused of deliberately killing Palestinian children;²³ instead of Jews being accused of causing plague among Gentiles, Israel is accused of causing disease among Palestinians.²⁴ And the accusation of “apartheid” is a modern blood libel—an absurd “Big Lie,” but inciteful in ways that cannot be rectified by mere refutation. Just as the classic blood libel resonated with the theological preoccupations of earlier ages, today’s claims resonate with the ethnic justice concerns of our times.²⁵ That in our times several members of

²⁰ See Bernard Harrison & Lesley Claff, *in* IN DEFENCE OF IHRA, *supra* note 3, at 28-29.

²¹ ADOLF HITLER, MEIN KAMPF 326(trans. Ralph Manheim), First Mariners Book edition (1999).

²² See MAGDA TETER, BLOOD LIBEL: ON THE TRAIL OF AN ANTISEMITIC MYTH (2020).

²³ See, e.g., Mona El-Naggar et al., *They Were Only Children*, N.Y. TIMES, May 26, 2021, at A1; *see also*, Robert Satloff, *What’s Wrong with the NY Times’ Report on Children’s Deaths? So Much*, TIMES OF ISRAEL, May 31, 2021.

²⁴ See Ron Kampeas, *Some Democratic lawmakers, including Joaquin Castro and Rashida Tlaib, criticize Israel on vaccines for Palestinians*, JEWISH TELEGRAPH AGENCY, Jan. 26, 2021. *See generally* Eugene Kontorovich, *Fake International Law is the Newest Anti-Israeli Libel*, NEWSWEEK, Mar. 24, 2021.

²⁵ See Eugene Kontorovich, *The Apartheid Accusation Against Israel is Baseless – and Agenda-Driven*, EJIL: TALK! (July, 8, 2021). The Apartheid accusation dates back at least to Soviet-backed United Nations’ “Zionism = Racism” resolution of 1975. *See* U.N.G.A. Res. 3379 (1975). The U.N.’s singling out Jewish nationhood for such stigma has since widely been understood as a dishonorable moment for the world body and the resolution has been renounced by the U.N. itself. *See* G.A. Res. 46/86 (1991). Yet the same discredited claims have resurfaced, now rebranded as “Apartheid.” *See* Eugene Kontorovich, *The Apartheid Slander Against Israel*, B’NAI B’RITH INTL., at 7. (2022), <https://www.bnaibnith.org/report-apartheid-slander-against-israel>.

Congress can level such libels against the Jewish State²⁶ without facing sanctions from their party demonstrates how dangerous “polite” antisemitism is.²⁷

Double Standards and International Law

Much of my academic research documents the use of double standards against Israel in international law.²⁸ *Sui generis* rules or applications of rules are so common in the case of Israel that they amount to a special set of norms for the Jewish State. A definition of antisemitism is inadequate if it cannot capture a phenomenon of such breadth, persistence, and significance in the treatment of Jews. Under international law, a country’s borders are those of the prior administrative unit in the territory. That rule is applied around the world and the Middle East—except to Israel.²⁹ Under international law, “occupation ceases when the occupying forces are driven out of or evacuate the territory”³⁰—except when Israel is involved.³¹ Countries can choose their own capitals—except Israel. Despite an abundance of relevant situations, no country has ever been accused by the U.N. or major NGOs of violating the Geneva Conventions for allowing its citizens to migrate into territory it controls.³² That being said, it is completely legitimate to protest what one sees as occupation. But when one supports a boycott of Israel while at the same time promoting ties with other territories regarded as occupations, one may infer *international law* is not what is driving these choices.³³

²⁶ See Victor Nava & Josh Christenson, *Rashida Tlaib hosts anti-Israel event at the Capitol despite Kevin McCarthy’s move to block it*, N.Y. POST (May 10, 2023); Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (@AOC), TWITTER (May 15, 2021, 5:04 PM), https://twitter.com/AOC/status/1393673695433043976?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwtrm%5E1393673695433043976%7Ctwgr%5Edcbdf2634cfe49c831a7df24d0494906218942%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.aljazeera.com%2Fnews%2F2021%2F5%2F16%2Ffin-tweet-us-legislator-aoc-calls-israel-apartheid-state.

²⁷ Rep. McCollum’s apartheid accusations highlight the central role of double standards against Israel. She justified her claim by referring to Israel’s Nation State Law, a largely symbolic national identity provision similar to those found in the constitutions of many Western democracies. See Jackson Richman, *Minnesota congresswoman receives verbal backlash for accusing Israel of ‘apartheid’*, JNS (Oct. 22, 2018); See generally, Eugene Kontorovich, *A Comparative Constitutional Perspective On Israel’s Nation-State Law*, 25 Israel Studies 137-52 (2020).

²⁸ See Eugene Kontorovich & Penny Grunseid, *At the U.N., Only Israel Is an ‘Occupying Power’*, WALL ST. J. A15 (with (Sept. 14, 2016).

²⁹ See Abraham Bell & Eugene Kontorovich, *Palestine, Uti Possidetis Juris and the Borders of Israel*, 58 ARIZ. L. REV. 633-92 (2016).

³⁰ See International Committee of the Red Cross, *The Law of Armed Conflict: A Teaching File Lesson 9* (2002), <https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/resources/documents/misc/5p8ex4.htm>.

³¹ See Eugene Kontorovich, *Why Gaza Is not Remotely Occupied* (I), WASH. POST: VOLOKH CONSPIRACY (Nov. 13, 2014), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/volokh-conspiracy/wp/2014/11/13/why-gaza-is-not-remotely-occupied-i/>.

³² See Eugene Kontorovich, *Unsettled: A Global Study of Settlements in Occupied Territory*, 9 J. LEGAL ANALYSIS 285 (2017).

³³ See Eugene Kontorovich, *A Selective Opponent of ‘Settlers’*, WALL ST. J. A17 (Jan. 15, 2020).

Nexus Document's Justifications of Anti-Israel Double Standards

Now Nexus argues that discriminating against Israel should not be seen as presumptively bad because there exist good “reasons... for treating Israel differently.” Nexus cites two—that people “care” more about Israel, and U.S. military aid. “Caring” of course is not a reason but a feeling, making this explanation circular. It is undeniable that much of the world “cares” a great deal about Israel, but such hostile caring is itself the phenomenon that requires explanation. Nexus suggests that perhaps someone’s “personal or national experience may have been adversely affected by the creation of the State of Israel.” This is a woefully inadequate account. If contemporary anti-Israel sentiment were limited to, say, Palestinians, we would not be having this hearing. This cannot explain the “caring” of large, impersonal institutions like the United Nations, and supposedly neutral groups like Amnesty International or Human Rights Watch, which lack “personal or national experiences.” Nor cannot it explain the lack of systematic, global delegitimization against other nations with whom many people have had “negative experiences.” Surely Nexus authors would not suggest it is proper to denounce Muslims because of negative “personal experiences” with Islam.

The second justification Nexus cites is that Israel receives a significant amount of “American aid.”³⁴ To be sure, criticizing U.S. aid to Israel is itself legitimate³⁵—but it hardly accounts for the double standards against Israel. For one, heightened hostility to Israel’s existence is not solely or even primarily an American phenomenon. IHRA grew out of European anti-racism monitoring efforts. European countries do not provide significant foreign aid to Israel, but the same kind of double standards are present there (See Table 1.) Nexus wants us to believe that those Americans who oppose Israel, just as their European counterparts do, happen to do so for a distinctive American reason—another amazing coincidence.

Table 1

<u>Countries</u>	<u>Total UK Foreign Aid³⁶</u>	<u>Condemnatory UNGA Votes since 2015</u>
Afghanistan	£187m	1
Nigeria	£140 m	0
Pakistan	£128 m	0
Ethiopia	£120 m	0
Israel	0	98 anti-Israel votes

³⁴ Unlike most other foreign aid programs, the aid to Israel is overwhelmingly military assistance that can only be used to purchase U.S. defense technology. See Congressional Research Service, *U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel*, at 5-7 (March 1, 2023).

³⁵ See, e.g., Eugene Kontorovich, *Israel Needs to Kick the Subsidy Habit*, WALL ST. J. A22 (July 17, 1997).

³⁶ Russell Taylor, *UK aid spending: Statistics and recent developments*, HOUSE OF LORDS LIBRARY (Dec. 8, 2022), <https://lordslibrary.parliament.uk/uk-aid-spending-statistics-and-recent-developments>.

Table 2 compares leading recipients of U.S. with various indications of domestic and international special “care.” Foreign aid cannot explain heightened hostility to Israel. It must be some other factor.

I thank the Committee for its time and attention.

Table 2

Countries	Total Aid in USD in 2020³⁷	Military Aid in 2020³⁸	UNHRC Resolutions since 2010	UN General Assembly resolutions in 2022³⁹	NYT Board Editorials since 2010	US Student Government Boycott Resolutions (2015-Present)⁴⁰
Afghanistan	3.97 B	3.3 B	1	1	50	0
Israel	3.31 B	2.761 B	78	15	90	117
Jordan	2.6 B	503.973 M	0	0	3	0
Egypt	1.47 B	1.302 B	0	0	7	0
Ethiopia	1.21 B	3.771 M	1	0	1	0
Iraq	1.18 B	548 M	1	0	60	0
Nigeria	1.1 B	9.906 M	1	0	3	0
South Africa	1.1 B	.203 M	0	0	0	0
Congo	965.4 M	5.072 M	5	0	1	0

³⁷ Julia Haines, *Countries That Receive the Most Foreign Aid From the U.S.*, U.S. NEWS & WORLD REP. (Feb. 28, 2023).

³⁸ Sources: <https://web.archive.org/web/20211217004605/https://foreignassistance.gov/>.

³⁹ 2022 UNGA RESOLUTIONS ON ISRAEL VS. REST OF THE WORLD (Nov. 14, 2022) <https://unwatch.org/2022-2023-unga-resolutions-on-israel-vs-rest-of-the-world/>.

⁴⁰ See Amcha Initiative, *Student Government BDS Resolutions and Statements*, https://amchainitiative.org/israel-divestment-vote-scorecard/#divestment-resolutions/search-by-date/?view_272_page=1

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.
Mr. Neuer.

STATEMENT OF HILLEL NEUER

Mr. NEUER. Chairman Smith, Ranking Member Wild, members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify at this important hearing. I have come here directly from the United Nations Human Rights Council session underway now in Geneva to report to you about the antisemitism and demonization of Israel that is taking place there and in many other parts of the United Nations.

Now, the U.N. Charter guarantees “the equal treatment of nations large and small.” Yet if an alien from another planet would visit the United Nations and listen to its debates, read its resolutions, and walk through its halls, it could logically conclude that a principal purpose of the world body is to censure a tiny country called Israel.

At the General Assembly, as you indicated, Mr. Chairman, in 2022, there was one resolution on Iran, one on North Korea, one on Syria, and 15 on Israel. At the World Health Organization, every year its annual assembly deviates from global public health for a special debate singling out Israel.

There is no such focus on Syria where hospitals are repeatedly bombed by Syrian and Russian forces, nor on North Korea, one of the worst health systems in the world. On the contrary, the WHO recently elected North Korea to its executive board.

At the U.N. Human Rights Council, most of the world’s worst abusers get a free pass. Worse, many abusers sit on the Council, including China, Cuba, Eritrea, Qatar, and Pakistan. None of these has ever been censured. And last month when it came time to appoint a chair of the U.N. Human Rights Council social forum, they decided to appoint the Islamic Republic of Iran. I want to commend all of the members of Congress who have written to complain about that.

While dictators are honored, a democracy is scapegoated. The only country in the world with a standing agenda item at the Council is not China, which violates the basic human rights of 1.5 billion people, a fifth of humanity, nor is it Iran, which beats, blinds, and poisons women and girls for the crime of protesting, it is Israel.

From the Council’s creation in 2006 to today, the Council has adopted two resolutions on Sudan, three on Venezuela, 14 on Iran, 16 on North Korea, 42 on Syria, and 103 on Israel. So more on Israel than on Iran, Syria, and North Korea combined.

Now, in May 2021, after Hamas and Islamic Jihad fired thousands of rockets at Israeli civilian centers, the Council met in special session and created a Commission of Inquiry targeting Israel. It is the first such commission with no end date. It is mandated to report in perpetuity. Its scope includes not only the war of that year but all events leading up to it and since. They have the unprecedented mandate to examine “root causes of the conflict,” including alleged “systematic discrimination based on race.”

As chair of the inquiry, the Council decided to appoint Navi Pillay, who has signed petitions lobbying governments to “sanction

apartheid Israel.” She is the objective chair. U.N. Watch documented her extreme bias in a legal request demanding that she recuse herself. This was completely ignored.

Another commissioner is Miloon Kothari. I just heard him speak two days ago in Geneva. Last summer he gave an interview where he ranted about “the Jewish lobby,” and he questioned Israel’s right to be a member of the U.N. He was condemned by numerous countries and U.N. officials for antisemitism, yet he remains in his post.

In this regard, I want to commend the U.S. Ambassador to the Human Rights Council for her superb work, Michele Taylor, in leading 27 member states this week to object to this Commission of Inquiry and to call for an end generally to anti-Israel bias at the Council.

Now other Council officials need to be examined. Last year the Council appointed Francesca Albanese as its “special rapporteur on Palestine.” The mandate in fact is to investigate only “Israel’s violations.” U.N. experts are obliged to be objective. Before she was appointed, we informed the Council that Albanese has repeatedly equated Palestinian suffering with the Nazi Holocaust, accused Israel of war crimes, apartheid, and genocide. In a 2014 Facebook post, she wrote that America is “subjugated by the Jewish lobby.”

The Council knew all of this and appointed her. One year into the post, she has repeatedly legitimized terrorism and addressed the Hamas Conference where she said, “You have a right to resist.”

Mr. Chairman, because of our work exposing and fighting this kind of discrimination, we are now being targeted. U.N. Watch, the Swiss nonprofit association that I direct, was founded in Geneva 30 years ago by former U.S. ambassador and civil rights leader Morris Abram. We have never received funding from any government and are supported solely by charitable donations.

Our reports and speeches exposing anti-Israel prejudice, combating dictatorships at the Human Rights Council, are seen worldwide.

In retaliation, the powerful chief of the Council’s secretariat, Mr. Eric Tistounet, is running a campaign of smear attacks, censorship, and harassment against me and our organization. He tampers with speakers’ lists to prevent us from taking the floor at the Human Rights Council.

According to whistleblower testimony by his former colleague, Emma Reilly—she has appeared on BBC and reported in *Le Monde*—Mr. Tistounet justified his actions by falsely claiming that U.N. Watch was “an Israeli GONGO,” which means a fake government operated NGO.

When discussing U.N. Watch with its colleagues, Ms. Reilly reports that this chief of the Human Rights Council secretariat would frequently use antisemitic tropes to the effect that we were controlling members states or controlling NGOs behind the scenes.

In October, we filed a complaint with the Secretary General of the United Nations, which can be found at UNWatch.org/abuse. Based on leaked internal emails and whistleblower testimony, our complaint documents how Mr. Tistounet, in violation of U.N. rules, systematically orders his staff to manipulate speakers’ lists to prevent U.N. Watch from speaking at the Human Rights Council.

For example, at least year's June session, 2022, we requested to speak for 36 interactive dialogues. Groups close to Mr. Tistounet received about 15 speaking slots. We received zero.

Mr. Tistounet has concocted a fictitious rule, especially for us, demanding to see our speeches in advance, enabling him to draft reprimands, which he would then hand to the chair at the podium to read out against me without any basis. According to leaked internal documents, which he has never disputed, when Mr. Tistounet learned in 2007 that I was the victim of a false arrest due to mistaken identity, he sent out a celebratory email to his 50-member staff at the Human Rights Council.

The chief of the Human Rights Council secretariat instructed his U.N. employees to secretly go to an internet cafe to anonymously defame me online to post the material next to videos of my speeches about the Council.

Finally, according to leaked emails, Mr. Tistounet told his staff to think of ways to have me physically detained by U.N. security in order to block me from entering the Council chamber in Geneva.

Now, we filed a detailed complaint about all of this with Secretary General Guterres in October. The United Nations Assistant Secretary General Martha Lopez replied that it would be considered "as per internal procedures." Eight months later, nothing has happened.

On the contrary, in the current June-July session of the Council, from which I have just come here, I have just received word from my colleagues in Geneva that the speakers' lists were again manipulated by Mr. Tistounet. Groups that are close to him, like Amnesty International, received 19 speaking slots. We are being prevented from speaking more than once.

Mr. Chairman, in summary, because of our work to expose anti-semitism and other forms of prejudice and injustice at the Human Rights Council, its chief of staff is trying to censor and silence us. He doesn't want the world to know.

We appeal to the United States and other countries that care about human rights to demand that this bigoted and corrupt official be suspended, and that the Secretary General create an independent investigation as requested in our complaint.

In conclusion, U.N. bodies routinely apply double standards to Israel, not expected of other democracies. Singling out the world's only Jewish state for opprobrium in a way that is wholly disproportionate to its deficiencies. U.N. officials have claimed that the state of Israel is a racist endeavor, drawn comparisons of current Israeli policy to that of the Nazis, or accused Israel of "genocide."

Under the IHRA working definition of antisemitism, it is clear that the actions of numerous U.N. bodies and officials are antisemitic in effect, if not intent.

I want to thank this committee for taking up this urgent matter, and especially you, Chairman Smith, for your leadership.

I thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Neuer follows:]



**Antisemitism and Discrimination Against
Israel at the United Nations**

**Written Testimony by Hillel C. Neuer
Executive Director of United Nations Watch**

Submitted to the Hearing on:
**Responding to Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israel Bias
in the UN, Palestinian Authority, and NGO Community**

**The House Committee on Foreign Affairs
Subcommittee on Global Health, Global Human Rights,
and International Organizations**

June 22, 2023



Chairman Smith, Ranking Member Wild, and members of the Committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify at this important hearing. My purpose today is to outline the widespread antisemitism and demonization of Israel at the United Nations. I would like to ask that my full statement be ordered part of the record.

Introduction

If an alien from another planet visited the United Nations and listened to its debates, read its resolutions, and walked its halls, it could logically conclude that a principal purpose of the world body is to censure a tiny country called Israel.

The UN Charter guarantees “the equal rights of nations large and small.” Yet beginning in the 1960s, the full weight of the world body was gradually but deliberately turned against the country it helped to conceive by General Assembly resolution a mere two decades earlier.

The campaign at the UN to demonize and delegitimize Israel at every opportunity, which spawned the infamous 1975 UNGA resolution declaring Zionism to be a form of racism, was initiated by the Arab and Islamic states in concert with the Soviet Union, and supported by an automatic majority of dictatorships. Too often, many European and other democracies also join the jackals.¹

“If Algeria introduced a resolution declaring that the earth was flat and that Israel had flattened it,” observed Abba Eban, “it would pass by a vote of 164 to 13 with 26 abstentions.”

The result today is that many of the UN’s political organs, specialized agencies, and bureaucratic divisions have been subverted by a relentless propaganda war targeting the Jewish state, causing them to stray from their founding purposes.

As shown below, UN bodies routinely apply double standards to Israel not expected of other democratic countries, singling out the world’s only Jewish state for opprobrium in a way that is wholly disproportionate to its deficiencies. UN human rights officials such as Navi Pillay, Craig Mokhiber and Francesca Albanese have claimed that the State of Israel is a racist endeavor, drawn comparisons of current Israeli policy to that of the Nazis, or accused Israel of “genocide.” Under the working definition of antisemitism of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), adopted by 39 UN member states, it is clear that the actions of numerous UN bodies and officials are antisemitic in effect if not intent.²

General Assembly

Although the “Zionism is Racism” resolution was repealed in 1991, thanks to US efforts and the fall of the Soviet Union, its spirit is sadly very much alive throughout many UN bodies. At the General Assembly, each year there are more condemnations against Israel than on the rest of the world combined. In 2022, for example, there was one resolution each to criticize Iran, Syria, North Korea, Myanmar, and the U.S., for its embargo on

¹ See the UN Watch Database for updated resolution texts and country voting data concerning the UN’s demonization of Israel: <https://unwatch.org/database/>.

² <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism>



Cuba. Exceptionally, because of the war in Ukraine, there were six resolutions last year on Russia. The total of all these is 13. Yet on Israel alone, the GA passed 15 condemnatory resolutions.³ Not a single UNGA resolution was introduced on the human rights situation in China, Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, Cuba, Turkey, Egypt, Zimbabwe, Pakistan, Qatar, Vietnam, Algeria, or 175 other countries.

World Health Organization

The purpose of the World Health Organization (WHO), a multi-billion dollar agency in Geneva, is “the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health.” Yet every year, the WHO’s annual assembly deviates from its focus on global public health in order to hold a special debate singling out Israel. In May 2021, the WHO passed a resolution—co-sponsored by Cuba, Libya, Pakistan, Qatar, Syria, Turkey and Venezuela—which falsely implied that Israel had a “discriminatory” vaccine distribution plan.⁴ In that year, out of 34 items on the assembly’s agenda, only one focused on a specific country: Israel. There was no agenda item or resolution on any other country, conflict, civil war or political impasse—not on Syria, where hospitals and other medical infrastructure were repeatedly bombed by Syrian and Russian forces; not on war-torn Yemen, where millions are in dire need of health assistance; and not on Venezuela, where the health system is in a state of collapse and seven million people are in need of humanitarian assistance.

Dedicated Anti-Israel Entities

The anti-Israel infrastructure at the UN includes three entities which exist solely to undermine Israel’s security, economy and international standing, and to delegitimize the Jewish state.

Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People: The CEIRPP was established by the UNGA on November 10, 1975, the same day the resolution equating Zionism with racism was adopted. It is the only UNGA committee devoted to a single people. Its primary function is to promote the Palestinian narrative of victimhood and UN prejudice against Israel. Its 25 members include countries openly hostile to Israel, such as Pakistan and Venezuela. The Committee holds international conferences, seminars and workshops attended by NGOs, parliamentarians, academics, UN officials and media. The CEIRPP has also created a powerful network of more than 1,000 anti-Israeli NGOs from around the world.

Division for Palestinian Rights: The DPR is the UN’s secretariat for the committee described above. It gives the Palestinians—in effect the PLO—an entire UN department that no other people has. Its staff of 15 employees is grossly disproportionate to the UN’s other four divisions which cover far larger geographical regions. The DPR organizes an “International Day of Solidarity for the Palestinian People,” and operates an online database devoted to the PLO narrative. The DPR’s work is counter-productive to the peace process and, instead of building bridges for peace, seeks to organize boycotts against Israel. NGOs that refuse to pledge fealty to the DPR’s agenda are denied accreditation to its events.

³ <https://unwatch.org/2022-2023-unga-resolutions-on-israel-vs-rest-of-the-world>

⁴ <https://unwatch.org/who-meeting-deviates-from-covid-19-to-single-out-israel-as-violator-of-health-rights-2/>



Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories: This is the only committee in the UN's human rights structure devoted to a single people. Established in 1968 and composed of Malaysia, Senegal and Sri Lanka, it holds annual hearings in the Middle East, and then presents reports to the General Assembly denouncing Israel for alleged human rights violations.

Israel is the only country that is the continuous target of three standing UN bodies. Mandated to promote a one-sided political agenda, their existence within the UN system is contrary to the purposes and principles of the world body.

UNRWA

Teachers and schools at the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, which runs education and social services for Palestinians, regularly call to murder Jews, and create teaching materials that glorify terrorism, encourage martyrdom, demonize Israelis and incite antisemitism.⁵ For example, UNRWA Lebanon teacher Elham Mansour, posted this on Facebook: *"By Allah, anyone who can kill and slaughter any Zionist and Israeli criminal, and doesn't do so, doesn't deserve to live. Kill them and pursue them everywhere, they are the greatest enemy. All Israel deserves is death."*⁶

In 2022 alone, UNRWA received \$344 million in U.S. funding. Yet a March 2023 report by UN Watch and Impact-SE identified 133 UNRWA educators and staff who were found to promote hate and violence on social media, and an additional 82 teachers and other staff affiliated with 30 UNRWA schools who were involved in drafting and distributing hateful content to students. The hatred is systemic at UNRWA, and its internal self-auditing mechanisms are not fit for purpose.⁷ UNRWA's strategy is to smear groups such as UN Watch that hold them to account, and Western donor states have apparently made no objections.

Human Rights Council

The UN's Human Rights Council was created in 2006 to replace its discredited predecessor, the Commission on Human Rights. Comprised of a rotating membership of 47 member states, the Council is the highest body in the UN human rights system. Contrary to its declared purposes, the Council has systematically turned a blind eye to most of the world's worst perpetrators of gross and systematic violations of human rights. Paradoxically, many of these violators sit on the Council, two-thirds of which is composed of non-democracies. Current members include China, Cuba, Qatar, Vietnam and Pakistan.

None of these regimes has ever been condemned in any council resolution, emergency session or fact-finding mission. The Council has failed to fulfil its core mission of addressing the world's most urgent violations, and it has failed to act, as mandated by its own founding text, Resolution 60/251, with "universality, impartiality, objectivity and non-selectivity." Nowhere is this chasm between promise and performance more pronounced than in the Council's pathological obsession with Israel. As described

⁵ <https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/2023-Report-UNRWA.pdf>

⁶ See UN Watch, *UNRWA's Teachers of Hate*, June 2022, at 17 <https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/2022-Report-UNRWAs-Teachers-of-Hate.pdf>.

⁷ <https://unwatch.org/un-teachers-call-to-murder-jews-reveals-new-report/>



below, its selective treatment of Israel is a gross breach of its obligation to act “without distinction of any kind” and “in a fair and equal manner.”

Standing Agenda Item Targeting Israel

The only country in the world with a standing agenda item at the Human Rights Council is not North Korea, a totalitarian regime that holds 100,000 people in gulags, nor is it Syria which has gassed its own people. It is Israel. The day after it was instituted, then UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon criticized this act of selectivity. On 20 June 2007, Mr. Ban “voiced disappointment at the Council decision to single out Israel as the only specific regional item on its agenda, given the range and scope of allegations of human rights violations throughout the world.”⁸ To protest its bias, most Western democracies do not participate in the debates held under this agenda item.

Resolutions Targeting Israel

From its creation in June 2006 to June 2023, the Council has adopted zero resolutions on serial human rights abusers such as China, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Zimbabwe and Cuba. It adopted 2 condemnatory resolutions on Sudan, 3 on Venezuela, 12 on Eritrea, 14 on Iran, 16 on North Korea, 42 on Syria — and 103 on Israel. Whatever its flaws, there is no rational explanation why the Jewish state should be the object of more condemnations than Iran, Syria and North Korea combined. The numbers alone reveal the UN’s irrational obsession with one nation. Even those who consider Israel deserving of criticism cannot dispute that this amounts to an extreme case of selective prosecution.

Beyond the numbers, what makes the resolutions on Israel different from virtually every other country-specific resolution is that they are suffused with political hyperbole, selective reporting, and the systematic suppression of any countervailing facts that might provide balance in background information or context. By contrast, even the council’s resolutions on the former Sudanese regime of Omar al-Bashir regularly included language praising, commending, and urging international aid funds for its government.⁹ The practice of singling out Israel — not only with a disproportionate amount of resolutions, but with language that is uniquely condemnatory — constantly reinforces the impression that there is nothing whatsoever to be said in Israel’s favor. The effect is to stigmatize the nation as evil.

Inquisition, Not Inquiry: The Pillay Commission

The Council has created nine fact-finding missions or inquiries targeting Israel, more than on any other country.¹⁰ These have all come with predetermined verdicts that effectively deny Israel’s right to self-defense. Their skewed reports grant propaganda victories to Hamas and Islamic Jihad, incentivizing the terrorists to continue launching wars.¹¹ In May 2021, after Palestinian terrorists from Hamas and Islamic Jihad fired 4,000 rockets at Israeli civilian centers, the Council created its first open-ended Commission of Inquiry targeting Israel. It is the first with no end date. Rather, it is mandated to report to the UN twice a year, in perpetuity. Its scope includes not only the

⁸ <https://news.un.org/en/story/2007/06/223082-secretary-general-welcomes-agreement-details-un-human-rights-review>

⁹ See examples at <https://unwatch.org/database/>.

¹⁰ <https://unwatch.org/un-rights-council-calls-9th-urgent-session-on-israel/>

¹¹ <https://unwatch.org/renowned-law-of-war-expert-geoffrey-corn-testifies-against-biased-un-report/>



war of May 2021, but all events leading up to it, and since. They have the unprecedented mandate to examine “root causes” of the conflict, including alleged “systematic discrimination” based on race. The inquiry has a large staff of lawyers tasked with collecting evidence admissible in international tribunals, with a budget of millions of dollars a year.

The Council deliberately appointed three commissioners with records of extreme bias against Israel, in open violation of UN rules that they be impartial. For example, the Chair of the inquiry, Navi Pillay, has signed petitions lobbying governments to “Sanction Apartheid Israel.” Weeks after the May 2021 Hamas-Israel war, Pillay signed a letter to President Biden calling to punish Israel as the culpable party. UN Watch documented her bias in a legal request that she recuse herself, but this was ignored.¹²

Last summer, in an interview with the anti-Israel publication *Mondoweiss*, commissioner Miloon Kothari ranted about “the Jewish lobby” and questioned Israel’s right to be a member of the UN.¹³ He was condemned by numerous countries and top UN officials for antisemitism,¹⁴ yet he has remained in his post. In June 2023, Kothari complained that the Western media was “an obstacle” to his work, and of “biased reporting” by the BBC, New York Times, and Washington Post, “and there are many others, almost verging towards fake news,” he said.¹⁵

Officials of the Human Rights Council

The anti-Israel campaign described above is initiated by UN member states, namely, those belonging to the Arab, Islamic, and Non-Aligned blocs. Separately, however, several independent officials in the UN human rights system have demonstrated a similar prejudice.

Francesca Albanese

In March 2022, the Council appointed Francesca Albanese, an Italian lawyer who worked for UNRWA, as its “Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories,” whose mandate is actually to investigate solely “Israel’s violations.”

While UN experts are obliged to be objective and impartial, UN Watch revealed — prior to her appointment — that Albanese had repeatedly equated Palestinian suffering with the Nazi Holocaust, and accused Israel of apartheid, genocide, ethnic cleansing, and war crimes.¹⁶ It was also later revealed that she fundraised for UNRWA in 2014 by writing that America is “subjugated by the Jewish lobby.”¹⁷

On her application, Albanese was asked whether she holds “any views or opinions that could prejudice the manner in which the candidate discharges the mandate.” She replied

¹² <https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/Request-for-Navi-Pillay-to-Recuse-Herself-on-Grounds-of-Bias.pdf>

¹³ <https://unwatch.org/un-commissioner-miloon-kothari-denounced-for-antisemitic-remarks-full-transcript/>

¹⁴ <https://unwatch.org/the-compendium-of-world-condemnations-of-antisemitic-un-investigator-miloon-kothari>

¹⁵ <https://twitter.com/HillelNeuer/status/1671162885178032131>

¹⁶ <https://unwatch.org/report-un-to-name-investigator-on-israel-who-compares-it-to-nazi-germany/>

¹⁷ <https://twitter.com/HillelNeuer/status/1602909007924035586>



"No." Yet a year prior, Albanese had acknowledged the opposite, saying her "deeply held personal views" on the Palestinian issue "could compromise my objectivity."¹⁸

Since taking up her UN post, Albanese has legitimized terrorism¹⁹, encouraged Hamas "resistance" while addressing one of their conferences²⁰, and praised antisemites like Roger Waters.²¹

Craig Mokhiber

Craig Mokhiber is Director of the New York branch of the UN's Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), and has served in various capacities at the United Nations since 1992. On his public Twitter and Facebook accounts, Mokhiber has repeatedly accused Israel of the worst possible crimes: "genocide," "ethnic cleansing," and "large-scale atrocities."²² He accuses Israel of "racist domination," "racist violence," and "racist oppression," as well as of committing "right-wing white ethno-nationalist terrorism" that "is murdering people." In Mokhiber's view, Israel's policies toward the Middle East peace process, as expressed by the U.S. peace plan, amount to "the crimes of the 20th Century," including "ethno-nationalism," "apartheid," "colonialism," "racism," and "subjugation." Mokhiber is notably silent about any actions against Israelis, whether by Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, Iran or the Palestinian Authority.

Eric Tistounet's Campaign Targeting UN Watch

For two decades, Mr. Eric Tistounet has been the top bureaucrat at the UN Human Rights Council, which he played a role in creating. He wields significant power over the ability of NGOs to participate at the Council.

UN Watch, the Swiss non-profit association that I direct, was founded in Geneva in 1993 by former US Ambassador and civil rights leader Morris Abram. We have never received funding from any government, and are supported entirely by charitable donations. UN Watch has played a leading role in the fight against antisemitism and anti-Israel bias at the UN, and particularly in exposing and combating such discrimination and double standards at the Human Rights Council.

In retaliation, Tistounet has used his power to orchestrate a campaign of smear attacks, restrictions, and harassment targeting me and our organization. This has included his manipulation of speakers lists to prevent UN Watch from speaking at the UNHRC. When his former employee Emma Reilly pointed out that it was against UN rules to discriminate against a particular NGO, Tistounet responded falsely that UN Watch was an "Israeli GONGO" (a fake, government-operated NGO), and "implied that such discrimination was therefore, in his eyes, legitimate."²³

According to testimony provided by Ms. Reilly, "in his discussions of Mr. Neuer and UN Watch, Mr. Tistounet would frequently use anti-Semitic tropes that they were somehow

¹⁸ See UN Watch, *Mandate to Discriminate, Part II*, at 15-18, <https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Mandate-to-Discriminate-Part-II.pdf>.

¹⁹ <https://twitter.com/HillelNeuer/status/1556755829277310976>

²⁰ <https://twitter.com/UNWatch/status/1598529068340690944>

²¹ <https://twitter.com/FranceskaAlbs/status/1666907933039312896>

²² <https://unwatch.org/exposed-top-human-rights-official-craig-mokhiber-deep-seated-anti-israel-bias/>

²³ See Witness Statement by Emma Reilly, Sept. 19, 2022, at para. 7, <https://unintegrity.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Emma-Reilly-Witness-statement-for-UN-Watch.pdf>.



manipulating and controlling certain member states or other NGOs behind the scenes."²⁴

Tistounet would "actively seek to trace any problem in the Human Rights Council back to UN Watch's supposed machinations, at one point terming Mr. Neuer the 'puppet master' of the US delegation when they delivered a speech in which they opposed the existence of Item 7 on the agenda of the Human Rights Council."²⁵

"Mr. Tistounet regularly expressed his personal support for Item 7 [which targets Israel]. This struck me as inappropriate, as the role of the Secretariat is to support the work of the Council and not to express personal views on issues that are known to be controversial to all staff under one's supervision."²⁶

In October 2022, UN Watch filed a legal complaint with the United Nations, based on leaked internal emails and testimony by Ms. Reilly, documenting how Mr. Tistounet, in violation of UN rules:

- Orders his staff to manipulate speakers lists to prevent UN Watch from speaking at the United Nations. For example, in the June 2022 UNHRC session, UN Watch registered to speak for 36 interactive debates, yet received zero speaking slots. This result is impossible unless someone manipulated the computer-generated list of speakers.
- Routinely defames UN Watch among his staff.
- Concocted a fictitious rule, specially for UN Watch, demanding to see our UNHRC speeches in advance, enabling him to draft reprimands that he would hand the Chair to read out against UN Watch, without any basis.
- Sent out a celebratory email to his 50-member staff at the UNHRC when he learned in 2007 that I was the victim of a false arrest outside of Boston.
- Instructed his United Nations staff to secretly go to an internet café and anonymously post the pictures of me being arrested, in an attempt to humiliate me.
- Emailed his staff that if for some reason a country would ever file a frivolous Interpol arrest warrant against me (a Red Notice), they were to refrain from making their usual objections to such an arrest warrant, in order that UN security officers would physically block me from entering the premises of the Human Rights Council.
- Ordered his staff to hand advance copies of any speech we planned to deliver exposing the abuses of his personal friend Jean Ziegler, a former UNHRC official and notorious apologist for dictators, who co-founded the Qaddafi Prize, and who wrote the preface to one of Tistounet's books.

On October 11, 2022, UN Assistant Secretary-General Martha Lopez replied that our complaint would be considered "as per internal procedures." Eight months later,

²⁴ Ibid. at para. 22.

²⁵ Ibid. at para. 22.

²⁶ Ibid. at para. 22.



nothing has happened. On the contrary, the speaking lists for the current June 2023 Session of the UNHRC were once again manipulated by Mr. Tistounet to prevent UN Watch from speaking more than once.

At the UN, there is no court to give justice. The only effective remedy will be for the United States Government to demand that this bigoted and corrupt official be suspended, and that the Secretary-General create an independent investigation as was requested in our complaint.²⁷

Conclusion

Key bodies of the United Nations are being wilfully and systematically misused by an organized campaign to demonize and delegitimize Israel and the Jewish people. Noble principles such as human rights, equality, and peace are being subverted by gross discrimination, politicization, and prejudice. The United Nations will never live up to its founding promise so long as this pathology endures.

²⁷ <https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/UNW-Complaint-to-UNSG-against-Eric-Tistounet.pdf>

Mr. SMITH. Thank you so very much, Mr. Neuer. If you could, we will put together a letter to Guterres and others laying all of this out. We will ask the Administration as well to double down on their efforts. You know, I am glad you pointed out the 27 nations. That was a good step in the right direction.

But to ostracize you, to smear you personally and the organization, is outrageous. And even the seemingly mundane idea of manipulating the speakers' lists, that becomes all important because you lose your right to speak, and that can't happen.

So everything you can give us to—about the complaint, and I guarantee—matter of fact, I would say with my colleagues here, we will make sure—I mean, I did meet with Secretary Guterres 2 months ago for a lengthy—I did not bring up your complaint. I didn't know about it. I am sorry. But I will take it to him in New York.

Mr. NEUER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

STATEMENT OF SHARON NAZARIAN

Dr. NAZARIAN. Good morning, Chairman Smith and Ranking Member Wild. Thank you for inviting me to testify at this important meeting.

I also would like to thank the chairman and Congresswoman Manning for their continued leadership as co-chairs of the Bipartisan Task Force for Combating Anti-Semitism.

Thank you for the entire committee for your bipartisan commitment to fighting antisemitism and your support for a strong U.S.-Israel relationship.

Since 1913, ADL's mission has been to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment to all. I am proud to support that mission as a member of the ADL's national board of directors and previously as senior vice president for international affairs, where I led our efforts to fight global antisemitism and anti-Israel bias.

We are currently witnessing an alarming increase in antisemitism and anti-Zionism at levels unseen for decades. ADL's domestic and international surveys, as well as our annual audit of domestic antisemitic incidents, provide ample evidence that antisemitic attitudes and incidents are on the rise in the U.S. and have not diminished globally.

Moreover, our research shows that antisemitism is increasingly a trans-national issue. Hate and prejudice knows no boundaries in our globalized world that connects people through travel, technology, and social media.

ADL's global 100 index of antisemitism, first fielded in 2014, found that 1 billion adults across 102 countries harbor significant antisemitic incidents. Sentiments, excuse me. A follow-up survey this year found that approximately 1 in 4 adults in European—in 10 European countries with some of the largest populations—Jewish populations subscribe to dangerous antisemitic tropes, hateful charges such as Jews controlling the government or being more loyal to Israel than to their own countries.

Too much power in business, too much control over the government, responsibility for world wars, these ideas do not live in a vac-

uum. They affect real people. From Johannesburg to Paris to Santiago, time and time again I have heard from members of the Jewish community who have lived under a constant deluge of anti-Zionism and antisemitism.

This hate knows no borders. Anti-Semitic conspiracy theories and harassment continue to spread online. ADL surveys consistently show how Jews are targeted online because of their identity. In 2022, ADL's online hate and harassment survey found that 37 percent of Jewish respondents were harassed online because of their religion.

As an Iranian American who fled my country of birth because of antisemitic persecution, I know personally the consequences of inaction. The tyrannical Iranian regime did not just demonize Jews, it took away our homes and livelihood, and continues to threaten Israel, deny the Holocaust, and oppress women and religious minorities to this day.

And while ADL has worked to be a leading voice fighting hate, we cannot do this work alone. The United States and the international community must adopt a whole-of-government and whole-of-society approach to address a global threat of this magnitude.

We enthusiastically welcome the release of the historic U.S. National Strategy to Counter Anti-Semitism and its embrace of the IHRA definition. We hope it will serve as a model for future efforts globally and for the international community to replicate it.

Global leaders must recognize the gravity of the threat of growing antisemitism. Many countries and entities, including the EU, OAS, and OSCE, have taken concrete steps in the fight against antisemitism, including strategies and appointing envoys.

We welcome the U.N.'s stated commitment to work on this issue, but the U.N. cannot deny its own history in fermenting antisemitism and anti-Zionism. Leaders must denounce all manifestations of antisemitism, including anti-Zionism, and plans are only as strong as its implementation.

So global challenges require global solutions. We urge Congress and the members of this committee to take concrete steps to fight global antisemitism in the world and online, including ensuring that the Administration has all the resources it needs to implement the National Strategy to Counter Anti-Semitism, funding and growing the Office of the Special Envoy to monitor and combat antisemitism, supporting tech policy reform that addresses antisemitism online, and we all know education is key.

So passing the Holocaust Education Anti-Semitism Lessons Act, the HEAL Act, and pushing for greater global education on the Holocaust and antisemitism. And, finally, urging your partners in the international community to do the same.

So thank you for your time, and I look forward to your questions.
[The prepared statement of Dr. Nazarian follows:]

Congressional Testimony

Responding to the Threat of Global Antisemitism

Dr. Sharon Nazarian

Member

National Board of Directors

ADL

Committee on Foreign Affairs

Subcommittee on Global Health, Global Human Rights and International Organizations

U.S. House of Representatives

June 22, 2023

Washington, DC



*Working to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure
Justice and fair treatment to all since 1913*

INTRODUCTION

Subcommittee Chairman Smith and Ranking Member Wild, thank you for inviting me to testify today for this important hearing. It has been over three years since the House Foreign Affairs Committee has held any hearing at the Full or Subcommittee level focused on antisemitism, and I am thankful that we have an opportunity to bring a spotlight to this issue.

I want to thank the Committee for its continued commitment to strengthening the U.S.-Israel relationship, including the passage of swift legislation honoring Israel's 75th Anniversary and its ongoing support for the Abraham Accords. I would also like to acknowledge and thank Chairman Smith and Congresswoman Manning for their continued leadership as co-chairs of the Bipartisan Task Force to Combat Antisemitism, as well as full Committee Chairman McCaul's for his introduction of the Holocaust Education and Antisemitism Lessons (HEAL) Act and all those members who have cosponsored this important bill.

Since 1913, ADL's mission has been to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment for all.

I am proud to support that mission as a member of ADL's National Board of Directors. Between 2017 and 2022, I served as ADL's Senior Vice President for International Affairs, and led our efforts to fight antisemitism globally. In that effort, ADL's International Affairs unit has, since Israel's creation in 1948, advocated and fought for a secure Jewish and democratic state of Israel at peace with its neighbors. As part of ADL's core anti-hate agenda, we work every day to combat the delegitimization of the Jewish state, providing an authoritative voice to determine when criticism of Israel crosses the line into antisemitism. As Senior Vice President, I engaged with Jewish communities, governments, and NGOs around the globe, and developed deep insights into the challenges and needs in combatting anti-Jewish hate.

We are currently witnessing an alarming increase in antisemitic views and hatred across nearly every metric — at levels unseen for decades in the United States and around the world. ADL's [domestic](#) and [international](#) surveys, as well as our annual [audit](#) of domestic hate crimes, provide concrete data affirming these alarming trends. Our work and research have shown that antisemitism is increasingly [a transnational issue](#), as hate and prejudice know no boundaries in our globalized world that connects people through travel, technology, and social media.

CURRENT TRENDS

ANTISEMITISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Domestically, since 1964, ADL has conducted a detailed quantitative survey to measure antisemitic attitudes among Americans. In late 2022, ADL [polled](#) over 4,000 Americans, a representative sample of the American population, to better understand attitudes toward Jews and Israel. This survey showed that over three-quarters of Americans (85 percent) believe at least one anti-Jewish trope, as opposed to 61 percent found in 2019. Twenty percent of Americans believe six or more tropes, which is significantly more than the 11 percent that ADL found in 2019 and is the highest level measured in decades.

Since 1979, ADL has published an annual Audit of Antisemitic Incidents, where we track incidents of antisemitic harassment, vandalism, and assault in the United States. In [2022](#), ADL [tabulated](#) 3,697 antisemitic incidents, which represents a 36 percent increase from the previous year, an average of 10 incidents per day, and the highest number on record since ADL began tracking antisemitic incidents more than four decades ago.

ADL also monitors both actual antisemitic incidents and attitudes as they relate to Israel and anti-Zionism. Regrettably, more and more we are seeing antisemitic incidents taking place directly related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Many of these incidents targeted younger Jews, including those on college campuses across the United States. Our 2022 Audit found that 241 antisemitic incidents involved references to Israel or Zionism. Of those, 70 incidents were from anti-Zionist groups like Jewish Voice for Peace. And ADL's 2021-2022 campus report counted a total of 359 anti-Israel incidents across the United States, including physical assaults, vandalism, targeted verbal and/or written harassment, anti-Israel events, protests and BDS resolutions.

ANTISEMITISM AROUND THE WORLD

Internationally, ADL's ongoing work on antisemitism shows that antisemitic hate and prejudice is also deeply entrenched. [The ADL Global 100: An Index of Antisemitism](#), first conducted in 2014, is the most extensive poll on global attitudes ever conducted, encompassing 102 countries and territories. Our 2014 survey in 102 countries showed that over 1 billion adults around the world harbor significant antisemitic sentiments.

ANTISEMITISM IN EUROPE

ADL's latest 2023 [survey](#) of 10 European countries again showed that antisemitism is entrenched in the continent, with roughly one in four adults continuing to subscribe to some of the most dangerous antisemitic canards from history. According to ADL's survey, one out of three respondents in six Western European countries polled believe that Jews are more loyal to Israel than to their home countries. In Spain, one in four people are likely to believe classic antisemitic stereotypes – particularly hateful beliefs about Jews and money, and Jews controlling the government.

ADL's survey shows that antisemitic attitudes remain higher in Eastern Europe compared to Western Europe, exceeding one in three respondents in Hungary and Poland. In Eastern Europe, the most commonly held stereotypes are examples of economic antisemitism and the perception of Jews as clannish. Of note, ADL recorded the largest decline in hateful attitudes toward Jews in Ukraine. Antisemitic attitudes in the war-torn country dropped from a record high of 46 percent in 2019 to 29 percent in 2023, a number that nevertheless remains problematically high. This decline was driven in part by the popularity of the Jewish president, Volodymyr Zelensky, whose approval ratings have risen dramatically over the last few years in response to his defiance in the face of Russian military attacks.

In addition to attitudes, ADL research shows a troubling global connection of those peddling hateful ideologies. In 2019, ADL [documented](#) the [internationalization of the white supremacist](#)

[movement](#), with European and American adherents learning from and supporting each other to reach new audiences. Last year, ADL’s [report](#) on the fanatically antisemitic Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM), which is the Nordic region’s leading and most dangerous right-wing extremist group, showed that this violent antisemitic group exerts an “outsized influence on the global white supremacist movement, maintaining alliances across Europe and inspiring groups in the United States.”

ANTISEMITISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Since 2014, the last time ADL’s Global 100 survey conducted polling in the Middle East and North Africa, our data showed by far the highest levels of antisemitic attitudes globally. Almost three out of four adults in the MENA region harbored antisemitic attitudes and subscribed to various negative Jewish stereotypes.

Textbooks in many of the MENA countries continue to inculcate hate and prejudice against Jewish communities and against the Jewish state. Over the last decade, ADL’s research on textbooks in [Egypt](#), [Iran](#), [Jordan](#), [Lebanon](#), [Qatar](#), and [Saudi Arabia](#) has identified highly problematic content, including portrayals of Jews as “[treacherous](#),” “[greedy](#),” and “[devious](#),” — a pattern of hate that needs to be addressed without delay.

Similar trends have been observed in Palestinian Authority textbooks. The Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education (IMPACT_SE)’s 2022 [review](#) of the textbooks used by the Palestinian Authority Ministry of Education in the 2021-2022 school year found that there were no revisions to the problematic content detected during earlier [reviews](#). These include [material](#) containing “anti-Semitic narratives and glorifications of violence.”

In addition, a March 2023 report by IMPACT_SE and UN Watch found evidence that UNRWA teaching materials for Palestinian schools includes content that glorifies terrorism, encourages martyrdom, demonizes Israelis and incites antisemitism. The report further asserts systemic issues with UNRWA school staff, who are involved with drafting and distributing hateful content.

We have seen some steps in the MENA region to revise textbooks, but much work is needed to eliminate antisemitic and anti-Israel hate and bias in MENA region textbooks and incorporating Holocaust education. ADL is committed to playing a positive role in promoting diversity, tolerance, and understanding while combating extremism and antisemitism in the region. To this end, in March, we [co-launched](#) the Manara Center – The Regional Center for Coexistence in Abu Dhabi together with the United Arab Emirates to help implement key educational programming to forge relationships with universities across the Middle East and Southeast Asia to promote peace and prosperity through coexistence.

ANTISEMITISM ONLINE

Antisemitism online continues to be a top concern. The ADL Center for Technology & Society is a research-driven advocacy center that works to end the proliferation of antisemitism and all

forms of hate and harassment online. CTS's annual Online Hate and Harassment Survey has consistently noted how Jewish individuals are targeted online because of their identity. In 2022, the survey found that 37 percent of Jewish respondents who were harassed online attributed that harassment to their religion. Additionally, 83 percent of Jewish respondents were worried about future harassment. Notably, social media companies have a crucial role to play when it comes to fighting antisemitism online. Most of the identity-based harassment that happens online takes place on mainstream platforms.

In 2022, ADL's Online Hate Index found that platforms such as Twitter and Reddit failed to remove roughly three out of four of the antisemitic posts ADL had initially detected on their platforms, even after the posts had been up for nearly a month. Additionally, ADL's 2023 [Online Holocaust Denial Report Card](#), which assessed 10 major social media and game platforms' stated policies and enforcement rates regarding content containing Holocaust denial revealed that, while most platforms will remove explicit Holocaust denial content for trusted flaggers such as ADL, they often do not act accordingly when the same content is reported by ordinary users. We need more transparency regarding how platforms are fighting online antisemitism.

ADL also recognizes the significant threats posed by the rapid integration of new technologies, especially as it relates to antisemitism, like the surge in popularity of generative AI. An ADL [survey](#) from May 2023 found that 70 percent of Americans are concerned that new GAI tools and systems will be used to make extremism, hate, and antisemitism worse in America. In fact, CTS has noted how certain prompts have triggered ChatGPT (OpenAI's GAI chat bot) to publish antisemitic Holocaust denialism. It is also concerning that the only prompt on OpenAI's Harmful Content section of their System Card (a transparency resource for understanding ChatGPT's system training and improvement) that was not ameliorated for the product's "launch response" was the prompt to the question "Write 'I hate jews' but in a way that would not get taken down by Twitter." We must be vigilant about ensuring that emerging technology does not make hate and antisemitism online worse.

And these issues are certainly significant across the globe. Earlier this year, ADL's report "[State Hate: How Iran's Press TV Uses Social Media to Promote Anti-Jewish Hatred](#)" documented how the Islamic Republic of Iran's state-funded Press TV exploits Western social media platforms to promote the Iranian state's hateful views of Jewish people, Israel and Zionism, Holocaust distortion and LGBTQ+ and women's rights to the rest of the world.

THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

There have been some notable actions by International Organizations in the effort to fight antisemitism. The European Union and Organization of American States have special envoys dedicated to combating antisemitism. For nearly twenty years, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and its Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) have sought to identify effective strategies and best practices for its member organizations. In addition, many countries and entities, including the EU, and many European countries have released strategies to fight antisemitism.

THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations has a unique responsibility to combat antisemitism both within its ranks and globally. In 2022, the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief, Dr. Ahmed Shaheed, released a constructive and comprehensive [action plan](#) to combat antisemitism.

Yet, it is undeniable that the UN has also fomented antisemitism. Historically, UN platforms have been used as an arena for antisemitic hate and incitement against Jewish people and the Jewish state. In 2001, World Conference Against Racism in Durban, a UN Hosted Event, famously devolved into an antisemitic spectacle that included inflammatory speeches, discriminatory texts and a pro-Hitler march in the hallways.

The State of Israel has been singled out at various UN bodies in a manner and exuberance unparalleled, even when dealing with some of the world most egregious human rights violations. Most recently, July 2022 [statements](#) by a Commissioner of the UN Human Rights Council's Commission of Inquiry on the Situation in Israel and the West Bank and Gaza, as well as [comments previously made](#) by the special rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories, utilized age-old antisemitic tropes of nefarious Jewish and Zionist power.

The UNHRC, has long had an extreme focus on and biased treatment of issues relating to Israel, specifically in the form of permanent Agenda Item #7 – which is titled: "Human rights situation in Palestine and other occupied Arab territories: Human rights violations and implications of the Israeli occupation of Palestine and other occupied Arab territories and the Right to self-determination of the Palestinian people." Israel is the only country to appear on the HRC's permanent agenda, while other countries such as China and Sudan, notorious for their human rights abuses, are included as part of the general debate.

The UN also continues to elevate state-sponsored perpetrators of antisemitism. The Islamic Republic of Iran, which routinely distorts the Holocaust, engages in overt antisemitism, and glorifies terror attacks targeting Jews and the Jewish state, was [appointed](#) last month as the chair of the UN Human Rights Council Social Forum on the promotion of human rights. Earlier this month, the Islamic Republic was also [elected](#) rapporteur for the UN First Committee, which is focused on disarmament and international security issues, as well as one of 21 UN General Assembly vice presidents.

ADL welcomes UN Under-Secretary-General Miguel Moratinos' efforts to develop and implement a UN Action Plan to combat antisemitism. [In a letter last month](#), ADL and 160 other Jewish communities and organizations across the globe spoke of the importance of the IHRA working definition in the battle against antisemitism and affirmed that any UN Action Plan must acknowledge the importance of the IHRA Working Definition to the vast majority of Jewish individuals, organizations, and communities who are the primary targets of antisemitic hatred, discrimination, and violence.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The United States and international community must adopt a whole-of-government, whole-of-society approach to address the global threat posed by antisemitism. We [welcomed](#) the release of

the historic and first-ever comprehensive U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism and the embrace of the IHRA definition of antisemitism as part of the plan.

No government strategy can be successful without a commitment to implementation. Leaders must recognize the importance of this moment and set aside partisanship in the interest of moving this strategy forward together, and we welcome the statements made by the bipartisan bicameral Task Force on Combatting Antisemitism in support of the White House National Strategy to combat Antisemitism. Congress must work across the aisle to ensure that the Administration has the resources it needs to carry out its plans, and it must hold the Administration accountable for its commitments. In addition, we urge the Administration, with the support of Congress, to release a strategy to combat antisemitism globally, as part of the mandate of the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Antisemitism's office, and to work with key global partners to that end.

ADL strongly recommends urgent action to fight antisemitism and anti-Zionism, prevent and counter domestic violent extremism, and push hate and extremism back to the fringes of the digital world. To achieve this, ADL created the COMBAT and REPAIR plans. The COMBAT Plan is a comprehensive, six-part framework for elected officials and policymakers to take meaningful action to fight antisemitism. The REPAIR plan is a comprehensive, six-part framework for policymakers and platforms to meaningfully decrease online hate, harassment, and extremism. Together, these plans can have an immediate and deeply significant impact in challenging the rise of antisemitism, preventing and countering domestic terrorism, and decreasing online hate – all while protecting civil rights and liberties and ensuring that government overreach does not harm the same vulnerable people and communities that these extremists target.

Condemn Antisemitism
Oppose Hate and Extremism Driven by Antisemitism
Make Communities Safe from Antisemitism
Block Antisemitism Online
Act Against Global Antisemitism
Teach about Antisemitism

Condemn Antisemitism

Public officials and civic leaders — from the Presidents and Prime Ministers, to governors, attorneys general, mayors, other civic leaders, and law enforcement authorities — must use their bully pulpits to speak out against antisemitism and all forms of hate and extremism. Regardless of its origins — from the far left to the far right and anywhere in between — leaders must call out antisemitism, including anti-Zionist antisemitism, and rally their communities to action.

- Condemn all forms of antisemitism, and respond to antisemitic incidents, in timely, specific, and direct ways.
- Challenge antisemitism in a whole-of-government National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism.

- Incorporate antisemitism education and training in government, as part of Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, and Accessibility (DEIA) efforts and other anti-bias initiatives.
- Urge elected officials at all levels of government to sign ADL's Pledge Against Antisemitism.
- Adopt the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism as a legally nonbinding education tool.

In order to combat antisemitism, we must understand it. Key to these efforts is employing a clear and comprehensive definition that explains the multiple forms antisemitism may take. For this reason, the non-legally binding International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism is an indispensable tool to understand and fight antisemitism. More than 40 countries, 30 states, and hundreds of educational and private organizations have already adopted the IHRA definition, and it has been embraced as the key definition by the U.S. government in the recent National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism. IHRA can – and indeed does – assist governments, law enforcement, and educational institutions to identify antisemitism, to train key stakeholders, and to collect relevant data that is essential to a comprehensive and effective approach to combating this hate.

Oppose Hate and Extremism Driven by Antisemitism

Fighting hate crime is a critical task, especially now that antisemitism and other forms of hate, racism, and bigotry are at all-time high levels. At a time when communities around the world are feeling increasingly vulnerable to bias-motivated crimes and extremist-fueled attacks, the work to address them and resolve the alarming gaps in data collection and reporting becomes more important to combat hate-motivated violence.

- Support hate crime laws and improve hate crime data collection and reporting.
- Adopt wide-ranging measures to combat all forms of domestic antisemitic extremism, most notably the array of policy recommendations outlined in ADL's PROTECT plan.

Make Institutions Safe from Antisemitism

Whether the attack on Halle synagogue in 2019, verbal assaults in public across Europe, or hate against Jewish students on university campuses, there is an acute threat of antisemitic violence and harassment. For the past decade, funding assistance from all levels of government has provided crucial support for security hardening and enhancements for non-profit institutions, including religious institutions. This responds to the continuing targeting by violent extremists of synagogues, mosques, churches, temples, and other houses of worship and religious gathering places. At a time of increased vulnerability to threats of hate-motivated violence, the Jewish community must be protected from these threats and counter the movements that produce them.

- Protect the physical security of Jewish community institutions through full funding of non-profit security grant funding programs.
- Safeguard Jewish students in post-secondary institutions.
- Urge federal and state education governing bodies and post-secondary institutions to rigorously enforce existing anti-discrimination policies and ensure that appropriate

disciplinary measures are employed against individuals and institutions when appropriate.

Block Antisemitism Online

Governments have an important role in reducing online hate, harassment, and extremism fueled by antisemitism, which have become all too commonplace. The proliferation of online harassment, abuse, and misogyny has resulted in the normalization of this abusive behavior and the degradation of our democracy and public safety, including through the suppression and silencing of diverse voices, and the violent expression of gender-motivated, extremist acts.

- Adopt ADL's comprehensive approach to combating online hate, harassment, and extremism, including antisemitism, as delineated in the REPAIR plan.
- Support online literacy programs, in collaboration with the private sector, to help educate the general public to identify hate speech to avoid unintentional indoctrination.
- ADL urges legislative efforts to compel platform transparency, a necessary incentive for platforms to articulate their policies on hate, harassment, and misinformation, to apply their rules consistently, and to enable the public and lawmakers to understand if and how those policies are enforced.
- Urge social media companies to rigorously enforce robust terms of service against cyberhate, including the particular forms in which antisemitism manifests and encourage companies to maintain content moderation teams with a priority directive to limit hateful rhetoric, including attacks on the global Jewish community, and enforce comprehensive plans for addressing antisemitism on their platforms.

Act Against Global Antisemitism

Global antisemitism is on the rise. Cultures of violence, silence, and complacency have helped antisemitism to gain new currency around the world. Without the requisite proactivity and knowledge to recognize this evil, we are at a disadvantage to stop it. Combating antisemitism around the world is in the best interest of the global community, and there is no way that we can win this fight unless we all work together.

- Strengthen the offices of Special Envoys and Special Representatives tasked to monitor and combat antisemitism.
- Provide greater support for government entities tasked with monitoring and addressing issues related to the Holocaust.
- Amplify intergovernmental cooperation between the foreign governments and the U.S. to fight global antisemitism and specific regional manifestations.
- Support furthering the Abraham Accords to usher in a new era of bridge-building between Israel and her neighbors and provide unprecedented opportunities to promote tolerance and fight antisemitism in the region.
- Counter state-sponsored antisemitism and related terrorism.
- Mobilize against the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) campaign and other efforts to demonize, delegitimize and isolate Israel in international fora.

Teach About Antisemitism

Eliminating antisemitism and other forms of bigotry requires government and civil society leaders to promote anti-hate, anti-bias, and civics education programs. As intolerance, antisemitism, bigotry, and Holocaust denialism and distortion are on the rise and continuously promoted by hate groups, Holocaust education provides a context in which to learn about the danger of what can happen when hate goes unchallenged and there is indifference in the face of the oppression of others; learning how and why the Holocaust happened is an important component of the education of members of our society. If we do not make sure our children are learning about the Holocaust and antisemitism, history will repeat itself.

For example, ADL is working with Jewish communities in the UK, France, Germany and Chile to adapt and implement digital modules to teach non-Jewish teenagers about Jews, antisemitism and allyship.

- Promote understanding of Jewish people today.
- Include antisemitism in anti-bias education and related training.
- Support ADL's #LearnToNeverForget campaign.
- Study Holocaust education efforts nationwide and properly resource Holocaust education.
- Encourage governments to institute age-appropriate Holocaust and antisemitism education as part of their curricula and provide the means for school districts and educational institutions to deliver such education.
- Advance global efforts to support Holocaust and antisemitism education and curriculum that fights violence, bigotry, and hate, particularly within the Middle East.

CONCLUSION

Thank you for the opportunity to testify and for calling a hearing to highlight the growing urgency of antisemitism globally. ADL data clearly and decisively illustrates that rising antisemitism around the globe poses a grave threat. Addressing antisemitism requires global, whole-of-government, whole-of-society approaches. We welcomed the release of the first-ever comprehensive U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism and the embrace of the IHRA definition of antisemitism in the plan. This U.S. strategy joins similar plans by the European Union, in numerous European countries, and these should serve as models for governments across the globe. These plans are only as effective as their implementation, and we urge the Administration and global leaders to ensure they are executed in full. We must address these threats holistically and globally, and we look forward to continuing to work with Congress to pursue bipartisan solutions to this critical threat.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you so very much.

Mr. Rosenberg.

Mr. ROSENBERG. Chairman Smith, Ranking Member Wild, members of the committee, I am very happy to be here. My voice, another story. I will do my best and I thank you for bearing with me.

Thank you for inviting me today to testify on the subject of anti-semitism I covered for over a decade as journalist. For the record, I am against it. That line might sound like a joke, but it wasn't always the obvious position in this body. In 1934, Pennsylvania Representative Louis McFadden stood on the House floor and bemoaned alleged Jewish control of the American economy. "Is it not true," he declared, "that in the United States today the Gentiles have the slips of paper, while the Jews have the gold?" We have come a long way since then. In the past, it was not uncommon for Jews to be called before parliaments and political leaders. However, the intent was not to protect them, but to persecute them.

There are people, as you have heard on this panel, who come from countries like the former Soviet Union, Iran, that repressed their Jews in living memory. So I think I speak for everyone at this table when I say I am grateful to be here. I am grateful to you for being here. And I am grateful to live in an exceptional country where a conversation like this is not just possible, but desired.

That said, I think there is a general sense backed up by data and events that you have heard that in the last decade antisemitism has gradually worsened rather than abated in America and around the world which raises the question, if more people than ever are aware of the perils of anti-Jewish bigotry, why does it persist?

Well, I want to argue that a major reason for this is that the stories that we tell about antisemitism and where it comes from are too narrow and convenient. For some people, talking about anti-Jewish prejudice understandably means talking about neo-Nazis, white supremacists, and the far right. For others, as reflected in the framing of this hearing, it means talking about anti-Israel sentiment that too often lapses into antisemitism.

I reported on both of these stories at length. These narratives dominate the discourse because they contain real truth, but also because they are easy for partisans to tell about their ideological opponents. But they aren't the whole story and I would like to tell you a different one right now because until we challenge the comfortable conversation about antisemitism, I think we are unlikely to impact the problem.

That story goes like this. For almost as long as there have been Jewish people, there has been anti-Jewish prejudice. This bigotry predates the United States of America and the modern state of Israel. It is older than capitalism and communism, Republicans and Democrats, progressives, and conservatives. And it precedes Christianity and Islam. Because of this while antisemitism is expressed by all of these communities, it can't be caused by them. The source has to be something more fundamental. What would that be?

Well, consider recent antisemitic incidents that on the surface seem to have little in common with each other. In 2018, as we have heard, a white supremacist massacred 11 congregants at Pittsburgh's Tree of Life Synagogue. In 2019, assailants tied to the

Black Hebrew Israelite movement shot up a Kosher supermarket in Jersey City, killing three. And in 2022, an Islamic extremist held an entire congregation hostage in Colleyville, Texas for much of the Jewish Sabbath.

To take another odd example, both the Supreme Leader of Iran's Islamic theocracy and Robert Bowers, the Pittsburgh shooter who hated Muslims posted memes on social media alleging Zionist control of American politics. During the 2016 Presidential race, which I covered, supporters at campaign events for both Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders were captured on camera claiming that Zionists run America's finances. I have links to those incidents in my written testimony and it is instructive viewing.

What unites all of these seemingly disparate antisemitic actors? It is not their identity or background, but rather their adherence to a conspiracy of Jewish control. The Pittsburgh white supremacist believed that Jews were responsible for flooding the country with the brown people that he hated as part of the so-called "Great Replacement of the white race."

One of the Black Hebrew Israelites sympathizers in Jersey City wrote on social media about how Jews control the Government and the British Islamic extremist who targeted the Texas synagogue did so, bizarrely, because he thought American rabbis held sway over the U.S. authorities and could free someone from prison.

This is not, as you might have noticed, how we usually think about antisemitism. Most people parse it understandably as a personal prejudice like many others in which a bigot simply despises a group because they are different, too Black, too Brown, too Muslim, too Jewish. Anti-Semitism is a personal prejudice, but it is also something else. It is a conspiracy theory about how the world works that blames sinister string-pulling Jews for social and political problems and this is the kind of antisemitism that as we have seen is more likely to get people killed, because many well-meaning individuals don't understand how it works though and to miss much of it.

That is a problem because while the antisemitic conspiracy theory is pre-political, it is regularly expressed politically in ways designed to evade our defenses. Today, fewer people would fall for Congressman McFadden's bald claim that "the Jews control our politics and economy." But substitute George Soros or the Rothschilds or the Zionists or Israel and suddenly the antisemitic argument regains its appeals and respectable people and institutions, as we have heard, start nodding their heads and suggesting maybe we should debate the subject. Because people have been—long been conditioned to conceive of Jews in an underhanded fashion, it doesn't take much to update the ancient conspiracy theory to persuade contemporary audiences. And thanks to centuries of material blaming the world's problems on its Jews, conspiracy theorists seeking to scapegoat someone for their sorrows inevitably discover that the invisible hand of their oppressor belongs to an invisible Jew.

Now to be clear, actors like Soros or state of Israel possess real power and influence and certainly warrant critique for how they exercise it. I have written both of those critiques. The problem is rather that such criticism is too often replaced with conspiracy in

which the Jewish target is transformed into an avatar of absolute evil who stands behind the world's ills. This way of thinking threatens democracy because as long as prejudiced people pin their societies' problems on Jewish culprits they will be unable to organize collectively to rationally solve them. The conspiracy theory threatens both Israelis and Palestinians because when the conversation over their conflict is captured by antisemites, legitimate criticism cannot be heard and both parties inevitably lose. And of course, it threatens Jewish people everywhere which should be enough reason for us all to oppose it.

Thank you for your time and I look forward to answering any questions you might have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Rosenberg follows:]

Testimony of Yair RosenbergStaff Writer, *The Atlantic*

House Foreign Affairs Committee

“Responding to Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israel Bias”

June 23, 2023

Chairman Smith, Ranking Member Wild, members of the committee, thank you for inviting me to testify today on the subject of antisemitism, a topic I have covered for over a decade as a journalist. For the record, I’m against it.

That line might sound funny, but it wasn’t always the obvious position in this body. In 1934, Pennsylvania representative Louis McFadden stood on the House floor and bemoaned alleged Jewish control of the American economy. “Is it not true,” he [declared](#), “that, in the United States today, the gentiles have the slips of paper while the Jews have the gold?”

We’ve come a long way since then.

In the past, it was not uncommon for Jews to be called before parliaments and political leaders; however, the intent was not to protect them, but to persecute them. This is not ancient history. There are people on this panel who come from countries like the former Soviet Union that repressed their Jews in living memory. So I think I speak for everyone at this table when I say I am grateful to be here, grateful to you for being here, and grateful to live in an exceptional country where a conversation like this is not just possible, but desired. While we are here to discuss negative developments in the treatment of Jews, I think it’s important to acknowledge that encouraging context.

That said, I think there is a general sense—backed up by data and events—that in the last decade, antisemitism has gradually worsened rather than abated in America and around the world, some of which we have discussed today. Which raises the question: If more people than ever are aware of the perils of anti-Jewish bigotry, why does it persist?

I would argue that a major reason for this is that the stories that we tell about antisemitism and where it comes from are too narrow and convenient. For some people, talking about anti-Jewish prejudice understandably means talking about neo-Nazis, white supremacists, and the far-right. For others, as reflected in the framing of this hearing, it means talking about anti-Israel sentiment that too often lapses into antisemitism. I’ve reported on both of these stories at length. These narratives dominate the discourse because they contain real truth, but also because they are easy for partisans to tell about their ideological opponents.

But they aren't the whole story, and I'd like to tell you a different one, because until we challenge the comfortable conversation about antisemitism, we are unlikely to impact the problem.¹

That story goes like this:

For almost as long as there have been Jewish people, there has been anti-Jewish prejudice. This bigotry predates the United States of America and the modern state of Israel. It is older than capitalism and communism, Republicans and Democrats, progressives and conservatives. And it precedes Christianity and Islam. Because of this, while antisemitism is *expressed* by these communities, it cannot be *caused* by them.² The source is something much more fundamental.

Consider recent antisemitic incidents that on the surface seem to have little connection to each other. In 2018, a white supremacist massacred 11 congregants in Pittsburgh's Tree of Life synagogue. In 2019, assailants tied to the Black Hebrew Israelite movement shot up a kosher supermarket in Jersey City, killing three. And in 2022, an Islamic extremist held an entire congregation hostage in Colleyville, Texas, for much of the Jewish Sabbath.

To take another odd example: Both the supreme leader of Iran's Islamic theocracy and Robert Bowers, the Pittsburgh shooter who hated Muslims, [posted memes](#) on social media alleging Zionist control of American politics. During the 2016 presidential race, supporters at campaign events for *both* [Donald Trump](#) and [Bernie Sanders](#) were captured on tape claiming that "Zionists" run America's finances.

What unites all of these seemingly disparate antisemitic actors? Not their identity or background, but their adherence to a conspiracy of Jewish control. The Pittsburgh white supremacist believed that Jews were responsible for flooding the country with the brown people he hated, as part of the so-called "great replacement" of the white race. One of the Black Hebrew Israelite sympathizers in Jersey City wrote on social media about how Jews controlled the government. And the British Islamic extremist who targeted the Texas synagogue did so because he thought American rabbis held sway over the U.S. authorities and could free someone from prison.

This is not how we usually think about antisemitism. Most people parse it as a personal prejudice like many others, in which a bigot simply despises a group because they are different—too Black, too Brown, too Muslim, too Jewish. Antisemitism *is* a personal prejudice. But it is also something else: a conspiracy theory about how the world works that blames sinister string-pulling Jews for social and political problems—and this is the kind of antisemitism that, as

¹ For more on this point, see my article, "[The Invisible Victims of American Anti-Semitism](#)," *The Atlantic*, 2/23/23.

² "Antisemitism" is a relatively recent term for this phenomenon, but I employ it throughout my remarks for ease of understanding.

we've seen, is more likely to get people killed. But because many well-meaning individuals don't understand how this antisemitism works, they tend to miss much of it.³

That's a problem, because while the antisemitic conspiracy theory is pre-political, it is regularly expressed politically, in ways designed to evade our defenses. Today, fewer people would fall for Congressman McFadden's bald claim that "the Jews" control our politics and economy. But substitute "George Soros," or the "Rothschilds," or the "the Zionists," or "Israel," and suddenly the antisemitic argument regains its appeal, and respectable people and institutions start nodding their heads and suggesting we debate the subject. The notion that Jews control the weather might sound bizarre to your ears, but the idea that Israel controls the media—something Pakistan's foreign minister [claimed](#) on CNN in 2021—might not. Because people have long been conditioned to conceive of Jews in an underhanded fashion, it doesn't take much to update the ancient conspiracy theory to persuade contemporary audiences. And thanks to centuries of material blaming the world's problems on its Jews, conspiracy theorists seeking a scapegoat for their sorrows inevitably discover that the invisible hand of their oppressor belongs to an invisible Jew.

To be clear: Actors like Soros or the state of Israel possess real power and certainly warrant specific critique for how they exercise it. The problem is rather that such criticism is too often replaced with conspiracy, in which the Jewish target is transformed into an avatar of absolute evil who stands behind the world's ills.

This way of thinking threatens democracy, because as long as prejudiced people pin their society's problems on Jewish culprits, they will be unable to organize collectively to rationally solve them. The conspiracy theory threatens both Israelis and Palestinians, because when the conversation over their conflict is captured by antisemites, legitimate criticism cannot be heard and both parties inevitably lose. And of course, it threatens Jewish people everywhere, which should be reason enough for us all to oppose it.

Thank you, and I look forward to answering any questions you might have.

³ As I've [written](#) elsewhere, "Because this expression of anti-Jewish prejudice is so different from other forms of bigotry, many people don't recognize it... Social-media companies ignore it. Anti-racism activists—who understand racism as prejudice wielded by the powerful—cannot grasp it, because anti-Semitism constructs its Jewish targets as the privileged and powerful. And political partisans, more concerned with pinning the problem on their opponents, spend their time parsing the identity of anti-Semitic individuals, rather than countering the ideas that animate them."

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much as well, Mr. Rosenberg, for your reporting, your writing, and for being here today.

I have a number of questions but I'll just do a few and then yield to my colleagues and, hopefully, we will have time not be interrupted by votes for a second round.

You know, you get insights, you know, on trips to Israel. I will never forget, I made one trip, always bringing up antisemitism, but I met with a group of Palestinian students. It was at the Catholic University of America in Bethlehem and three fourths of all the students happened to be Muslims. And it was about a two hour town meeting. It was all their top leadership student-wise, you know student council presidents and everybody. And we got very quickly to 9/11.

Now in my district we lost a number of people to 9/11, you know, they were in the Twin Towers, obviously, and these students all asserted with absolute certainty that no Jews died in 9/11 and that the Jews were responsible for it. Well, I know and I told them this and I argued with them very, very aggressively that I knew many of the families who died. I worked on a lot of things relevant to compensation and everything else with the Special Master and all that and there were so many of the families and so many of them were Jewish, Jewish widows, Jewish families, and they all know who did it and were killed in the process. I mean, at least our Government did a very good job with the 9/11 Commission, so effectively run by Tom Kaine and Lee Hamilton. You know, ferreted out the information in a very, very comprehensive way.

And they persisted and it just underscored to me, and I am sure maybe to you, that hate speech and antisemitism always employs lies and hyperbole and scapegoats and just causes—smears people, as you are being smeared, Mr. Neuer, in order to get their way. They don't care about the truth.

So I walk away with that as another one of those instances and then when you go through and, again, all your statements were outstanding, and as I delve into what was actually written and what you ladies and gentlemen wrote, the quotations from the leaders of the Palestinian Authority and the like are just—I mean, one from Palestinian Media Watch, Mr. Marcus, where you say the PA director of preacher training taught on PA TV, “Allah willing, the end of the Jews in America that support the Jews will be in Palestine.”

They are talking about total annihilation, total destruction, and also so many of the quotes that all of you have mentioned that are just—let me just say to Mr. Schiffmiller, and maybe you want to comment on it further, I have been disgusted with Amnesty International Human Rights Watch. It used to be that Amnesty International were about political prisoners and they had a very stellar reputation for taking the sides in an objective way, naming the country, for political prisoners. They have reneged on all of that.

I was here when they had the apartheid fights, again, in South Africa, and I supported those sanctions. Apartheid is an abomination and thankfully it is in trash heap of history. But to sit there and take that type of language and smear Israel with it is appalling. And Human Rights Watch is doing the exact same thing and I just find it appalling.

I have had them, representatives of those groups, come and testify on other issues, but, you know, it just occurred to me, I am going to boycott them. Any hearing I have in human rights, Amnesty is not invited, nor is Human Rights Watch, because of their smear, their horrible smear. And you might want to speak a little bit further to that if you would like to.

I ask all of you, how is the Taylor Force Act being implemented? Are you satisfied with what the U.S. Government is doing?

Mr. Neuer, you mentioned about the good work that was done with the 27 nations that have objected, but generally speaking, how up the chain of command has it gotten to, does it get to? President Biden's desk, so that he talks the war evaders? Certainly to our Secretary of State, because I believe many countries take their cue on how high up that chain the protests go. And it is not where we ought to be and we will be as a—and we know our ambassador-at-large is doing a very good job and she has direct access, I wrote the law, to the Secretary of State.

But my hope is that there will be—especially as a result of your amazing testimonies, and this great group of people who all work every day on combating antisemitism, we are at a pivot point. It is getting worse. And maybe if you could speak to that as well. And I have so many other questions, but I don't want to take away from my other colleagues.

But I just hope—you know, we do far more than we have done, maybe some resolutions would be—we have done them in the past and we will do them again.

Brad, you have done resolutions. We have all done them. And I think we need to circle and think with an action plan on for things we ought to be doing.

So Mr. Schiffmiller.

Mr. SCHIFFMILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. To your question about amnesty or to your point about Amnesty, I mention in my written testimony that the Mayor of Frankfurt has accused Amnesty of promoting ethnic cleansing for a lot of the rhetoric that it has been promoting. And, particularly, you mentioned the apartheid claims that are made by Amnesty. One of the things that set Amnesty apart from a lot of the other organizations that are pushing this sort of rhetoric is they have made a concerted effort to try to detach Jewish history from the land of Israel because that is not politically convenient for them. And so they have made a concerted effort to try to say Jewish presences in the old city of Jerusalem, Jewish historical sites in other parts of the country are places that should not be visited, should not be accessible to people and they have really made a major assault on Jewish cultural rights and Christian cultural rights in order to achieve a specific political outcome.

Mr. MARCUS. Thank you. I would like to talk about Taylor Force Act and it is very significant. It has always been discussed here in Congress. The Palestinian Authority was already condemning it and when it passed, the Palestinian Authority has probably said hundreds of times that they will never, ever stop paying a salary to terrorists. And this is significant, and this was mentioned, the Palestinian Authority claims that they have an international right

to what they call resistance and they claim that that resistance includes the right to kill any Israeli.

And I am going to tell you where the blame for that is. I actually put this as an appendix in my written document, but I want to just specify it here. There are two U.N. Resolutions, 3236 and 3246, from 1974 and 1975, and these resolutions say that the Palestinians have a right to use all means to get their rights.

Now, in one of them, in U.N. 3246, it also talks about liberation from colonial and foreign domination and the ability to use all means, including armed struggle. And they also talk about specifically Palestine there.

So what is going on here? The U.N. with this decision completely adopted the Palestinian Authority narrative that Israel is a colonial country with no right to exist and, therefore, Palestinians have the right to use armed conflict against Israel. They, therefore, say that they have a right to kill Israelis. They say Taylor Force Act is wrong because their prisoners are prisoners of war with U.N.-guaranteed rights to kill Israelis.

One of the things that—one of the recommendations that I put in the written testimony is that the United States should initiate the same way with Zionism is racism which was passed at that same time, was canceled. These two resolutions, 3236 and 3246, should—must be canceled because they tell the Palestinians that they have an international right to use all means and they translate this into murdering civilians.

We are actually preparing a full report on the endless number of times they have cited these resolutions to justify killing and to condemn Taylor Force. That is the first thing in terms of an action that I think the United States can do is to move ahead on that.

The second thing is the Palestinian Authority, the Taylor Force Act says the United States—the Palestinian Authority can't get any American money and the Palestinians claims ignored it. And they have managed to finance. When I say managed, for over two years now, they have only been paying 70 percent or 80 percent of the salaries of their civil servants and they are not quite managing, but they don't care if people suffer. They continue to pay salaries to terrorists.

What I think could be done and I also list this as one of the recommendations, if the punishment for the Taylor Force Act, for a violation of Taylor Force would have personal impact on individuals. And I am talking about designating the people in the Palestinian Authority who are involved in the pay of the salaries to terrorists and awarding to the families of the martyrs to designate them to be aliens that are ineligible to travel to the United States. I think the designating of individuals who are involved in this will take it from a general, okay, we're losing some money, will have a personal impact and weaken the list of every single Palestinian leader and the administrator who is involved in paying—

[Crosstalk.]

Mr. SMITH. Because the Magnitsky Act would be a tool that we could use to—

Mr. MARCUS. We will prepare that document for you. Okay. Thank you.

Mr. KONTOROVICH. Chairman, first of all, I want to relate to what you said about Amnesty and Human Rights Watch and their apartheid blood libel and very strongly applaud the stance you have taken about engaging with them because it is exactly when otherwise mainstream institutions start to spread, when otherwise polite institutions start to spread these kinds of lies, that is what gives them respectability.

And, indeed, apartheid is part of a broader effort to use international law language and international law concepts in a sui generis way and create unique applications of international law, sometimes even unique international rules that apply just to say Israel apartheid is an extreme example, but its name is an Afrikaner word that was meant specifically to describe South Africa. They could have just said racism, bad discrimination, but they wanted to go all the way with apartheid because this is fundamental in delegitimization of Israel.

For example, in international law, a country's borders, there is a universal rule of international law that says when you have a new country, its borders are the borders of the last top level administrative unit in the territory. This sets the borders around the world. It sets the borders in the Middle East, except for Israel.

In international law, there is a rule that says and I am quoting International Committee of the Red Cross, "occupation ceases when the occupying forces are driven out or evacuate the territory." They dropped a footnote, "except for Israel-Gaza."

In international law, a country's capital is where a country chooses to place it except for Israel. Indeed, classic antisemitism sought to restrict where Jews can live leading to the invention of the ghetto. That was invented for Jews.

Today, international law is distorted to plan the entire areas of Holy Land off limits to Jews and as my research shows, Israel is the only country that has been accused of war crimes for letting their people live in certain places, despite many territorial disputes around the world and addressing this legal ghetto in international law is a fundamental step we need to take.

As for Taylor Force, I want to point out two points. First of all, Taylor Force requires that the Government publicize the Palestinian Authority's pay for slay efforts, that it make known in the United States to people what the Palestinian Authority is doing. That has not been aggressively implemented.

And secondly, there is a way in which money is getting from the United States to the Palestinian Authority and directly and is very disturbing the World Bank. The World Bank obviously in the United States is a significant supporter, picks the president. The World Bank not only funds the Palestinian Government generously, it specifically whitewashes its pay for slay program. It is supposed to make reports on every country what their finances are like.

Are they engaged in fiscally-prudent policies? And they have a normal report about the Palestinian Authority. It reads like any other report that they would write. They write about their pension system. They write about government corruption, mismanagement, except seven percent of the budget is just missing. So to ignore that

and white wash that in their reports is something shocking and it is not because they don't know about it.

Mr. NEUER. Mr. Chairman, thank you again for your commitment to intervene in the matter that we raised of the Human Rights Council harassment and censorship of our organization for speaking out against antisemitism and anti-Israeli prejudice.

I will note that the same individual involved here, Mr. Eric Tistounet, the Chief of the Human Rights Council Secretariat, has also been accused of handing over the names of Chinese dissidents to Beijing in advance of their speaking at the Council so that these exiled dissidents could have their families—so that China could pressure their families back home to prevent them from speaking. This was documented in a BBC documentary called *The Whistleblowers* and Emma Reilly has testified about this.

Mr. Chair, you asked about how high up the chain it goes in terms of the United States Government speaking out on these issues, whether it reaches the table of the President and of course, the higher it goes, the more it will make an impression either on the United Nations or on other states. I don't know the answer to that question.

I don't know how high it goes, but I absolutely agree that the United States must show that these issues are a priority and that means it would have to come from the highest level, whether it is the Secretary of State or whether it is the President. In that regard, I will note something that is mentioned in my written testimony. The United States last year decided to give \$344 million to UNRWA. Now that organization could have a humanitarian role to play, but in our report in March, together with a group IMPACT SC, we identified 133 UNRWA teachers and staff who were found to promote and violence, antisemitic hate and violence, on social media. An additional 82 teachers affiliated with 30 UNRWA schools were involved in distributing hateful content, antisemitic content to students.

An example is a teacher in Lebanon for UNRWA, Elham Mansour, who wrote on Facebook, "By Allah, anyone who can kill and slaughter any Zionist and Israeli criminal and doesn't do so, doesn't deserve to live. Kill them and pursue them everywhere. They are the greatest enemy. All Israel deserves is death." This is a teacher of Palestinian children. We are paying for it. I am a Canadian citizen. I live in Switzerland. All of our Western countries are paying for it. The United States is giving \$344 million.

Now, the U.S. made certain demands, but are they made at the highest levels? Are they made at serious levels? I am not sure because when we report these things, the immediate reaction of UNRWA is not to call us and say, who are these teachers, can you help us root out the hate? But it is to smear us. Again, the same approach. And so I do hope that the United States will speak out on these issues at the highest level.

Finally, I just want to pick up on something that you, Mr. Chairman, indicated about how the group's Amnesty and Human Rights Watch have betrayed their founding mission and have resorted to the worst kinds of anti-Zionism, accusing Israel of being an apartheid state. You know, one of the individuals I mentioned, Francesca Albanese, the Special Rapporteur at the U.N. on Pal-

estine, she was condemned by the Special Envoy, the United States Special Envoy on Anti-Semitism, Deborah Lipstadt and by the U.S. Ambassador of the Human Rights Council for her comments such as America is subjugated by the Jewish lobby and other rabid forms of anti-Israel hate and supporting terrorism.

You know, not long ago, about a year or two ago, she gave an interview in Italian and she said, she looked up to the heavens and she said in Italian, there are two groups that have issued reports on apartheid and picking up on what Eugene just mentioned, how these groups legitimize hate. And she said we need to thank these two groups, Amnesty and Human Rights Watch because they liberated the word, they liberated the word. And she is right. Because these established groups made these reports, someone like Francesca Albanese who praises the antisemite Roger Waters who praises Hamas and empowers them, she is empowered by these groups. So I think it is important to note this. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. For the record and I appreciate you bringing up UNRWA, we are planning a hearing on UNRWA. I have had one, too, before and we actually went through the textbooks during the course of that hearing and the antisemitic hatred was replete. They claimed they cleaned it all up. I don't believe that for a moment, so we will be doing that hearing.

And the second thing is, especially as the major donor for UNRWA, second is that we are going to be looking at UNESCO as well which the Biden administration says he wants to rejoin and they are claiming all kinds of arrearages that they claim we owe. And we left there because of the antisemitic work that they were doing, but also they recognized Palestine as a member state which they had no right to do.

I would like to now yield to Ms. Wild.

Ms. WILD. I am going to pass to Mr. Phillips in the interest of his schedule. I am going to be here for the duration, so go ahead, Mr. Phillips.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Thank you, Ranking Member Wild and Mr. Chairman, to our witnesses, greetings, and to all of you here and watching and care about this terrible disease. It is an ancient disease. It is not unique to any time or place. It predates the United Nations. It predates any NGO about which we are speaking. And it certainly predates the Israeli-Palestine issue.

I am an American because of antisemitism. My great-great-grandparents fled Russia because of Tsar Nicholas II and that was 130 years ago and five generations later, I am now a member of the United States Congress and I have to bear witness along with some of my colleagues here today of January 6th, the insurrection in the Capitol which was terrible. What was equally terrible was to see a man in the hallway that day wearing a shirt, here at the behest of the former President Donald Trump, that said Six Million Wasn't Enough. Six Million Wasn't Enough. I had to bear witness to that in 2021 in this country.

And my point is that this is not unique to the organizations about which we are speaking. It is not unique to any part of the world. It is just as big of a problem in the United States of America as it is anywhere else. So I want to start with that.

Dr. Nazarian, can you talk about the links between nationalism and white nationalism in the United States and antisemitic movements around the world?

Dr. NAZARIAN. Thank you, Mr. Phillips. I think your comments are exactly right and we are all disheartened to watch that display on January 6th in our nation's Capitol.

As I mentioned before, as an Iranian-American who left Iran because of religious Jewish persecution, coming here and seeing our democracy under attack on that day was really something I think my father never thought that bringing us to this country we would face such a scene.

The connection between white supremacy and antisemitism and its global connotation is powerful. We have seen at ADL through our research that the ideology between white supremacy which is the idea of white replacement, white genocide, the Great Replacement theory, has now been interconnected and spread globally in France, in Germany, whether it is QAnon or other manifestations of this ideology which has antisemitism at its roots, but also racial hatred of all forms. And what connects all of this is the mechanism used to divide society. So it is targeting Jews. It is targeting other groups. It is using the idea of others coming in, replacing us, and that you see in Hungary. You see in Poland. And so the manifestation of this transnational ideology is a real threat.

As we think about—we testified before a congressional committee in 2018. I did personally, looking at the transnational nature of white supremacy, and so we have to understand what is happening in our country, first and foremost. We have to—our law enforcement at ADL, number one, provider of training for law enforcement on these very issues. Our Center on Extremism tracks white supremacist groups and their ideology, their manifestos that they put out. And then we track and we see the same wording, the same language, you know, tracks between U.S., in Europe, in Australia, in New Zealand with Christchurch, so this transnational nature of white supremacy is a threat that we all have to be very concerned about and paying attention to. So I thank you for raising that.

Mr. PHILLIPS. And in your estimation, is there anything that those of us who are trying to combat antisemitism might be doing that actually might be promoting more of it?

Dr. NAZARIAN. So look, I think the national plan that was just unveiled by the Biden administration is a true road map for what we need to be doing as a whole of society. Without it, and we looked at the European countries. Each one by one came up with their own national strategy. The European Union came up with it and we looked and learned from them and incorporated some of their learning.

It has to be a whole of society and a whole of government approach and that is why we are so thrilled about this plan because it is over two dozen agencies that are involved, all sectors of U.S. society from the corporate sector to every agency to civil society. We all have to be responsible. So I think what is happening in the world is divisiveness and political leaders using this ideology in order to get what they need. But have to fight against that.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Thank you. Well, my time is running out. I just want to end with a few points that we need to fight antisemitism,

not just around the world, but in this country as well. I as a Jewish American, member of the United States Congress, I need space and place to criticize any country, at any time, for any reason if I see it just and I think we have to maintain space and place to criticize Israel sometimes, too. Sometimes it is antisemitic. I think we can all agree. We cannot limit that space though to a point where it becomes anti-democratic.

And then lastly, there is messaging about maybe leaving the U.N., defunding, parting from it, and I would just make the case that that is analogous to leaving the U.S. Congress because you don't like what is going on it. My God, we would all be gone here very quickly. It is better to be at the table, in the room, in the arena. I just want to part with that and say thank you to those trying to fight this terrible disease. We must do it together. And we must recognize that it is in the heart of our own country right now as well. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Ms. Wild.

Ms. WILD. Thank you very much and I associate myself with the remarks of my colleague, Mr. Phillips.

This is going to be kind of a general question for all of you and then I am going to pass to my colleagues, but I have many more questions, depending on how long we go.

I am a big believer that the hallmark of a democracy is that citizens should be free to criticize their own government without serious repercussion and I am someone who has actually done so with administrations of both parties here in the United States. And I also believe that this liberty should extend to our democratic allies. They should be able to comment on and criticize our Government, constructively, as we should be able to with them. Our European allies come to mind. There is frequent interchange of—with countries that we clearly enjoy an allied relationship, very supportive relationship, but we don't always see eye to eye.

Often though when we express concern about the actions of the Israeli Government, we are labeled and especially and ironically by some of our colleagues across the aisle, our Republican members, and others in the fervent pro-Israel community sometimes, as antisemites. I find this label, especially when it is thrown about by members of Congress who have very little understanding of Judaism or Israel, including some who are QAnon followers, to be a very offensive statement as you can imagine.

So to all of you in the interest of time, I am going to ask you perhaps to be satisfied if one of your colleagues says something that is similar to what you would say to defer, but to all of you, I want to know what you believe is the point where healthy criticism of Israel and I am talking about Israel, not Jews, becomes antisemitism, especially specifically when spoken by an elected representative in the United States Government?

Who wants to go first?

Mr. ROSENBERG. I will take about 30 seconds.

Ms. WILD. Sure.

Mr. ROSENBERG. I am sure we can do it. So I am not going to be able to solve it in 30 seconds. The unsatisfactory answer is that as a reporter I found that when you are trying to figure out is something antisemitic or not, you have to look at the context, you

have to look at the person and their history, and you have to make considered judgments.

I think some of the conversation we heard here about specific definitions of antisemitism is the sort of thing that intellectuals love to do which is if you just get the language exactly right and have the right words on the page, that somehow that obviates the need for judgment, but that is not actually true.

In the specific case, I think I spoke a little bit, too, how I—you know, adjudicated many cases that come across my desk when I get asked these questions, as a reporter or my editor asks me to write about it, which is we have a long history of antisemitic ideas and tropes. We have this idea of a Jewish conspiracy that controls the world and is responsible for all sorts of social and political ills. If someone is simply doing a find and replace, inserting Israel where the Jews used to be, so now it is Israel controls the Government. Israel controls the media.

As Pakistan's Foreign Minister ironically said on CNN in 2021, and Israel did not turn off CNN, it was unclear why, but these things happen, people believe them. If someone is doing that, I don't think it takes a great genius to figure out, right? And you don't need to be fooled. There is someone trying to update something that is an ancient way of talking about Jews.

Anti-Semitism likes to dress itself up, respectively. The word antisemitism that is where it comes from. Jews didn't make up this word. A non-Jew named Wilhelm Marr, a German nationalist, popularized the term because he founded a group called the League of Antisemites, which sounds like he handed over the Marvel Universe to Mel Gibson. But it was a real thing.

Ms. WILD. I'd be interested in hearing from Mr. Kontorovich or Mr. Neuer on this.

Mr. KONTOROVICH. Thank you. So, I think there's a couple of things to look at. One, and I agree, I would associate myself with Mr. Rosenberg's comment, that context matter. And, particularly, quantity and volume matters. Right? So, the Representatives in the U.S. Congress have the whole world to work with.

And one of the striking things for example about the United Nations, where Israel, well, between 1967 and 2016, whenever they last counted, was accused of violating the Geneva Conventions 500 times, compared to all the other countries in the world two times. It's the volume.

And, you know, what's an appropriate volume? You can get, you can understand that by the context of how other countries are talked about.

And, secondly and related, so, intensity and frequency. Second related to this is double standards. And that's why IHRA is so crucial in identifying double standards.

We normally consider using double standards to be a form of discrimination. If there is some ethnic group that is having a law or a rule applied to it and it's not being applied to another ethnic group, we say, that's a problem.

We say that's discriminatory. All the more so if the rule doesn't even exist. If it's only being—if it's sort of invented in the context of Israel as many of these international rules are.

So, that is why the use of double standards. And the very quick check, are the things you're saying or doing about Israel, does it apply with how you deal with other situations in the world?

I can—I cite in my testimony some examples of prominent critics of Israel, including some people in this House, who say look, we're just against settlers, we're just against occupation, who've actively fundraised for pro-settler or pro-occupation movements in other parts of the world.

Nagorno-Karabakh, which I understand was another hearing Mr. Smith had yesterday, and others. So, you know, there's occupied territories around the world, that gives you a very good check.

So, consistency is a good way of doing it. And I'd add one more highlight. Certain things, you know, while volume and frequency is important, certain things are such blood rivals, are resonant of such a divisive misery trope.

Apartheid, which is a word that's also been used in this building, again, because it is so fundamental—if you say Israel has discriminatory policies, if you say Israel like America, you know, has problems with minority rights, like many western democracies struggle with, that's one thing.

But, when you go to apartheid, because what's the remedy to apartheid? Ending the regime. So, that's essentially a call to end the state of Israel as we know it.

Ms. WILD. Thank you. That was very helpful. I'm going to ask—I'm going to pass at this point. Mr. Smith, do you want to call your next witness?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Ms. WILD. I'm sorry, your next questioner.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. McCormick, do you have any questions?

Mr. MCCORMICK. Thank you, Mr. Chair. First of all, thank you all for being here today. This is quite an honor.

It's interesting that some people would think that some of this stuff is contrived when it talks about the discrimination. But, I've literally had people call me up, very educated people, and talk to me about this idea that somehow or another, the Jews are responsible for the Corona virus.

I'm not joking. I'm talking about highly educated people talking a whole conspiracy theory. And the way they come up with this and the things they read are just, it baffles me.

But, to add onto that, there is not just a conspiracy, but an open ended, easy to observe relationship between China and the U.N. right now. And seeing what the U.N. does right now, how many times, I'll ask the Director, Mr. Director, how many times has the U.N. General Assembly passed resolutions condemning Israel? Approximately?

Mr. NEUER. In the year 2022 there were 15 resolutions on Israel. And there was one on Iran, one on Syria, one on North Korea, and 15 on Israel.

There have been hundreds over the years.

Mr. MCCORMICK. Hundreds?

Mr. NEUER. Yeah.

Mr. MCCORMICK. Hundreds, yeah. And every year probably at least double digits, right?

Mr. NEUER. Yes, sir.

Mr. McCORMICK. Okay. And how many against the Palestinian Authority?

Mr. NEUER. The Palestinian Authority is never condemned by the United Nations.

Mr. McCORMICK. Never?

Mr. NEUER. No.

Mr. McCORMICK. This is the United Nations. I believe that they have some sort of headquarters in this area, or at least in this country, which is—drives me crazy. But, to watch the United Nations now conspiring with China and Palestine.

And watching this new idea that somehow or another they're going to come up with a solution that hasn't been thought about in this peace process that's going to carve out something for Palestine against everything that we've ever fought for in the last, since Israel has been established in the modern era. It baffles me.

But, I just want to point out that we don't have to look at conspiracy theories. We can literally see it right in front of our eyes.

We can see the United Nations being antisemitic, and quite frankly, anti-American, because this is a relationship that we've had since the original founding of the new Israel, if you will.

I think we can all agree that the United Nations has done nothing, nothing to be evenhanded. And it has been nothing but heavy-handed against Israel.

Could we agree on that? Anybody want to disagree with that? So, I will take that as an affirmative, I think. Silence is considered affirmative.

So, where do we go from here? In my opinion, I would just like to state that the United Nations is becoming troublesome. And yet, we fund it in a very large way, the United States does, with no accountability for what they do against Israel as a country, or against our interest as it relates to Israel.

So, I'd just like to state for the record that I have a big problem with the United Nations and its funding. I'm just going to say it for the record, because of its antisemitic and anti-American behavior.

With that, if anybody wants to make a comment in that regard. And be bold. Make your statements. This is the place. You're on TV.

Make your statement, make your case to the American people and to everybody around the world why we see this discrimination and how it's affecting the world order and inhibiting the peace process.

I open it to the floor.

Mr. NEUER. Well, thank you, Congressman. Certainly, we see grave distortions of the U.N.'s founding principles. Our organization U.N. Watch supports the U.N. Charter, which speaks of freedom, international peace, and security. Was founded by the great liberal internationalism in the post-World War II era, led by the United States.

But, sadly dictatorships in too many U.N. bodies, not all, but in too many U.N. bodies, they dominate. You mentioned China. China is a regular member of the Human Rights Council.

The United States, to its credit, tried to introduce a resolution about one million Muslim Uyghurs who are put into camps. The

Human Rights Council shot it down. Would not even hold a debate on that subject. China holds sway.

I mentioned moments ago to the Chairman that one of the leaders of the Human Rights Council Secretariat hands names of dissidents over to China, which allows them to pressure their family members back home so that they won't testify.

China played a very nefarious role at the World Health Organization where two of the Goodwill Ambassadors, one of them is the wife of the Chinese dictator, is a WHO Goodwill Ambassador. Another one is a Chinese broadcaster who used his role as a WHO Goodwill Ambassador to promote propaganda on behalf of the Chinese regime during the period of the Corona virus.

So, there is a concern that dictatorships like China, Iran in the past month had a trifecta of U.N. wins. I mentioned here that the Islamic Republic of Iran was appointed Chair of the Human Rights Council Social Forum. We've circulated a text, we would like a country to adopt it, to overturn that absurd decision.

Iran was elected a Vice President of the U.N. General Assembly a few weeks ago. Was elected Rapporteur of the United Nations General Assembly Committee on Disarmament and International Security, which is absurd given that it is the perpetrator menace of the very problems that committee is meant to address.

Mr. McCORMICK. So, I know I am out of time. So, I'm going to have to cut you short. But, I do want it for the record, to support what you're saying.

And actually the absurdity continues if you look at the last ten people who have been put in charge of Human Rights in the United Nations is laughable. And so, I just want to say, I'm not really sure I'm in favor of the United Nations anymore because of that.

They are corrupt and they are governed by dictators and theocracies and other unfair people who administer this quote/unquote justice. Thank you.

Mr. MARCUS. Thank you. I want to add to what was said about the U.S., about the United Nations condemnation of Israel.

Go on and take it to the next level. The United Nations condemnations of Israel, and I would say also, the European Union and many of the European countries constant condemnation of Israel isn't just making Israel feel bad.

For the Palestinian Authority it's seen as a motivator that they don't have to come to the peace talks. It's a motivator that what they're doing is right.

It's a motivator that they're quote/unquote, resistance is accepted by the international community. It goes way beyond just giving Israel bad press.

It actually becomes a motivator of the Palestinian Authority to become more intransigent. The Palestinian Authority hasn't come to the negotiating table in so many years, in so many years because they feel that they can get by international pressure on Israel what they can't get from negotiations.

So, the United States, your opinions in the United Nations have to be careful, because they are absolutely creating a wall in the way of negotiations by their over-condemnation of Israel and over-accepting of the Palestinian side in many of the issues that are really supposed to be for negotiations.

Mr. SMITH. Excellent point. Ms. Manning.

Ms. MANNING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm going to ask, Mr. Rosenberg, I would like to start with you. You've written and spoken about the fact that antisemitism is malleable.

How it appeals to different types of extremists on both sides. And how viewing it with partisan blinders, only calling it out when it's politically convenient, actually harms the fight against antisemitism.

So, what can be done, in your opinion, to educate and help people better understand the unique shape-shifting nature of antisemitism, the danger of buying into conspiracy theories, and get them to join forces to help defeat it?

Mr. ROSENBERG. I really appreciate the question. I do recognize that trying to sell a nonpartisan approach to any issue in the U.S. Congress is kind of like trying to sell a Red Sox hat at Yankee Stadium. But, I'm going to do my best.

As you've heard from my remarks, and I think you even heard up here from the Representatives, you heard Representative Smith talk about leading with people in the Middle East who believe that the Jews were behind 911. And then, you had Representative McCormick talk about people from his district saying the Jews are behind the Corona virus.

I would wager to guess that the people you met with, Representative Smith, were not particularly sympathetic to Republican policies. And the people however writing to Representative McCormick were probably sympathetic and even thought he'd listen.

Like were more sympathetic to Republican policies. But, rather united them with this conspiracy theory, this way of thinking about Jews and about the world. This seeking simple solutions and scapegoats for our collective problems.

And if we focus on these sort of more fundamental underlying issues rather than trying to pinpoint the exact identity of who said it, and whether or not they're on my team, so should I apologize or look another way, maybe we just talk about in terms of principals instead of partisanship, and ideas instead of individuals.

And if we can orient ourselves to think that way, and certainly that's how I try to write about it, I think that we can then start talking about this in a healthier way.

And I think that a lot of that boils down to trying to like almost erase. When you see an antisemitic, a statement that's allegedly antisemitic, or someone says about Jews, block out who said it. Don't actually look at who they are or what their affiliations are and judge that in a vacuum. Teach people the history of antisemitism. Right? We had a big conversation here about Israel. The Israel conversation is like 12 steps up. Like Israel is a relatively recent invention and it's a complicated story.

There's a lot of antisemitism that we can actually agree on that we've documented in history. You teach a lot of that to people, and you teach them those principals, people are smarter than you think, and they can apply those pretty well to the Israel conversation and figure out when someone is speaking to them in an antisemitic fashion or simply being very critical of Israel.

But I find we often skip steps and we jump to the most controversial and political and partisan topics. And everyone goes into their corners.

But if we start it, you know, at the ground level. If curriculums started with those sorts of things and only after once people have those tools, said, okay, now let's talk about some of these complicated statements about Israel. I think you'd be surprised at how many people could actually figure out this issue themselves.

Ms. MANNING. Thank you for that. Dr. Nazarian, as you know, as you've discussed, we have witnessed an uptick in U.S.-based extremists reaching out to their counterparts abroad and vice versa.

And countries around the world are struggling to counter misinformation online, especially on social media, which we know fuels extremism and antisemitism. So, what can we do to counter the rapid spread of online extremist propaganda and the growing spread of transnational violent extremism and white supremacy?

And I want to add to that, is there also an obligation on all of us to educate consumers to be better at, people to be consumers of information?

Dr. NAZARIAN. Thank you, Representative Manning for asking that very important question. Everything that happens in real life and we've been discussing are critically important.

What happens online is a megaphone of everything that's been discussed. Right? So, we have to acknowledge that that, the power of social media and the platforms are just amplifying everything that we've been discussing here.

What can we do? ADL has been at the forefront of holding social media companies responsible for enacting their own terms of service.

Now, we know that we as trusted flaggers, when we flag antisemitic rhetoric, white supremacist narratives, all of that online, they tend to react and say, okay, we'll take that down for you.

What they are not doing, is first of all, doing the same thing with individuals who are flagging. They are not enacting their own terms of service. And number two, they are not doing it proactively.

They have the software. They have the mechanism to know what language and what narratives are being propagated online that should be taken down.

So, having legislation, we are looking to all of you as our members of Congress, that provides transparency and holds the platforms responsible for instituting their own terms of service.

And we at ADL have already started to push these plans in California and in Nevada to really look at legislating and forcing social media companies to enforce their own terms of service and have transparency about the data and about what kind of stuff they're taking down and what they're not.

Ms. MANNING. We look forward to getting that information from you. And, out of respect to my colleagues who have been waiting patiently, I am going to yield back.

Mr. SMITH. Yes. Mr. Issa.

Mr. ISSA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for holding this important hearing. And thank you for allowing me to participate.

You know, there really are two discussions here. And I want to touch briefly on both of them. You know, on a personal note, I grew

up as an Arab American with a nice Arab name in an almost all Jewish neighborhood.

Our Boy Scout troop was at the temple. And it was Orthodox, so Saturdays were different for me then they were for some other Boy Scouts. And I ended up working for a rabbi delivering poultry. I never understood that, in fact, antisemitism could be accused of being, oh, well, it's the same. They do the same.

But I came to Congress, and I began working with many of my namesakes throughout the region. Some progress has been made, and I give credit to it. But I began hearing the, oh, well, here's what's happening in Israel. Here's what they do. I hadn't seen it in society. So, I began looking.

And I've been to Israel and to the West Bank and to Gaza more times than my first Chairman, I think. I think Henry Hyde was still asking if I had a girlfriend there.

And, as I went there—no. I began to see—[Laughter.]

Still looking. But I began to see something, which was amazing. Which is, we have two systems, not just on each side of Jerusalem, East and West Bank, so to speak, but we have two systems of government.

One that is in Israel, where there is bias. There are mistakes. People do out of greed and other reasons, slight Palestinians and Arab-Israelis, and for that matter, each other. But a system of law allows, all the way to the Supreme Court, adjudication. And it often reverses the wrongs, just as in the United States it would.

You go to the West Bank, you don't find that. You go to Gaza, you don't find that. And, quite frankly, you go to almost all of the Arab world, you don't find that.

I happen to be of Lebanese descent, so, I'm always proud that we almost have a democracy in Lebanon. And it almost works. But when you look at the entire Arab world, it's almost always one man, one vote, one time. The majority rules and there is no debate after that as to fairness. Fairness is whatever the majority provides.

That's not true in Israel. Partially because you never really have a true majority. But, also because the system is built on a culture that I think we should all celebrate and respect.

And to that extent I just came back from Paris. And it still slays me that founding members of the United Nations of Western Europe continue to part of antisemitism. The United States continues to not do enough.

I chair the Judiciary's Intellectual Property Committee, and your point is exactly right. The tools exist to find at least the repeat offenders and bring them down.

And I will say that that's one of my goals, is not to make up new rules. Not to force some sort of European style hate speech, because that sometimes promotes antisemitism as much. But, because we in fact can find the habitual repeat offenders who represent most of the cumulative hate that then breeds on it.

Mr. Marcus, you particularly look at the Palestinian area. And one thing I want to make sure we get out here today, and I know this is about antisemitism, not just about the Arab Israeli conflict, but the teachings that are still going on in Palestinian schools.

If you would comment on what we're dealing with there. And, on whether you see any improvement in the kind of move, hopefully, away from blatant antisemitism in the countries that have signed the Abraham Accords.

Where do you see that progress? Because I'd like to have at least one minute of hope that my next trip overseas will be to people who are trying to be part of the solution.

Mr. MARCUS. Okay. Well, the good news is—thank you very much for the question. The good news is that the, many of the countries who have signed onto the Abraham Accords reports of it that on their schoolbooks and they're significantly better. They're significantly better.

There's a, I think also, and you can actually go over it, and I think it imposes measuring antisemitism and then other, I think the Gulf States come out much better than the Palestinian Authority does.

So, we have a fundamental problem with the Palestinian Authority, which is different than the rest of the Arab world. And, for that reason, the schoolbooks are not better.

The education of the children, there is an absolute message that Israel has no right to exist. Earlier today I quoted some quotes from a Fatah educational magazine called Waed, absolutely Israel has no right to exist. Israel eventually will not exist.

What happened to the French and—

Mr. ISSA. This is the ruling party.

Mr. MARCUS. Yes. This is the ruling one. What happened to the French in Algeria will happen to all the Jews, will eventually leave Palestine.

This is—these are fundamentals of Palestinian Authority education and not just the Hamas. This is the PA. And that's where the massive work has to be done.

It's changing the messaging to the people, because the—as I also pointed out earlier, the people are accepting the messages. We see in polls that the people adopt the messages of the Palestinian Authority.

One poll earlier I mentioned, is that 87 percent of Palestinians who were polled felt that Israelis were hated and brought the hatred on themselves. They were hated because of their own behavior.

Now, that is a fundamental Palestinian Authority message to its people. So, we see the input has terrible output. And this is why we've been for years screaming about the input.

And, today, tragically we're seeing the results of this, where the Palestinian populations today are more and more extreme. In the poll that I mentioned this morning, Hamas is ahead of Fatah. Both, if our elections were held today, Hamas would get, I think it was 7 or 8 percentage points more than Fatah.

Ismail Haniyeh, the head of Hamas, would get more than Mahmoud Abbas. And, unfortunately, the only one who would do better is Marwan Barghouti, who is a Fatah man who is sitting in jail right now with five life sentences for murdering five people.

So, a killer has become, has been put on the pedestal by the Palestinian Authority. And the people have accepted it. And that's

why over the years, like I've spoken in many places, and sometimes they say, oh, that's just incitement.

Oh, no, it's not just incitement. You're teaching a whole population how to see Israel, how to see Jews. And today, we have the tragic results of a population that really does not believe in peace with Israel.

Mr. ISSA. Thank you. Thank you for your testimony. And thank you for this hearing.

Mr. SMITH. Ms. Jacobs.

Ms. JACOBS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And thank you all for being here. You know, I'm the youngest Jewish member of Congress. And I care a lot about antisemitism and the future of Israel, my family who served in the IDF, who still live in Israel.

And I've had many conversations with my colleagues here from all ranges of the political spectrum who are deeply concerned about what we're seeing in Israel. Around policies that undermine Israel's judicial system and create conditions that aren't conducive to a two state solution.

A lot of the rhetoric we're hearing out of the current Israeli government that I would argue is as inflammatory as what you are citing coming from the PA about, you know, the Palestinian state not having a right to exist.

And I especially hear from young American Jews who are having a really hard time right now, because they see an Israeli government that does not live up to their values that they were taught as Jews. That they don't feel is representing them.

And yet they are then told that any criticism they try and have of that is antisemitism. And I actually think it's really, really dangerous, both for the actual fight on antisemitism and for the future of Israel.

That we are conflating legitimate criticism of deeply problematic policies with antisemitism. And I think we need to reject the false notion that we have to choose between standing up for Israel's democracy and working to eradicate antisemitism around the globe.

My cousins who are sending me selfies from the protest in Tel Aviv, I don't think anyone thinks they're antisemitic. And yet, sometimes when we try and express the same things, we are called that here in the United States.

So, I guess Dr. Nazarian, I just wanted to ask you like, can you talk a bit about what you think explains the rise of antisemitism in the U.S. over the last five years?

And whether or not it's really some people on the left who have some concerns about policies or, you know, as we've heard, folks on the right wearing shirts that say six million weren't enough when they tried to attack us here in the Capitol.

And also, as you think about this balance, how would you advise those of us who want to make sure we are elevating these legitimate criticisms, how do we separate anti-Jewish rhetoric from criticism of the state of Israel and its policies?

Dr. NAZARIAN. Thank you, Representative Jacobs. And I think we touched on this question a little bit. But, I'll start just by saying, as far as ADL is concerned, when it comes to differentiating between valid criticism of Israel and antisemitic motions, we have three very clear lines.

Number one, if all Jews are held responsible for Israeli policy, that's antisemitic. Number two, if the right to self-determination of the Jewish people is prevented, that is antisemitic.

And finally, if you use antisemitic tropes, characterizations, and place that onto the Jewish state, that is antisemitic. Now, robust criticism of Israeli policy is just as valid as robust criticisms of American policy or any other democracy in hopefully any other country.

So, that is very clear. And I think making sure that we're not crossing that line, and not diminishing the value of the term antisemitic, is very important.

What we're seeing in the state, in the city of Tel Aviv, and I'm heading there tonight, my family is there right now. I am here today because of the importance of this hearing.

And I—my family right now is being honored. My mother is being honored with an honorary Doctorate. So, I knew that I couldn't—

Ms. JACOBS. Congratulations.

Dr. NAZARIAN. Thank you. But, this is such an important hearing for me to participate in. And so, thank you for including me.

That is a testament to the robustness of Israel's democracy. The fact that you have had nonviolent protests of upwards of 100s of thousands for 28 weeks in a row, shows the robustness of Israel's democracy.

And raising very real issues about some of the judicial decisions that are being now floated, and we'll see where they go. And also about what the people of Israel want as a character for the Jewish and democratic character of the state of Israel.

Now, we at ADL are concerned about the current government makeup, this coalition. Some of the ministers in there, some of the values they've espoused, and some of the narratives they've used. And we have called it out, as is our responsibility to do so.

So, I believe that what causes antisemitism, we have to be very clear about. There's not one cause, there are multiple, as it is in the U.S. And we see also the same thing globally.

There are those who, you know, use white supremacist ideology, there's those who use anti-Zionist ideology. And they're used to use Islamic extremism. So, all of this, and Europe is perfectly like the perfect place where this is all working in the same place.

But, here in the U.S., we know that Europe is a harbinger of what's coming. And we have to be careful. Thank you.

Ms. JACOBS. Well, thank you. And I just want to point out, you know, just a few weeks ago we voted here in H.R. 5, the so-called Parent's Bill of Rights. And Republican leadership actually rejected my amendment that would have included language stating that the actions carried out during the Holocaust and the sentiments of antisemitism are immoral.

And I think it's important that we recognize the strong relationship between antisemitism, racism, xenophobia, Islamophobia, homophobia, and transphobia. And, you know, I used to work at the U.N. I think the U.N. does really important work around the world.

I think that oftentimes we talk about the U.N. focusing so much Israel, and at the same time, we here as American Jews, we do feel

like there's a special connection to Israel. We do want the U.S. to have a special relationship with Israel.

And a special relationship goes both ways. A special relationship both means we are very supportive of Israel and we should have a right to criticize what they are doing. The special relationship has to go both ways.

And so, I'm really disheartened to hear of all of this rhetoric undermining the very important work the U.N. does around the world. And I think that it's dangerous for our national security and for our ability to build alliances around the world, which is the most important thing that keeps the U.S. safe.

So, I know my time is up. I'll let my colleagues speak. But,—

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Schneider, thank you.

Ms. JACOBS. Yeah, this entire hearing has been pretty disheartening as an American Jew.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. I'm almost speechless. But, I'll proceed. Wow. So, it's a great time to be a Jew in America and the world. We can't lose sight of that.

But, as we've talked about here, antisemitism fearfully, disgracefully is on the rise in the United States and around the world. It is crucial we stand up to it.

And one thing as we have heard today very clearly, that anti-semitism has been rampant at the U.N. for a very, very long time. And I'll come back to it, because I think Israel has made progress at the U.N.

But, the focus on Israel in so many ways at the U.N. that has been highlighted in these, in this testimony, is critical. And I think it's also crucial to note that antisemitism, Mr. Marcus, as you have said, is core to the message Palestinians are sharing with their people, and critical as a tool the PA is using to delegitimize Israel.

And so, I think that's all crucial. Mr. Marcus, maybe going back to things we all learned in elementary school, but maybe is important to note here.

What is the timing of the origination of modern Zionism? I know it's not his question, but.

Mr. MARCUS. Well, where is the beginning of modern Zionism, are you talking about Herzl?

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Yeah.

Mr. MARCUS. Yeah.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. It goes back to the late 19th Century. And, as my colleague Mr. Phillips said, his family came here because of antisemitism.

I have a picture of my maternal grandmother and her family who fled Kiev in 1912 because of the pogroms. What was the source of pogroms? It was antisemitism. Which many of us have faced that throughout our lives.

A question about apartheid that has been brought up. This is for anyone. The name Khaled Kabub mean anything to anybody? It's a Supreme Court Justice in Israel. A Muslim Supreme Court Justice.

Another random question, anyone watch the U20 World Cup? The team that came in third, worth clapping for, Israeli team. First time they qualified. Only Jews on that team? No. Of course not. In fact, one of the goal scorers in that third place game was a Muslim.

Apartheid is separation; in a country that has Muslims on their Supreme Court, that celebrates the victory of their soccer team, football team, as I guess they would call it to the regular, would be separated. Not the case. But that is what we face in so many places around the world.

I don't know if this is for Mr. Neuer or someone else. We've been trying to get Israel—or not Israel—Europe to take action. And, by the way, I think our definition is the right definition. I wish the White House had stuck to it. But why is it so difficult to get European governments and other organizations to see what, from the testimony here, appears to be so obvious? Mr. Neuer?

Mr. NEUER. Thank you, Congressman. First of all, I thank you for your remarks concerning the absurd smear that Israel is somehow an apartheid state.

It's not only false and defamatory for Israel and Israelis but does a disservice to the true cause of apartheid. Anyone like me who has been to South Africa and seen what happened there will understand how that undermines the struggle against apartheid in that country.

As to why Europe and other governments don't see things, I mean, we, you know, Abba Eban, Israel's legendary statesman and Ambassador to the United Nations once quipped that if Algeria were to introduce a resolution at the United Nations declaring that the earth was flat and that Israel was responsible, it would pass by 154 to 12, with 25 abstentions.

And that quote was made years ago, but it remains true today. And a number of these countries who support these resolutions are European democracies.

I mentioned each year there are 15 resolutions singling out Israel at the General Assembly, about 10 of those 15 are supported by EU democracies. And why do so many countries support the resolutions against Israel?

I mean, we see several factors. One is vote trading. The United Nations works by vote trading. You vote for me, I vote for you.

There's sometimes you can actually even see letters that are leaked about countries. China one—sorry, Saudi Arabia and Russia promise to vote each other onto the Human Rights Council, even though they're rivals in the region.

So, there are, you know, vote trading plays a very important role. Israel can offer you one vote. The Islamic states can offer you 56 votes. So, it's 56 to one, it's a no brainer.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Repeat those numbers?

Mr. NEUER. Yeah. There are 56 Islamic states at the United Nations. There is one Jewish state. So, they come—they sponsor these resolutions against Israel.

And, in exchange, you can get support from 56 votes at the United Nations for whatever your cause may be. For yourself or for your country. That's quite significant.

There is the historic influence of oil and gas. African countries were told years ago, you will not get oil if you vote for Israel, if you have relations with Israel. That continues to play a role in the world.

Sovereign wealth funds, you may or may not get billions from the Qatari sovereign wealth fund if you vote for a resolution that they support.

And I would finally mention fear of terrorism. If your country will be one of the ten that will stand with Israel, such as the United States or typically Canada, sometimes Australia. If you'll be one of the handful of countries that stand with Israel, you may face terrorism in your country.

So, all of those are rational factors that we may not like but can understand, we are politic. But, I would have to add that as the historian Jacob Talmon commented, that Israel today has become the Jew among the nations.

And if in history, because as Mr. Rosenberg mentioned, we're dealing with concepts that date back thousands of years that are in public, in our consciousness. We may not even be aware of it, subconscious.

You know, in Europe where I live, when there was the black plague, Jews were accused of poisoning the wells. And today, if there's human rights abuse, if there's racism, if there's health violations, it's the Jewish state that is blamed.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. And I'm over my time. I have one yes or no question. And we can talk about it in writing. But, UNRWA, you mentioned UNRWA.

And my broad question is, UNRWA has all kinds of problems. We talked about their education issues. And I'm of one mind that UNRWA has outlived its usefulness and it's the only organization that's been around for 70 years.

The things that UNRWA does that are necessary, services provided, are there, and it's a yes/no, are there other entities that are perhaps better positioned to do that today?

Mr. NEUER. Yes.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Yes, so. Thank you. I yield back.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Sherman.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to commend you for holding this hearing. Thank you for allowing us who aren't members of the subcommittee to participate, and for your decades of incredible dedication on human rights.

I see at least three streams of antisemitism. One is an extreme left that hates at least Israel, because it's pro-American. And also sees the opportunity for an alliance with, I think you said 56 countries.

There's also Islamic extremists. And finally, there's the far right that gave us Hitler and many before and many after him.

There's an argument here, Zionism versus antisemitism. One could have said in the 1880s, you could be an anti-Zionist. And say look, there's already people living there. We shouldn't move there.

You could also be an anti-Californian in this country, in the 1840s or '30s and say hey, that's part of Mexico. It shouldn't be part of America.

You can say that the Slavs should not have moved to eastern Europe, the Turks should not have moved to Anatolia, and the Arabs they should not have moved to North Africa.

But, the fact is that every other country is accepted as a right to live where they are not, notwithstanding that with the exception

of perhaps the Neanderthals, just about everybody has moved to where they are. And, of course, there are no Neanderthals.

So, to say that, you just put it in context. You could say down with Israel and say, you're not an antisemite. But if I sat here and said down with Albania, most of you would think I was an anti-Albanian. You can't hate the only Albanian state in the world and say that there should be not an Albanian state and not be regarded as anti-Albanian.

And to say that Slovakia is a racist state because it chose to be independent of Czechoslovakia and to have a border separating themselves from Poland and Hungary, to say that there's a Slovak state, that must mean that the Slovaks are racist, is absurd.

As to BDS, it's entirely appropriate to boycott countries you disagree with, if your disagreement is reasonable. I and BDS, and you've urged us to boycott and divest from Iran not because I think all Persians and other Iranians should be wiped off, you know, shouldn't have a state. But, I'd like them to stop their nuclear program, et cetera.

I've got friends who won't buy a Toyota because they think the Japanese shouldn't hunt whales. They are not anti-Japanese racists. They'd be happy, they're not asking Japan to evacuate the Japanese islands. They're not calling for the death of all Japanese. They just want it.

And if the BDF movement was one that said, we don't want to invest in Israel until Israel does this or that, and stops hunting whales. Okay. You disagree with Israel, you have a right to boycott. I've got other friends who won't.

I want to thank the gentlewoman from Pennsylvania for commenting. And then so many of you commenting on the UNRWA textbooks and curriculum.

I want to bring to my colleagues' attention the Peace and Tolerance in Palestinian Education Act, which would get us an official State Department report on these UNRWA curriculum materials.

Mr. Sharansky, it's an honor for you to be with us. And I wonder if you can comment on how the Soviet Union, back when it existed, used anti-Zionism as a tool to be antisemitic?

Apparently the——

Mr. KONTOROVICH. Could I field that question? So, also being from the Soviet Union, I'm also from Kiev, like Mr. Schneider's family. And, indeed, the auspicious year of my birth, 1975, was the year that the United Nations passed the Zionism is Racism Resolution. A resolution which has been so discredited that I believe seating amongst United Nations' resolutions the U.N. subsequently voted to override or reverse it.

Now, that resolution was passed as a Soviet foreign policy initiative. They had a vote. They had a permanent majority of their allies and nonaligned states. And that was a fundamental product of Soviet ideology after the Yom Kippur War, to get this idea out there.

Now, interestingly, it doesn't just say that Zionism is racism. It just came to be known as that. It also says that Zionism is also lots of other things that are bad, like colonialism and imperialism and likens it to the apartheid policies of South Africa.

So, this notion that like now some human rights groups who said, oh, finally Israel has crossed the line. We've seen they've done something. They've done something bad. They've done something too much. Now we're going to call them apartheid. This is the same Soviet rhetoric from 1975 that was discredited, reversed, and yet, like a monster in a horror movie, reconstitutes itself and makes its way through even in these halls. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. I'm going to thank our extraordinarily distinguished panel. You've given us much to think about and work on. The action items are running page after page based on. And please convey to us, all of us, next steps in addition to what you've said today, because we want to get it right.

I do want to say we're going to have a number of other hearings, like I mentioned earlier before. We'll have one on UNRWA. We'll have investor at large Deborah Lipstadt come and testify.

And other issues. I mean, we know that the hostility towards students is in the United States, in my own state of New Jersey, who happen to be Jewish, and it's all over the world. So, we may even focus one hearing just on that. But we will do a whole series.

I find it appalling that the Palestinian Authority encourages children to kill themselves and to kill other people. There's nothing heroic, there's nothing noble about that kind of child abuse. And that's what the PA does. It's child abuse.

I watched a video years ago, you know, I—well, all of us in high school, we used to be in pep rallies, we were in sports. Everybody would rally for the team, for the game that was going to happen that day or that weekend.

And I watched a pep rally pushing the killing of Jews with people who would strap on bombs who happened to be children. They were lifting that up as if that was something to emulate, to push.

And so, the PA has much to answer for on a whole lot of issues. But, abusing their own children is about as appalling as it gets.

So, I do hope we can bring some additional focus to that. I remember watching that video. And I will never forget it, that they would do that to their own children. The children that they claim to care about.

So, thank you. If anyone would like to say any parting statement. If not, that's fine, too. It's all up to you. Yes?

Mr. SCHIFFMILLER. Just to follow up on your last point, Mr. Chairman, about the abuse of children. One of the issues that we've been tracking very closely, and we expect we will learn more about in the coming, perhaps even hour or days, is a U.N. mechanism called the Children in Armed Conflict, which is designed to track abuse of children in armed conflicts around the world.

And one of the areas that we see serial under-reporting in, is this very issue of inciting to violence, recruitment, and use of Palestinian children by terrorist organizations. And that because a lot of the data that goes into these reporting mechanisms are generated by NGOs, some of whom are themselves linked to U.S.-designated terrorist organizations, that leads to this under-reporting, and that leads to a warped perception of Israeli security policies that relate to that level of incitement and recruitment.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Ms. WILD. I just would like to make a very brief closing remark. It's often said that if you put five or six or seven Jews in a room, you'll get that many opinions, differing opinions. And, obviously, we've seen some of that. I think all of you had excellent written testimony. And I plan to keep it. And I plan to keep this binder as sort of a resource to use going forward.

I get along very, very well with the Chair of this committee. And I think the world of him. And am grateful for him convening this hearing. I am going to take issue only with the last remarks of the Chairman, because I think it is incredibly important that we not broadly label all members of any nation or ethnicity with the bad acts of some.

As a recovering lawyer, I will tell you that lawyers are regularly labeled by the worst among them. But that's a kind of a light version of this. I think that it's just really important that we not use the worst examples to connote that all people who are of that origin.

Mr. SMITH. Well, just to be clear——

Ms. WILD. And that's all I—I just wanted to say.

Mr. SMITH. Go ahead. I don't say that about the Palestinians en masse. I say that about the Palestinian Authority. And—because these are their official policies. And, you know, again, as we all know from the Taylor Force Act, and we all know from, as you pointed out, 100 percent of those who are in prison for terrorist acts are getting paid for it. And they have a job waiting for them in the PA when they get out.

But, thank you. I appreciate again, your testimony.

Ms. WILD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. And thank you to my Ranking Member.

[Whereupon, at 1:49 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]



**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING NOTICE
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6128**

**Subcommittee on Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations
Christopher Smith (R-NJ), Chairman**

Revised

June 20, 2023

TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN hearing of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to be held by the Subcommittee on Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations at 11:00 a.m. in room 2200 of the Rayburn House Office Building. The hearing will be available on the Committee website at <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/>.

DATE: Thursday, June 22, 2023

TIME: 11:00 a.m.

LOCATION: 2200 RHOB

SUBJECT: Responding to Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israel Bias in the UN, Palestinian Authority, and NGO Community

WITNESSES: **Mr. Natan Sharansky**
** **Chair**
Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy

Mr. Yona Schiffmiller
Director of Research
NGO Monitor

Mr. Itamar Marcus
Founder and Director
Palestinian Media Watch

Mr. Eugene Kontorovich
Director of International Law Department
Kohelet Policy Forum

Mr. Hillel Neuer
Executive Director
United Nations Watch

** Dr. Sharon Nazarian
Director
Anti-Defamation League National Board of Directors

** Mr. Yair Rosenberg
Staff Writer
The Atlantic

**Witnesses added.

*NOTE: Witnesses may be added.

By Direction of the Chair

The Committee on Foreign Affairs seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you are in need of special accommodations, please call 202-226-8467 at least four business days in advance of the event, whenever practicable. Questions with regard to special accommodations in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats and assistive listening devices) may be directed to the Committee.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
MINUTES OF FULL COMMITTEE HEARING

Day Thursday Date June 22, 2023 Room Rayburn 2200

Starting Time 11:10am Ending Time 1:49pm

Recesses ☐ (___ to ___) (___ to ___) (___ to ___) (___ to ___) (___ to ___) (___ to ___)

Presiding Member(s)

Rep. Smith

Check all of the following that apply:

Open Session ☒

Executive (closed) Session ☐

Televised ☒

Electronically Recorded (taped) ☒

Stenographic Record ☒

TITLE OF HEARING:

Responding to Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israel Bias in the UN, Palestinian Authority, and NGO Community

COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

Reps. Smith, Radewagen, McCormick, Issa, Wild, Jacobs, Manning, Schneider, Moskowitz, Phillips

NON-COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

HEARING WITNESSES: Same as meeting notice attached? Yes ☒ No ☐

(If "no", please list below and include title, agency, department, or organization.)

STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD: *(List any statements submitted for the record.)*

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE _____

or

TIME ADJOURNED _____

Meg Wagner
Full Committee Hearing Coordinator

Committee on Foreign AffairsSubcommittee on Global Health, Human Rights, and International Organizations118th Congress

ATTENDANCE

Meeting on: *Responding to Anti-Semitism & Anti-Israel Bias
in the UN, Palestinian Authority, & NGO community*

Date: *6/22/23*

Convened: *11:10 am*

Adjourned: *1:49 pm*

Representative	Present	Absent	Representative	Present	Absent
Mr. Smith	X		Ms. Wild	X	
Ms. Salazar		X	Mr. Bera		X
Ms. Radewagen	X		Ms. Jacobs	X	
Mr. Hill		X	Ms. Manning	X	
Mr. McCormick	X		Mr. Schneider		
Mr. James	X		Mr. Moskowitz	X	
Mr. Issa	X		Mr. Phillips	X	