THE IHRA WORKING DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM 2023 ADOPTIONS & ENDORSEMENTS REPORT

BY THE COMBAT ANTISEMITISM MOVEMENT (CAM) AND THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN JEWRY AT TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

© 2024 Combat Hate Foundation, a 501(c)(3) organization. All rights reserved.
LETTER TO THE READER

THE VITAL ROLE OF THE IHRA WORKING DEFINITION IN COMBATING ANTISEMITISM FOLLOWING OCTOBER 7TH

Following Hamas’ October 7th massacre, instances of discrimination, harassment, and violence against Jewish communities worldwide have surged, reaching a critical point of urgency. This escalating threat must be confronted with an acute awareness of its implications, by governments and administrations worldwide. Every passing moment without decisive action allows the roots of antisemitism to grow deeper into society.

Within hours of Hamas launching its devastating assault in southern Israel, tens of thousands of demonstrators took to the streets across the Middle East, North America, Europe, and Australia, to celebrate the largest attack on the Jewish people since the Holocaust, including chants of “Gas the Jews.” Such incitement has only multiplied and intensified globally ever since.

Diaspora Jewry is facing a disturbing reality. Jewish students on American campuses are facing an increasingly hostile environment. In recent Congressional testimony, the presidents of Harvard, the University of Pennsylvania, and MIT disturbingly asserted that calls for the genocide of Jews were considered a violation of their institutions’ code of conduct only in specific contexts. Without understanding classic and contemporary manifestations of antisemitism, administrations, academia and media remain ill-equipped to combat this virulent hatred.

The unprecedented public rise of antisemitism across the ideological spectrum exemplifies the multifaceted nature of anti-Jewish hate and highlights the need for a definition that encapsulates its multidimensional nature. The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism provides a comprehensive and internationally-recognized framework to delineate and address contemporary manifestations of antisemitism, fostering a shared understanding crucial for effective policy implementation.

We strongly believe that the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism captures the evolving characteristics of antisemitism. Embracing this definition is a key first step toward combating this reawakening of the world’s most enduring hatred, is vital for creating a more inclusive and tolerant society, and ensuring the protection of the civil rights and safety of Jewish communities.

We call on decision-makers and elected officials around the world, at all levels of government, to embrace this definition in 2024 to help urgently halt the spread of hate.

Sacha Roytman-Dratwa
Chief Executive Officer
Combat Antisemitism Movement (CAM)

Professor Dina Porat
Founding Head of the Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry at Tel Aviv University
Since the Working Definition of Antisemitism was adopted by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance in 2016, it has gained remarkable mainstream acceptance and use across various sectors of society, reflecting a growing global consensus of the need for a standardized understanding of contemporary antisemitism.

A total of 97 new adoptions and endorsements were reported in 2023, while retroactive data collection from previous years added another 3. These adoptions account for a 6.6% year-over-year increase from the total number of global adoptions of the definition in 2022, and a 9.0% increase in overall adoptions. More than one-third – 38.1% – of adoptions and endorsements in 2023 took place in North America. In 2023, non-federal governmental entities accounted for about half of all adoptions, signaling an increasing commitment from local authorities worldwide to actively combat antisemitism.

Through the end of December 2023, a total of 1,216 entities have adopted or endorsed the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism. The surpassing of the 1,200 milestone since last year’s report compiled by the Combat Antisemitism Movement (CAM) and the Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry at Tel Aviv University (led by Prof. Uriya Shavit), is a telling indicator of the far-reaching impact and influence of the definition and its accompanying 11 contemporary explanatory examples of prejudiced and discriminatory behavior against the Jewish people.

The definition provides a clear and concise understanding of antisemitism as it is experienced by Jews today, helping to establish a common language and framework for identifying and addressing instances of hatred towards Jews. By encompassing various forms of antisemitism, including both overt acts and more subtle expressions, the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism recognizes the multifaceted nature of this prejudice across ideological and cultural divides, allowing for a more nuanced and comprehensive approach to combating antisemitism.

The working definition’s widespread international acceptance is a testament to its credibility and utility. The definition facilitates a shared understanding among nations, organizations, religious groups, and individuals regarding what constitutes antisemitism.
The recent sharp increase in the number of antisemitic incidents worldwide calls for a thorough explanation of the reasons behind it. A close look at the available data reveals several clear findings:

There is rampant ignorance, especially among younger generations, regarding the history of the Jewish people and the State of Israel, the Holocaust, antisemitism, and the current geopolitical situation in the Middle East.

Large amounts of money coming from wealthy Middle Eastern countries, such as Qatar, are flowing to elite institutions of higher education in the West, financing lucrative endowments and shaping the worldviews of future leaders. Antisemitic and anti-Zionist ideas are often embedded in course materials that students are exposed to, fostering the development of distorted views about the Israeli-Arab conflict that are rooted in false propaganda rather than the facts of reality.

Stereotyped as “wealthy” and “influential,” Jews are often tarred as an “oppressor,” perpetuating age-old tropes long used to demonize Jews by blaming them for society’s ills. In Nazi Germany, Jews were “communists.” In the Soviet Union, they were “capitalists.” And today, in the West, they are often viewed as “privileged,” despite their minority status.

As demographic changes and technological developments have helped propagators of Islamic fundamentalist ideologies make in-roads in some parts of society in Europe and North America, Israel-related antisemitism has surged as a result.

Furthermore, the increased involvement of non-democratic countries in United Nations entities, such as the Human Rights Council, has abetted international efforts to delegitimize Israel, the leading democracy in the Middle East.

Driven by a common mission of challenging the contemporary liberal world order, autocratic nations such as China, Russia, and Iran view the undermining of Israel, a key ally of the United States and its global standing, as a means of hurting Western interests.

The power of social media networks to distribute information, misinformation, and disinformation in mere seconds to tens of millions of people across the planet is now further exacerbated by the growth of artificial intelligence, which can quickly create and promote non-existing realities.

All these factors, joined together with the proliferation of classical antisemitism, form the global infrastructure for thriving antisemitism, including its anti-Zionist forms, in modern times.
ADOPTION AT THE INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL LEVELS

Adopting the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism is crucial in the global fight against this deeply-rooted form of discrimination. By establishing a standardized definition, countries, local governments, institutions, and individuals can develop a unified approach, fostering consistency in monitoring and responding to antisemitic incidents.

UNITED NATIONS

In 2019, then–United Nations Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief Dr. Ahmed Shaheed issued a groundbreaking report addressing global antisemitism. This report, the first of its kind from the UN solely dedicated to antisemitism, recommended that all member states adopt the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism. Building on this, Dr. Shaheed released in 2022 an Action Plan to Combat Antisemitism. Subsequently, in 2023, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution condemning Holocaust denial and urging nations and social media companies to actively combat antisemitism and prevent Holocaust denial and distortion.

Following the release of the U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism this past May, the United Nations was expected to follow suit in a summer conference scheduled to take place in Spain. The conference, however, was postponed following objections from leading American and international Jewish organizations. Principally, wide objections centered around the draft plan’s omission of recognition of anti-Zionist forms of antisemitism, inclusion of the problematic Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism, which has not garnered any legitimacy through adoptions, and a failure to include the examples that accompany the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism.

Widespread support for the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism was made further apparent by a letter from a coalition of prominent American and global Jewish organizations to United Nations leaders. The letter urged the inclusion of an endorsement for the definition in the forthcoming U.N. action plan aimed at monitoring and addressing antisemitism. The letter, which cited IHRA antisemitism definition adoption data compiled by CAM and Tel Aviv University, notably gained support from 177 international Jewish groups and 120 academics from the U.S. and other countries. As of publication of this report, the UN has not yet released a plan for combating antisemitism.
U.S. CONTINUES TO LEAD WAY IN ADOPTIONS IN 2023

Breaking down adoptions of the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism by country in 2023, the U.S. took the lead with 35 adoptions, constituting 36.1% of the total. Poland followed with 30 adoptions, comprising 30.9%, Argentina with seven adoptions (7.2%), Italy with five adoptions (5.2%), and Croatia with five adoptions (5.2%). The remaining 15 adoptions across other countries accounted for 15.5% of the total annual adoptions.

In total, 45 countries, have adopted the definition – 33 IHRA member states, five IHRA observer states, and seven nations unaffiliated with IHRA.

Following nations such as the United States, Canada, Germany, United Kingdom, and France, among other previous adoptees, the three additions to this group in 2023 were Latvia, Croatia, and Panama, the latter of which followed CAM’s September 2022 Central America-Israel Forum hosted by Panamanian leaders.

Further reinforcing its commitment to defining and combating antisemitism, the Kosovo legislature also adopted the definition, following a September 2020 adoption by the country’s executive branch.
Europe is actively addressing antisemitism through the widespread adoption of the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism. The commitment of the region to implement this definition underscores a collective acknowledgment of the urgent need to address and eradicate antisemitic sentiments, based on Europe’s bloody history of antisemitism and shared urgency around its contemporary manifestations.

The continent’s governing institutions’ commitment to combating antisemitism is evidenced by progress that has been made since the launch of the European Union’s Strategy for Combating Antisemitism in 2021, which encompasses a comprehensive and coordinated approach to address the rising challenges faced by Jewish communities. Emphasizing prevention, protection, and prosecution, the strategy aims to enhance security measures, promote education and awareness, and strengthen legislation against antisemitic acts.

In accordance with the Council of the European Union’s 2018 European Council Declaration On The Fight Against Antisemitism, which called on European Union states to adopt the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism, 25 out of 27 EU states have now done so, with Malta and Ireland the last remaining countries within the EU to have not. As Vice President of the European Commission (EC) Margaritis Schinas said: “The non-legally binding working definition of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) is an essential tool for the Commission’s work on tackling antisemitism.”

On March 1, 2023, the Republic of Croatia assumed the IHRA’s rotating presidency. In preparation for this role, Croatia embraced the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism at the national level last January. The United Kingdom will take over the rotating presidency of the IHRA in March 2024.

514 non-federal government entities (including regional, provincial, state, county, and municipal bodies) have adopted the definition, with 47 doing so in 2023. These sub-national governmental bodies include the Polish cities of Warsaw and Plosk; Florence, Italy; and Kansas City, Cincinnati, and Dallas in the United States. Notably, the city of Fort Lauderdale, Florida did so shortly before hosting the 2023 North American Mayors Summit Against Antisemitism organized by CAM this past November.

On the regional level the Province of Buenos Aires, Argentina and the Italian region of Piedmont were among the more prominent 2023 adoptions.
REGIONAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADOPTIONS

Accounting for 48.5% of total adoptions and endorsements of the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism in 2023 were non-federal government entities, including municipalities, counties, state and provincial governments, with 47 in total doing so. Sub-national and local government adoptions represented nearly half of the 97 adoptions during 2023. Of these, 34, or 72.3% of the municipal and state level adoptions occurred in the United States. Local authorities and law enforcement agencies under their jurisdiction have a crucial role to play in confronting antisemitism where it is most directly felt – on the streets of the communities where Jews live their day-to-day lives.

The continued growth of the definition’s across-the-board acceptance was particularly pronounced in 2022 in the United States, when 18 states adopted it via legislation or executive actions. Four more U.S. states adopted the definition in 2023. More than two-third of U.S. states, 34 in total, have now adopted the definition with more expected to do so in 2024. At the state level in the U.S., this approach has been bipartisan, either via executive orders or proclamations by governors or measures passed by state legislatures, including in Arkansas, North Dakota, Colorado, and Missouri in 2023.

This year, the situation evolved as the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism was increasingly adopted on the local level. Excluding state-wide adoptions in 2023, 30 local governmental bodies in the U.S. adopted the definition. These rose from a total of 56 at the end of 2022 to 89 at the end of 2023, including 3 adoptions registered from past years. This indicates a significant annual increase of 53.6% from the total number of local adoptions in the United States, excluding the 3 adoptions registered from past years.

“ADOPTING A CLEAR, COMPREHENSIVE DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM IS THE FIRST STEP IN ERADICATING THIS HATRED FROM OUR COMMUNITY. I AM PROUD OF THE CITY FOR TAKING THIS STEP FORWARD.”

Cincinnati Council Member Mark Jeffreys

“THE CITY COUNCIL FINALLY APPROVED... THE DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM DEVELOPED BY IHRA AS A CONCRETE SIGN OF REJECTION AND CONDEMNATION OF ANY ANTISEMITIC ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOR.”

Florence City Council Vice President Emanuele Cocollini

“ALL IN KANSAS CITY DESERVE TO FEEL SAFE, RESPECTED, AND WELCOMED – AND I AM PROUD OF THE STRONG DECLARATION MADE BY THIS MAYOR AND CITY COUNCIL THAT HATE HAS NO PLACE HERE. TO OUR FRIENDS IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY: ALL OF KANSAS CITY STANDS WITH YOU TO REJECT HATE AND ANTISEMITISM.”

Kansas City Mayor Quinton Lucas
In the United Kingdom, 271 regional, local, and municipal governments have adopted the definition, as have 123 in the United States, 55 in Argentina, 20 in Canada, 13 in Italy, nine in Germany, eight in France, five in Australia, three each in Spain and Venezuela, and two each in Brazil and Poland.

By adopting the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism in 2023, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro became pioneer cities in Brazil. These adoptions, facilitated by CAM, were a landmark development in South America’s largest country, especially given the alarming 960% surge in reported antisemitic incidents there since October 7th.

In 2023, the Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador followed the 2022 adoptions by Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. Currently, eight out of ten Canadian provinces have embraced the definition.

After Croatia’s national adoption, four other Croatian entities – the University of Split, University of Zagreb Senate, Croatian Football Federation, and Croatian Olympic Committee – also adopted the definition. Notably, prior to this year, there were no recorded adoptions in Croatia.

A previous example of how national leadership foments local adoptions occurred in the United Kingdom, which was the first nation to officially adopt the definition in December 2016. From 2017 through 2021, 204 non-federal government entities in the United Kingdom adopted the definition.
Another key category of adoptions has been institutions of higher education, with 345 overall. Eight colleges and universities worldwide adopted the definition in 2023 including the University of Melbourne and Monash University in Australia, the University of Mortar in Bosnia Herzegovina, and Catholic University of Santa María la Antigua in Panama.

Despite the troubling increase in antisemitism on campuses, only one U.S. higher education institution, Boston University, adopted the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism this year. This adoption, however, was only facilitated by the student government, thus limiting its overall efficacy.

This is noticeably fewer U.S. university adoptions than occurred in 2022, when there were four adoptions.

On American college campuses, Jewish students have faced a torrent of threatening antisemitic incidents since October 7th. Antisemitic incidents on campuses have transcended discriminatory rhetoric, with calls for violence becoming more prevalent. Attempts to praise the atrocities committed by Hamas on October 7th have been made, with calls for “intifadas” and support for “resistance by any means” voiced on numerous campuses.

The alarming rise in antisemitism in the higher education realm was made even more apparent at a December 5th U.S. congressional hearing featuring the presidents of MIT, Harvard University, and the University of Pennsylvania. Summoned to testify amid increasing levels of antisemitism on their respective campuses, they failed to explicitly acknowledge that calls for the genocide of Jews constitute incitement to exercise violence, sparking severe public backlash.

A new survey commissioned by Hillel International and the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) found that nearly 73% of American Jewish college students have experienced or witnessed antisemitism since the start of the 2023-24 academic year. Furthermore, the poll results revealed that only 46% of Jewish students felt safe on their campuses.

In response to the concerning increase in antisemitic incidents on American college campuses, there has been a noticeable lack of proactive measures by many administrations to adopt and use the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism. Universities that embrace this framework will be better equipped to tackle the varied expressions of antisemitism, including anti-Zionist forms of antisemitism, that are on the rise within academic settings. This should entail the implementation of robust educational programs that raise awareness about the historical origins and current expressions of antisemitism, including the incorporation of the IHRA’s widely-accepted definition.
NGOS, INSTITUTIONS, AND ORGANIZATIONS

37 international institutions, NGOs, corporations, religious groups, student clubs, professional groups, and private enterprises adopted the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism in 2023, including 36 public entities and one private, bringing the total to 312 (254 public and 58 private).

The majority of these adoptions came from a joint initiative by 28 Polish Jewish organizations and schools last January. This coordinated effort undertaken by the leading communal organizations of Polish Jewry underscored the broad support for the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism as representing Jewish community consensus around what constitutes anti-Jewish bigotry. The adoptions by Poland’s capital city Warsaw and the city of Płock took place several months later.

Another important development in 2023 was the adoption of the definition by the Latin American Parliament, known as the “Parlatino.” In its declaration, the transnational assembly described the adoption of the definition as “an active way of combating hate speech” and “a tribute to the memory of the victims of the Holocaust,” as well as a means to “act specifically against antisemitism in our days and on all other forms of discrimination.” This adoption followed the Central America-Israel Forum, organized by CAM and hosted by the Latin American Parliament at its headquarters in Panama in September 2022. The event concluded with participants signing a joint declaration that endorsed the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism, ahead of the Parlatino’s 2023 adoption.

In recognition of the influence that both international institutions and civil society organizations can wield when choosing to become involved in the fight against antisemitism, we call on more actors to adopt the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism.
In May 2023, the White House released the first-ever U.S. National Strategy To Counter Antisemitism, which the Biden administration hopes will serve as a whole-of-government approach to combat the rise in antisemitism in the country. Among the many proposed policies, the plan embraced the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism. Specifically, the strategy stresses the importance of defining antisemitism before successfully combating it: “If we cannot name, identify, and admit a problem, we cannot begin to solve it,” it says.

Additionally bolstering the United States’ leading position in adoptions throughout 2023, the Biden Administration extended crucial safeguards within the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In accordance with the Trump Administration’s 2019 executive order on combating antisemitism, which required federal agencies that enforce Title VI to consider the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism, the Biden administration’s new initiative called on federal agencies to clarify in writing that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits certain forms of antisemitic discrimination in federally funded programs and activities. The White House reaffirmed its support for the IHRA antisemitism definition by following-up with a statement which called on these federal agencies to consider it when looking at cases of antisemitic discrimination.

Support for the examples of contemporary antisemitism outlined in the definition remain robust across executive branch agencies, including the Department of State and Department of Education. In October 2023, FBI Director Christopher Wray noted that antisemitism was reaching “historic levels” in the U.S. This federal-level stance serves as a model for non-federal governmental bodies, such as state-level departments, providing guidance in defining and addressing the growing challenges posed by antisemitism across the country.
At the state level in the U.S., Virginia provides a case study for adoption and implementation of the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism. Following the adoption of the definition by Virginia Governor Glenn Youngkin via executive order, a successful bipartisan effort to adopt and implement the definition at the legislative level followed in the state’s General Assembly. This effort was undertaken following the recommendation of the Virginia Commission to Combat Antisemitism, created by Governor Youngkin to study antisemitism in the state and issue effective policy making recommendations to combat it. This statewide effort paved the way for the governor’s signing of a law in May 2023 that codified the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism for use as a tool to identify instances of antisemitism and train “first responders, educators, and other public servants.”

The importance of adopting and implementing the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism was a focus of the annual Mayors Summits Against Antisemitism organized by CAM in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, and Dortmund, Germany, in 2023, with representatives of more than 130 municipalities participating.

When cities, counties, and other localities adopt the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism, it can be utilized by local law enforcement to more effectively respond to criminal antisemitic incidents. The adoption passed in Dallas, Texas, for example, explicitly states that the definition will be used as “an educational resource for all public safety agencies, including the Dallas Police Department and other city agencies responsible for addressing antisemitism and other forms of discrimination.”

The IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism has proven to be a powerful tool in the European context, with numerous instances showcasing its effectiveness in combating antisemitism. A notable illustration is the adoption of this definition by the City of Bamberg, Germany, in May 2023. Although the city had previously established the position of an Antisemitism Commissioner, it was only after embracing the IHRA definition that the commissioner’s mission gained practical clarity.

Aligned with the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism, the Bamberg Antisemitism Commissioner now plays a crucial role in the municipality. Responsibilities include the development of workshops addressing various contemporary forms of antisemitism, initiation of interreligious dialogue programs, promotion of educational initiatives focusing on Jewish traditions and holidays, and vigilant monitoring of antisemitic incidents. Collaborating closely with the city’s law enforcement agencies using the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism as a guide, the commissioner works with police and the public prosecutor’s office, to actively address and counter antisemitism on the local level.

“IT IS COMMONLY SAID THAT JEWS ARE THE CANARIES IN THAT COAL MINE...THIS RESOLUTION (ADOPTING IHRA) ALLOWS US TO STAND FIRM IN OUR FIGHT AGAINST HATE AND BIGOTRY.”

Dallas City Council Member Jaynie Schultz

Ft. Lauderdale Mayor Dean Trantalis addresses the 2023 North American Mayors Summit Against Antisemitism
LOOKING AHEAD

As the 2023 annual report on adoptions and endorsements of the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism has shown, clear progress has been made in fostering a collective commitment to combating anti-Jewish discrimination. Looking ahead, the focus should extend to continued collaboration among governmental entities at all levels, proactive educational initiatives, and the ongoing refinement of policies to ensure the effective and comprehensive implementation of the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism. By staying dedicated to these efforts, governing bodies and civic institutions can pave the way for a future where antisemitism is unequivocally rejected in inclusive societies built on mutual understanding and shared values.

Founded in 2019, CAM has emerged as a leading voice in the fight against antisemitism. CAM fosters groundbreaking alliances that transcend traditional divides, reaches diverse audiences with initiatives geared for specific demographics, and forges relationships with policymakers at the global, national, and local levels.

All entities that adopt the IHRA Working Definition of antisemitism are invited to report the adoptions to the Combat Antisemitism Movement (CAM) via email: info@combatantisemitism.org

THE FULL SET OF GLOBAL ADOPTION DATA IS AVAILABLE HERE.