

# CONFRONTING ANTISEMITISM AND INTOLERANCE: AN INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE

Washington DC, June 2017



# PREFACE

## **Acknowledgements**

This report gives an in-depth overview of the German-American expert exchange “Confronting Antisemitism and Intolerance,” which took place at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum June 26-30, 2017. This report is the outcome of the collaborative efforts of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) and the Kreuzberg Initiative against Antisemitism (KIgA).

The project was realized with the valuable financial and organizational support of the “Live Democracy” Program of the German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ) and The Foundation Remembrance, Responsibility and Future (EVZ). Our gratitude goes to the BMFSFJ administration, especially to Dr. Ralf Kleindiek and Dr. Iris Muth, and to Dr. Andreas Eberhardt and his team at EVZ. We are grateful to Ambassador Dr. Peter Wittig for generously hosting a reception at the German Embassy in Washington, DC.

Twenty-five German experts working on the prevention of antisemitism, right-wing extremism, and other enmities gathered in Washington, DC. We would like to thank the participants, the Museum staff, and the American and German speakers who generously shared their time and experience and provided valuable contributions for the purposes of this exchange.

Alesia Fishman, Sarah Hyams, Klaus Müller, and Tad Stahnke from the USHMM gave invaluable time, resources, and ideas to make this project possible. Dervis Hizarci and Christopher Walesch from KIgA were the backbone of the organization from beginning to end. KIgA staff Emrah Gürsel and Mirko Niehoff were also actively involved. Emrah Gürsel from KIgA wrote this report based on the documentation of the exchange.

## **Partners**

### **Live Democracy! Program**

This Federal Program supports civil society throughout Germany, working towards the aim of a diverse, non-violent and democratic society. The Program is conducted by the German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth. *demokratie-leben.de*

### **United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM)**

A living memorial to the Holocaust, the Museum inspires citizens and leaders worldwide to confront hatred, prevent genocide, and promote human dignity. Located among the national monuments to freedom on the National Mall in Washington DC, the Museum has far-reaching educational programs and global impact. *ushmm.org*

### **The Foundation Remembrance, Responsibility and Future (EVZ)**

EVZ Foundation works to promote human rights and understanding between peoples. The Foundation is an expression of the continuing political and moral responsibility of the state, the private sector and society as a whole for Nazi injustice and towards the victims. *stiftung-evz.de*

### **Kreuzberg Initiative against Antisemitism e.V. (KIgA)**

KIgA is one of the first German civil society initiatives to develop education-based methods for dealing with antisemitism in a multicultural German society. *kiga-berlin.org*

# REMARKS FROM CONFERENCE LEADERSHIP



**Dr. Ralf Kleindiek**  
State Secretary  
German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs,  
Senior Citizens, Women and Youth

In Germany, antisemitism is no longer perceived as a relevant social problem. There is a widespread assumption that coming to terms with the crimes of the Shoah is sufficient to counter antisemitism. However, the report by the Independent Expert Group on Antisemitism, published in April 2017, paints a different picture: antisemitism is a pressing social problem. Antisemitic attitudes extend from the political margins to the middle of society. Jews living in Germany perceive an increase in antisemitic incidents: from covert remarks to open antisemitism and violence. Because of its history, Germany has a special responsibility to confront antisemitism and remember the crimes of the Shoah. Jews must be able to live in Germany without fear.

In 2015, the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ) launched the federal program “Live Democracy! Active against Right-Wing Extremism, Violence and Hate.” This program supports prevention work against all forms of group-focused enmity, discrimination, antisemitism, and racism. The Kreuzberg Initiative against Antisemitism is also funded through this program. They are dedicated to the prevention of antisemitism in the migration society through a variety of projects and approaches.

In a joint effort, KIGa, the BMFSFJ, and the USHMM pursue the goal of strengthening international networking in the fight against antisemitism. The Remembrance, Responsibility and Future Foundation provides financial and planning support for this project. As a result of this cooperation, the project “Confronting Antisemitism and Intolerance: An International Exchange” took place in Washington DC from 26 to 30 June 2017. The project brought together 25 representatives of 22 political education organizations, nine organizations from the US, and experts from the USHMM.

For me, the meeting was not only enriching personally, but also demonstrated how fruitful the exchange and networking of experts could be. I was delighted by the variety of projects presented in terms of content and methodology. The approaches ranged from dealing with the Shoah and linking the memory of the Shoah with current forms of antisemitism to projects on inter-religious dialogue.

KIGa has produced this publication in order to present the central topics, the discussions and results, and to make them available to a broader public. I am quite pleased about that and would like to thank KIGa for organizing and carrying out this exchange and for its essential commitment against antisemitism. I wish all readers an inspiring reading.

**Sara Bloomfield**  
Director  
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

This Exchange stemmed from a 2014 visit by State Secretary Dr. Ralf Kleindiek to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. His leadership led to our collaboration for this conference with the BMFSFJ, the EVZ Foundation, and KIGa.

The Museum was delighted to host an inspiring group of 25 representatives from German organizations. The group participated in a week of discussions with Museum educators and representatives of American organizations working on similar issues in the United States, exchanging ideas and practices about how to educate young people about the history and lessons of the Holocaust so that they will help advance pluralism and social cohesion. This report documents the richness of the connections and learning that took place during that week.

It has been said that we are living in an era of “the great unraveling.” A resurgence of hate, antisemitism, and extremism, all empowered by ideologies and propaganda. And the biggest game changer of all – the internet. Reaching young people has never been harder – or more important.

As we know from the Holocaust, extremist ideologies provide simple answers to complex questions. Today their appeal remains as strong as ever because human nature remains as susceptible as ever. Technology can change many things, but it can’t change human nature. We will never outgrow our tendencies to fear, resentment, and ignorance, and our need for acceptance, belonging, and meaning.

That is why the lessons of the past are more urgent today than ever before and why the work of the conference participants and the Museum depends on helping people grapple with many hard questions that emanate from Holocaust history: How can we advance social cohesion in a world of individual empowerment made possible by the internet? How do we build strong communities while avoiding dangerous tribalism? How do we promote free speech and the sense of responsibility and skills required to address dangerous and hate speech?

This is a very bold aspiration that will require many friends and partners all over the world. We are very grateful to longtime Museum friend Dr. Kleindiek for his leadership and vision, and to Dr. Andreas Eberhardt, Chief Executive Officer, Foundation Remembrance, Responsibility and Future, for their valuable support of this conference. We extend special appreciation to KIGa, a long-standing partner who played a lead role in planning this important gathering.

**Dr. Andreas Eberhardt**  
Chief Executive Officer  
The Foundation Remembrance, Responsibility  
and Future

Confronting antisemitism and intolerance is such a real issue that it can only be encountered by a broad network of people working together.

That is what this project stands for: an exchange of knowledge with a week of face-to-face communication that laid the groundwork for future cooperation and an international network.

At the moment Europe and the US are facing similar challenges. Things we thought we had overcome rise again. Racist statements become part of the public debate again. Laws are being drafted based on prejudices, and populism partly dictates the political narrative. This international phenomenon can only be addressed internationally.

Recent developments also bring some opportunities. We just have to take them. It is now on us to take a stand for a society embracing diversity and equal chances and work for an open and democratic future for all of us. Let us use the uniting power of a common enemy to our advantage.

This international exchange shows the truth behind the saying “the whole is more than the sum of its parts.” Through this international project a large pool of knowledge materialized, and through the exchange of expertise, even more knowledge was built.

The different circumstances and historical backgrounds in the United States and Germany lead to different approaches on how to tackle these issues. Thus, every contribution was a unique approach.

Through discussions, specific examples, and exchange of good practices, a win-win situation arose. This shows that together we can find better ways of action for a future where everybody can take part in society, regardless of religion, skin color or sexuality. New connections were made, and the groundwork for an international network laid. The bigger the network becomes, the stronger the impact will be.

Our thanks go to the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, KlG e.V., the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and all the participants with their interests, inputs, and commitments that made this exchange valuable.

**Dervis Hizarci**  
Chairperson  
Kreuzberg Initiative against Antisemitism,

Since its establishment more than 13 years ago, KlG has implemented and participated in countless exchange programs, and KlG staff have seen different countries, partners, and approaches in numerous places around the world. But allow me to say that the publication you are holding in your hands is the result of one of the most extraordinary international exchanges KlG ever organized. Even just a quick glance at the index will give you an excellent first impression of the variety of discussions we had and the diversity of people who attended this exceptional event.

When we started planning this conference, one goal in particular was clear to us from the beginning: we wanted to establish strong international networks, and we wanted other German organizations to join us. In partnership with State Secretary Dr. Ralf Kleindiek and his colleague Dr. Iris Muth, from the Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth; Christa Meyer and Marianna Matzer from the EVZ Foundation; and Klaus Müller of the USHMM; we planned the trip, discussed possible outcomes and began thinking about prospective follow up conferences. The result was a conference unique in structure and the variety of attending experts, reaching from high-level government officials from Germany and the US to professionals and active players in the field of education against hatred, racism, and discrimination.

The impact of this conference, especially on the German participants, has been vast. Since we first met in March 2017, throughout the conference and until today, there has been a vivid exchange between participants and partners. New collaborative projects were developed, powerful alliances were forged, and last but not least, friends were made.

When KlG founder and director Aycan Demirel and I visited the USHMM in 2016 – one year before our conference – we both knew that the most efficient way for sustainable and strong organizational development was through international encounters and alliances with strong partners. Strong partnerships are essential if you want to fight bigotry and hatred. Having laid the foundation for further international exchange programs to come, I can say that despite all the challenges, I am confident and optimistic about the future. And I am positive that after reading this publication, you will agree with me.

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# PROGRAM AGENDA

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**Monday, June 26**

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**8:30 a.m. Welcome**

**Dr. Ralf Kleindiek**  
State Secretary, German Federal  
Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior  
Citizens, Women and Youth

**Sarah Ogilvie**  
Chief Program Officer, United States  
Holocaust Memorial Museum

**Tad Stahnke**  
Director, Initiative on Holocaust  
Denial and Antisemitism, USHMM

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**9:15 a.m. Self-guided Tour through  
Permanent Exhibition**

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**11:00 a.m. Debrief on the Tour**

MODERATOR  
**Timothy Kaiser**  
Deputy Director, Levine Institute  
for Holocaust Education, USHMM

**Ann O'Rourke**  
Law, Justice and Society  
Initiatives, USHMM

**William Frederick Meinecke Jr.**  
Leadership Programs,  
United States Holocaust  
Memorial Museum

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**12:30 p.m. Speech and Lunch**

**Sarah Hyams**  
Program Coordinator, Initiative  
on Holocaust Denial and  
Antisemitism, USHMM

SPEAKER  
**Dora Klayman**  
Holocaust survivor and  
Museum volunteer

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**1:15 p.m. Introductions**

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MODERATOR  
**Tad Stahnke**  
Director, Initiative on Holocaust  
Denial and Antisemitism, USHMM

**Kristine Donly**  
Acting Director, Levine Institute for  
Holocaust Education, USHMM  
*Evolution of the Strategic Plan*

**Dr. Iris Muth**  
Head, Department of Radicalization  
Prevention, German Federal Ministry  
of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens,  
Women and Youth  
*Live Democracy – Governmental  
Support for Democracy and  
Prevention of Radicalisation  
in Germany*

**Dervis Hizarci**  
Chair, Kreuzberg Initiative  
against Antisemitism  
*A Brief Introduction of the Group  
and the Goals of the Study Visit*

**Dr. Mirko Niehoff**  
Kreuzberg Initiative against Antisemitism  
*KlgA on Antisemitism, Anti-Muslim  
Attitudes, and Community Outreach*

**Janna Petersen**  
Lola for Democracy  
*LGBTI Work in the State of Mecklenburg-  
Vorpommern and Work in Rural Areas*

**Deniz Greschner**  
Multicultural Forum, Dortmund  
*Working on Antisemitism  
and Holocaust Education  
with Minorities*

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**Tuesday, June 27**

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**3:00 p.m. USHMM Goals and Strategies to Reach Key Audiences**

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MODERATOR

**Klaus Müller**

Representative for Europe,  
USHMM

**Kristine Donly**

Acting Director, Levine Institute for  
Holocaust Education, USHMM  
*Youth*

**Wendy Lower**

Acting Director, Jack, Joseph and  
Morton Mandel Center for Advanced  
Holocaust Studies, USHMM  
*Scholars*

**Sarah Lombard**

Museum Experience and  
Digital Media, USHMM  
*General Public*

**Naomi Kikoler**

Deputy Director, Simon-Skjodt Center  
for the Prevention of Genocide, USHMM  
*Policymakers*

**Marcus Appelbaum**

Director, Law, Justice and  
Society Initiatives, USHMM  
*Law Enforcement and  
Military Leaders*

**Mina Abdelmalak**

Initiative on Holocaust Denial  
and Antisemitism, USHMM  
*Non-traditional Audiences  
(Arabic Audience)*

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**3:30 p.m. Concurrent Roundtable 1**

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**3:50 p.m. Concurrent Roundtable 2**

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**4:10 p.m. Concurrent Roundtable 3**

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**4:30 p.m. Wrap-up Discussion 4**

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**6:00 p.m. Reception & Dinner in the Museum's Hall of Witness**

**Sara Bloomfield**

Director, USHMM

**Dr. Ralf Kleindiek**

State Secretary, German Federal  
Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior  
Citizens, Women and Youth

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**9:00 a.m. Presentation: Applying Holocaust History**

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**Timothy Kaiser**

Deputy Director, Levine Institute for  
Holocaust Education, USHMM

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**11:00 a.m. Panel Discussion**

MODERATOR

**Timothy Kaiser**

Deputy Director, Levine Institute  
for Holocaust Education, USHMM

**Franziska Göpner**

Anne Frank Center, Berlin  
*Working on Holocaust Education  
in Prisons, Using an Exhibition  
about Anne Frank*

**Kathrin Krahl**

"Roma Respect," Heinrich Böll  
Foundation  
*Anti-Gypsyism and Historical  
Political Education*

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**Noon Putting our Pedagogy into Practice**

MODERATOR

**Lynn Williams**

Director, Leadership Programs,  
USHMM

**Sara Bloomfield**

Director, USHMM

**Milagros DeSouza**

Bringing the Lessons Home  
Ambassador (2015)

**Adriana Usmayo Macedonia**

Bringing the Lessons Home  
Ambassador (2012)

**Michael Watson**

Bringing the Lessons Home  
Ambassador (2006)

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1:45 p.m.

**Educational Methods to  
Confront Antisemitism**

MODERATOR

**Aleisa Fishman**

Levine Institute for Holocaust  
Education, USHMM

PANELISTS

**Tad Stahnke**

Director, Initiative on Holocaust  
Denial and Antisemitism, USHMM

**Mina Abdelmalak**

Initiative on Holocaust Denial and  
Antisemitism, USHMM

**Victoria Barnett**

Director, Programs on Ethics,  
Religion, and the Holocaust,  
USHMM

**Deborah Krieg**

Anne Frank Educational Centre,  
Frankfurt

*Pedagogical Approaches of the  
Anne Frank Educational Center in  
the Field of Confronting Antisemitism*

**Kathrin Allmann**

Action Reconciliation Service for Peace  
*Working on Holocaust Education  
in Refugee Communities and  
Confronting Antisemitism in  
Migrant Communities*

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4:00 p.m.

**Government Tools to Confront  
Hatred and Discrimination**

LOCATION

US Department of Justice

**Eric Treene**

Special Counsel for Religious  
Discrimination, Office of  
the Assistant Attorney General,  
Civil Rights Division,  
US Department of Justice

**Gerri Ratliff**

Director, Community Relations Service,  
US Department of Justice

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6:00 p.m.

**Reception at the German  
Ambassador's Residence**

**Ambassador Peter Wittig**

German Ambassador to the  
United States

**Dr. Ralf Kleindiek**

State Secretary, German Federal  
Ministry of Family Affairs,  
Senior Citizens, Women and Youth

**Allan Holt**

Vice Chairman, United States  
Holocaust Memorial Council

**Dr. Andreas Eberhardt**

Chief Executive Officer,  
Foundation "Remembrance,  
Responsibility and Future" (EVZ)

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10 a.m. **Antisemitism in Germany and the United States Today**

MODERATOR

**Tad Stahnke**

Director, Initiative on Holocaust Denial and Antisemitism, USHMM

**Dr. Ralf Kleindiek**

State Secretary, German Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth

PANELISTS

**Dervis Hizarci**

On behalf of the German Parliament's Independent Experts Group on Antisemitism

**Jana Scheuring**

Central Board of Jewish Welfare in Germany (ZWST)

**Richard T. Foltin**

Director of National and Legislative Affairs, American Jewish Committee

**Doron F. Ezickson**

Director, Washington, DC Regional Office, Anti-Defamation League

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12:30 p.m. **Lunch and Mid-Point Feedback**

MODERATOR

**Klaus Müller**

Representative for Europe, USHMM

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1:30 p.m.

**Jewish-Muslim Dialogue in Germany and the US**

MODERATOR

**Edna Friedberg**

Director of Strategic Relationships, Levine Institute for Holocaust Education, USHMM

PANELISTS:

**Bob Silverman**

US Director of Muslim-Jewish Relations, American Jewish Committee (Muslim-Jewish Advisory Council)

**Dr. Sayyid M. Syeed**

National Director, Islamic Society of North America (Muslim-Jewish Advisory Council)

**Dervis Hizarci**

Chair, Kreuzberg Initiative against Antisemitism

**Jana Scheuring**

Central Board of Jewish Welfare in Germany (ZWST)

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3:30 p.m.

**Coalition Building—Case Studies**

MODERATOR

**Aleisa Fishman**

Levine Institute for Holocaust Education, USHMM

PANELISTS

**Anjali Thakur-Mittal**

Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights

**Becky Monroe**

Stop Hate Project, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

**Simone Ball**

German Trade Union Youth Organization Southern Hesse

**Friederike Petersen**

National Network for Civil Society

**Thursday, June 29**


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**Morning**      **Visit to National Museum of African American History and Culture**

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**1:00 p.m.**      **Current State of Hate Speech Online in Germany and the US, and Tools to Confront It**

MODERATOR

**Steven Luckert**

Museum Experience and Digital Media, USHMM

**Jonathan Vick**

Investigative Technology and Cyberhate Response, Anti-Defamation League

**Mark Potok**

Expert on the American radical right

**Michael Wörner-Schappert**

jugendschutz.net  
*Approaches to Confront Online Hate Speech and to Protect Youngsters Online from Hate Speech and Violence*

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**3:15 p.m.**      **Coalition Building—Case Studies**

MODERATOR

**Tad Stahnke**

Director, Initiative on Holocaust Denial and Antisemitism, USHMM

PANELISTS

**Rachel Carroll Rivas**

Montana Human Rights Network

**Susan Corke**

Countering Antisemitism and Extremism, Human Rights First

**Friday, June 30**


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**9:00 a.m.**      **Concluding Discussion**

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# PROGRAM SUMMARY





**Monday, June 26**

**9:15 a.m. Self-guided Tour through  
Permanent Exhibition**

**11:00 a.m. Debrief on the Tour**

## Visiting the USHMM's Permanent Exhibition

The exchange participants were guided in groups through “The Holocaust,” the permanent exhibition of the Museum. The exhibition consists of three floors and presents a chronological narrative of the Holocaust. Visitors encounter historical artifacts, photographs, film footage, personal objects, and survivor testimonies.

The top floor provides an overview of the Nazi Party's seizure of power in Germany from 1933 until the outbreak of World War II in 1939. This section provides a close look at the dynamics of the totalitarian regime: propaganda, terror, violence, and institutionalized racism. It explores the “transformation of the country's Jews from citizens to outcasts and mobilization of the entire nation against groups deemed to be enemies of the state.” Visitors learn about the critical assaults of Nazis in this period, such as the Nuremberg race laws, Kristallnacht, and the invasion of Poland.

The middle floor examines the genocidal policies (i.e. ghettoization, mass murder in killing fields and gas chambers) of the “Final Solution,” including photos of deportation and internment of Jews, and testimonies from Auschwitz. There is significant emphasis on the facts about thousands of camps, with hundreds of thousands of inmates, including Jews, Roma, and prisoners of war. The section also includes explanation of the Warsaw ghetto uprising.

The final floor focuses on the aftermath of the Holocaust, including the prosecution of Nazi war criminals, stories of rescuers and resisters, and bystander attitudes. It highlights courageous non-Jews who risked death or imprisonment to save their Jewish neighbors. It concludes with films on American responses to the Holocaust and a film on survival and rescue, “Testimony.” The exhibition benefits from the power of storytelling. An important aspect is its critical look at the American response to Nazi policies.

Museum-Created ID Cards  
[ushmm.org/remember/id-card](http://ushmm.org/remember/id-card)



### REFLECTIONS FROM THE GROUP

I felt a struggle in the narrative of the exhibition, about which vision (perpetrator, victim or bystander) prevails.

I appreciate the focus on life before the Holocaust and on American public responses to the Holocaust.

I was impressed by the connection to the present, especially to the refugee issue.

I was positively surprised to see topics that we had not covered much in Germany until recently, such as Soviet prisoners of war and Jewish immigration.

The reason for using compelling footage is the concern that visitors won't read the texts.

Although there are differences among different groups who visit, American visitors are usually impressed most by the physical artifacts, such as shoes of victims or the train car.

I wonder about the positive and negative reactions of the American audience.

The exhibition is 25 years old. Young people can miss digital things in this exhibition, like ones that respond to touch. The exhibition should be revised to meet these expectations.

Strong icons are used, by which people can easily remember the historical events, e.g. gas chambers.

Some artifacts reproduce stereotypes of the victims, like the “gypsy” cart.

‘De-Germanization’ of Jews is a significant emphasis, which I miss in Germany.



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## Reflections of a USHMM Survivor Volunteer

Dora Klayman

It is with humility and awe that I read the list of the names of your organizations and the description of the work you do; it is inspiring to see how many of you stand along with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in fighting to preserve the memory of those who were victims of past injustices and against those who would once again perpetrate such crimes. We are living in a difficult time, as once again doors are being closed to people fleeing from war, starvation, and from genocide.

This Museum's voice speaks loudly in protecting the persecuted in the world, and against political policies of injustice. This voice is strong and it carries moral authority, as it is based on its sacred mission: to preserve and document the past, to secure and study the evidence of the crimes committed during the Holocaust. It is through this evidence that the Museum seeks to educate, both the current and the future generations, to help the world understand the need for tolerance and the futility of hate.

In the year 2000, the Museum undertook a particularly difficult task. It involved saving and then preserving the documentation from Jasenovac, the notorious concentration camp run by Ustashe, the Croatian fascists, that from 1941 to 1945 ran the so called Independent State of Croatia. My parents, grandparents and practically my entire extended family perished in that camp—a brutal, inhumane place that saw tens of thousands of Jews, Roma, partisans and Serbs tortured and killed. After the Second World War the Yugoslav government created a memorial and an archive on the grounds of Jasenovac, and kept there whatever documentation survived the Ustashe efforts to destroy the evidence of horrors perpetrated on the inmates. Unfortunately, by the early 1990s war broke out again in the former Yugoslavia. And what had happened in Jasenovac during the 1940s played a part in the political maneuvering that

led to this new war, and ultimately to yet another genocide, that in Bosnia, in Srebrenica. As that war was about to begin, the director of the Jasenovac archive, a Serb, feared that the war might lead to the destruction of the remaining evidence of war crimes. So, he packed it all, and drove off to Republika Srpska, where it all seemed to disappear. Fortunately, not forever. By the end of that terrible decade, the USHMM was alerted to where much of these materials could be found: across the border, in a basement, in cartons, unprotected and deteriorating. With much difficulty, arrangements were made by the staff of this Museum to bring the entire collection to Washington. In fact, some of the rescue sounds like a script for a mystery movie: a truck and two of our staff, during the night, crossing the border into Republika Srpska, bringing it all to the US embassy in Zagreb to be shrink-wrapped and sent to Washington. Historical films and photographs; a score of individual documents; lists of names of entire Serb villages deported and killed; oral testimonies by survivors made immediately after the liberation, testifying to the conditions and horrors during their internment; spoons and bowls used by inmates; belt clasps, handbags, and even a handwritten cookbook were suddenly all here.

It's here that I come in. I had just retired from almost 30 years of teaching, ready to start a new phase of my life. But I must admit that my thoughts did not run to dealing with the Holocaust; in fact, I shied away from dwelling on what happened to me during my early childhood. I had been fortunate enough to survive the Holocaust in Croatia—hidden, often in full view, in a small town where everyone knew that I was the Rabbi's granddaughter; miraculously, no one denounced me. When everyone in my family was deported, I was sheltered by a Catholic uncle, or by friends and neighbors. By the end of the war I was seven years old, and I believed I was lucky—I survived! And although practically none of my family survived, including my Aunt Giza, I felt lucky to be loved and protected by her husband, my Catholic uncle, who himself survived Jasenovac, and who adopted and raised me. In the aftermath of the war, in what became a Communist country, it was best to try to forget my enormous personal losses. By the age of 20, by another stroke of luck, I arrived in the US.

And when it was announced that a Holocaust museum was to be built on the National Mall in Washington, DC, I was not at all enthusiastic about the prospect. Why here, in the United States? And why on the Mall, where people go to enjoy life and the museums full of art? So, when I heard from a friend about the arrival to the Holocaust Museum of the Jasenovac archive, and was asked whether I would be interested in helping with it, I was not at all sure that I wanted to or could face it. Did I want to look at all those lists of



**“People want to see the perpetrators as ‘psychopaths.’ From a pedagogical perspective it is an interesting question how we should deal with the perpetrators.”**

– Exchange participant





murdered victims? See those photographs? Handle those spoons and bowls that may have been in my father's hands? I hesitated, and yet, I felt compelled: after all, there were all those documents, and I knew that very few people could read the Croatian language. I could, I had that skill; I had to do it. So I joined the staff, and in helping to sort and pack, I learned much, not only about this project but about myself and about the staff at the Museum—for them, as for me, each item saved from oblivion testified to historic truth, and is to be handled with great care and reverence.

I became aware of the incredible skill, knowledge and patience that goes into the Museum's many functions: archivists, experts in special photography and in digitizing, historians, curators, all added their special expertise in the restoration. The digitized version of the Jasenovac archive is now online, and accessible to all. And the restored archival material is now back in Croatia, at a newly created Jasenovac Memorial Site.

Jasenovac Memorial Site  
*[jusp-jasenovac.hr](http://jusp-jasenovac.hr)*

As that project came to an end, I knew that I must continue to volunteer here, at the Holocaust Museum. It was inevitable that I would come to see this Museum as almost a sacred place—a memorial to so many who have lost their lives for no other reason than prejudice and intolerance.

The program entitled, "First Person," allows each survivor volunteer to be just that—a first person witness of his or her life during the time of the Holocaust. It is often not easy to share those recollections, and it may be painful, but each time I do, and meet and talk with the members of the audience, I know that the effort was most worthwhile and necessary.

Recently, I spoke at a community gathering in a small town in Arkansas, and I had an encounter that will always stay in my mind: after my talk, and after I had answered many questions from the audience, a little boy, at most 10 years old, raised his hand and in a very quiet voice asked this question: "And do you now hate all Germans?" I was stunned, and tried to answer the best I could: "No, no, I don't hate the Germans; if we should already speak of hate, then let's think of hating only those who perpetrated the crimes during the Holocaust.

But the Germans living now are not responsible for those crimes; they now have strict laws that protect minorities; they have repudiated the actions of their nation's past and have made a great effort to teach about it in schools so nothing like that could happen again."

The little boy nodded and said, "that is good; I am glad, because I am German." As you can imagine, I was taken aback and very touched, and glad that I was able to reassure him. No, hate is not the answer; rather, it blinds us, it is the cause of much suffering, it leads people and whole countries to inhumanity and to crimes.

Let us hope instead for tolerance and compassion, for empathy and respect for others, for a better world for all. Thank you for being here, with us, and thank you for allowing me to share some of my thoughts.

**"I knew that I must continue to volunteer here, at the Holocaust Museum. It was inevitable that I would come to see this Museum as almost a sacred place—a memorial to so many who have lost their lives for no other reason than prejudice and intolerance."**

— Dora Klayman, Survivor volunteer

**Monday, June 26**

**1:15 p.m.**

**Introductions**

**Kristine Donly**

Acting Director, Levine Institute for Holocaust Education, USHMM  
*Evolution of the Strategic Plan*

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## **The USHMM and Its Strategic Plan<sup>1</sup>**

President Jimmy Carter established the President's Commission on the Holocaust and charged it with the responsibility to submit a report "with respect to the establishment and maintenance of an appropriate memorial to those who perished in the Holocaust."

The Commission, chaired by Elie Wiesel, consisted of 34 members and included Holocaust survivors, lay and religious leaders of all faiths, historians and scholars, an members of Congress. The top recommendation of the Commission's report (1979) was to establish a museum.

There was growing interest in the Holocaust when the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum opened in 1993. Early on it received about 2 million visitors a year and many requests for cooperation from educational institutions. The Museum realized the need to better understand how to serve its visitors, which audiences should it serve, and how to accomplish its mission. For example, there are more than 300,000 social studies teachers in the US, and no national curriculum on Holocaust education. Although several thousand secondary students visit the Museum each year, a strategy to reach more of them might focus on teachers. How can the Museum reach this audience more effectively? A strategic plan can prioritize efforts towards a specific vision and mission. The outline of the Museum's current strategic plan is below:

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<sup>1</sup> Some parts of this section were taken from the USHMM website.

## Vision

- The permanence of Holocaust memory, understanding and relevance
- A world in which people confront hatred, prevent genocide and promote human dignity
- Unique Foundation
- Its federal status and role as America's national memorial to the victims of the Holocaust
- A broad and diverse global audience
- The Collection of Record on the Holocaust
- A world leader in Holocaust education and scholarship
- A leader in the emerging field of genocide prevention
- A range of partnerships with governments, institutions, and individuals worldwide

## Approach

The Museum is a memorial to the victims and focuses on documenting, examining and teaching how and why the Holocaust happened, targeting two major audiences—leaders and youth.

The Holocaust is a warning that the unthinkable is possible and that human nature makes all of us susceptible to the abuse of power, a belief in the inferiority of “the other,” and the ability to justify any behavior. Its significance is not only that it happened, but that it happened in one of the most educated, advanced regions of the world, and was led by a nation, albeit a struggling one, with a democratic constitution, the rule of law, and freedom of expression.

A harsh reminder of human nature and the fragility of societies, the Museum motivates citizens and leaders to work proactively to protect free societies and prevent future genocides.

## Long Term Outcomes

- a growing pipeline of youth who understand the causes, events, and consequences of the Holocaust; recognize the importance of its lessons about human nature and societies; and take an active role in confronting divisions that threaten social cohesion
- a growing pipeline of “active agents” in the US and abroad who champion Holocaust education and genocide prevention and provide leadership in promoting pluralism, human dignity and individual responsibility to new audiences
- an increasing number of institutions and organizations that integrate Holocaust history in their work and promote its lessons about pluralism, human dignity, and individual responsibility
- a group of governments that have structures, tools and policy makers committed to early action to prevent genocide and mass violence.

**Monday, June 26**

**1:15 p.m.**

## Introductions

### **Dr. Iris Muth**

Head, Department of  
Radicalization Prevention,  
BMFSFJ  
*Live Democracy –  
Governmental Support for  
Democracy and Prevention  
of Radicalization in Germany*

# “Live Democracy!” Program<sup>2</sup>

Day by day, many initiatives, associations and committed citizens throughout Germany are actively working towards their goal of a diverse, non-violent and democratic society. In this important task, they are being supported by a federal program launched by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women, and Youth named “Live Democracy!”

The federal program's target groups include, in particular, children and young people, their parents, relatives and reference persons, and also volunteer, part-time and full-time child care workers, multipliers and governmental and civil society actors. “Live Democracy!” is also a cornerstone of the Federal Government's strategy to prevent extremism and promote democracy.

## The Pillars of the Program

“Live Democracy!” operates at various levels. The funded projects to prevent radicalization and promote democracy have a local, regional or national focus.

The program started in January 2015 and will be running until the end of 2019. The funding for 2017 amounts to €104.5 million in total.

The program supports civil society in two main areas: Sustainable Structures and Pilot Projects.

<sup>2</sup> This section is taken from the Program's website: [demokratie-leben.de/en/federal-programme/about-live-democracy.html](http://demokratie-leben.de/en/federal-programme/about-live-democracy.html)



## A) Sustainable Structures

### 1) Partnerships for Democracy

Currently, it funds 261 municipalities throughout Germany. Local politicians and authorities, and civil society actors throughout Germany, are supported in developing and implementing strategies to promote democracy and diversity.

### 2) Federal State Democracy Centers

In every federal state, a Federal State Democracy Center supports the development of concepts and strategies to promote democracy and diversity and ensure a networking of local activities and projects, especially those of the local partnerships for democracy. Also, the Centers coordinate the work of the counseling and prevention services and act as a point of contact for people seeking help.

### 3) Structural development of nation-wide NGOs

Currently the program supports 28 non-governmental organizations to professionalize their activities for promoting democracy and preventing radicalization.

## B) Pilot projects

Pilot projects test innovative approaches and methods in work with children, young people, and young adults. The methods and materials developed in the pilot projects can be implemented in educational and training work.

“Live Democracy!” supports pilot projects in the following thematic areas:

### 1) Group-focused Enmity and Approaches to Strengthen Democracy in Rural Areas

It currently funds 95 pilot projects dedicated to the following topics:

- Racism and racial discrimination
- Current forms of antisemitism
- Anti-Gypsyism
- Current forms of Islamophobia
- Homophobia and transphobia
- Anti-discrimination and early prevention among pre-school children
- Strengthening democracy in rural Areas

### 2) Prevention of Radicalization

It funds currently 44 pilot projects on preventing the processes of radicalization, with the goal of enabling young people to recognize anti-democratic positions and to examine them critically. The supported projects tackle the following phenomena:



- Right-wing extremist attitudes and actions
- Islamist attitudes and actions
- Left-wing militancy

### 3) Civic Engagement and Diversity in the Workplace

In close collaboration with the social partners and employees are encouraged to closely examine specific problem areas in the workplace. The aim is to work with business organizations to test and develop concepts for countering anti-democratic attitudes and group-focused enmity in the workplace.

### 4) Strengthening Democracy in the Educational Sector

It is important to promote democracy and prevent radicalisation in the environment of children and young people. This includes, in particular, social areas, day nurseries and other educational establishments. A sense of a strong, diverse democracy is to be lived and learned in everyday life. For this purpose, new models of cooperation to strengthen sustainable prevention work are to be tested by practitioners from children and youth services.

### 5) Living Together in a Diverse Society

The increase in violence and threats against refugees and people actively engaged in voluntary work underlines the importance of strengthening of democracy and peaceful coexistence in Germany as a program area of "Live Democracy!" As of 2017, new formats are being promoted which can be used to process controversial, polarizing and emotionally charged socio-political conflicts and negotiate them democratically.

### 6) Strengthening Civic Engagement on the Web – Against Online Hate Speech

This program area aims to support projects for strengthening democracy and civic engagement on the web. Innovative educational formats are used to teach skills to children, young people, parents, multipliers, and educators to deal appropriately with hate speech on the internet. People and groups who are affected by racism and discrimination are to be empowered through the development of new formats.

### 7) Prevention and De-Radicalization in Prison and on Probation

In close collaboration with the relevant Federal State Ministries of Justice and the Federal State Democracy Centers, projects aim to develop preventive educational services for juvenile offenders in prison and to support them during and after their imprisonment. This program area also aims to support projects for the training and professional development of staff in prisons.

**Monday, June 26**

1:15 p.m.

**Introductions**

**Dervis Hizarci**

Chair, Kreuzberg Initiative  
against Antisemitism

## Kreuzberg Initiative against Antisemitism

The educational institution KlG e.V. develops innovative concepts for preventing antisemitism in Germany. Since 2003, KlG has been developing educational approaches and materials and implementing them in schools and extra-curricular contexts. KlG deals with complex, sensitive and politically controversial issues, making connections between various forms of social exclusion in order to be relevant to the young people with whom they work in schools, youth centers, and mosques.

At the moment, KlG works on

- antisemitism,
- anti-Muslim racism,
- radical Islamism, and
- historical and political education.

KlG's work is becoming more widely known in Germany and beyond. Increasingly, schools and municipalities turn to KlG for help in developing and implementing educational measures on these important issues. KlG's team is composed of experts with a wide range of -social and professional backgrounds. KlG trains educators, organizes academic discussions, and offers consultation services for politicians, political organizations, local municipalities and in the education sector.

KlG has received awards from

- the Anti-Defamation League,
- the Central Council of Jews in Germany,
- the Alliance for Democracy and Tolerance, and
- Berlin Regional Office of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.







## Projects

**Anders Denken:** This project creates concepts and materials in the area of antisemitism-critical education for pupils. The educational ideas focus on current forms of antisemitism, such as Israel-related and secondary antisemitism, conspiracy theories, and religious fundamentalist positions. The project sensitizes and educates pedagogical specialists and multipliers doing advanced training courses. Through a new online platform, the project will offer a forum for background information, discourses and pedagogical approaches in dealing with current forms of antisemitism.

**Discover Diversity - Between the Present and the Past:** The aim of this project is to educate young refugees about politics, taking their experience into account and seeking new approaches to historical-political education. Program content focuses on living together in a diverse society. A project week is conducted during welcome classes, which were formed by some secondary schools in Berlin and Brandenburg. In addition, young refugees are trained as trainers.

**L'Chaim - To Life:** This project is a trilingual, interactive touring exhibition (in German, English, and Arabic) about the diversity of Jewish life in Berlin. The aim is to reduce prejudice and highlight commonalities between Jews and non-Jews by presenting different facets of contemporary Jewish life. Along with the exhibition, public events, workshops for young people and young adults, as well as training courses for multipliers will be organized. The exhibition is also accessible online:

***lchaim.berlin***

**Radicalization Prevention:** This model project develops actions and strategies to prevent anti-democratic attitudes and Islamic radicalization. The three pillars of the project include socio-spatial prevention approaches, peer-to-peer education strategies, and training for multipliers. In the conflict-affected social space of a neighborhood in Berlin-Kreuzberg, KIgA accompanies local residents and develops a prevention plan with them to counteract processes of violence and radicalization.

**Dealing with Conflict Issues Related to Turkey at Schools:** The primary objective is to identify the central conflicts in German schools about issues related to Turkey. Field research will identify central patterns of interpretation and lines of conflict in schools. Pedagogical concepts and modules will be tested, evaluated and modified in selected partner schools. Finally, there will be efforts to disseminate the results, such as publishing a handbook for teachers and organizing a symposium and conducting several teacher seminars.

***kiga-berlin.org***

**“KIgA’s approach recognizes and respects attitudes and interests of our audience. We believe in the importance of letting young people express their perspectives and experiences openly on difficult issues.”**

— KIgA

**Introductions**

**Dr. Mirko Niehoff**

Kreuzberg Initiative against Antisemitism  
*KlgA on Antisemitism, Anti-Muslim Attitudes, and Community Outreach*

**Janna Petersen**

Lola for Democracy  
*LGBTI Work in the State of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and Work in Rural Areas*

**Deniz Greschner**

Multicultural Forum, Dortmund  
*Working on Antisemitism and Holocaust Education with Minorities*

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## Voices from the Field: KlgA, Lola for Democracy and Multicultural Forum

**KlgA on Antisemitism, Anti-Muslim Attitudes, and Community Outreach**

KlgA was founded in 2003 in Berlin's Kreuzberg district, which is characterized by political activity and large communities with migrant backgrounds, especially Turkish and Arabic. After 9/11 and the second Intifada, antisemitic attitudes were on the rise, and there was an absence of pedagogical strategies to confront current forms of antisemitism. At the time in Germany, antisemitism was a part of Holocaust education.

KlgA works on antisemitism in migration societies, developing educational concepts for schools and places like youth clubs, and empowering educators all around Germany to take on this issue. In addition, currently they are preparing an exhibition on Jewish biographies, and expanding their focus to include anti-Muslim racism and radical Islamism.

KlgA's approach recognizes and respects the attitudes and interests of their audience. They believe in the importance of letting young people express their perspectives and experiences openly on difficult issues like the Holocaust and the Middle East conflict, or any other matter in their everyday lives. They see young people as individuals, and they are interested in what they have to say. In KlgA's experience, this approach is key to building critical thinking. They aim to expand competencies in political judgment, reflection, criticism and ambiguity tolerance (*Widerspruchtoleranz*), a term of critical theory and an essential skill in preventing antisemitism.

**LGBTI Work in Rural Areas**

Lola for Democracy works in the federal State of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. Founded by the Amadeu Antonio Foundation in 2008, it works to strengthen democratic civil society and to eliminate right-wing extremism with a focus on gender.

Mecklenburg-Vorpommern is a less developed region of Germany, populated mostly by white Germans. Right-wing extremism is well organized there, and Neo-Nazi violence is a threat to all so-called non-whites. Hate crimes and homophobia are widespread.

"Un\_Sichtbar" (In\_Visible) is a long-term pilot project of Lola for Democracy on fighting homophobia and transphobia and supporting LGBTI rights in rural areas. Activities are funded by the "Live Democracy" Program and the Dreilinden gGmbH.

The aim is to initiate a culture of remembrance concerning homophobia and transphobia. There is still a lack of knowledge about persecution of homosexuals during Nazi rule, and there is no memorial site about it in the region. Moreover, the LGBTI organizations in the area are underfunded and unable to offer consultation services for LGBTIs - especially medical support for transgender - in the countryside.

Central to their work is their expert report on current discrimination based on interviews with LGBTI people, and with a focus on public education. The publication illustrates the silence in German society and the failure of institutions to address this issue.

Another project is an exhibition based on historical research and interviews to present biographical information on LGBTI people using self-narratives. It takes a critical approach to the categorizations and characterizations used by the Nazi perpetrators. The project works with young local people to research in their communities. The aim is to create local discussions and to decrease intolerance against transphobia and homophobia in society.

[un-sichtbar-mv.de](http://un-sichtbar-mv.de)



#### **Working on Antisemitism with Minorities**

Multikulturales Forum (MkF) has been committed to promoting and supporting migrants' professional, social and political welfare since 1985. It mainly focuses on employment, qualification, education, and counseling in the Westphalian Ruhr region.

MkF realized that the media, especially the Turkish media, plays a role in boosting antisemitism among youth. They initiated their media literacy project "Objektiv" (lens), targeting young people (ages 16-27) from different backgrounds in Dortmund, Hamm and Unna districts. Depending on topics and ages of participants, duration and frequency of workshops can vary.

In small groups (maximum of 15) young people look critically at German, Turkish, Arabic and Russian media to understand its influence and to identify antisemitism. Participants consider information sources, choices of words and visuals, and the media's effect on their opinion. It is important to understand how the media can create risks and opportunities at the same time. Participants are empowered to form their own bias-free and antisemitism-sensitive media products. The project also organizes site visits to places like synagogues and journalism departments.

***multikulti-forum.de/soziales/  
objektiv-junge-medienmacher-  
mit-durchblick***

**"It is very difficult to stand against oppressive regimes. It may look easy from the perspective of today."**

– Exchange participant

3:00 p.m.

**USHMM Goals and Strategies to Reach Key Audiences**

MODERATOR

**Klaus Müller**

Representative for Europe, USHMM

**Kristine Donly**

Acting Director,  
Levine Institute for Holocaust  
Education, USHMM  
*Youth*

**Wendy Lower**

Acting Director, Mandel Center  
for Advanced Holocaust  
Studies, USHMM  
*Scholars*

**Sarah Lumbard**

Museum Experience and  
Digital Media, USHMM  
*General Public*

**Naomi Kikoler**

Deputy Director, Simon-Skjodt  
Center for the Prevention of  
Genocide, USHMM  
*Policymakers*

**Marcus Appelbaum**

Director, Law, Justice and Society  
Initiatives, USHMM  
*Law Enforcement and  
Military Leaders*

**Mina Abdelmalak**

Initiative on Holocaust Denial  
and Antisemitism, USHMM  
*Non-traditional Audiences*

*Bringing the Lessons Home*<sup>3</sup>: Public high school students in the Washington DC area study Holocaust history and bring lessons of this history to their community. They examine the relevance of the Holocaust to their own lives and strengthen their ability to reflect on current events.

*Stephen Tyrone Johns Summer Youth Leadership Program*: This program is for 50 distinguished high school students from the Washington DC area who have completed *Bringing the Lessons Home*. It is an intensive seven-week educational internship at the Museum. Interns study the lessons of the Holocaust and become ambassadors for the Museum by:

- Guiding tours through the Permanent Exhibition,
- Providing educational programs at the Museum to other young people before and after their visit,
- Organizing the Museum's National Youth Leadership Seminar, and
- Co-operating with peers around the country to form a network of youth promoting human dignity.

**Scholars**

The Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies encourages research and publication in the field of Holocaust studies. The Center provides fellowships, research assistantships, faculty seminars, and international summer research workshops. Fellows at the Center have access to extensive resources, including approximately 100 million pages of archival materials; the Museum's library; oral history, film, photo, art, artifacts and memoir collections; and the Museum's database of Holocaust Survivors and Victims.

The Center accomplishes its mission through:

- Research projects and publications filling gaps in the literature and facilitating access to Holocaust studies for scholars and the public. This includes publication of the academic journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* in collaboration with Oxford University Press,
- Collection and preservation of Holocaust-related archival materials around the world, to uncover inaccessible resources for researchers,
- Sponsoring fellowships for pre- and post-doctoral students working in the Museum's archive and other collections, assisting in preparing Holocaust-related manuscripts for publication, and
- Seminars for faculty members at the university level, summer research workshops for scholars, conferences, lectures, and symposia.

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## Strategies to Reach Key Audiences at the USHMM

**Youth**

The USHMM has developed a set of programs for teenagers in the Washington DC region and across the country. Two primary programs are:

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<sup>3</sup> For more details, see "Bringing the Lessons Home" on page 41.





### **General Public**

The Museum is a living memorial and must take into account the digital environment not only as a means of engaging young people, but also recognizing that hate groups excel in the use of digital tools. This trend does not devalue the essential work of traditional exhibitions or the unprecedented value of the Museum's collection. However, traditional approaches to education and exhibitions cannot combat the sheer volume of digital hate speech alone.

The USHMM's Holocaust Encyclopedia is an excellent example of the Museum's digital work. Currently, encyclopedia articles are available in 15 languages, including Spanish, Arabic, and Farsi, with more to come. The Museum will improve its content in 2018 based on new research findings.

Recently, the Museum initiated two pilot projects for students as innovative models of Holocaust education. *History Unfolded: US Newspapers and the Holocaust* engages high school students to explore ordinary Americans' reactions to the Holocaust through research in local newspaper archives. So far, the project has received more than 10,000 newspaper articles from all over the US. Results of this research, available online, provide a general overview of response to Nazis during that period.

The second tool is for college students. *Experiencing History: Jewish Perspectives on the Holocaust* presents items from the Museum's collection juxtaposed with historical context. Instructors on nearly 200 campuses are using this student-friendly tool to teach this complicated history.

***[newspapers.ushmm.org](http://newspapers.ushmm.org)***

### **Policymakers**

The USHMM plays a role in preventing future genocides. These efforts are carried out by the Simon-Skjodt Center for the Prevention of Genocide, dedicated to stimulating action by policymakers in the US and other governments by:

- Strengthening governmental awareness and structures to prevent genocide;
- Establishing a risk assessment tool and warning system for genocide and other forms of mass killing;
- Investing in research and expertise to understand the warning signs of genocide and to incubate new ideas for prevention; and
- Using digital media to improve public understanding of current threats and civic engagement.



**“Located among our national monuments to freedom on the National Mall, the Museum provides a powerful lesson in the fragility of freedom, the myth of progress, and the need for vigilance in preserving democratic values.”**

– USHMM website

An example of this effort is the Center's Early Warning Project, which maps risk factors that could lead to mass atrocity. This data, along with real-time analysis from experts, is used to generate a forecast. The results allow the Museum to allocate its resources and attention to the most vulnerable countries.

Another example is the Working Group on the Responsibility to Protect. Its members include former government officials, scholars, political analysts, and journalists. It seeks to:

- Improve understanding of political and practical obstacles to the prevention of genocide; and
- Identify concrete steps to strengthen the political will of US decision-makers to respond promptly to threats of genocide.

#### **Law Enforcement and Military**

The Law Enforcement and Society: Lessons of the Holocaust program, in partnership with the Anti-Defamation League, enables law enforcement officers to reflect upon their duties in a democracy today. The training session of five hours entails visiting the Permanent Exhibition, learning about the complicity of the police within the Nazi regime, and discussing their professional role in the present.

The Museum has educated around 80,000 officers from the US and worldwide. The Museum also trains the military in the subjects such as ethical decision-making, command responsibility, and genocide. Nearly 50,000 army personnel have participated in programs in partnership with several military educational institutions. Recently the focus shifted to educating instructors.

#### **Arabic-Speaking Audiences**

The general atmosphere in the Arab world is very antisemitic. State-owned or controlled media outlets fuel this hatred and politicians often refer to a so-called "Jewish conspiracy." Democracy deficit makes it very difficult to talk critically about real political problems, and it is a suitable environment to coin misconceptions and hatred. The Israel-Palestine conflict hinders reasonable discussion.

The USHMM prioritizes providing historically accurate information to the Arabic-speaking public as a means to challenge false narratives. The work of the Museum's Initiative on Holocaust Denial and Antisemitism (IHDA) includes:

- building partnerships with institutions and individuals who are influential among the target audience;
- producing educational resources that are relevant to Arabic-speaking audiences; and
- using social media to promote these resources.

One approach to reaching this audience is to bring students from the Middle East who are studying locally to the Museum. IHDA is working on a pilot project focusing on mass atrocity and genocide with the Holocaust and conflict in the Middle East (Syria or Iraq) as case studies. Another example is cooperation with a university in Tunisia, which will host the Museum's State of Deception exhibition in Arabic, French, and English.

One educational resource produced recently is "Deadly Ideology," a short animated film in Arabic about Nazism, its effect on other groups, and the 21st-century relevance of the Holocaust and its lessons to young adults from the Middle East.

9:00 a.m.

**Presentation: Applying  
Holocaust History**

**Timothy Kaiser**

Deputy Director, Levine Institute  
for Holocaust Education, USHMM

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# Applying Holocaust History

The USHMM, as a living memorial, has an educational purpose. The pedagogical challenge is how to apply the history of the Holocaust to the issues of today, including Holocaust denial and other forms of antisemitism.

It is not a coincidence that this Museum is situated in sight of the National Mall. Many people may ask why a museum about a European event should be a federal institution in the capital of the United States:

- “It’s not even about us.”
- “It happened a long time ago.”
- “Why should I care?”
- “Are there really “lessons” for today?”

The Museum receives 18 million online visitors and 1.7 visitors to the Museum yearly.

Another pedagogical challenge is how to educate beyond a simple history lesson. Some ideas:

- History education does not necessarily focus on learnings gained from history. Holocaust education helps illuminate important contemporary social and political developments.
- The Museum’s approach is to find those themes and areas where history can speak to a 14-year from Nebraska (relevance and appeal to new audience).
- It focuses on how and why it happened more than on what happened. These questions help us to leap to today from history. For example, how was it possible that a small Nazi party could grow so much in a short period? How did Nazis use propaganda? The Museum’s State of Deception exhibit looks at 1920s and 1930s Germany.

State of Deception

[ushmm.org/information/exhibitions/  
traveling-exhibitions/state-of-deception](http://ushmm.org/information/exhibitions/traveling-exhibitions/state-of-deception)

Another example is Some Were Neighbors, an exhibit which “explores the collaboration and complicity of individuals in Nazi Germany’s persecution and murder of Jews.”

Some Were Neighbors

[somereneighbors.ushmm.org](http://somereneighbors.ushmm.org)

Many visitors point to Hitler and a handful of individuals as the ones responsible for Nazi crimes. Some Were Neighbors asks visitors to consider the complexities in understanding how and why it happened. Could standing by and not taking action be a form of supporting a horrible regime? The Museum looks at many responses to this question.

The Museum’s approach supports three learning outcomes:

**1) Historical Literacy:** increasing knowledge and understanding of how the Holocaust was possible.

**2) Disequilibrium (Ungleichgewicht):** challenging or complicating beliefs about what actions were, and are, possible for individuals to take when confronted with hatred and genocide. It wants to show that history is always full of choices. We know it was not easy, but people should realize that there were other paths.

**3) Relevance:** reflecting on one’s own actions while considering pressures that affected those who were complicit. There are various ways to think about personal responsibility: in daily life, at the political level, spiritually, etc. What morally grounds us as members of a community? How do words and signs trigger the chain of events?



## REFLECTIONS FROM THE GROUP

We want to use history to talk about the current issues.

We don't know what victims actually felt.

"You are complicit in what happened" is a better approach than "you are responsible."

The concept of complicity is a helpful tool in pedagogy.

*Some Were Neighbors* would work in Germany. "Nobody knew anything" is still a strong argument. The exhibition can confront this narrative.

Putting the events in a larger context is important.

"Our grandparents were innocent" is a way of denial.

In complex issues, thinking about outcomes are important.

To understand the Syrian conflict, using the Holocaust is a huge dispute.

The Holocaust is unique, but we can trace the structure and the logic behind it in other genocides. It can be helpful in that sense.

Drawing parallels can be useful to understand other genocides.

When you accuse someone of being Nazi, they shut down the conversation.

It is not easy to talk about Zionism. People use same words, but they use the term in different context.



**"The exhibit, *State of Deception*, examines how the Nazis used propaganda to win broad voter support in Germany's young democracy after World War I, implement radical programs under the party's dictatorship in the 1930s, and justify war and mass murder. This most extreme case study emphasizes why the issue of propaganda matters and challenges citizens to question, analyze, and seek the truth actively."**

– USHMM website



**Tuesday, June 27**

11:00 a.m.

**Panel Discussion**

**Franziska Göpner**

Anne Frank Center, Berlin  
*Working on Holocaust Education  
in Prisons, Using an Exhibition  
about Anne Frank*

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## **Working on Holocaust Education in Prisons Using an Exhibition about Anne Frank**

“Let me be myself: Anne Frank’s life story” (Lasst mich ich selbst sein: Anne Franks Lebensgeschichte) is a traveling exhibition of the Anne Frank Center in Berlin and the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam. It traces the fate of Anne Frank and her family in eight chapters, which discuss the lessons for today as well. The chapters include the life of the Frank family in Frankfurt am Main, fleeing from Germany, and Anne’s story in Amsterdam before and during the Nazi occupation.

The traveling exhibition tries to reach young people directly regarding issues of identity, belonging and discrimination. It is also a useful tool to talk with youth about current challenges like right-wing extremism, racism, and antisemitism.

The exhibition is particularly simple and easy to install, and is flexible so that it can be set up in various places. In addition to schools and youth centers, this project has also been reaching out to young people in penal institutions since 2015.

Its peer-to-peer approach allows young people to bring their understanding and memory into the discussion. Peer guides learn about the content of the exhibition and interactive methods to accompany other young people through the exhibition. The project team also produced exhibition catalogs and handouts for the young guides.

Young inmates also have an opportunity to become peer multipliers, making an active contribution to the living memory of the Holocaust, and advancement of youth engagement and civil courage against current challenges.

The Exhibition of “Let me be myself”  
[annefrank.de/wanderausstellungen/  
ausstellungsangebote/lasst-mich-ich-selbst-  
sein-anne-franks-lebensgeschichte](http://annefrank.de/wanderausstellungen/ausstellungsangebote/lasst-mich-ich-selbst-sein-anne-franks-lebensgeschichte)

**“Anne Frank’s diary is today a symbol as well as a document - a symbol of the genocide of the Jews by the National Socialists, and an intimate document of the life and thoughts of a young writer. Large collages of pictures and special objects describe Anne Frank’s world, that of her family and friends in the context of National Socialism, the persecution of the Jews and the Second World War.”**

– Anne Frank Center website

**Kathrin Krahl**

“Roma Respect,”

Heinrich Böll Foundation

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# Anti-Gypsyism and Historical Political Education

## Anti-Gypsyism and Historical Political Education

The RomaRespekt project consists of a network of Roma organizations, historical-political educational networks, schools, and sociocultural institutions. Since the history and present life of Sinti and Roma in Saxony and Saxony-Anhalt is largely unexplored, the project will publish a collection of local historical research briefs.

The project offers historical-political education for youth groups on the historical aspects and persecution of the Roma and Sinti, in cooperation with the TU Dresden and the Center for Inclusive Political Education (Zentrum für inklusive politische Bildung). There are also other educational activities, such as memory site visits, expert workshops, and advanced training seminars.

A monthly radio program is broadcast on local radio stations. The team has also developed a model seminar on anti-Gypsyism for use in teacher training. They will also organize an international conference on anti-Gypsyism in education, dealing with educational activities with young people and their environment (parents, grandparents, clubs).

Based on results of the model project, RomaRespekt will develop a pedagogical handbook for political education to deal with and dismantle anti-Gypsyism. A future workshop on the memorial culture of the “Porajmos” will stimulate activities after the project.

The methods developed in the field of anti-Gypsyism are an important pillar in human rights-based historical-political education of children and youth. For the first time, students of social work and pedagogy are learning tested methods for dealing with anti-Gypsyism.

***[weiterdenken.de/de/romarespekt](http://weiterdenken.de/de/romarespekt)***

**“As a fifteen-year old learning about the Holocaust that gave me this passion for human rights, the Bringing the Lessons Home program is more than just a history class. This is such a great way to really change your perspective on things and to open up your mind to other concepts and other ideas.”**

— Allison Zhou, Ambassador of Bringing the Lessons Home (2009), from the video “Bringing the Lessons Home Celebrates 20 Years”



**Tuesday, June 27**

**Noon**

**Putting our Pedagogy  
into Practice**

MODERATOR

**Lynn Williams**

Director, Leadership Programs,  
USHMM

**Sara Bloomfield**

Director, USHMM

**Milagros DeSouza**

Bringing the Lessons Home  
Ambassador (2015)

**Adriana Usmayo Macedonia**

Bringing the Lessons Home  
Ambassador (2012)

**Michael Watson**

Bringing the Lessons Home  
Ambassador (2006)

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## Bringing the Lessons Home

Bringing the Lessons Home is almost as old as the USHMM. Twenty-three years ago, the Museum began the program to reach out to young adults in the DC metropolitan area. The central objectives are to intensify the practice of asking questions, to own their responsibility in society, and to think critically about history. The students have the opportunity to explore their roles in defending democracy in a learning environment where they are actively engaged and share their opinions independently.

After opening, the USHMM felt it an obligation to the local community. The program started with the support of a local foundation. It began as an experiment. In time, the Museum saw a keen interest in the Holocaust from the students.

When independent experts evaluated the activities after ten years, they came up with two essential findings. First, the endeavor reached a broad spectrum of students (e.g. of different academic abilities). Second, graduates of the program were significantly more engaged afterwards than their peers.

High school students participate in Saturday classes on Holocaust history for 14 weeks, and conclude by guiding their peers or families through the Museum's Permanent Exhibition. There is such impressive engagement in the community. The Museum reaches 5,000 students a year in guided tours of 4 hours. Many teachers encourage students to apply to the program and write recommendations to support them in the competitive selection process.

Participants in this program are eligible to join the Stephen Tyrone Johns Summer Youth Leadership Program. Upon completion of that program they can become Museum "ambassadors." As of now, around 800 students have served as ambassadors. Ambassadors are expected to raise awareness about genocides, to challenge hate, and to tackle issues in their communities.

**"This experience at the Museum has changed them. They have become articulate and can speak in public. They are our torchbearers and will be able to draw people's attention to the importance of the past and the lessons we can learn from it to better understand the present and, therefore, make better decisions about the future."**

— Susan Warsinger, USHMM  
survivor volunteer

1:45 p.m.

**Educational Methods to Confront Antisemitism**

MODERATOR

**Aleisa Fishman**

Levine Institute for Holocaust Education, USHMM

PANELISTS

**Tad Stahnke**

Director, Initiative on Holocaust Denial and Antisemitism, USHMM

**Mina Abdelmalak**

Initiative on Holocaust Denial and Antisemitism, USHMM

**Victoria Barnett**

Director, Programs on Ethics, Religion, and the Holocaust, USHMM

**Deborah Krieg**

Anne Frank Educational Centre, Frankfurt

*Pedagogical Approaches of the Anne Frank Educational Center in the Field of Confronting Antisemitism*

**Kathrin Allmann**

Action Reconciliation Service for Peace

*Working on Holocaust Education in Refugee Communities and Confronting Antisemitism in Migrant Communities*

**Tackling Antisemitism in the Middle East**

The USHMM assigned a specialist to work with Arab and Muslim audiences. His work focuses primarily on online activities. In the Middle East, Holocaust denial and antisemitism are prevalent in mainstream politics and the media. The methodological approach of making history relevant to particular populations plays a role in the Museum's work with this region. Relevance involves shaping the form of historical narration by adapting the language, choosing compelling individual stories, and so on.

In every activity, educators ask young people why they should learn about the Holocaust. It is vital to talk about it because some destructive emotions can emerge, and people can be very passionate when the truths challenge their beliefs.

Another leg of the strategy is to build long-term partnerships with educational institutions that work with students of Muslim or Arab backgrounds. Some examples: NYU Abu Dhabi brings students every summer to the Museum during their Washington visit; at Georgetown University, one-day seminars for students working on or coming from the Middle East are being developed.

The Museum is also engaged in social media to combat Holocaust denial and other forms of antisemitism.

Occasionally, the USHMM is visible in the Arab press through interviews on some of its work (e.g., reports about the atrocities against Rohingya Muslims).

**Working with Groups Interested in Faith Issues**

The Museum's Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies offers programs and resources on how religious institutions, leaders, and theologians responded to the Holocaust and how they have dealt with it after 1945.

Scholars researching the history of the churches during the Holocaust and the intersections of religion and genocide are the primary audience. Holocaust history incorporates elements that concern different faith groups; thus, leaders and activists in interfaith work are also served by these programs. Museum staff and program participants look at the history together and seek to understand the Holocaust in its complexity. This examination can raise deep theological, moral, and historical questions for people of all faiths. And it is not always easy to explore this history together. For instance, there may be tension among Israeli and Palestinian scholars when discussing Holocaust denial. The Museum also assists seminaries and religious studies departments in integrating Holocaust history in their curricula.

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## Educational Methods to Confront Antisemitism

Antisemitism is not solely a historical phenomenon. The USHMM does not only present Holocaust history in depth, but also struggles against contemporary forms of antisemitism. Videos in the exhibition area inform visitors on current issues of antisemitism.

Video: Antisemitism Today  
[youtu.be/G3FYR8lmXz4](https://youtu.be/G3FYR8lmXz4)



### **Pedagogical Approaches of the Anne Frank Educational Center in the Field of Confronting Antisemitism**

The Anne Frank Educational Center was established by citizens who wanted to commemorate Anne Frank in Frankfurt, her birthplace, by offering human rights education to strengthen human rights in Germany. The first target group chosen was youth, but in time the Center realized that educators also need assistance. At present, the Center offers exhibitions, seminars, workshops, training courses and consultations for a broad public, and works with a variety of methods on historical and current topics in Germany, such as the Holocaust, religious prejudices, and right-wing extremism.

The Center hosts a permanent, multimedia exhibition “Anne Frank: A Girl from Germany,” (currently under reconstruction, to re-open June 2018). Young people and adults have the chance to explore Anne Frank’s history and discuss contemporary questions of human co-existence. One of the Center’s strengths is its committed volunteers, especially young multipliers.

The Center’s work is based on several assumptions Germany is a post-colonial and post-national socialist society (i.e., these historical legacies still have effects on ideas and structures).

Therefore, it is difficult to discuss the phenomena of antisemitism and racism with German audiences, since they mostly externalize these as others’ problems. People tend to shut down when they feel they are being accused of antisemitism or racism. The educators are sensitive to the tendency to deflect blame, leading to other forms of discrimination, such as anti-Muslim racism. Attitudes are shaped in a structurally antisemitic environment. It is imperative to create a safe place to realize and talk about personal beliefs and move towards transforming root-causes.

The educational objectives of the Center can be summarized as follows:

- Audience knowledge about the issue is refreshed or deepened.
- Critical reflection is triggered. No one is free from prejudices.
- Discussion leads to discovering concrete action points for dealing with the issue in their professional and daily lives.

In Germany, Holocaust education is seen as a direct remedy for contemporary antisemitism. Some teachers, for example, think that if they bring youngsters with antisemitic views to the Anne Frank exhibition, they can quickly solve this problem. However, when it comes to contemporary

forms of antisemitism, empathy with the sufferings of the past doesn't necessarily change attitudes toward Jews or Israel. Emotions can completely switch between the present and the past.

### **Working on Holocaust Education in Refugee Communities and Confronting Antisemitism in Migrant Communities**

Action Reconciliation Service for Peace (ARSP), or Aktion Sühnezeichen Friedensdienste (ASF) was founded in 1958 by the Synod of the Protestant Church in Germany, which is engaged in work for reconciliation and peace.

For ARSP, National Socialism and Germany's guilt for crimes is an obligation to act in the present-day. ARSP focuses primarily on short-term and long-term international voluntary service, activities, and campaigns. Each year some 180 volunteers, mostly between 19 and 25 years of age, volunteer in thirteen countries in a variety of educational, historical, political and social projects.

Since 2000, ARSP has been engaged in the field of historical-intercultural education and Holocaust education in post-migration Germany. It offers long-term education programs for migrant women who meet once a week over the course of months to deal with the topics of National Socialism, antisemitism and their personal stories. It is essential to create space where women can speak openly. ARSP works with other groups of refugees as well. Some find a blueprint in post-National Socialist Germany for rebuilding their war-torn countries.

There are challenges. Engaging people in historical debate is hard when they think it is not their history. There is a risk of labeling migrants as discriminators when working with them exclusively. The Israeli-Palestinian issue often opens challenging and harsh discussions, where emotions and feelings prevail.

But exploration of the history of National Socialism helps participants follow current political and social discussions in Germany. The program includes activities like looking at historical biographies, visiting museums and centers, and talking about politics.

While dealing with the history of National Socialism, participants often begin to talk about their own histories which often include stories of persecution, violence, migration, and flight. This opens the doors of empathy to the past and to the perspectives of others. ARSP designs its historical and intercultural educational services using dialogue to encourage communication, as there is room for different stories and interpretations of history. ARSP does not see its role as conveying one-sided knowledge, but as bringing new perspectives and experiences into the dialogue. Through publications, events, and exhibitions, the program brings these diverse views to the public and participates in shaping current discourse on memory politics.

**Tuesday, June 27**

4:00 p.m.

### **Government Tools to Confront Hatred and Discrimination**

LOCATION

Department of Justice

#### **Eric Treene**

Special Counsel for Religious Discrimination, Office of the Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, Department of Justice

#### **Gerri Ratliff**

Director, Community Relations Service, Department of Justice

## **Government Tools to Confront Hatred and Discrimination<sup>4</sup>**

### **Community Relations Service**

The United States Department of Justice Community Relations Service is the Department's "Peacemaker" for community conflicts and tensions arising from differences of race, color, national origin, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, religion, and disability. CRS is not an investigatory or prosecutorial agency, and it does not have any law enforcement authority.

Rather, the Agency works with all parties, including State and local units of government, private and public organizations, civil rights groups, and community leaders, to uncover the underlying interests of all of those involved in the conflict and facilitates the development of viable, mutual understandings, and solutions to the community's challenges. In addition, CRS assists communities in developing local mechanisms and community capacity to prevent tension and violent hate crimes from occurring the future.

<sup>4</sup> This section is mostly taken from the website of the US Department of Justice.

The Agency assists communities with two types of issues: racial and ethnic conflict, and hate crime. Racial and ethnic conflicts are defined by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as “disputes, disagreements, or difficulties relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin which impair the rights of persons in such communities...” In 2012, the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s Uniform Crime Reporting Program documented that of all the reported single-bias hate crime incidents in 2012, 48.5% of the victims were targeted due to the offender’s personal bias against the victim’s ethnicity or national origin.

Under the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2009, CRS also helps communities prevent and respond to hate crimes based on actual or perceived race, color, national origin, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, religion, or disability. The federal definition of a hate crime is “a crime in which the defendant intentionally selects a victim, or in the case of a property crime, the property that is the object of the crime, because of the actual or perceived race, color, religion, national origin, ethnicity, gender, gender identity, disability, or sexual orientation of any person.”

### **Services**

The Community Relations Service classifies the assistance it provides communities into four unique services: Mediation, Facilitated Dialogues, Training and Consultation.

### **Mediation**

Mediation consists of playing a third-party role in structured and formal face-to-face negotiations between community stakeholders.

### **Facilitated Dialogue**

Through facilitated dialogues, different sides to a conflict listen to the issues of each stakeholder group and learn about their perspective on the problem and potential solutions. By reframing and clarifying issues, CRS can help move the parties forward toward resolving their problems in mutually-acceptable ways.

### **Training**

CRS training programs bring together representatives from local government agencies, community faith-based organizations, law enforcement, advocacy groups, and businesses. CRS offers communities nine training programs that improve cultural competency, provide best practices and develop conflict resolution skills.

### **Consultation**

The Consultation service includes providing technical assistance in the formation of human relations commissions; best practices for engaging with different ethnic and religious communities, as well as lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender individuals; referrals to other federal or state agencies, organizations and community groups; and coaching on issues of communication, dispute resolution and joint problem-solving.

### **Civil Rights Division**

The Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, created in 1957 by the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, works to uphold the civil and constitutional rights of all Americans, particularly some of the most vulnerable members of the society. The Division enforces federal statutes prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, disability, religion, familial status and national origin.

Since its establishment, the Division has played a role in many of the nation’s pivotal civil rights battles. Division attorneys prosecuted the defendants accused of murdering three civil rights workers in Mississippi in 1964, and were involved in the investigations of the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Medgar Evers. The Division enforces a wide array of laws that protect the civil rights of all individuals.

The Division’s work is carried out by 11 sections:

- Housing and Civil Enforcement Section works to protect some of the most fundamental rights of individuals, including the right to access housing free from discrimination, the right to access credit on an equal basis, the right to patronize places of business that provide public accommodations and the right to practice one’s faith free from discrimination.
- Immigrant and Employee Rights Section enforces the anti-discrimination provision of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), which prohibits unfair employment practices related to immigration.
- Policy and Strategy Section supports and coordinates the policy work of the Division, providing a focal point for proactive policy development and legislative proposals.
- Special Litigation Section works to protect civil rights in the justice and health system.
- Voting Section enforces the civil provisions of the federal laws that protect the right to vote.
- Appellate Section: The Section works cooperatively with the trial sections in each of the Division’s substantive enforcement areas in representing the United States in civil rights cases in the federal courts of appeals.

- Criminal Section prosecutes cases involving the violent interference with liberties and rights defined in the Constitution or federal law.
- Disability Rights Section has enforcement, certification, regulatory, coordination, and technical assistance activities, required by the ADA (Americans with Disabilities Act).
- Educational Opportunities Section is responsible for enforcing Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination in public schools and institutions of higher learning; and the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974.
- Employment Litigation Section: Section enforces against state and local government employers the provisions of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
- Federal Coordination and Compliance ensures that all federal agencies consistently and effectively enforce civil rights statutes and Executive Orders that prohibit discrimination.

Here are some examples of the Department of Justice's work:

- On April 10, 2017, the Department of Justice (DOJ) obtained a 15-year sentence for a man who fired a sawed-off shotgun toward a Latino man and at a convenience store owned by a man of Middle Eastern descent.
- DOJ filed a suit against a school district over its refusal to make a religious accommodation for a Muslim school police officer who wanted to grow his beard beyond the regulated length. In a settlement reached in September 2014, the school district agreed to revise its policy.
- On May 7, 2013, DOJ reached a settlement with two schools in DeKalb County, Georgia, to protect a Sikh high school student from any further violent harassment from fellow students.

**“Based on a broad set of keywords (and keyword combinations) designed by ADL to capture anti-semitic language, there were 2.6 million tweets containing language frequently found in anti-semitic speech between August 2015 – July 2016. (...)”**

— Anti-Semitic Targeting of Journalists During the 2016 Presidential Campaign, ADL report

10:00 a.m.

**Antisemitism in Germany and the United States Today**

MODERATOR

**Ted Stahnke**

Director, Initiative on Holocaust Denial and Antisemitism, USHMM

**Dr. Ralf Kleindiek**

State Secretary, German Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth

PANELISTS

**Dervis Hizarci**

On behalf of the German Parliament's Independent Experts Group on Antisemitism

**Jana Scheuring**

Central Board of Jewish Welfare in Germany (ZWST)

**Richard T. Foltin**

Director of National and Legislative Affairs, American Jewish Committee

**Doron F. Ezickson**

Director, Washington, DC Regional Office, Anti-Defamation League

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## **Antisemitism in Germany and the United States Today**

**Dervis Hizarci**

On behalf of the German Parliament's Independent Experts Group on Antisemitism

In 2008, the German Federal Parliament took the initiative to intensify combat against antisemitism and to further promote Jewish life in Germany. To this end, the first Independent Experts Group on Antisemitism was established in 2011 to draw up a report on antisemitism in Germany and formulate recommendations for the Parliament.

The Bundestag decided to form a second independent group of experts to sustain its effort to combat antisemitism. This body was set up in January 2015 with the logistical and financial support of the Federal Ministry of the Interior. In response to criticism, the original group of nine was expanded to 12 in order to include voices from the Jewish community. The group of experts has defined and implemented its work agenda autonomously and prepared a report, published in 2017.

In the period between the two reports, many things changed, which is another reason to sustain these monitoring efforts permanently. The first report was criticized because nothing had changed as a result of it. The criticism is understandable, but not accurate. For example, the German Family Ministry started long-term and structural supports to tackle antisemitism as recommended in the first report.

The 2017 report was primarily based on 13 surveys and is around 200 pages long. This report includes the perspectives of those primarily affected by antisemitism, the Jewish voices. It looks at possible antisemitism among refugees, about which there has been almost no research. The role of the internet and social media is also dealt with as an essential issue. Last but not least, it includes a long section on prevention.

The independent group adopted the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's definition of antisemitism, and tried to capture the complex nature of hostility against Jews. The group looked beyond the explicit so-called gray zones to identify hidden forms of antisemitism.

Some notable figures from the report:

- 40% of Germans agree with antisemitic statements in relation to the State of Israel.
- More than 60% of Jews in Germany say they experience hidden antisemitic attitudes.
- Classical antisemitism decreased from 9% of the German population in 2002 to around 5% in 2016, and secondary antisemitism dropped to 26% in 2016.

A qualitative survey was conducted with a small group of imams and representatives of relevant Muslim organizations. Though radical antisemitic stereotypes were not found, comparisons were drawn many times between persecution of the Jews by the National Socialists and the situation of Palestinians today. Even though these community leaders try to reduce prejudices in their congregations, there is a gap between these endeavors and the expectations of the general public.

The group of experts made five primary recommendations in the report:

1. The Parliament should assign an ombudsperson to present progress reports on the situation and follow up on the implementation of the recommendations. Parallel to that, the independent group of experts should become a permanent body.
2. There should be concrete steps in the judicial system to record, publish, and punish antisemitic crimes systematically.
3. The government should provide institutions working to prevent antisemitism with permanent financial support, including long-term funding for civil society.
4. A separate federal commission should schedule measures against antisemitism in different states, such as in the fields of youth, welfare, police, and judiciary.
5. A long-term funding framework for antisemitism research should be established.

A further recommendation was that commissions on anti-Muslim racism and different types of discrimination be initiated, not because they are similar phenomena, but because there are visible overlaps with antisemitism.

The Report of the Independent Experts Group on Antisemitism

[bundestag.de/dokumente/textarchiv/2017/kw17-antisemitismus/502770](http://bundestag.de/dokumente/textarchiv/2017/kw17-antisemitismus/502770)

Jana Scheuring

Central Board of Jewish Welfare in Germany

The Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (ZWST) is the association of Jewish welfare organizations in Germany. As an umbrella organization, the ZWST represents the Jewish communities and regional associations in the field of Jewish social work. ZWST was founded in Berlin in 1917, and after forcefully dissolved during the period of National Socialism, the ZWST was re-founded in 1951 under its current name.

The ZWST has been working for many years in the field of political education with a focus on antisemitism and racism prevention. In 2015 the ZWST founded a new structure -the nationwide Competence Center for Prevention and Empowerment- with the support of the federal program "Demokratie leben!".

**Change of Perspective/„Perspektivwechsel Plus“:** This project targets multipliers in youth work, public administration, the police, and education to enhance their professional competencies to confront racism and antisemitism.

Its central approach is to stimulate self-reflection in its target groups, examining personal and group-based involvement in power relations and discriminatory processes. The project adopts an anti-bias approach, which encourages reflecting on how discrimination functions and how one internalizes it.

The project specifically aims to strengthen awareness and increase skills of the target groups and to contribute to changing organizational structures. While the project offers a wide range of educational opportunities, the focus is on long-term trainings for multipliers, organizational consulting and sustainable cooperation with institutions.

[zwst-perspektivwechsel.de](http://zwst-perspektivwechsel.de)

**Competence Center for Prevention and Empowerment:**

The Competence Center aims to develop and implement prevention and empowerment approaches in four areas: empowerment of Jewish community (community coaching), antisemitism prevention (education against antisemitism), political consulting, and counseling for victims of right-wing, racist and antisemitic violence.

As an agency for education, counseling, and networking; the Center offers different educational formats and creates dialogue spaces for other communities. The Center also organizes public symposiums and contributes actively to discourses on antisemitism, research, and prevention. The Center's counseling office is in Berlin.

[zwst-kompetenzzentrum.de](http://zwst-kompetenzzentrum.de)

Perception of antisemitism diverges between the non-Jewish majority and the Jewish community. For example, according to the report of the Bundestag Independent Group of Experts, 78% of Jews in Germany think that in the past five years antisemitism has increased, and 74% have experienced anti-Jewish comments or attacks in schools or at work. The report also points out that on the other hand the non-Jewish German majority often don't take antisemitism as a current but a historical phenomenon. This divergence of perception is clear evidence for the necessity of long-term prevention work.





**“In the first three months of 2017, there were more than 100 incidents of religiously motivated attacks or threats against synagogues, Jewish Day Schools, and other centers of Jewish life.”**

— Richard Foltin’s Statement in the Senate Judiciary Committee Hearing, 2017



Richard T. Foltin  
Director of National and Legislative Affairs,  
American Jewish Committee

Although antisemitic violence in the US is not as widespread as in Europe, there have been incidents affecting Jewish centers, synagogues, and cemeteries. These incidents happen especially in places where Jews are a small minority, authorities are indifferent, or victim response is weak.

**“In the first three months of 2017, there were more than 100 incidents of religiously motivated attacks or threats against synagogues, Jewish Day Schools, and other centers of Jewish life. Hundreds of gravesites at Jewish cemeteries in Saint Louis and Philadelphia were defaced and desecrated. During this time, Muslims and Muslim institutions also came under assault. [...] These recent incidents are part of a rising trend in hate crime incidents generally, and in the frequency of violent crimes against people of faith and religious communities in particular. According to the most recent FBI Hate Crimes Statistics report, covering the year 2015, crimes directed against Muslims because of their faith increased by 67% compared to 2014. Additionally, the number of crimes committed against Jews based on religious animus remained the highest in terms of absolute numbers (664), increasing 9% from 2014 to 2015. Moreover, while the focus of this hearing and this statement is on religious hate crimes, it is important to note that, even as crimes against Latinos have remained steady in recent years, there were 299 anti-Latino hate crimes in 2015 and that anti-Latino rhetoric has become more prevalent.”**

— Richard Foltin’s Statement in the Senate Judiciary Committee Hearing on “Responses to the Increase in Religious Hate Crimes,” May 2, 2017

Expressions of antisemitism in social media, as serious as the physical attacks, must be addressed at the highest level.

In its effort to combat against antisemitism, the AJC has:

- filed a complaint in ministry of education about antisemitic bullying of a student at a high school in New York;
- condemned an assault on a synagogue in Chicago, where swastikas were drawn and a window was smashed. The attack was labeled a hate crime by authorities;
- made a statement about a woman who was told to leave the Chicago gay pride parade because she carried a rainbow flag with a single Jewish star, which, it was claimed, was a symbol of Zionist oppression that made people feel unsafe.



The working definition of antisemitism of the EU’s Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia was adopted by the US Department of State. According to this definition, antisemitism manifested with regard to the state of Israel includes:

- Drawing comparisons between Israel and the Nazis;
- Applying double standards in demanding things of Israel not demanded from any other democratic nation;
- And denying Israel’s right to exist.

In this context, we should be concerned about the intersection of the BDS (boycott, divestment, sanctions) campaign and antisemitism. Especially on university campuses, there is controversy around the BDS movement—the right to free speech and academic freedoms versus boycott actions. Although Jewish students do not largely see themselves as an embattled minority on campuses, 22% of Jews age 18-29 had been called offensive names because of their identity in 2013 (PEW, 2013). There are reports of aggression against them. A survey by Trinity College indicates more than half of Jewish students have experienced antisemitism.<sup>5</sup>

Rachel Beyda’s experience is a concrete example of antisemitism on campuses. The UCLA student leader asked Ms. Beyda—a candidate for the student judicial board—if she could maintain an unbiased view given the fact that she is Jewish.

<sup>5</sup> [trincoll.edu/NewsEvents/NewsArticles/Pages/National-Survey-of-U-S-Jewish-College-Students-Shows-High-Rate-of-Anti-Semitism.aspx](http://trincoll.edu/NewsEvents/NewsArticles/Pages/National-Survey-of-U-S-Jewish-College-Students-Shows-High-Rate-of-Anti-Semitism.aspx)

Doron F. Ezickson  
Director, Washington, DC Regional Office, ADL

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) has been dedicated to combating antisemitism, prejudice, and bigotry of all kinds for over 100 years. Its mission is to fight oppression not only of Jews but of all people, reflecting Jewish teachings.

It collaborates with governmental and nongovernmental organizations. The multi-faceted problem of discrimination requires a multifaceted response.

ADL's antisemitism monitoring work goes back almost 40 years. It compiles an annual Audit of Antisemitic Incidents, which includes acts of harassment and intimidation. The numbers from the past year were troubling: reported incidents increased more than one-third—with a total of 1,266 acts targeting Jews and Jewish institutions. In the first quarter of 2017, numbers of incidents jumped 86 percent. Data is collected through the ADL's nationwide reporting infrastructure.

It is necessary to identify what is occurring in order to formulate the response. Victims, law enforcement and community leaders provide information. ADL offices carefully verify all data before reporting it.

Law enforcement has a critical role in reporting and fighting antisemitism but often doesn't understand the impact of hate crime on victims. The ADL works with thousands of police officers, educating them to identify hate incidents accurately. Fortunately, there are hate crime laws in 45 of the 50 states.

Although antisemitic incidents are on the rise, race remains the number one cause of hate incidents. Antisemitism fits into a spectrum and is one form of hate. As an advocacy organization the ADL must also address other types of hatred—homophobia, misogyny, anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim hate.

Technology represents a new challenge. The amount of hate online is extraordinary. The ADL reported about the targeting of Jewish journalists on social media with threats and intimidation during the last presidential campaign.

Surveys show that children at the age of seven already harbor some stereotypes about other identities. Education is as important as laws. Educational curricula need to be revised to give people tools to respond to discrimination.

Some key findings:

**Based on a broad set of keywords (and keyword combinations) designed by ADL to capture antisemitic language, there were 2.6 million tweets containing language frequently found in antisemitic speech between August 2015 - July 2016. (...)**

**At least 800 journalists received antisemitic tweets with an estimated reach of 45 million impressions. The top 10 most targeted journalists (all of whom are Jewish) received 83 percent of these antisemitic tweets. (...)**

**1,600 Twitter accounts generated 68% of the antisemitic tweets targeting journalists. 21% of these 1,600 accounts were suspended during the study period, amounting to 16% of the antisemitic tweets.**

— Anti-Semitic Targeting of Journalists During the 2016 Presidential Campaign, an ADL report, was published in 2016.

1:30 p.m.

**Jewish-Muslim Dialogue in Germany and the US**

MODERATOR

**Edna Friedberg**

Director of Strategic Relationships, Levine Institute for Holocaust Education, USHMM

PANELISTS

**Bob Silverman**

US Director of Muslim-Jewish Relations, American Jewish Committee (Muslim-Jewish Advisory Council)

**Dr. Sayyid M. Syeed**

National Director, Islamic Society of North America (Muslim-Jewish Advisory Council)

**Dervis Hizarci**

Chair, Kreuzberg Initiative against Antisemitism

**Jana Scheuring**

Central Board of Jewish Welfare in Germany (ZWST)

The Council has two objectives: to combat hate crime and to promote a positive image of Muslim and Jewish people in the United States. The Council stands for the ideal of equal rights and protection for all Americans.

In the US, Jews are around 2% of the population and Muslims are approximately 1%. The Muslim population continues to grow; the Jewish population remains roughly at about 6.5 million people. Although on the local level there has been some dialogue between the two religious groups, on the national level a mutual exchange was missing.

This lack of exchange was not the case with many other religious groups. For example, ISNA has partnered with the Council of Catholic Bishops and the National Council of Churches (Protestants) in different activities for a long time. These activities range from regularly gathering at regional dialogue meetings to producing reports.

Among the Council's initial action items:

**“Highlight the contributions of Muslims and Jews to American society, and aim to celebrate their contributions in the best traditions of American democracy.”**

— AJC website

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## Jewish-Muslim Dialogue in Germany and the US

### Muslim-Jewish Advisory Council

The Muslim-Jewish Advisory Council gathers recognized representatives from business, politics, and religion in the Jewish and Muslim-American communities to stand together on issues of mutual interest. Hate speech circulating during the 2016 presidential election was the impetus for the AJC's initiative to establish such a structure. The American Jewish Committee (AJC) and the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) came together to establish the Muslim-Jewish Advisory Council comprised of politicians, academics, imams, rabbis, business leaders and artists from both communities in November 2016.



## REFLECTIONS FROM THE GROUP

Civil society is struggling to underline Germany as a migration society. The vast majority have not yet embraced this idea.

In contrast to the United States, European countries were built on ethnic nationalism, and this fact may be one of the main reasons for minority problems.

A security problem exists for Jews in Europe. When you visit a synagogue or Jewish school, it feels like entering a fortress.

It is appropriate to draw attention to the religion and identity of the group when it is of pedagogical help. Nonetheless, there is a danger that anti-Muslim hatred will be reproduced if we deal wrongly with antisemitism among Muslims.

After the so-called refugee crisis, fear of insecurity among the Jewish communities in Europe is growing. It is important to note that the refugee groups mostly come from countries where anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish sentiments are high. Another concern in the Jewish community is the apathy of the majority towards antisemitism.

Fear and mistrust can prevent Jews and Muslims from cooperating on a high level. However, positive cases can be generated at the grassroots level.

The most significant fear of dialogue is exclusion from one's own community.

Rapprochement can begin by joining forces for matters of joint concern, such as the fight against right-wing politics.

It is better to focus on local encounters than on solving difficult macro issues.

Who is considered Muslim? The integration debate tends to be highly Islamized. Even when people of minority communities do not refer to themselves as Muslims, they are described continuously as such.

The Muslim communities in the US mostly preach in English. Things are different in Germany. Communities retain their ethnic and Islamic identity in mosques.



Among the Council's initial action items:  
**“Develop a coordinated strategy to address anti-Muslim bigotry and antisemitism in the US.”**

**“Work to protect and expand the rights of religious minorities in the US, as enshrined in the Constitution, so they may practice their faiths in full freedom and security.”**

— AJC website

3:30 p.m.

**Coalition Building—Case Studies**

MODERATOR

**Aleisa Fishman**

Levine Institute for Holocaust Education, USHMM

PANELISTS

**Anjali Thakur-Mittal**

Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights

**Becky Monroe**

Stop Hate Project, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

**Simone Ball**

German Trade Union Youth Organization Southern Hesse

**Friederike Petersen**

National Network for Civil Society

the backdrop of history, in which youngsters are informed about old and new Nazis and their ideology. In this vein, every year, they send around ten delegations to Israel. Of course, a regional focus remains on their agenda to ensure that inhuman ideologies do not gain a foothold on the ground. They meet regularly with 20 anti-right initiatives in Hessen and Thüringen to organize against right-wing extremism. On the federal level, DGB-Jugend provides companies and worker councils with consulting about discrimination in the workplace. It is well connected with universities and especially with vocational schools. Even though there is a significant population of progressive youth in trade unions, it is not unusual to observe hostile attitudes among members. This remains a challenge.

**BBE – National Network for Civil Society**

Bundesnetzwerk Bürgerschaftliches Engagement (BBE) is a nationwide network linking organizations and associations from civil society, business and work life with federal and community institutions in Germany.<sup>6</sup> The common goal is strengthening civil society and civic involvement. The principal objective is the improvement of the legal, organizational and institutional conditions for civic participation. BBE encourages and supports concrete projects for actual practice in civil society, the state, and business, as well as raising and activating political awareness.

BBE was founded following the recommendation of the German Parliament's Committee of Enquiry "Future of Civic Engagement" in 2002. It now has 250 member organizations representing millions of individuals. BBE works in various fields and areas. Structurally weak regions often become a focal point of right-wing extremist and nationalist activities. Many projects focus on rural areas, but project leaders need to discuss and face the challenges together to reach such small communities effectively. Another challenge is how to bring civil society and local administrations together to promote and support civic engagement.

A remarkable experience was the meeting with mayors from rural towns and villages to discuss the so-called refugee crisis. In 2015, BBE opened a space for mayors to discuss how to deal with the sudden relocation of refugees in their towns, and local reactions to those relocations. The mayors hadn't known how to deal with this influx of residents. Another example was their work with rural eastern rural areas, supporting parts. BBE supported the idea of social and economic development through raising democratic standards.

<sup>6</sup> The details about the organization are mostly taken from the official website.

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## Coalition Building: Case Studies

**German Trade Union Youth Organization Southern Hesse**

DGB-Jugend is a youth organization with the aim to support young people and their interests. As the representative of interests of young workers, it focuses on lobbying political and business entities. It aims to create new sustainable jobs, decent work and equal pay and treatment. It is the biggest secular youth organization in Germany.

A German trade union confederation, DGB-Jugend unifies all young members of the eight free trade unions, comprising 500,000 people up to age 27. All young people including pupils, students, interns, trainees, and the young unemployed have the opportunity to become members and take action within DGB-Jugend.

In the southern tip of Hesse between the Rhine and Odenwald, DGB Youth of Southern Hesse (DGB-Jugend Südhessen) is active in a wide variety of thematic areas. The main focus is on anti-discrimination and anti-racism, extreme right-wing structures and remembrance and commemoration. Therefore, it also focuses on information and prevention in these areas in its education programs. For years, it has been organizing educational holidays against



#### **Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights**

This is a national (US) civil and human rights coalition in existence for more than 65 years. It is a formal network of over 200 non-governmental organizations in the US. It represents communities across diverse groups such as women, workers, students, faith-based and ethnic associations. The coalition works in the area of legislative advocacy and conducts lobbying efforts for civil rights.

***[civilrights.org](http://civilrights.org)***

Organizations sign up for different task groups of the coalition. The task groups drive the engine of the alliance by setting their priorities and strategies. After the 2016 presidential election, the Leadership Conference started a new initiative, Communities Against Hate, to document hate incidents. This initiative was triggered by the desire to preserve the fundamental values of the US. Eighteen partner organizations came together to help victims and organizations gain access to necessary legal and social support.

Some of the organizations of “Communities Against Hate” were already members of the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, while others were new. So that those organizations work in harmony, they created an environment where all communities can share their needs and fears.

***[communitiesagainsthate.org](http://communitiesagainsthate.org)***



**“Prejudice and discrimination have not been eliminated, and the Lawyers’ Committee must continue to defend the interests of those who would not be able to defend themselves without its service. This work will surely continue to inspire lawyers to share their knowledge, experience, and dedication to ensure that the promises of equality and justice are realities.”**

– Lawyers Committee website





## REFLECTIONS FROM THE GROUP

We need to develop relations with law enforcement agencies before we need them.

Develop remedies according to the needs and messages of the community.

There must be some common goals and values for building a coalition, such as “safe communities.”

It takes time to build trust between the police and communities.

We can list the principles we share as members of a coalition. There is never one hundred percent consensus, but we can at least find common goals and respect our differences in other areas.

Think strategically about partnerships to raise awareness of your cause.

For a particular purpose, such as organizing a demonstration, it is easy to bring groups together. However, once the goal has been achieved, it can be difficult to reconnect members. Communication usually works more effectively among young people. For that reason, coalitions should be attractive to young people as a tactic of sustainability.

The best coalitions work when each organization has a role to play. Working with different styles can be challenging, but the various skills can also be a chance for success.

Define critical areas of the coalition’s work and undertake them sustainably.

As much as learning from each other, getting to know one another is an essential advantage of forming a coalition. Most organizations from the same area do not recognize one another.

Working in coalitions can be beneficial: saving time, sharing resources and attracting attention.



## Stop Hate Project, Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

The Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law was created in 1963 at the request of President Kennedy. He urged lawyers to do more about civil rights. Beginning as a racial justice organization, it now also addresses civil rights issues that include voting, education, housing, employment, LGBT rights and issues around religion.

One part of the Lawyers Committee’s work is to document incidents of discrimination. The Lawyers’ Committee launched the Stop Hate Project in 2017 “to strengthen the capacity of community leaders, law enforcement, and organizations around the country to combat hate by connecting these groups with established legal and social services resources.”<sup>7</sup> It is a challenge that victims feel unsafe to report incidents to law enforcement. If they are immigrants, they fear being deported. People of color have bad memories from former experience with police.

### Stop Hate Project **8449nohate.org**

There is a barrier of mistrust between civil society organizations. The Committee positions itself as a resource center for grassroots actors doing things for their local communities. That becomes a way of earning trust as well. Trust is crucial for reporting a hate incident.

For example, a gay couple in southwest Virginia was exposed to verbal attacks every time they walked in the street, and were thus fearful to go out of their house in this small town. When they applied to the Committee, they were guided to a local LGBT center. With the Center’s support, they got in contact with law enforcement.

<sup>7</sup> <https://8449nohate.org/overview>

1:00 p.m.

**Current State of Hate Speech Online in Germany and the US, and Tools to Confront It**

MODERATOR

**Steven Luckert**

Museum Experience and Digital Media, USHMM

**Jonathan Vick**

Investigative Technology and Cyberhate Response, Anti-Defamation League

**Mark Potok**

Expert on the American radical right

**Michael Wörner-Schappert**

jugendschutz.net

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# Current State of Hate Speech Online in Germany and the US, and Tools to Confront It

## Southern Poverty Law Center

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) was founded to combat right-wing extremism and became famous for suing the infamous Ku Klux Klan. Later, the SPLC focused on gathering information to destroy supremacist and racist groups. SPLC tracks hate groups through its Hate Map. This map is updated regularly, and provides access to information about hate groups in the US.

## SPLC Hate Map

[splcenter.org/hate-map](http://splcenter.org/hate-map)

There is a shocking trend in the rise of ‘patriot’ groups, so-called militias. “Generally, such groups define themselves as opposed to the ‘New World Order,’ engage in groundless conspiracy theorizing, or advocate or adhere to extreme antigovernment doctrines.”<sup>8</sup> According to the SPLC, 623 such patriot groups were active in 2016.

## Creating Divisions

The main motivation is to destroy such groups by conducting deep investigative work to reveal details that create divisions among group members. If it is not possible to destroy the group, the aim is to weaken it. Last but not least, producing and disseminating counter-narratives against such groups has been a tactic in their work.

The SPLC can “discredit” extremist groups with a simple detail. In 1999, the Center unveiled the Jewish heritage of a popular neo-Nazi, Davis Wolfgang Hawke.

## Inoculation

Free speech is protected in the United States by the First Amendment to the US Constitution. Unlike in Europe, in the US protection of free speech extends even to hateful ideas directed at social or religious groups, including supremacist ideas. There is no concept in American law of group defamation. Of course, there is one exception: incitement to crime. However, the courts interpret this term very narrowly and intervene in very few cases.

In the US context, the SPLC recommends inoculation tactics against right-wing extremist ideas, such as forming an alliance with target groups, persuading people not to open the floor to hate groups, and raising awareness in the environment before radical ideas take hold.<sup>9</sup>

## Lobbying Technology Companies

The First Amendment protects individuals from prosecution, but does not prohibit companies such as Facebook and Twitter from enforcing their terms of service over customers. Companies have been criticized for allowing so much hate to appear in their medium, whether for business reasons or out of support for freedom of expression.

The Anti-Defamation League initially confronted such companies to remove hateful content. Later, they realized that it was a better tactic to talk to companies in a more collaborative way about why racism and defamation are wrong. They also learned how to make better use of the organizational systems of these companies. Every company has different service policies, and its own point of contact for complaints.

Keeping in mind that companies do not like complaints, standing together in a coalition can improve the potential for change. Close communication and using contacts can be also influential.

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<sup>8</sup> [splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2017/active-patriot-groups-us-2016](http://splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2017/active-patriot-groups-us-2016)

<sup>9</sup> Look at the publication: The Alt-Right on Campus: What Students-Need to Know, SPLC, 2017.



Another way to stop extremist websites is to cooperate with ICANN (The Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers) to delete accounts on the basis of false information given by their owners. In addition, large hosting companies are essential partners to combat online hate.

#### **Changing the Terms of Service**

There may be different laws from country to country, giving civil society room to maneuver in order to stop online hatred. In France, the anti-hate organization LICRA sued Yahoo for selling Nazi memorabilia through an internet auction that allowed French citizens to register online. Although the sale of such items is legal in the United States, the French court ruled that the sale of these items was in breach of French law. After this case, Yahoo had to change the entire management of its online content.

#### **Monetization**

Any genuinely effective internet medium depends on money. Hence, ADL works to shut down the channels of donation and commerce of extremist groups. For example, ADL worked with Paypal to shut down hate group accounts.

Likewise, the SPLC reported derogatory comments about customers of a so-called white-power music company, Resistance Records, by the very leader of the group that owned the company. The impact of the company can be understood by its \$1.7 million revenue in 2002.

#### **Education**

ADL develops curricula for teaching primary and high school level kids about diversity and bias as well as combating cyberhate.

***[adl.org/education-and-resources/resources-for-educators-parents-families](http://adl.org/education-and-resources/resources-for-educators-parents-families)***



**“In July 1998, security guards at the Aryan Nations compound in Idaho shot at Victoria Keenan and her son after their car backfired nearby. The Keenans were returning from a wedding and stopped briefly near the compound to look for a wallet that had fallen out the car.**

**Bullets struck their car several times before the vehicle careened into a ditch. Members of the group held the Keenans at gunpoint. (...)**

**The SPLC won a \$6.3 million verdict against the Aryan Nations and its leader, Richard Butler. Butler had to give up the 20-acre compound that is home to the country’s most violent white supremacists.”**

– SPLC website

### **Some Trends in Cyberhate**

New communication technologies helped trans-nationalize radicals. The core ideas of the American alt-right movement came from identitarian movements in Europe, especially anti-Muslim hate. Human rights defenders have to work internationally to challenge this trend. The International Network Against Cyber Hate (INACH) is a worldwide network bringing together 22 organizations combating online hate including jugendschutz.net, ADL and SPLC.

Troll armies became very notorious for harming individuals from minority groups. An example was the case of a Jewish real estate agent in Montana who refused to sell the house of the mother of a popular alt-right figure, Richard Spencer. She was attacked by hundreds of trolls online and received death threats and antisemitic insults in a smear campaign.

jugendschutz.net is mandated according to a German federal law (Treaty on the Protection of Minors/JMStV) and must act in accord with the code. As a result, it cannot interfere with some online hate messages unless they are illegal. jugendschutz.net notifies technology companies whenever they are required to remove any content under the German law.

During the past year, jugendschutz.net has taken action against 1,700 instances of online content, such as comments, videos, and contributions. In 80% of the cases, hateful materials have been successfully deleted, and 3% of cases were transmitted to prosecutors.

### **Content Bubbles**

jugendschutz.net examined around 140,000 tweets with the hashtag #schauhin (“look there”), which had been created as an anti-racist hashtag, but it was used frequently by the extreme and populist right. They found that around ten profiles dominated more than 60% of the content. Only a few accounts stood against racism.

There is a 1-9-90 rule concerning the internet: one percent of Internet users produce content, share and edit content, and most users (90 percent) are consumers of content. For this reason, bot accounts and trolls can easily manipulate the internet.

It observed that hate speech is largely produced in the bubbles of certain like-minded people.

In Germany, anti-refugee and anti-Muslim hate is significant and is commonly expressed using antisemitic language and symbols

**“jugendschutz.net urges providers to create their content in a way that is not endangering to children and young people in Germany. As a competence center for the protection of minors on the internet, jugendschutz.net looks closely at risks in services especially attractive to young users. jugendschutz.net runs a Hotline accepting reports regarding violations of youth protection laws and makes sure that quick action is taken. Risky contacts, self-harm behavior, political extremism and the sexual exploitation of children is the focus of jugendschutz.net’s work.”**

– jugendschutz.net website

3:15 p.m.

**Coalition Building—Case Studies**

MODERATOR

**Tad Stahnke**

Director, Initiative on Holocaust Denial and Antisemitism, USHMM

PANELISTS

**Rachel Carroll Rivas**

Montana Human Rights Network

**Susan Corke**

Countering Antisemitism and Extremism, Human Rights First

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## Coalition Building: Case Studies

### Montana Human Rights Network

Montana has long been a target of white supremacist and violent anti-government (so-called “patriot”) groups. In 1989, Montana passed legislation to increase sentences for offenses based on race, religion, color, or national origin. Groups supporting this legislation called attention to problems of hatred in their communities, including physical assaults, discriminatory expressions on the street and racist literature. In 1990, activists from these groups came together to form the Montana Human Rights Network (MHRN) to respond to hate incidents, organize communities to fight bigotry and conduct community-based research.

The MHRN actively deals with the problems of social class and builds bridges across communities. They encourage communities to hold educational events to promote human rights, such as showing films about the Holocaust. They work on health policy for children and economic justice issues. The MHRN believes it essential to build constituencies across different issues, since resources are limited in this small state.

In 2010, white racists showed films in the Kalispell Library that advocated Holocaust denial and a revisionist history of Nazi Germany. In response, the MHRN peacefully gathered various communities together during the film screenings to protest, and activists quietly occupied seats at screenings.

In Montana, there is no legal protection for LGBT people against discrimination in housing and employment. The MHRN is working to encourage city-level ordinances that protect LGBT communities by identifying local actors who can support their passage. As of now, six cities have passed these protections.

A popular leader of the white supremacist movement, Richard Spencer, lives partly in Whitefish, Montana. Racist trolls and the Nazi news portal Daily Stormer twisted the story of an incident between Spencer’s mother and a Jewish real estate agent. The local Jewish community was attacked online by a troll army, and the agent received 700 threats within 24 hours. The MHRN had an experienced local group active in the area. To counter the extremists, they contacted newspapers to print the story and organized events such as a “Love not hate march” with 600 people, including music, film screenings, etc. This response has triggered similar actions in other communities in the US. As a result of these efforts, the entire congressional delegation of Montana issued a joint statement condemning the attacks of the white supremacists. In April 2017, they invited a former skin-head who spearheaded the organization Exit USA to give a speech in Whitefish.

In 2008 they created “Speaking Volumes: Art Transforming Hate,” in which 60 artists transformed several thousand copies of the propaganda books of a hate group into works of art. The exhibition traveled around the country with accompanying teaching materials MHRN developed.

***[mhrn.org/speaking-volumes-art](http://mhrn.org/speaking-volumes-art)***

Moreover, the organization created a new Hate Incident Rapid-Response Guide which provides simple steps on how to react to hate incidents.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> [mhrn.org/publications/fact%20sheets%20and%20advisories/HateIncidentRapid-ResponseGuide.pdf](http://mhrn.org/publications/fact%20sheets%20and%20advisories/HateIncidentRapid-ResponseGuide.pdf)



### **Human Rights First**

Human Rights First (HRF) is an independent organization committed to promoting human rights and combating antisemitism. HRF urges the US government and private companies to respect human rights and the rule of law. It calls for reform, accountability, and justice from decision-makers.

In recent years, right-wing extremist parties and movements have emerged that exploit fears and pursue discriminatory policies. HRF decided to investigate this phenomenon and make recommendations for governments. In February 2017, HRF and the University of Munich published a report entitled “Germany Conflicted: The Struggle Between Xenophobia and Tolerance.” The report is based on interviews and consultations with activists, officials, NGO representatives, scientists, and lawyers.

According to the report, hate crimes in Germany have increased dramatically from 5,858 cases in 2014 to 10,373 in 2015, with the number of attacks on refugee shelters multiplied by five. In the so-called refugee crisis, Germany has accepted the most refugees, and many people worried that the influx of refugees was out of control.

The report focused on Germany in particular because of its emerging leadership role in the democratic world. Germany should continue to prioritize issues such as antisemitism and discrimination at the international level, as it did during its OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) presidency in 2017.

Rhetoric and policies of political leaders may correlate with the increase in hate inspired events. For example, xenophobic and Islamophobic rhetoric by pro-Brexit campaign leaders in the UK led to a 58 percent increase in hate incidents. A similar trend is emerging in the US. From 9 November to 12 December 2016, the Southern Poverty Law Center documented 1,094 cases of hateful harassment or intimidation.

There has been much media coverage of Muslims and refugees allegedly bringing antisemitism to Europe. Nevertheless, the vast majority (90 percent) of violent incidents is perpetrated by right-wing extremists, according to reports of the Interior Ministry in 2015.

Another trend in Germany, as well as in the US, is that relatively smaller groups of people with intolerant attitudes are becoming more visible, politically engaged, tech-savvy and violent. Parallel to that, social taboos against publicly espousing discriminatory views are weakening, despite the fact that the number of Germans believing in liberal democracy is on the rise.

Institutional racism is another issue in the US and Germany. External mechanisms of accountability for law enforcement need to be created. Sharing best practices between the two governments could be productive.

A year earlier, HRF published a report in France where antisemitic hate crimes are increasing dramatically in parallel to Germany. It is interesting to note that it was the French government that made addressing the problem of antisemitism a priority. It was spending money on combating antisemitism but, at the same time, it wasn't doing much to address the increasing marginalization of Muslims. This contradiction reinforced a social divide and the stereotype that Jews are influential in politics and economics and thus looked after more than Muslims. Another contributing factor in France was the very limited grassroots involvement in this area. Cyber-hate grew similarly, but collaboration with technology companies was unproductive.

***[humanrightsfirst.org/resource/germany-conflicted-struggle-between-xenophobia-and-tolerance](https://humanrightsfirst.org/resource/germany-conflicted-struggle-between-xenophobia-and-tolerance)***

**“We sometimes pretend to leave terrible things behind in the Western perspective. We put the evil away from ourselves and blame other societies.”**

– Exchange participant



9:00 a.m. **Concluding Discussion**  
LOCATION  
Melrose Hotel, Washington DC

## Evaluation of the Exchange

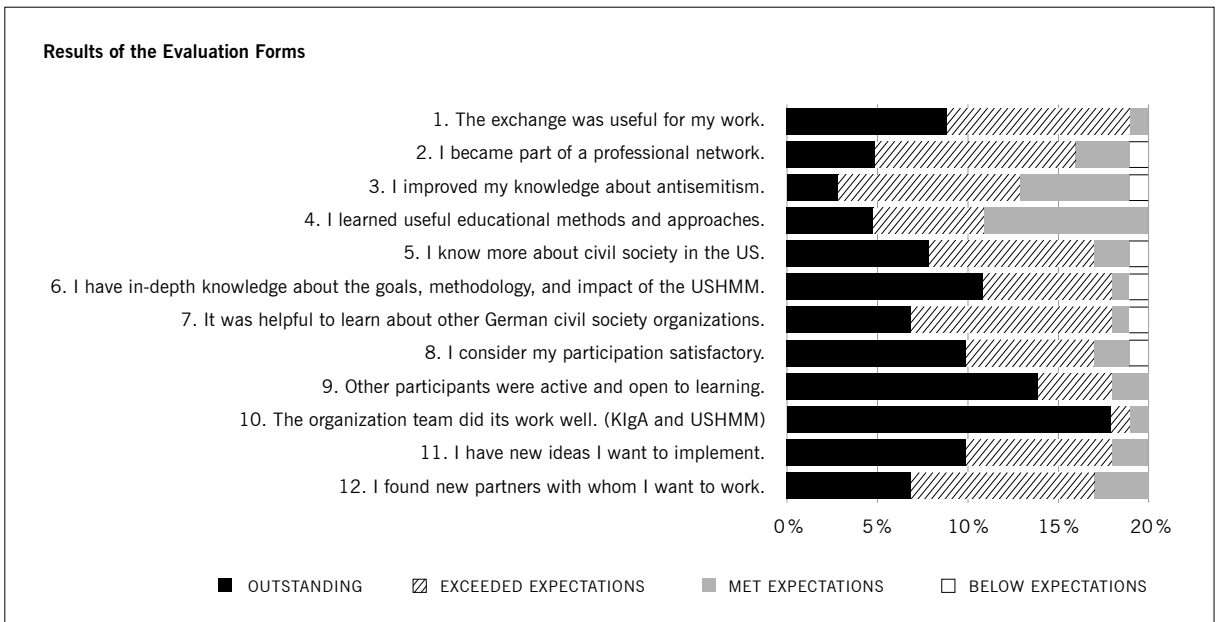
We evaluated the project using two means: a discussion session and evaluation forms completed by the participants. “Go on with what you’re doing and with improving critical thinking” was how one participant summed up the conference. The results of the evaluation indicated that the project was a complete success and the participants were highly satisfied with the outcomes.

The most significant outcome was learning new tools and methods to counteract antisemitism in our societies. By attending many panel discussions and lectures on the topics of antisemitism, bias, and the efforts to confront it, participants learned about a broad range of topics.

The participants were most impressed by the panel discussions: Government Tools for Confronting Hatred and Discrimination; Jewish-Muslim Dialogue in Germany the US; Coalition Building - Case Studies; and Current State of On-line Hate Speech in Germany and the US.

Discussion and exchange among the participants was at least as fruitful and rewarding as the lectures. In group discussions, they shared their experiences and built a professional network and generated new ideas for their work. These talks also sparked the desire for a follow-up meeting soon in order to continue reflecting on their approaches. Some expectations were not entirely met, such as to work more intensively in small groups, to develop more practice-oriented methods against antisemitism, and to intensify the exchange among participants.

The visits to the USHMM and the National Museum of African American History and Culture were two high points of the week. Last but not least, the arrangements for and the structure of the event were positively acknowledged. The USHMM and KIGa rendered a smooth-running program that also included some social events.



# PARTICIPANTS





<b>NAME</b>	<b>ORGANISATION</b>	<b>ROLE IN THE PROJECT</b>	<b>CITY</b>	<b>FEDERAL STATE</b>	<b>WORKING AREA</b>
<b>ACED, MIRIAM</b>	Alte Feuerwache e. V.	Project Coordinator of "Zugang für alle" (Access for All)	Berlin	Berlin	Anti-Muslim racism
<b>ALLMANN, KATHRIN</b>	Aktion Sühnezeichen Friedensdienste e. V. (Action Reconciliation Service for Peace)	Project Coordinator of the "Historical and Political Education for Refugees and Immigrants"	Berlin	Berlin	Holocaust Education
<b>BALL, SIMONE</b>	DGB-Jugend Hessen-Thüringen/ Southern Hesse Region	Expert of Youth Education	Darmstadt	Hesse	Antidiscrimination
<b>BARTHEL, MICHAEL</b>	Miteinander – Network for Democracy and Open-mindedness in Saxony-Anhalt	Consultant for the Regional Advisory Team in the South	Halle	Saxony-Anhalt	Right-wing extremism
<b>FAHIM, AMIR ALEXANDER</b>	Türkische Gemeinde in Deutschland e. V. (Turkish Community in Germany)	Project Leader: Prevention network against religious extremism	Berlin	Berlin	Radicalization prevention
<b>GEBAUER, FRANZISKA</b>	Drudel 11 e.V. – Thuringia Consulting Service	Educational counseling for former right-wing extremists, family members/friends and professionals	Jena	Thuringia	Right-wing extremism
<b>GÖPNER, FRANZISKA</b>	Anne Frank Zentrum	Head of the Department of Travelling Exhibitions; pedagogical management	Berlin	Berlin	Antisemitism, Holocaust Education
<b>GRESCHNER, DENIZ</b>	Multikulturelles Forum e. V.	Project Manager of "Objektiv!" – Young media creators with a perspective	Dortmund	North Rhine-Westphalia	Antisemitism
<b>GÜRSEL, EMRAH</b>	KlgA e. V.	International Projects Expert	Berlin	Berlin	Antisemitism
<b>HERZ, VIKTORIA</b>	Netzwerk für Demokratie und Courage Saar e. V. (Network for Democracy and Courage in Saarland)	Responsible for conception and content design of the pilot project "Growing together - networking, cooperation and youth education" in the field of anti-Gypsyism	Saarbrücken	Saarland	Anti-Gypsyism
<b>HIZARCI, DERSIS</b>	KlgA e. V.	Chairman of the Board of Directors Berlin	Berlin	Berlin	Antisemitism
<b>KAHL, REGINA</b>	Casablanca gGmbH	Head of Department Social Services	Berlin	Berlin	Radicalization prevention
<b>KLIEWE, FALKO</b>	ConAct – the Coordination Center for German-Israeli Youth Exchange	Pedagogical Staff in Living Diversity in Germany and Israel – Challenges and Perspectives for Education and Youth Exchange	Lutherstadt Wittenberg	Saxony-Anhalt	Antisemitism, Holocaust Education

<b>NAME</b>	<b>ORGANISATION</b>	<b>ROLE IN THE PROJECT</b>	<b>CITY</b>	<b>FEDERAL STATE</b>	<b>WORKING AREA</b>
<b>KRAHL, KATHRIN</b>	Weiterdenken – Heinrich Böll Foundation in Sachsen	Project Manager of RomaRespekt	Dresden	Saxony	Anti-Gypsyism
<b>KRIEG, DEBORAH</b>	Anne Frank Educational Center	Associate Director	Frankfurt	Hessen	Holocaust Education
<b>MITREGA, IRENA</b>	ZDK Gesellschaft Demokratische Kultur gGmbH (Democratic Culture Society)	Project Coordinator of “Zugang für alle” (Access for All)	Berlin	Berlin	Right-wing extremism
<b>NIEHOFF, MIRKO, DR.</b>	KlgA e. V.	Project Leader	Berlin	Berlin	Antisemitism
<b>PETERSEN, FRIEDERIKE</b>	BBE – National Network for Civil Society	Expert in the work area “Strengthening Democracy in Rural Areas”	Berlin	Berlin	Strengthening democracy in rural areas
<b>PETERSEN, JANNA</b>	Lola for Democracy in MV	Project team member/ “Un_Sichtbar” (In_Visible) – Lesbians, gays and trans* in MV	Ludwigs-lust	Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Gender and right-wing extremism
<b>ROHMANN, GABRIELE</b>	Archive of Youth Cultures e. V.	Director	Berlin	Berlin	Group-Focused Enmity
<b>SCHEURING, JANA</b>	ZWST – Central Board of Jewish Welfare in Germany	Educational Referent in the model project “Change of Perspective Plus” and “Competence Center for Prevention and Empowerment”	Berlin	Berlin	Prevention of antisemitism and racism
<b>WAGNER, JULE</b>	Centre for European and Oriental Culture (ZEOK e. V.)	Team member of the pilot project “Prejudice-conscious educational work with young people on Muslim lifestyles in East Germany”	Leipzig	Saxony	Anti-Muslim racism
<b>WALESCH, CHRISTOPH</b>	KlgA e. V.	Executive Assistant	Berlin	Berlin	Antisemitism
<b>WÖRNER-SCHAPPERT, MICHAEL</b>	jugendschutz.net	Right-wing extremism expert	Mainz	Rhineland-Palatinate	Political extremism (right-wing extremism)
<b>YILMAZ, BURAK</b>		Group Leader of “Young Muslims in Auschwitz” and “Heroes Duisburg”	Duisburg	North Rhine-Westphalia	Holocaust Education

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mail@kiga-berlin.org  
www.kiga-berlin.org

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Emrah Gürsel

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