#### CONFIDENTIAL RESTRICTED

# Request for New Zealand to join the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance

Summary

have asked that New Zealand become a member of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA).<sup>1</sup>

The IHRA describes itself as an intergovernmental organisation for "international political coordination...to combat growing Holocaust denial and anti-Semitism". \*\*s6(a)

s9(2)(g)(i)

s9(2)(g)(i)

#### The IHRA

The IHRA was founded by Sweden in 1998. There are currently 33 member countries of the IHRA, and 9 observers. Its membership predominantly consists of European countries alongside Canada, Australia, Argentina and Norway and the US. \*\*6(a)

The IHRA operates under a rotating chairmanship of its members, who host bi-annual meetings. In addition, the IHRA has four Working Groups<sup>2</sup> focused on specific issues and comprising experts from member countries. Members are expected to send between 1-2 delegates to each meeting of the Working Groups.

Membership process, requirements and resourcing

Applying for membership is not automatic. Potential members must first apply to be observers. The IHRA then assesses whether applicants meet certain requirements that demonstrate their policy settings align with the objectives and approach of the organisation. This includes undertaking programs such as "in depth teacher-training courses, with government commitment" in New Zealand<sup>3</sup>.

Joining the IHRA as a full member involves financial cost (EUR 30,000 annually) as well as resource to attend bi-annual meetings, usually held in Europe. Observers are required to attend and participate in meetings but are not required to pay annual fees.  $^{9(2)(9)(i)}$ 

s9(2)(g)(i)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Education Working Group, Academic Working Group, Memorials and Museums Working Group, and Communication Working Group.

<sup>3</sup> See https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/node/533 for the process.

s9(2)(g)(i)

Rationale for New Zealand's position

s9(2)(g)(i)

s9(2)(g)(i)

We recognise that many international partners have joined the IHRA, s6(a)

We note, however,

that most EU members have strong domestic drivers to support this initiative, including the rise of antisemitism in Europe.

We have considered the resource that would be required to support New Zealand membership of the IHRA. In addition to the annual fee, resourcing membership (observer or full) would require engagement of MFAT officials in Wellington, Ankara, Washington, New York, Geneva and other European capitals where Working Group and plenary meetings are held. New Zealand would need to designate a senior official as a "designated representative" and depending on the issues under consideration in the Working Groups, officials from other agencies in Wellington would need to be engaged. If New Zealand becomes a member of the IHRA, additional resource would be needed to host bi-annual meetings during New Zealand's chairmanship of the organisation. It also appears that New Zealand delegations to Working Group and plenary meetings need to include experts in the field of Holocaust denial, such as academics or museum experts. We are unclear of the availability, suitability and levels of interest of domestic experts in engaging in these activities. \$9(2)(g)(i)

Working Definition of Antisemitism

One of the IHRA's most publicised outputs is its "working definition" of antisemitism. The working definition is as follows:

"Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities."

s9(2)(g)(i) s6(a)

s6(a)

s6(a)



United Nations, Human Rights and Commonwealth Division, Middle East and Africa Division and Europe Division (November 2019)





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## Pito matua – Key points

- In August 2021, you agreed that Aotearoa New Zealand would apply to become an Observer of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA). The Ministry submitted our application to the IHRA Secretariat on 28 April 2022, which will be considered at the next plenary session in Stockholm 20 23 June. The application included a letter signed by you, and a survey on the state of Holocaust education, remembrance, and research in New Zealand.
- As part of our application, New Zealand must appoint a delegation to the IHRA, headed by a senior governmental representative (e.g with the rank of Ambassador). As the current Presidency of the IHRA sits with Sweden, and this year's plenary sessions will both take place there (in June and November), New Zealand's Ambassador to Sweden Mr. Andrew Jenks has been designated New Zealand's Head of Delegation, with the Deputy Head of Mission, \*9(2)(g)(ii) as Deputy Head of Delegation.
- In addition, IHRA rules require New Zealand to appoint at least three, and up to six expert delegates. These delegates should include "experts, such as local stakeholders and policy makers", who will be permitted to attend the meetings of IHRA working groups and standing committee groups in an observing capacity.
- We have worked closely with the New Zealand Jewish Council to identify appropriate candidates to act as expert delegates, and identified five for your consideration and approval (biographies provided in Annex 1):
  - Deborah Hart
  - Professor Paul Moon
  - Dame Lesley Max
  - David Zwartz ONZM
  - Shoshana Maasland
- All five candidates have indicated their interest and availability to serve as expert observers. Their terms of appointment would be for an initial period of one year, with renewal for subsequent one-year terms possible by mutual agreement. Each candidate you approve will be asked to sign a form agreeing to the Ministry's standard conditions applying to participants on New Zealand delegations to international organisations. Expert delegates will be expected to meet their own travel and other costs associated with the appointment.

Deborah Geels

for Secretary of Foreign Affairs and Trade

# Tūtohu – Recommendations

## It is recommended that you:

1	Note that Aotearoa submitted its application to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) in April 2022, which is expected to be considered at the Alliance's next plenary in June 2022;	Yes / No
2	Note that it is a requirement of New Zealand's application that we appoint a minimum or three, and up to six, expert delegates who are expected to meet their own travel and other costs;	Yes / No
3	Agree to appoint Deborah Hart as an expert delegate in New Zealand's delegation to the IHRA;	Yes / No
4	Agree to appoint Professor Paul Moon as an expert delegate in New Zealand's delegation to the IHRA;	Yes / No
5	Agree to appoint Dame Lesley Max as an expert delegate in New Zealand's delegation to the IHRA;	Yes / No
6	Agree to appoint David Zwartz ONZM as an expert delegate in New Zealand's delegation to the IHRA;	Yes / No
7	Agree to appoint Shoshana Maasland as an expert delegate in New Zealand's delegation to the IHRA;	Yes / No
8	Refer a copy of this submission to the Prime Minister and Associate Minister of Foreign Affairs.	Yes / No

Hon Nanaia Mahuta Minister of Foreign Affairs / Minita Take Aorere

Date: / /

## Appendix 1 - Additional information for proposed candidates

#### **Deborah Hart**

Deborah Hart is the current chair of the Holocaust Centre of New Zealand. She sits on the Human Rights Review Tribunal and has twice served as a lay member of the High Court. She has held many voluntary community roles both within the Jewish community and more generally as well including on the New Zealand Jewish Council, on the editorial board of the New Zealand Jewish Chronicle and chair of a School Board of Trustees.

A solicitor by training, the former executive director at the Arbitrators' and Mediators' Institute of New Zealand. She was last year appointed by the Government to be the inaugural Chair of the Consumer Advocacy Council, which advocates for small electricity consumers. She is also the Director of ASH NZ<sub>a</sub> and on the board of DocEdge. She undertook the independent review of the Banking Ombudsman Scheme and a review of the NZ Bar Association. She is a former member of the New Zealand Government's Small Business Advisory Group.

#### Paul Moon

Paul Moon ONZM, is a Professor of History at Auckland University of Technology, where he has taught since 1993. His research focuses primarily on nineteenth-century New Zealand, and the philosophies of colonisation. He has a Doctor of Literature, a Doctor of Philosophy, a Master of Arts, and a Master of Philosophy, and in 2003, was elected a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society at University College, London. He also holds several other international fellowships.

Paul has written a number of books, published by some of the world's largest publishers, including Penguin Random House, Routledge, Bloomsbury, and HarperCollins. He has been a finalist in two international history book awards, has worked as a historical advisor for a number of television documentaries, both local productions and for the BBC, and has appeared in various international media, including the Sydney Morning Herald, the Guardian UK, and the New York Times.

In 2018, Paul introduced the first undergraduate paper in New Zealand on the Holocaust – a paper produced in consultation with the country's Jewish community. The course now has around 200 students a year.

TEAM-16-2151

#### Dame Lesley Max, DNZM, MBE, MA (Hons)

Dame Lesley Max is a Jewish New Zealander, born in Auckland. Her career includes secondary school teaching (London) and journalism. She is the author of "Children: Endangered Species?" (Penguin 1990) and of chapters in books edited by Michael King, Paul Spoonley and Walter Hirsh, on matters relating to racism and to Jewish identity. She is a social entrepreneur who co-founded and continues to lead Great Potentials Foundation, providing social and educational services, largely to Māori and Pasifika children, young people and families, for over 30 years. She was awarded a Winston Churchill Fellowship and has been appointed to director and advisory roles in the health, social service and educational spheres. She served for many years as Secretary of the New Zealand Jewish Council; is a member of the Board of Management of the Auckland Hebrew Congregation, a Trustee of the Jewish Community Security Trust, an advisor to the Astor Foundation and a Trustee of Jewish Lives.

#### David Zwartz ONZM

David Zwartz ONZM, was born in Wellington, and undertook university studies in Christchurch. Now retired, David has worked as a book, technical, map and music publisher (in London, Accra, Sydney, Wellington); science editor, general editor and in communications also. David has served as: Editor of the NZ Jewish Chronicle (1980-86), President of the New Zealand Jewish Council (1998-2005), Honorary Consul of Israel (2003-08), and has been an active supporter of the Holocaust Centre of NZ since its founding in 2007. David also Co-founded alternative school Currambena in Sydney in 1969 (still going); was a founding council member of Wellington Community Access Radio and broadcaster there since 1982; active in CALM (Campaign Against Land Mines) (1993-2011) including as Convenor; Wellington Inter-Faith Council and helped establish National Interfaith Forums.

#### Shoshana Maasland

Shoshana is member of the Executive of the New Zealand Jewish Council, a member of the advisory group of the Astor Foundation, a human rights NGO, and a board member of the Bernard Goldwater Jewish Education Trust, which is responsible for Auckland's only Jewish preschool and the proprietor of Kadimah School (New Zealand's only Jewish day school). Shoshana is a qualified lawyer who has previously practised law in Auckland and London. She lives in Auckland <sup>s9(2)(a)</sup>

She has been an active member of, and advocate for, the New Zealand Jewish

community most of her life, and is the granddaughter of European Jews who fled Nazi Germany in 1939 and took refuge in New Zealand.



## Appendix 2 – Conditions for expert delegates

### Conditions Applying to Participants in New Zealand Delegations to International Meetings

Participation on official New Zealand delegations will be subject to the following conditions:

- The participant will at all times be under the authority of the leader of the delegation or, in their absence, that of the deputy leader, and will comply with their instructions or with any instructions received from the New Zealand authorities.
- As a participant in an official delegation the participant will act consistently with the government's interests as identified in the brief or by the delegation leader. If agreed in advance, they will also assist in compilation of the delegation report.
- The confidentiality of information received through participation in the official delegation is to be maintained. This information includes government documents, restricted conference documents, delegation discussions and such international negotiations as are conducted in camera.
- · This confidentiality shall particularly apply to any communications with the press.
- The participant may brief sponsoring organisations on developments and results in the negotiation but only on the basis that any information of a sensitive nature provided to sponsoring organisations will not be revealed publicly by them.
- Any articles written by the participant about the negotiations are subject to the clearance of the leader of the delegation or the appropriate government authorities.
- It is understood that inclusion in the delegation does not imply any obligation on behalf of the New Zealand government to meet costs of non-governmental participants.

I agree to abide by the above conditions in respect of my appointment as an expert delegate on the New Zealand delegation to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance.

Signature:				
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# **Application for Observer Country Status**

Name of Country: New Zealand

**Primary Contact** 

Government Dept: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade

Name of Contact: 59(2)(g)(ii)

Telephone: s9(2)(a) Email: s9(2)(g)(ii)

Other contacts

Name: Andrew Jenks

Responsibility: Ambassador

Telephone: s9(2)(a) Email: s9(2)(g)(ii)

Name: s9(2)(g)(ii)

Responsibility: Lead Adviser, United Nations, Human Rights and Commonwealth

Division

Telephone: s9(2)(a) Email: s9(2)(g)(ii)

1. Why does your country wish to be affiliated with IHRA as an Observer Country? (Please limit your answer to 350 words.)

New Zealand wishes to become an Observer of the IHRA because we strongly support its objectives. Antisemitism exists in New Zealand as everywhere, and we are committed to standing with our international partners against hatred and intolerance.

The Holocaust is one of the greatest tragedies of modern history. The systematic execution of millions of innocent people is a horrifying reminder of what can happen if extreme ideology and hatred is left unchecked.

In March 2019, New Zealand experienced the devastating effects of hatred culminating in the terror attacks on two mosques in Christchurch. This has galvanised our commitment to standing with our international partners against all forms of violence and discrimination against minorities, including intolerance based on religion or belief.

It is only through a deep understanding of the lessons of the past that we can ensure atrocities such as the Holocaust never happen again. This is why we wish to join the IHRA as an Observer country.

#### 2. Proposed NZ Delegation that will participate in IHRA plenary meetings

Name	Rank	Contact information	Home institution
Ambassador Andrew Jenks	Head of Delegation	s9(2)(g)(ii)	New Zealand Embassy, Stockholm
s9(2) (g)(ii)	Deputy Head of Delegation	s9(2)(g)(ii)	New Zealand Embassy, Stockholm
Deborah Hart	Expert Delegate	s9(2)(a)	Holocaust Centre of New Zealand
Paul Moon	Expert Delegate		Auckland University of Technology
Dame Lesley Max	Expert Delegate	7/4	New Zealand Jewish Community Security Group Charitable Trust
David Zwartz ONZM	Expert Delegate		New Zealand Jewish Council
Shoshana Maasland	Expert Delegate	200 %	New Zealand Jewish Council

3. Is the Holocaust a mandatory subject and part of the primary or secondary school curriculum? If yes, please provide details about how the subject is being taught and at which age. (Please limit your answer to 350 words.)

In New Zealand there are no compulsory topics that teachers must cover in their classrooms. However, because of the importance we place on Holocaust education, it is taught in most secondary schools, aged between 13-18. Teachers that do teach the Holocaust compartmentalise the subject by teaching specific parts such as the "Rise of Hitler and Nazism" or "Perspectives on Kristallnacht." With the implementation of the new Aotearoa New Zealand Curriculum, all topics chosen by teachers must be put within a New Zealand context and relate to the ideas of mana (respect/standing), whakapapa (family/genealogy), and tūrangawaewae (place of origin). This creates a unique opportunity to show how the events of the Holocaust, while happening in Europe, had effects here in New Zealand from enacted government policies, societal acceptance or rejection of refugees, and lasting cultural impacts those refugees had upon the fabric of Aotearoa New Zealand.

To ensure further integration of the Holocaust into the New Zealand curriculum, the Holocaust Centre of New Zealand (HCNZ) take a group of teachers to Yad Vashem biannually to be trained in Holocaust education. This has created a network of teachers throughout the country that teach the Holocaust in the classrooms and continue to train other teachers in that pedagogy. Teachers in more remote areas are also able to teach the Holocaust using the Holocaust Centre's Teaching Trunks, which provides replica items, books, and ready-to-go lessons. Through travelling exhibitions such as the

Children's Holocaust Memorial and HCNZ's new Finding Hope, Holocaust education is expanded to the public and its importance to New Zealand. An annual adult education programme is held online and in person on various topics of the Holocaust and New Zealand. An annual composition competition engages students from Years 7-13 on a new topic each year, providing students with the ability to research and learn more about the Holocaust.

4. Is there a National Holocaust Remembrance Day established? If yes, which day and what is the rationale for the specific date? (Please limit your answer to 350 words.)

Under the auspices of the Holocaust Centre of New Zealand and the New Zealand National Commission for UNESCO, there have been annual observances of United Nations International Holocaust Remembrance Day (UNIHRD) on 27 January since 2008. The first, modest UNIHRD commemoration was at the Holocaust Memorial in Makara Jewish Cemetery in the capital city, Wellington. Since then, that ceremony has been followed by a Parliamentary reception hosted by the Government.

The prize winners of an annual essay competition on a Holocaust topic, endowed by a Holocaust survivor, have been announced at the Parliamentary Reception since 2015. Auckland, New Zealand's largest city, had its first commemoration in 2013; Christchurch and Hamilton in 2017; Nelson in 2022. In 2023, there will be at least 7 ceremonies in 6 centres.

Over the years UNIHRD has been attended by Holocaust Survivors; the Governor-General; the Prime Minister, Ministers and Members of Parliament; the Diplomatic Corps; and members of the Māori and ethnic communities, human rights, faith communities and interfaith organisations, and the Jewish community. Each year there is extensive media coverage. In each location the ceremony has become a civic event with support from the local authorities and speeches by mayors.

Themes for UNIHRD commemorations have included the 70th anniversary of Auschwitz liberation; the Human Rights Commission campaign "Give nothing to racism"; the Children's Holocaust Memorial created from 1.5 million buttons collected by the pupils of a Jewish Day School; the contributions of Holocaust survivors and refugees to New Zealand society; the Righteous Among the Nations; and Resistance.

5. Is the Holocaust being taught at the university level? (Please limit your answer to 350 words.)

The Holocaust is taught in New Zealand universities, including at Auckland University of Technology (AUT) and Victoria University of Wellington (VUW).

The course taught at AUT is HIST 501, – The Holocaust: Its causes, character, and legacy, has been offered since 2019. The course description states: "A survey of the Holocaust, from its historic origins in European anti-Semitism, through to its implementation during the period of the Third Reich. The preconditions of the Holocaust in Europe, its subsequent

implementation and scale, and recent historiographical issues relating to its enduring significance will be examined. A specific case study relating to the Holocaust will be developed, and used to examine the relevance of the Shoah in the contemporary world."

The course taught at VUW is HIST 332 – The Holocaust and Genocide has been offered since 2007 as part of a Bachelor's Degree. The course description states that it "surveys the origins, implementation, experience and aftermath of the Holocaust – the state-sponsored policing, persecution, concentration and destruction of the Jewish and non-Jewish victims by the Nazi regime in Germany and their European collaborators from 1933 to 1945. The course also considers the legacy of the Holocaust, by considering postwar efforts to seek justice, understand, memorialise and artistically represent the Holocaust, and to prevent it from happening again."

Students who completed this course also went on to HIST 489, a compulsory research essay undertaken in the completion of a BA (Hons) degree. The topic is devised principally by the student under the guidance of a History programme staff member.

Recent theses have included on "Holocaust consciousness in New Zealand 1980-2010"; "Survival strategies of female concentration camp prisoners who immigrated to New Zealand"; and "Unpacking the Suitcase: German-Jewish refugees in New Zealand and the afterlives of their displaced objects, 1933-2015."

Other supervised PhD and MA theses are in progress at VUW.

6. Has any research on the Holocaust been undertaken and published in your country? (Please limit your answer to 350 words.)

Published New Zealand research on the Holocaust has been of two types: on Holocaust topics relating to New Zealand, or research on Holocaust topics outside New Zealand, carried out by New Zealanders.

In the first category, there have been some books on Holocaust survivors and refugees, and many interviews with survivors:

#### Interviews with Holocaust survivors:

Holocaust Oral History Project: a programme led by Clare Bruell, 1989-2007. Held in ATL/National Library

Various video interviews

NZ participants in USC Shoah Foundation (Spielberg) interviews, 1994 on. Held in ATL/National Library

Ann Beaglehole, Interviews with refugees and Holocaust survivors, tapes and transcripts, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Oral history archive.

Ann Beaglehole and Hal Levine's interviews with New Zealand Jews for Far from the Promised Land. (Pacific Press, 1995)

Holocaust Centre of NZ interviews with Holocaust survivors

Kindertransport research and interviews by Steven Sedley, Monica Tempian and Claire Bruell

Second generation stories in Deborah Knowles, ed. Mixed Blessings, New Zealand children of Holocaust survivors remember (Tandem Press, 2003)

#### Books - Holocaust research related to New Zealand:

Ann Beaglehole: A small price to pay (Allen & Unwin, 1988), Facing the past (Allen & Unwin, 1990)

Deborah Knowles, ed. Mixed Blessings, New Zealand children of Holocaust survivors remember (Tandem Press, 2003)

Steven Sedley: The Deckston story (Holocaust Centre of NZ, 2014)

### Chapters in books - Holocaust research related to New Zealand

Ann Beaglehole and Hal Levine, Far from the Promised Land: Being Jewish in New Zealand (Pacific Press, 1995) The book includes a section on NZ Jews and the Holocaust.

Ann Beaglehole, 'Refugees from Nazi Germany and Austria', in James Bade (ed), Out of the Shadow of War (Oxford, 1998)

Ann Beaglehole, 'Jewish refugee immigration to New Zealand, 1933-1945' in Paul Bartrop ed. False Havens: The British Empire and the Holocaust: Studies in the Shoah 10 (University Press of America, 1995)

# Holocaust research carried out by NZers, on Holocaust topics outside New Zealand:

Simone Gigliotti: *The Holocaust: A reader* (co-editor, Wiley-Blackwell, 2004); *The train journey: Transit, captivity and witnessing* (Berghahn, 2009); *The memorialisation of genocide* (editor, Routledge, 2015)

Simone Gigliotti and Monica Tempian: *The young victims of the Nazi regime* (co-editors, Bloomsbury 2016)

Giacomo Lichtner: Film and the Shoah in France and Italy (Vallentine Mitchell, 2008) Marco Sonzogni: This way: Covering/uncovering Tadeusz Borowski's 'This way for the gas, ladies and gentlemen' (Dunmore Publishing, 2011)

### Research essays on topics both in and outside New Zealand:

Prize-winners in the Claire Galambos-Winter Essay Competition at Victoria University of Wellington, by students attending the HIST 332 course – annually since 2007 [First volume: Victoria University of Wellington, 2013; Second volume: under discussion]

### Articles/Essays/Theses on topics in and outside New Zealand:

Articles in newspapers and magazines on New Zealand and Nazi/collaborationist war criminals.

There are various essays and articles in academic publications by Ann Beaglehole, Dov Bing, Simone Gigliotti and Giacomo Lichtner.

For theses, see the answer to Question 5.

### Memoir/Biography:

Several refugees/Holocaust survivors and second generation survivors have published memoirs and autobiographies. There are also privately published and unpublished diaries, letters and accounts of their families written by children of refugees and Holocaust survivors. With some of them, the focus is much more on making good in NZ, not on suffering in or escaping from the Holocaust.

 Does a Holocaust memorial site or museum exist in your country? Is the Holocaust presented as a part of another museum? Please provide a list if several such institutions exist or have permanent exhibitions on the Holocaust. (Please limit your answer to 350 words.)

Yes, both exist in New Zealand. There are memorial sites in Wellington and Auckland. The Holocaust Centre of New Zealand has a museum in Wellington and is intent on building another in Auckland. The Auckland War Memorial Museum has a permanent Holocaust exhibition as well.

#### Hon Nanaia Mahuta

MP for Hauraki-Waikato

Minister of Foreign Affairs

Minister of Local Government

Associate Minister for Māori Development



28 April 2022

Ambassador Ann Bernes Chair of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance s9(2)(a)

#### Tēnā koe Ambassador Bernes

I am pleased to submit this official request for New Zealand to join the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance as an observer country.

New Zealand adheres to the commitment to promote education, remembrance and research about the Holocaust as reflected in the 2000 Stockholm Declaration and the significant work of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance. The Holocaust was one of the greatest tragedies of modern history, which fundamentally challenged the foundations of global civilisation. It should never be forgotten in order to ensure that future generations will not witness such horrors again.

New Zealand has established national commemoration ceremonies across the country which take place on January 27, the International Holocaust Remembrance Day. These ceremonies include lectures, speeches, homages, and photographic exhibitions, as well as a prize giving for the annual Paul Seideman Composition Prize, an essay competition for New Zealand secondary students created in 2014.

New Zealand's national holocaust education and remembrance centre was established in 2007 to remember and honour the victims, and survivors, of the Holocaust, especially families of survivors in New Zealand. These activities aim to educate the younger generations and to preserve historical memory of the Holocaust.

Although the Jewish community in New Zealand is small – it numbers around 10,000 people, the New Zealand Government is strongly and fully committed to combating antisemitism, racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related intolerance.

On behalf of New Zealand, I ask your favourable consideration of our application. We look forward to working with the Alliance to promote our shared values.

Nāku noa

Hon Nanaia Mahuta

V. C.M.

Minita Take Aorere / Minister of Foreign Affairs





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## International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance

# Pito matua - Key points

s6(a)

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IHRA describes itself as an intergovernmental organisation for "international political coordination...to combat growing Holocaust denial and anti-Semitism".

- Becoming an observer is the first step to fully joining the IHRA as a member. Full membership also includes a resourcing commitment (bi-annual plenary meetings in Europe, usually represented at Ambassador-level) and financial implications (membership costs EUR 30,000 annually, observers pay EUR 10,000 annually after three years of observership).
- We recommend New Zealand seeks observer status of the IHRA s9(2)(g)(i)

  We strongly support the IHRA's objectives s6(a)

s9(2)(g)(i)

s9(2)(g)(i)

Observership would underline

New Zealand's commitment to combatting anti-Semitism and demonstrate solidarity with New Zealand's Jewish community at a time when anti-Semitism is rising globally.

The IHRA has developed a "working definition" of anti-Semitism. s6(a)

Fourteen of the 40 member and observer countries of the IHRA have not endorsed or adopted the working definition, we recommend that

New Zealand does not adopt the working definition at this time.

Deborah Geels

for Secretary of Foreign Affairs and Trade

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## International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance

# Tūtohu - Recommendations

It is	recommended	that !	vou:

1 Agree that New Zealand should apply to become an observer of the IHRA.

Yes / No

2 Agree that New Zealand should not adopt the IHRA working definition of anti-Semitism at this time. Yes / No

Refer a copy of this submission to the Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Justice, Minister for Diversity, Inclusion and Ethnic Communities, and the Associate Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Yes / No

Hon Nanaia Mahuta Minita Take Aorere / Minister of Foreign Affairs

Date:

,

## Minister's comments

## Pürongo - Report

 The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) was founded by Sweden in 1998. There are 40 member or observer countries and membership predominantly consists of European countries including the UK, Canada, Australia, Argentina and the US.<sup>s6(a)</sup>

(see the membership list at Annex I).

- Membership of the IHRA is not automatic and potential members must first apply to be observers. The IHRA then assesses whether the applicant's policy settings align with the objectives and approach of the organisation.
- 3. Joining the IHRA as a full member involves financial cost (EUR 30,000 annually) as well as resource to attend twice-yearly meetings, usually held in Europe at Ambassador or senior-official level. Observers are required to attend and participate in meetings and after three years become required to pay an annual contribution of EUR 10,000. Observers are also expected to nominate a number of non-government experts to attend plenaries and participate in IHRA's various working groups and committees. <sup>s9(2)(g)(i)</sup>
- 4. s9(2)(g)(i)
- 5. s9(2)(g)(i)
- 6. We do however strongly support the IHRA's objectives, s6(a)

- Many international partners have joined the IHRA, including European countries s6(a) s6(a)
  - Most EU members have strong domestic drivers to support this initiative, including the rise of anti-Semitism and far-right rhetoric in Europe. Although not on the same scale, anti-Semitism also exists in New Zealand.
- 8. We recommend seeking observer status of the IHRA s9(2)(g)(i)

## IHRA's working definition of anti-Semitism

 One of the IHRA's most publicised outputs is its non-legally binding "working definition" of anti-Semitism. <sup>s9(2)(g)(i)</sup>

"Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities."

s6(a)

11, s6(a)

are strong advocates for

New Zealand to adopt the working definition. However, there have also been strong concerns raised by other  $^{56(a)}$ 

opposed to its adoption based on the potential for the working definition to be used to conflate anti-Semitism with legitimate criticism of Israeli government policy, and so potentially stifle such criticism. These concerns have also been registered by the UN Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief who noted that "criticism of the Government of Israel is not per se anti-Semitic, as stated in the [IHRA] Working Definition, unless it is accompanied by manifestations of hatred towards Jews in general, or expressions that build on traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes."

12. Officials propose we do not to adopt the working definition at this time. Fourteen countries appear not to have adopted the working definition despite being members or observers of the IHRA. s6(a)

13. s6(a)

14. s6(a)

15. s6(a)

s6(a)



- 18. Officials anticipate that adopting the working definition would draw criticism <sup>s6(a)</sup> in particular those groups that have already lobbied the government not to join the IHRA.
- 19. A number <sup>s9(2)(g)(i)</sup> who support New Zealand adopting the working definition engage heavily in the media and online <sup>s6(a)</sup> For example, in January 2021, the Israeli Institute and the NZ Jewish Council accused Green MP Golriz Ghahraman of anti-Semitism for publicly engaging in discussion on Israel's Covid-19 vaccination programme, which did not cover Palestinians. Ghahraman likened the Israeli Government's decision to "medical apartheid" in a social media post. <sup>s6(a)</sup>

# ANNEX I: Membership of the IHRA, as of 30/03/21

Country	Member	Adopted/endorsed the working definition?
Albania	Observer	Υ
Argentina	Y	Y
Australia	Υ	No
Austria	Y	Υ
Belgium	Υ	Υ
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Observer	No
Bulgaria	Y	Υ
Canada	Y	Υ
Cyprus	No	Υ
Czech Republic	Y	Y
Denmark	Y	No
El Salvador	Observer	No
Estonia	Υ	No
Finland	Y	No
France	Y	Y
Germany	Y	Y
Greece	Υ	Y
Guatemala	No	Y
Hungary	Υ	Y
Ireland	Y	No
Israel	Y	Υ
Italy	Y	Y
Latvia	Y	No
Lithuania	Y	Y
Luxembourg	Y	Y
Moldova	Observer	K
Monaco	Observer	No
Netherlands	Y	Υ
North Macedonia	'Liaison country'	Y
Norway	Y. C	No
Poland	Y	No
Portugal	Y	No
Romania	Y	Y
Serbia	Y	Y
Slovakia	Υ	Υ
Slovenia	Y	Y
Spain	Y	Y
Sweden	Υ	Y
Switzerland	Y	No
Turkey	Observer	No
UK	Y	Υ
US	Y	Υ
Uruguay	Observer	Y

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### International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance

#### ANNEX II: Membership and Application Procedure

The IHRA consists of representatives of governments. Delegations are chaired by Ambassadors or officials of a senior rank. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are part of the delegations as experts. Experts are nominated by their country to serve on their national delegation to the IHRA.

The IHRA welcomes new member countries, on the basis of their adherence to the Stockholm Declaration on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research of January 28, 2000 and the 2020 IHRA Ministerial Declaration.

Acceptance into the IHRA is a process, and these are its key stages and requirements:

- When a government of any UN member country expresses an interest in working with and/or within the IHRA, it will submit an official letter of application, signed by a senior governmental representative (generally either the Minister of Foreign Affairs or the Minister of Education). It will also complete a survey on the state of Holocaust education, remembrance, and research in the country, which will be submitted to the IHRA Permanent Office at least eight weeks before the Plenary meeting at which the interested government seeks admission as an Observer. It will then be accepted as an Observer Country, subject to approval by the Plenary, and will participate as such in the Working Groups and the Plenary.
- The IHRA will only accept countries commonly seen as democracies (i.e. not countries with authoritarian, dictatorial, or totalitarian regimes) to full membership. However, other countries may be encouraged to develop projects in cooperation with the IHRA, or agree to such projects with local NGOs.
- Observer (and Liaison) Countries affiliated with the IHRA for more than three years will pay an annual obligatory contribution of EUR 10,000 to the IHRA Fund.
- Observer (and Liaison) Countries commit themselves to attending the IHRA Plenary meetings (Plenary Sessions and Working Group and Committee meetings).
- When an interested government expresses its wish to advance its status beyond that of an Observer, it applies for its country to become a Liaison Country. To that effect, the interested government must submit the completed Liaison Projects Baseline Study form to the Chair of the IHRA. The Liaison Projects Baseline Study is circulated to the members of the IHRA over the general listsery at least six weeks before the plenary meeting at which the interested government seeks admission as a Liaison. The new Liaison Country will designate one or more IHRA countries with experience in IHRA work to establish liaison programs with the new candidate, provided the "lead" country or countries agree(s), and subject to approval by the Plenary. The minimum mandatory period for liaison status is one year.
- Liaison programs will include, as a minimum, two multilateral (i.e. involving more than one IHRA member country) in depth teacher-training courses, with government commitment. As is customary with IHRA projects organized by the Education Working Group, observers from IHRA countries will attend, and evaluations of the seminars will be made to the Education Working Group, which in turn will report to the Chair. The seminars will be concentrated around a core of Holocaust topics.
- A Holocaust Memorial Day (on January 27, or another date chosen by the applicant country), will be established.
- The government of the candidate country should demonstrate clear public policy commitment to Holocaust education at a senior political level. This will mean appropriate involvement of relevant government departments.

# RESTRICTED Page 9 of 10

## International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance

- The new applicant country will satisfy the IHRA that its archives dealing with the Holocaust period (1933-1950) are open for research, and that there is or will be academic, educational, and public examination of the country's historical past as related to the Holocaust period.
- The applicant country will commit itself to pay a yearly contribution to the IHRA Fund of EUR 30,000.
- The applicant country will endorse the previous decisions of the IHRA.
- The applicant country will commit itself to contribute to the operational activities of the IHRA.
- The applicant country will commit itself to the IHRA's three Working Groups, sending two delegates to the Education Working Group, one to the Academic Working Group, and one to the Memorials and Museums Working Group.
- Upon fulfilment of these conditions, the government of the candidate country will submit the completed Membership Application Baseline Study form, at least four months before the Plenary at which it seeks admission. The Chair will designate a subcommittee of three member states, each of whom will be represented by a governmental delegate and by an NGO member (i.e. six persons), who will review the application in depth. The subcommittee will invite and take into account comments by other delegations.

The following procedures will be adhered to with every future application:

- There will be a formal presentation of up to 20 minutes by the delegation of the applying government in the Plenary at which admission is sought.
- Up to 45 minutes will be set aside for questions and/or comments of concern, and answers to these by the applying delegation.
- Up to 45 minutes will be devoted to internal discussion by IHRA members, with the applicant delegation absent. Consensus on the application between the IHRA delegations will be sought. If no consensus is reached, or if the consensus is negative regarding the application, the applying government will be so informed immediately, and may be offered a continuation of the liaison relationship.
- Once a government/country is accepted, it immediately becomes an equal partner in all IHRA bodies and Working Groups.

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#### International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance

#### ANNEX III: Working definition of Anti-Semitism

"Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities."

To guide IHRA in its work, the following examples may serve as illustrations:

Manifestations might include the targeting of the state of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity. However, criticism of Israel similar to that levelled against any other country cannot be regarded as anti-Semitic. Anti-Semitism frequently charges Jews with conspiring to harm humanity, and it is often used to blame Jews for "why things go wrong." It is expressed in speech, writing, visual forms and action, and employs sinister stereotypes and negative character traits.

Contemporary examples of anti-Semitism in public life, the media, schools, the workplace, and in the religious sphere could, taking into account the overall context, include, but are not limited to:

- Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion.
- Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews
  as such or the power of Jews as collective such as, especially but not exclusively, the
  myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy,
  government or other societal institutions.
- Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, or even for acts committed by non-Jews.
- Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.
- Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.
- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g. by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behaviour not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic anti-Semitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
- Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.

From: Foreign Affairs Portfolio <ForeignAffairs.Portfolio@parliament.govt.nz>

**Sent:** Tuesday, 12 July 2022 4:37 pm

To: ESI

Subject: FW: IHRA Definition



s9(2)(g)(ii)

Private Secretary | Office of Hon Nanaia Mahuta MP Minister of Foreign Affairs | Minister of Local Government | Associate Minister for Māori Development

M: s9(2)(a)

Private Bag 18041, Parliament Buildings, Wellington 6160, New Zealand

From: s9(2)(g)(ii)

**Sent:** Tuesday, 12 July 2022 9:18 AM **To:** MFAT Correspondence s9(2)(g)(ii)

Cc: Foreign Affairs Portfolio < Foreign Affairs Portfolio @parliament.govt.nz >

Subject: FW: IHRA Definition

From: s9(2)(g)(ii) On Behalf Of Rt Hon Jacinda Ardern

Sent: Tuesday, 12 July 2022 9:07 AM

To: N Mahuta (MIN) < n.mahuta@ministers.govt.nz

Subject: FW: IHRA Definition

Good morning - happy to accept? Thanks, \$9(2)(g)(ii)

Office of the Prime Minister

From: s9(2)(a)

Sent: Monday, 11 July 2022 9:49 PM

To: Rt Hon Jacinda Ardern <a href="mailto:Jacinda.Ardern@parliament.govt.nz">Jacinda.Ardern@parliament.govt.nz</a>; Hon Nanaia Mahuta

<<u>Nanaia.Mahuta@parliament.govt.nz</u>>; Hon Judith Collins <<u>judith.collins@national.org.nz</u>>; Golriz

Ghahraman < Golriz. Ghahraman@parliament.govt.nz >

Subject: IHRA Definition

Dear Prime Minister Ardern, Minister Nahuta, Honourable Judith Collins, Honourable Golriz Ghahraman,

I was shocked and disappointed to find the press statement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated 23 June 2022. "On Friday 24 June, Aotearoa New Zealand's application to become an Observer of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) was accepted by the Alliance's membership. The IHRA is an intergovernmental organisation that promotes "international political coordination to combat growing Holocaust denial and antisemitism". The objectives of the IHRA strongly align with Aotearoa New Zealand's commitment to combatting antisemitism."

I draw your attention to this article published a mere six weeks before the Ministry issued their statement. <a href="https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11158-022-09553-4:">https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11158-022-09553-4:</a> -The opening paragraphs capture the concerns that other groups have with the IHRA definition of anti semitism.

"The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) developed a 'Working Definition of Antisemitism' in 2016. Whilst the definition has received a significant amount of media attention, we are not aware of any comprehensive philosophical analysis. This article analyses this definition. We conclude that the definition and its list of examples ought to be rejected. The urgency to do so stems from the fact that **pro-Israel activists can and have mobilised the IHRA document for political goals unrelated to tackling antisemitism, notably to stigmatise and silence critics of the Israeli government.** This causes widespread self-censorship, has an adverse impact on freedom of speech, and impedes action against the unjust treatment of Palestinians. We also identify intrinsic problems in the way the definition refers to criticism of Israel similar 'to that leveled against any other country', ambiguous wording about 'the power of Jews as a collective', lack of clarity as to the Jewish people's 'right to self-determination', and its denial of obvious racism."

With the advent of the internet opening up reporting in conflict zones, we are exposed to a much broader range of reporting and comment. There are a wide range of articles that are readily accessible stating that the State of Israel and its supporters are conflating the IHRA definition of anti semitism with anti zionism. Whilst I am not experienced in foreign affairs or degree qualified in Middle East relations, I am reasonably well read on the subject, (including Fisk, Chomsky, and Pappe). I fear that New Zealand has been manipulated into becoming an Observer of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, and in doing so, we have ignored the facts of modern history that have led to the current situation in this part of the Middle East; i.e. Israel and Palestine.

- Zionists, (a small subsection of the European Jewish population), coerced Lord Balfour into signing "The Balfour Declaration".
- Sykes Picot further entrenched Balfour's declaration by drawing lines on a map to divide the Middle East after the Axis forces were defeated.
- As Britain wished to escape the Middle East, they armed what we would refer to today as terrorist
  gangs, to take control of what is today referred to as Israel.
- In doing this, it is widely accepted that these gangs, which were the foundation blocks of the
  modern, mis-named Israel Defence Force, ethnically cleansed more than 700,000 ethnic Palestinians
  creating the refugee problem that exists in the Middle East today.
- The new Israeli government of course encouraged Jews to emigrate to Israel, (a land for a people for a people without a land), and in doing so bombed a synagogue in Iraq and murdered an UN diplomat to achieve their aims.
- Zionism has become deeply entrenched in modern day Israel, and other parts of the world, (USA as an example), with the basis being that a mythical God promised Israel to the Jews.
- Israel has ignored countless UN and UNSC resolutions, and escaped consequences of their actions via the supportive USA veto power in the UNSC.
- The State of Israel continues to actively ethnically cleanse Palestinian Arabs, denying that Palestine
  ever existed, ignoring evidence to the contrary.
- The State of Israel clearly practices apartheid, and this view has been supported by NGO's and
  western media. Jews from anywhere in the world can move to Israel without a problem, whereas
  Palestinian Arabs that were ethnically cleansed from the 1940's have no such right of return.
- The State of Israel has committed, and continues to commit, war crimes, but as they are not held to
  account, they continue, and will continue, to act with impunity. Examples: -
  - Destruction of civilian infrastructure in Gaza,
  - Murder of clearly marked medics and journalists,
  - Apartheid wall that continues to be constructed separating Palestinian families and communities.
  - Openly supporting (violent) illegal settlers in occupied lands.
  - o Taking more and more "disputed" land through redefining its designation.

- Population transfer.
- In effect, if one group is, over many decades being actively destroyed, with the aggressor being supported by global powers, then the party being targeted must rise up by whatever means available, to defend themselves. In this case, the Palestinians cannot win militarily, (with the US providing US\$3.8bn of military aid to Israel each year), so they have sensibly resorted to peaceful protest including the Great March of Return, the BDS movement, and standing up for themselves against land grabs and aggression from the State of Israel and some of its citizens.

In closing, I have two questions, and one request, for you: -

- If we read and discuss as examples ethnic cleansing, apartheid, state sanctioned land grabs by "settlers", destruction of crops, livestock and homes, in the Occupied West Bank, and bombing of critical infrastructure in Gaza is that antisemitism?
- 2. If we target the Israeli military, the Israeli judiciary, the Israeli Knesset, the Israeli defiance of international law and UNSC resolutions, the laws that discriminate against Israel's remaining Palestinian population and those under its effective control in the Occupied West Bank and Gaza, is that antisemitism?

I implore you to review the information and process that has led to New Zealand becoming an Observer of the IHRA. Following that review, I believe there is little likelihood of your government wishing to support the IHRA, and that you will walk back from the original decision with heads held high, being better informed on what the IHRA is trying to do, and what New Zealand should do.

Regards, s9(2)(a)

From: s9(2)(a)

**Sent:** Friday, 8 July 2022 12:02 pm

To: nanaia.mahuta@parliament.govt.nz

Cc: ESD

Subject: New UNRWA-produced material contains hate and incitement

Kia ora Minster Mahuta,

You should be aware that new UNRWA-produced materials (not from the PA curriculum) has been found to contain antisemitism, calls for martyrdom, violence, and Jihad, and which are entirely devoid of any material that promotes peace and peace-making (see the IMPACT-SE report at <a href="https://www.impact-se.org/wp-content/uploads/Review-of-2022-UNRWA-Produced-School-Materials.pdf">https://www.impact-se.org/wp-content/uploads/Review-of-2022-UNRWA-Produced-School-Materials.pdf</a>).

This should be some extra evidence that speaks to the veracity of any claims that UNRWA is concerned about the problematic material in the PA curriculum or their assurances that they address it.

Your MFAT staff urge you to continue funding this organisation, despite the decades of evidence that they promote hate and the ongoing evidence that they lie about their intent and actions to combat it.

On what basis do you think it is reasonable to continue funding UNRWA and also claim to be against racism and extremism? I note that New Zealand has recently joined The IHRA. Surely, it is duplicatous to claim to combat antisemitism while actively funding antisemitism.

I look forward to your response.

Nga Mihi, s6(a)

#### The Israel Institute of New Zealand

Website | Facebook | Twitter

The Israel Institute of New Zealand is an independent think tank dedicated to providing New Zealanders with a better understanding of the State of Israel through accurate analysis, insightful commentary, and effective advocacy.

Please consider joining IINZ and donating to support our work.

From: Foreign Affairs Portfolio <ForeignAffairs.Portfolio@parliament.govt.nz>

**Sent:** Tuesday, 6 July 2021 10:02 am

To: ESI

**Subject:** FW: PR01452 – Adoption of Anti-semitism definition **Attachments:** Request to adopt IHRA def of anti-semitism SH.docx

Categories: Diana

Please see attached.

Thanks



s9(2)(g)(ii)

Private Secretary | Office of Hon Nanaia Mahuta MP Minister of Foreign Affairs | Minister of Local Government | Associate Minister for Māori Development

M: s9(2)(a)

Private Bag 18041, Parliament Buildings, Wellington 6160, New Zealand

From: s9(2)(g)(ii)

Sent: Tuesday, 6 July 2021 10:01 AM

To: s9(2)(g)(ii) @parliament.govt.nz>
Cc: s9(2)(g)(ii) @parliament.govt.nz>

Subject: FW: PR01452 - Adoption of Anti-semitism definition

We can accept the transfer!

s9(2)(g)(ii)

- can you log and send through to ESD - thanks!

From: s9(2)(g)(ii)

Sent: Monday, 5 July 2021 8:36 PM

To: s9(2)(9)(ii) (a) parliament.govt.nz>

Cc: s9(2)(g)(ii) @parliament.govt.nz>; s9(2)(g)(ii)

s9(2)(g)(ii) @parliament.govt.nz>

Subject: FW: PR01452 - Adoption of Anti-semitism definition

Tēnā koe s9(2)(g)(ii)

Please see the letter from \$9(2)(a) asking if the government could adopt the working definition of antisemitism from the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance:

"Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities."

Would you be happy to accept a transfer of the letter please under the Foreign Affairs portfolio?

Thanks.

### Ngā mihi

s9(2)(g)(ii)

Acting Private Secretary, Diversity, Inclusion and Ethnic Communities Office of Hon Priyanca Radhakrishnan DDI: s9(2)(a)

From: \$9(2)(a)

Sent: Thursday, 24 June 2021 9:04 PM

To: Hon Priyanca Radhakrishnan < Priyanca.Radhakrishnan@parliament.govt.nz >

Subject: PR01452 - Adoption of Anti-semitism definition

Tēnā koe Hon. Priyanca Radhakrishnan

Please find attached my letter asking for the Government to adopt the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance definition of anti-semitism.

Nāku noa, nā s9(2)(a)

#### 24 June 2021

Tēnā koe Hon. Priyanca Radhakrishnan

My name is <sup>s9(2)(a)</sup> and I am writing on my own behalf about how we could further protect our Jewish communities from terror attacks. My interest follows the countering terrorism conference last week. I attended the conference and you may remember me because you very kindly gave me a lift from the Town Hall to the Art Gallery on Tuesday evening.

This letter is on my own behalf and not the view of the organisation that I work for or any other sector.

During Juliette Moses's presentation at the conference she said that she did not consider herself "white" because the common enemy of Jews and Muslims were white supremisists. Making a distinction based on colour appeared strained because she and other Ashkenazi Jews look as caucasian as I do, and colour does not denote beliefs. However, the Jewish community does seem to need extra support in its battles against terrorism because the Palestinian Israeli conflict is divisive and anti-semitism (and its guise of anti-zionism) is on the rise world wide.

My request is for the Government to adopt the working definition of anti-semitism from the <u>International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance</u>:

"Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities."

As many as 34 countries and have adopted this definition. Organisations have also adopted it including the largest NGO if Imams worldwide, the <u>Global Imams Council</u> in October last year.

I want to thank you for your speech asking for us as a nation to be a place where everyone can feel safe, valued and heard. We do need to disagree with one another in a respectful way and respect each others rights. We need to work at peace to live in peace.

Thank you for considering this request to support anti-semitism.

Nāku noa, nā s9(2)(a)

#### Hon Nanaia Mahuta

MP for Hauraki-Waikato
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Minister of Local Government
Associate Minister for Māori Development



#### [Date, office to complete]

s9(2)(a) s9(2)(a)

Tēnā koe s9(2)(a)

Your letter of 24 June 2021 to Hon. Priyanca Radhakrishnan, has been referred to me, as the issue you raise falls within my portfolio responsibilities.

I note your request that the New Zealand Government adopt the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's working definition of anti-Semitism.

Aotearoa New Zealand is a strong supporter of the freedom of religion or belief, which is a priority for Aotearoa New Zealand's active engagement, as reflected in the International Human Rights Action Plan. We are steadfastly committed to standing with our international partners against hatred and intolerance.

I am advised that officials at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade are currently preparing advice regarding the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance.

Nāku noa

Hon Nanaia Mahuta

Minita Take Aorere / Minister of Foreign Affairs

s9(2)(a)



25/11/2018

Rt. Hon. Jacinda Ardern Prime Minister of New Zealand Parliament Buildings Private Bag 18888 Wellington 6160

Dear Prime Minister

#### Re: IHRA Definition of Anti-Semitism

With the rise of anti-Semitic attacks against Jewish communities on the increase around the world, it's become apparent that a clear definition of anti-Semitism is needed to combat incidents when they occur. Many countries including the United States, United Kingdom and Canada have adopted the IHRA's Working Definition of Anti-Semitism.

Does this government support or agree with the IHRA's Working Definition of Anti-Semitism which includes the definitions detailed below?

- Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion.
- Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.
- Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, or even for acts committed by non-Jews.
- Denying the fact, scope, mechanisms (e.g. gas chambers) or intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people at the hands of National Socialist Germany and its supporters and accomplices during World War II (the Holocaust).
- Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.

- Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.
- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the
  existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behaviour not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
- Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.

s9(2)(a) Vours sincerely

cc: Rt. Hon. Simon Bridges cc: Rt. Hon. Winston Peters cc: Rt. Hon. Marama Davidson cc: Rt. Hon. James Shaw s9(2)(a)

Dear s9(2)(a)

Your letter to Rt Hon Jacinda Ardern, which was also copied to myself, has been referred to me as the issue you raise falls within my portfolio responsibilities.

New Zealand condemns hate speech in all forms and anti-semitism is no exception.

New Zealand has been a supporter of Israel since its establishment in 1948. We are fundamentally committed to Israel's right to live in peace. This is why successive governments have committed over 2000 peacekeepers to serve on Israel's borders since 1948.

The Government is committed to building a closer relationship with Israel, and with the Palestinians.

Yours sincerely

Rt Hon Winston Peters Minister of Foreign Affairs

# **Palestine Solidarity Network Aotearoa**

18 August 2020

Jacinda Ardern Prime Minister j.ardern@ministers.govt.nz

Kia ora Ms Ardern,

#### New Zealand and the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance definition of anti-semitism

We have seen some references to the possibility that the New Zealand government could officially adopt the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance definition of anti-semitism and we would welcome your assurance that this is not the government's intention.

The IHRA definition is being used around the world not to protect Jewish communities against anti-semitism but to restrict and control criticism of Israel's brutal racist policies towards Palestinians.

It would be a travesty of justice and human rights if this definition were to be adopted in New Zealand.

We look forward to hearing from you urgently.

Nā,

s6(a)

s9(2)(a)

s9(2)(a)

s9(2)(a)

Dear s9(2)(a)

Thank you for your letter of 29 August 2020. I am also responding on behalf of the Prime Minister, Rt Hon Jacinda Ardern, as the issue you raise falls within my portfolio responsibilities.

The New Zealand Government is not actively considering adopting the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's definition of anti-Semitism at this time.

Internationally, New Zealand addresses anti-Semitism within the broader framework of discrimination against minorities, which includes those discriminated against on the basis of religion. We seek to avoid listing of specific forms of discrimination as this risks exclusion to other groups. This aligns with our domestic and international approach to addressing all forms of violence and extremism in order to build more inclusive communities.

Yours sincerely

Rt Hon Winston Peters Minister of Foreign Affairs

# **Palestine Solidarity Network Aotearoa**

29 August 2020

Winston Peters Minister of Foreign Affairs Parliament Buildings Wellington

w.peters@ministers.govt.nz

Kia ora Winston,

#### Re International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance definition of anti-semitism

Last week we wrote a brief note to the Prime Minister urging the government not to adopt the IHRA definition of anti-semitism. We were informed that you were the responsible minister. Hence this letter to you.

We understand the government is considering adopting the IHRA (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance) definition of anti-semitism.

I'm writing on behalf of the Palestine Solidarity Network Aotearoa which advocates for Palestinian human rights and which is also strongly opposed to racism in all its forms – including anti-semitism. Our members have protested against racist spray-painting attacks on Jewish graves and synagogues just as we have marched in support of the Islamic community after the horrific events of March 15 last year.

There are serious problems with the IHRA definition of anti-semitism and we ask that the government reject it. It is used in several US states and some European countries to claim Palestinian human rights activists are anti-semitic when they call for action against Israel until it complies with international law and United Nations resolutions. The definition is being used in these countries as a weapon to deny free speech and freedom of political action to those standing up for the victims of Israel's brutal military occupation of Palestine and ongoing theft of Palestinian land.

The IHRA definition was always intended as a guideline for researchers, not as a prescriptive description of anti-semitism. The main drafter of the resolution, Kenneth Stern, has cautioned against its use in resolutions or legislation and is quite emphatic that it must not be misused as appears to be proposed by the government.

Here is what he has to say on the IHRA Wikipedia page:

"The main drafter of the working definition and its examples, <u>Kenneth S. Stern</u>, **cautioned against the free speech implications of its use** as a legal tool. [26] He has opposed efforts to enshrine it in legislation [98] and wrote a letter to members of the US Congress warning that

giving the definition legal status would be "unconstitutional and unwise" in December 2016. [99] In 2011, he co-authored an article about how the 'Working Definition' was being abused in Title VI cases, because it was being employed in an attempt to "restrict academic freedom and punish political speech." In November 2017, Stern explained to the <u>US House of Representatives</u> that the definition has been abused on various US university campuses. He warned that it could "restrict academic freedom and punish political speech" and questioned whether definitions created by minority groups should be legislatively enshrined, giving as one of several examples. [26]

"Imagine a definition designed for Palestinians. If "Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, and denying Israel the right to exist" is antisemitism, then shouldn't "Denying the Palestinian people their right to self-determination, and denying Palestine the right to exist" be anti-Palestinianism? Would they then ask administrators to police and possibly punish campus events by pro-Israel groups who oppose the two state solution, or claim the Palestinian people are a myth?" [26]

He states that the definition was created "as a tool for data collectors in European countries to identify what to include and exclude from their reports about antisemitism, and to have a common frame of reference so that data might be compared across borders."

"encouraged the Department of State's first Special Envoy for Antisemitism to promote the definition as an important tool." He used it effectively as the framework for a report on global antisemitism. He added: "approaches to antisemitism that endorse and promote academic freedom are more likely to work, in part because they underscore the academy's goal of increasing knowledge and promoting critical thinking.... approaches that explain academic freedom away or harm it will not only fail, they make the problem worse."

[26]

We do not want the government to "make the problem worse" and adopt a definition which will be used to attack and demonise those who stand up for international law and United Nations resolutions and work hard for Palestinian human rights.

For example the City Council in Munich, Germany, has used the IHRA definition of anti-semitism to condemn Palestinian activists calling for BDS (Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions) against Israel and have denied the use of city council facilities to Palestinian human rights organisations.

Palestinian activists here in New Zealand have already faced attempts by pro-Israeli groups to deny them access to facilities for meetings and events and last year a local school faced a determined attempt to stop me speaking after I had been invited to do so with students at a lunchtime meeting using baseless claims that I was anti-semitic.

These pressures will increase dramatically if the IHRA definition is adopted by the government.

Meanwhile Jewish groups in New Zealand and around the world have spoken out strongly against the misuse of the IHRA definition and in 2018 over 40 Jewish groups expressed their support for BDS and attacked attempts to equate calls for boycotts of Israel with anti-semitism.

An open letter from these Jewish groups said in part:

"As social justice organizations from around the world, we write this letter with growing alarm regarding the targeting of organizations that support Palestinian rights in general and the nonviolent Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement, in particular. These attacks too often take the form of cynical and false accusations of antisemitism that

dangerously conflate anti-Jewish racism with opposition to Israel's policies and system of occupation and apartheid"

Similar sentiments have come from Nobel Peace Prize winner and South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu who says the world should call out Israeli policies towards Palestinians as "apartheid" and implement a boycott of Israel. New Zealand has a proud history of standing up in support of the struggle against South African apartheid and we must do the same against Israeli apartheid.

It would be tragic if, on the back of the horrific events of March 15 last year, the government adopted the IHRA definition which will be used to deny freedom of speech to members of the Islamic community in New Zealand, some of whom are Palestinians, when they speak out against Israeli apartheid.

It would be a dark day for democracy, free speech and human rights if the government were to adopt this definition. It would put the government on the wrong side of history.

We look forward to hearing from you shortly.

Ngã mihi mahana.

Nā,

s9(2)(a)

s9(2)(a)





s9(2)(a) s9(2)(a)

Honourable Nanaia Mahuta Minister of Foreign Affairs Parliament Buildings Wellington

8 May 2021

Kia ora Minister Mahuta,

I am writing on behalf of the New Zealand Jewish Council and the Holocaust Centre of New Zealand to seek a meeting with you to discuss New Zealand joining the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) as an Observer Country.

With antisemitism on the rise internationally and here in New Zealand, our small Jewish community is exposed to significant risk. Much of the Western world has moved to combat racism against their Jewish communities by promoting Holocaust education as part of the IHRA. With Australia, the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and most European nations already members, New Zealand is an outlier among like-minded countries.

A report on freedom of religion or belief, released last year by United Nations Special Rapporteur Ahmed Shaheed, found that antisemitism "if left unchecked by governments, poses risks not only to Jews, but also to members of other minority communities".

The Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Christchurch mosque attacks has recommended the Government take action to promote social cohesion in New Zealand. A practical and effective way to increase social cohesion is through education.

The IHRA was founded following the Stockholm Declaration in 2000 and is guided by the <u>principle</u> that humanity remains scarred by the Holocaust and teaching its universal lessons of tolerance, diversity and standing up to hatred, will help stop future genocides.

Membership of the IHRA will give New Zealand access to its working groups and committees which provide expert educational advice on the Holocaust and combatting racism.

An application for a nation to become an IHRA Observer Country can be by letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs. We would like to meet with you to discuss whether this is possible and what this would mean for New Zealand.

Ngã mihi nui,

# Hon Nanaia Mahuta

MP for Hauraki-Waikato
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Minister of Local Government
Associate Minister for Māori Development



### [Date, office to complete]

s9(2)(a) s9(2)(a)

Tēnā koe s9(2)(a)

Thank you for your letter of 7 May 2021.

Actearoa New Zealand is a strong supporter of the freedom of religion or belief, which is a priority for Actearoa New Zealand's active engagement, as reflected in the International Human Rights Action Plan. We are steadfastly committed to standing with our international partners against hatred and intolerance.

Officials are currently preparing advice for Ministers regarding the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance.

I have directed your meeting request to relevant officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade. Please contact s9(2)(g)(ii) @mfat.govt.nz), Unit Manager, Middle East & Africa Division to arrange a meeting.

Nāku noa

Hon Nanaia Mahuta
Minita Take Aorere / Minister of Foreign Affairs

From: Foreign Affairs Portfolio <ForeignAffairs.Portfolio@parliament.govt.nz>

Sent: Friday, 5 March 2021 4:36 pm

To: ESD s9(2)(g)(ii)

Subject: FW: Request for assistance -re attached email

Follow Up Flag: Follow up Flag Status: Flagged



### s9(2)(g)(ii)

Private Secretary | Office of Hon Nanaia Mahuta MP Minister of Foreign Affairs | Minister of Local Government Associate Minister for Māori Development

M: s9(2)(a)

Private Bag 18041, Parliament Buildings, Wellington 6160, New Zealand

From: N Mahuta (MIN)

**Sent:** Friday, 5 March 2021 4:08 PM **To:** Foreign Affairs Portfolio; s9(2)(g)(ii)

Subject: FW: Request for assistance -re attached email

From: s9(2)(g)(ii)

Sent: Friday, 5 March 2021 2:54 PM

To: N Mahuta (MIN) < n.mahuta@ministers.govt.nz > Cc: \$9(2)(g)(ii) @parliament.govt.nz > Subject: FW: Request for assistance -re attached email

Kia ora

Both Ingrid and David Clark have received the attached email below.

Please can you respond directly to the constituent, and copy Ingrid in to the response.

Ngā mihi s9(2)(g)

s9(2)(g)(ii)

MP Support

Ingrid Leary MP for Taieri

# P <sup>s9(2)(a)</sup> | Shop 1, South City Mall, 132 Hillside Road, PO Box 2084, South Dunedin, Dunedin 9012

Authorised by Ingrid Leary MP, Parliament Buildings, Wellington

From: s9(2)(a) s9(2)(a)

Date: Friday, 05 Feb 2021, 10:01 AM

To: Ingrid Leary < Ingrid.Leary@parliament.govt.nz > , david.clarke@parliament.org.nz

<david.clarke@parliament.org.nz>

Cc: s9(2)(a) s9(2)(a)

Subject: IHRA definition of antisemitsm

Kia ora Ingrid and David,

The government is currently considering adopting the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance definition of anti-semitism.

This would be a terrible mistake because the IHRA conflates anti-semitism, a dangerous political trend associated especially with right wing conspiracy theories - and terrorism - with opposition to the apartheid policies of the state of Israel.

Within Israel itself, just last week, Israel's largest human rights organisation B'Tselem described Israel a Jewish supremacist state (<a href="https://www.btselem.org/publications/fulltext/202101">https://www.btselem.org/publications/fulltext/202101</a> this is apartheid).

Under the IHRA definition, this description, and support for the Boycott Divestment and Sanctions movement is seen as anti-semitism. Indeed, the IHRA definition has been weaponised by the right wing against human rights groups and left wing politicians and movements.

This is a scandal because it uses the public's justified abhorrence of anti-semitism to defend a racist state, while simultaneously misleading the public about the real source of anti-semitism in right-wing politics.

Jeremy Corbyn, a lifelong opponent of racism and anti-semitism, falls victim to the IHRA defnisiton of antisemitism while Trump, whose supporters include both Zionists and open antisemites, is praised for his bogus "Abraham" accord.

Right wing politics in many countries is rapidly descending into conspiracy theories, with one US Representative speculating that the California wildfires may have been caused by Jewish space lasers!

https://globalnews.ca/news/7607501/marjorie-taylor-greene-jewish-space-laser/

We desperately need clarity about the danger of anti-Semitism and right wing terrorism in this period. The IHRA definition sacrifices clarity for political expediency. This is dangerous for left-wing parties, for anti-racism, and for the struggle against anti-semitism.

I look forward to hearing from you.

# Hon Nanaia Mahuta

MP for Hauraki-Waikato
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Minister of Local Government
Associate Minister for Māori Development



## [Date, office to complete]

s9(2)(a) s9(2)(a)

Tēnā koe s9(2)(a)

Thank you for your email of 5 February 2021. I am responding as the issue you raise falls within my portfolio responsibilities.

As this is complex matter, I am currently seeking further briefings from Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade officials on the topic.

Advocating against violence and discrimination against minorities, including ethnic and religious minorities, is a priority for New Zealand's engagement under our International Human Rights Action Plan. Internationally, Aotearoa New Zealand addresses anti-Semitism within this broader framework of discrimination against minorities. We seek to avoid listing of specific forms of discrimination as this risks exclusion to other groups. This aligns with our domestic and international approach to addressing all forms of violence and extremism equally in order to build more inclusive communities.

Heoi anō

Hon Nanaia Mahuta Minister of Foreign Affairs/Te Minita o Te Manatū Aorere From: ENQUIRIES

Sent: Friday, 13 November 2020 10:36 am

To: 59(2)(a)

Subject: FW: Congratulations! - our ref 1471

## [UNCLASSIFIED]

Dear s9(2)(a)

Your email of 23 October 2020 to the Prime Minister was referred to the former Minister of Foreign Affairs for response. We are responding on the former Minister's behalf.

New Zealand is a strong supporter of the freedom of religion or belief, which is a priority for New Zealand's active engagement, as reflected in the International Human Rights Action Plan. We are committed to addressing all forms of violence and discrimination against minorities, including intolerance based on religion or belief.

Internationally, New Zealand addresses anti-Semitism within the broader framework of discrimination against minorities, which includes those discriminated against on the basis of religion. In taking this holistic approach, we seek to avoid listing of specific forms of discrimination as this risks exclusion to other groups. This aligns with our domestic and international approach to addressing all forms of violence and extremism in order to build more inclusive communities.

Yours sincerely

s9(2)(g)(ii)

For Secretary of Foreign Affairs and Trade

From: s9(2)(g)(ii) On Behalf Of Rt. Hon Jacinda Ardern

Sent: Friday, 23 October 2020 2:03 PM

To: \$9(2)(a)

Subject: RE: Congratulations!

Dear s9(2)(a)

I am writing on behalf of the Prime Minister, Rt Hon Jacinda Ardern, to acknowledge your email of 23 October 2020 regarding anti-Semitism. Please be assured your comments have been noted.

As the issue you have raised falls within the portfolio responsibilities of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Rt Hon Winston Peters, your correspondence has been forwarded to the Minister's office for consideration.

Thank you for writing to Jacinda.

s9(2)(g)(ii)

Office of the Prime Minister

From: s9(2)(a) s9(2)(a)

Sent: Friday, 23 October 2020 12:30 PM

To: Rt. Hon Jacinda Ardern < Jacinda. Ardern@parliament.govt.nz >

Subject: Congratulations!

Dear Jacinda,

All the best in the coming 3 years.

I wondered if your party could consider the news in the link below and if NZ could be like Kosovo and Albania and be a supporter of anti–Semitism and a link to bringing further friendship between Jews and Muslims? <a href="https://unitedwithisrael.org/albania-joins-global-efforts-to-combat-anti-semitism-2nd-muslim-majority-country-to-do-so/">https://unitedwithisrael.org/albania-joins-global-efforts-to-combat-anti-semitism-2nd-muslim-majority-country-to-do-so/</a>

Although there is not a great amount of anti-Semitism in NZ – it is still here. And a lack of knowledge of what took place during WW11. Please check out the following from that this link: https://shalom.kiwi/2020/08/the-strange-case-of-herr-huber/

and this one:

https://shalom.kiwi/2020/03/we-want-to-call-out-antisemitism-so-why-wont-they-let-us/

Please let the world see what being a Kiwi is – it has seen you in action with the Christchurch shooting and Covid 19. Would you please also include the hate against Israel/Jews?

Thank you for taking the time to read and consider these sites.

Sincerely, s9(2)(a)

# **Palestine Solidarity Network Aotearoa**

24 November 2020

Nanaia Mahuta Minister of Foreign Affairs Parliament Buildings Wellington

n.mahuta@ministers.govt.nz

Kia ora Nanaia,

#### **IHRA Definition of Anti-Semitism**

On 15 September this year we received an email from former Foreign Minister Winston Peters in response to a question about the government position on the hugely-controversial IHRA (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance) definition of anti-semitism.

Mr Peters indicated:

"The New Zealand Government is not actively considering adopting the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's definition of anti-Semitism at this time.

Internationally, New Zealand addresses anti-Semitism within the broader framework of discrimination against minorities, which includes those discriminated against on the basis of religion. We seek to avoid listing of specific forms of discrimination as this risks exclusion to other groups. This aligns with our domestic and international approach to addressing all forms of violence and extremism in order to build more inclusive communities."

We see this as a sensible, practical approach and would welcome your assurance this position remains unchanged with the new Labour government.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Nā,

s9(2)(a)

s9(2)(a)

# Hon Nanaia Mahuta

MP for Hauraki-Waikato
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Minister of Local Government
Associate Minister for Māori Development



## [Date, office to complete]

s9(2)(a) s9(2)(a)

Tēnā koe s9(2)(a)

Thank you for your letter of 24 November 2020.

New Zealand is a strong supporter of the freedom of religion or belief, which is a priority for New Zealand's active engagement, as reflected in the International Human Rights Action Plan. We are committed to addressing all forms of violence and discrimination against minorities, including intolerance based on religion or belief.

As noted in your correspondence, New Zealand addresses anti-Semitism within the broader framework of discrimination against minorities, which includes those discriminated against on the basis of religion. Ministers in this Government have not yet considered the issue in relation to requests to formally adopt the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's definition of anti-Semitism.

Heoi anō

Hon Nanaia Mahuta

Minister of Foreign Affairs