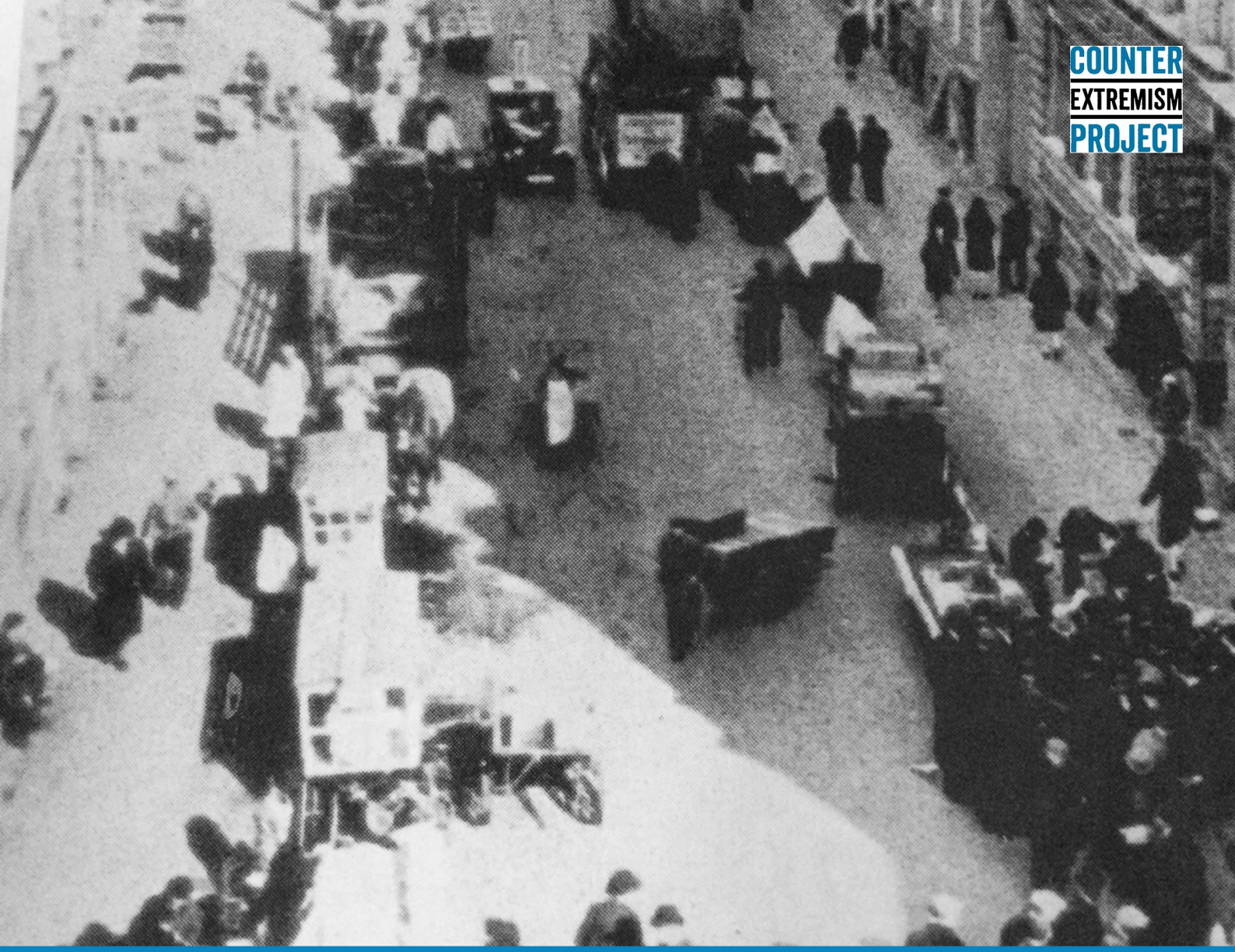


COUNTER EXTREMISM PROJECT

European Jews or Jews in Europe?

How Mala and Henri Became 19880 and 52720

Neven Vukić, PhD.

POLICY REPORT

Cover: Grenadierstraße, Berlin, c. 1930. Photo: Abraham Pisarek / Wikimedia Commons / Public Domain.

About the author

Neven Vukić, PhD, is a postdoctoral researcher and project manager at the Irish School of Ecumenics, Trinity College Dublin, and a research fellow at ELIAMEP. He holds a doctorate in systematic theology from KU Leuven. His research examines the intersections of religion, political extremism, antisemitism, and digital culture, building on earlier work in Orthodox theology, interreligious dialogue, and religion-state relations. He has collaborated with Jewish organisations, including the European Jewish Congress and SACC, and served as an expert reviewer of the European Commission's Handbook on Online Antisemitism, with particular attention to Christian anti-Judaism and related conceptual issues. His work also encompasses policy research on radicalisation and online extremism. In December 2025, he was an invited speaker at the Counter Extremism Project's webinar, Rethinking the Fight against Antisemitism after October 7, examining contemporary challenges in understanding and countering antisemitism.

If thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt thought.

George Orwell, "Politics and the English Language", 1946

Abstract

Language does more than describe reality; it shapes how individuals and communities are perceived, categorised, and ultimately treated. This report examines the distinction between "European Jews" and "Jews in Europe," arguing that seemingly innocuous linguistic choices can reflect and reinforce assumptions about national belonging, identity, and exclusion.

Drawing on research in cognitive psychology, historical evidence, and contemporary examples of antisemitism, the report explores how the reduction of individuals to collective categories can facilitate deindividualization and dehumanization. The experiences of Mala Zimetbaum and Henri Abraham de Jong, two European Jews reduced to prisoner numbers 19880 and 52720 at Auschwitz, illustrate the devastating historical consequences of processes that progressively stripped individuals of their identities and civic belonging.

The analysis then turns to contemporary Europe, examining how Jewish citizens are frequently presumed to bear responsibility for the actions of the Israeli government, regardless of their nationality, political convictions, or personal affiliations. Drawing on survey findings from the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights and recent incidents in several European countries, it identifies the persistence of collective attribution and demands for political disavowal as manifestations of exclusionary assumptions.

The report does not suggest that particular expressions are inherently antisemitic or that linguistic framing inevitably produces discrimination. Rather, it advocates a *grammar of inclusion* grounded in the presumption that European Jews belong to their respective national communities, without having to demonstrate their loyalty or justify their individual identities.

European Jews or Jews in Europe? How Mala and Henri Became 19880 and 52720

Turning a tainted way of thinking into action is neither simple nor guaranteed. Yet once language has flattened a human being down into a category, that gap closes considerably. European Jews—or, rather, Jews in Europe—know this.



Figure 1. The Consequences of the Blood Libel. Woodcut depicting the torture and execution of Jews accused of the alleged ritual murder of Simon of Trent (1475). From *Geschichte des zu Trient ermordeten Christenkindes*, printed by Albrecht Kunne in Trent, 1475, f.11v.

1. Language and the Imagination

Orwell grasped this issue intimately. In *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Newspeak does more than paint reality in a different palette. It shrinks the set of realities that can even be conceived of. Beyond the novel, Orwell made a kindred argument about how thought and language corrupt each other. Words are not mere mirrors of the categories already sitting in our minds; say them often enough, and they start to construct those categories for you.

Academic research, specifically in psychology and its subfield experimental psychology, lends credence to Orwell's argument. The cognitive scientist Lera Boroditsky has investigated how the language we speak shapes our perception of space, time, and causality.[1] She analyses this question not through the strong deterministic version of the bond, often attached to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, but through something more subtle. Work on grammatical gender and the mental associations it triggers, along with cross-linguistic studies of eyewitness memory, shows how linguistic habits influence what individuals notice, what they remember, and what they attribute to an agent.[2]

This mechanism comes into sharpest focus when looking at a metaphor. In a classic experiment, Paul Thibodeau and Boroditsky gave readers descriptions of crime built around different central metaphors: in one, crime was a "beast" preying on a city; in the other, a "virus" infecting it. Which metaphor people read shaped whether they leaned toward enforcement and punishment or toward diagnosis and reform. In the case of

crime as a "beast," the group were more likely to support enforcement and punishment; when crime was described as a "virus," the group were more likely to support diagnosis and reform.[3] The subject matter stayed identical; only the framing shifted, and with it the response that felt natural to participants in the experiment.

None of this means that linguistic framing mechanically drives behaviour, much less that one particular preposition breeds hostility. The experiments mentioned above do not show that the phrase "Jews in Europe" makes anyone in that continent see a Jewish neighbour as less European. At the time of this writing, no study of that kind has tested that inference, i.e., whether this specific linguistic formulation impacts meaningfully the perception of European Jews.

What the experiments briefly discussed above do establish is that language is not always a harmless wrapper around thought. Its habitual categories can steer the questions one asks and the conclusions one is willing to accept. Put simply, *language doesn't merely express what we think; it shapes how we think*. And when a category starts to outweigh in importance the individual it is supposed to describe—that is, when the fact that someone is Jewish is treated as more significant than their individual character, beliefs, or actions—the road from thought to action can bend into some very dark territory. European history is replete with examples.

2. 19880 and 52720

Before coming back to the framing of "Jews in Europe," a brief detour:

On 26 January 1918 Mala Zimetbaum was born in Poland. At age ten, she moved with her family to Antwerp. Mathematics and languages came easily to her; she spoke Flemish, French, German, English, and Polish. When her father fell ill and the family needed money, she had to leave school early and work as a seamstress. Then, in 1942, she was arrested in Antwerp and sent to Auschwitz. Somewhere along that journey, Mala became Jewish prisoner 19880. By the camp's logic, she was lucky, precisely because she was multilingual; she was put to work as an interpreter and messenger.[4] A few hundred kilometres to the north of Mala, Henri Abraham de Jong lived. Henri was born in Amsterdam, and by the age of twenty-three he was working as an assistant accountant while still residing in his parents' home. He had four brothers and sisters. In 1942, Henri was loaded onto a transport from Westerbork and became Jewish prisoner 52720.[5]

Jewish prisoner 19880 attempted to escape alongside another prisoner but was recaptured, and she was killed after being brought back to Auschwitz. However, the archival documents of the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum state that the precise circumstances of her death remain uncertain. Jewish prisoner 52720 died less than three weeks after arriving at that camp.[6]

Mala Zimetbaum and Henri Abraham de Jong were real people, but to their captors and murderers, they were merely Jewish prisoners 19880 and 52720. Mala, the clever seamstress from Poland, stopped being that to her neighbours (if she ever had been to begin with) and turned into a Jew living in Antwerp. Henri, the young accountant from Meester P. N. Arntzeniusweg, turned into a Jew living in Amsterdam. Their distinct lives vanished behind a single supposedly explanatory fact, and they became mere avatars of "The Jew"; to simplify their handling by the Nazis, they were literally assigned numbers: Jew(ish variant) 19880 and Jew(ish variant) 52720.



Figure 2: Former residence of Mala Zimetbaum at 7 Marinisstraat, Borgerhout, Antwerp, Belgium, with a commemorative plaque honouring her memory. Zimetbaum, a Polish-born Jewish woman who lived in Belgium before her deportation to Auschwitz, was registered as prisoner 19880. ***Photographer:*** *Bert76.* ***Date:*** *14 June 2020.* ***Original source:*** *Photographer's own work, via Wikimedia Commons.* ***Copyright:*** *Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication.*

Academics in Shoah studies and adjacent fields have examined the processes exemplified by the fates of Mala and Henri through two related concepts: dehumanisation and deindividualisation, processes by which a person dissolves into a category until that category ends up outweighing in importance every fact about the individual it has swallowed, and the humanity of the individual is ultimately denied. Among others, Zygmunt Bauman traced the Holocaust's bureaucratic machinery behind this kind of reduction, while Albert Bandura mapped the psychological routes by which moral responsibility can be detached from harmful action.[7]



CV-Zeitung

Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums

Grenzen des Boykotts

Haltung!

Figure 3: Front page of the CV-Zeitung, the newspaper published by the Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith), 6 April 1933. The organisation's original name explicitly affirmed the German citizenship of its Jewish members, a designation subsequently removed under the Nazi regime. ***Author/Publisher:*** *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens.* ***Source:*** *CV-Zeitung, via Wikimedia Commons.* ***Copyright:*** *Public domain (Public Domain Mark 1.0).*

The assigning of numbers to concentration-camp prisoners did not start the negation of their individuality; they were its administrative conclusion—a zenith of personality annihilation.[8] Long before Mala and Henri were reduced to numbers and ashes, they had already lost, in the eyes of their persecutors, the presumption of being ordinary people (or people at all), whose lives carried meaning independently of a category imposed upon them. Nor was the language used to describe Jews immune to this reduction. For example, following the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, the *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens* (Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith) was compelled to rename itself *Centralverein der Juden in Deutschland* (Central Association of Jews in Germany). The removal of German citizenship from the organisation's name reflected the regime's exclusion of Jews from the German national community.[9]

The people themselves remained the same: Germans who were Jewish, with the same personal histories, families and homes. Yet the language imposed upon them had, in effect, moved them. German citizens of Jewish faith became Jews in Germany. The forced renaming both reflected and helped institutionalise their exclusion from the German national community. Their Jewishness became the defining category, while Germany ceased to be described as their country and became merely the place where they happened to live. This echoed a much older European antisemitic image, amplified by Nazi propaganda, of Jews as rootless wanderers and unwanted aliens (as depicted in the 1940 film *Der ewige Jude*), forever present in a country but never truly belonging to it.

It is against this history, and the very same movement from belonging to mere geographical presence, that an otherwise innocuous choice of words in a contemporary European report deserves closer examination. After all, when the opportunity arose, far too many were willing to put Jewish neighbours on trains and send them away.

3. Jews in Europe

Europe seems to have lost or or to be in the process of losing neighbours, friends, compatriots, and colleagues who happen to be Jewish. European Jews have somehow become just *Jews in Europe*.

Jewish People's Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism is a report published in 2024 by the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA). It presents the FRA's survey, carried out between January and June 2023, i.e., before the October 7 attacks, of Jews in thirteen EU Member States.[10] Its figures and tables paint a particularly bleak picture of Jewish life in Europe, but more remarkable than the data is a single sentence in the report's foreword. The agency's director writes: "For far too long, Jews in Europe have had to live with these fears."[11]

To be absolutely clear, no malicious intent should be ascribed to this report's author. The passage, and indeed the entire report, is plainly concerned with the safety and flourishing of European Jews. For the purposes of this analysis, the identity of whoever wrote those three words is irrelevant. What is of interest is simply the use of those three words: "Jews in Europe."

European Jews implies belonging: Europeans who are Jewish. This is no different in a structural sense from Europeans who are Buddhists or secular humanists. *Jews in Europe* places the same people first and foremost as Jews who happen to be in Europe, not Europeans who are Jewish. The sense of belonging carried by the first formulation is thinned out in the second, replaced by something closer to provisional presence.



Figure 4: Figure 4: A Jewish woman reading the Tseno Ureno, a traditional Yiddish-language religious text, in Vilna (present-day Vilnius, Lithuania), 1930. The photograph documents everyday Jewish religious and cultural life in prewar Europe. Photographer: Unknown. ***Original source:*** *Archives of Jewish Culture and History.* ***Image:*** *Wikimedia Commons.* ***Copyright:*** *Listed as public domain (Public Domain Mark 1.0).*

And this is not simply a quirk of the English language. German makes the distinction even more explicit: *jüdische Deutsche* (Jewish Germans), *deutsche Juden* (German Jews), and *Juden in Deutschland* (Jews in Germany). French offers a similar distinction between *Français juifs* (Jewish French people), *Juifs français* (French Jews), and *Juifs en France* (Jews in France). In both German and French, the first two expressions acknowledge belonging first, with different emphases, whereas the third seemingly acknowledges geographical presence. None of these expressions are necessarily exclusionary or inherently antisemitic, but only one makes a clear distinction between belonging and merely being somewhere.

The German broadcasting corportation Deutsche Welle uses much the same construction: "Jewish Life in Europe (*Jüdisches Leben in Europa*)," not "European Jewish life."[12] One has almost certainly come across this particular order of words hundreds of times without noticing it. And perhaps that is precisely the point.

Neither the preposition "in" nor the construction "Jews in Europe" is antisemitic. In many contexts it is simply a geographical description, and in others it may be the most natural way to phrase a sentence. The question is not whether speakers should be accused of prejudice for arranging words in a particular order. The question is what habitual ways of describing people may quietly reflect, or reinforce, about who is understood to belong. After all, the difference between being of a place and merely being in it is not one that Europeans have always treated as trivial.

To be clear, this is not something that concerns Jews alone. European Muslims know all too well the demands to condemn the actions of this or that jihadist group, or any individual terrorist attack, simply because they practise Islam.

4. The Proof Is in the Proof

If all of this still reads as linguistic sophistry—the contrast between "Jews in Europe" and "European Jews" spun out into a stream of thought that runs through George Orwell, experimental psychology, and a Shoah

horror story—then the point of convergence lies in the lived experience of the very European Jews the FRA surveyed.

Three-quarters of Jewish respondents reported that people in their own country held them responsible for the actions of the Israeli government, simply because they were Jewish. In Belgium the figure was even higher: 83 percent. This means, for example, that a Belgian citizen, born and raised in Belgium, having spent their life in Belgium, and perhaps without any meaningful connection to a country thousands of kilometres away, can still find themselves held accountable by their fellow Belgians for the actions of that foreign country's government. Why? Because that Belgian citizen is Jewish.

This is not a peculiarly Belgian phenomenon. In a 2019 handbook on antisemitism in schools published by the German state of Baden-Württemberg, researchers Marina Chernivsky and Julia Bernstein reproduce an interview with a Jewish woman who was born in Germany, speaks German as her mother tongue, and has never lived elsewhere. She recounts being asked what "your prime minister" has to say about this or that; her interlocutors mean Israel's head of government. Apparently, having been born and raised in Germany does not always settle the question of which country a German Jew is assumed to belong to.[13]

Nor does the presumption stop at citizenship. In December 2025, Dutch conductor Jules van Hessen told the Dutch news outlet NOS that Dutch Jews are expected to distance themselves from Israeli government policy, or else be judged for failing to do so. Even responding to the questioner that the matter is complex, or that one feels unqualified to take a position, can be treated as an unacceptable answer. Van Hessen's profession is music, and his political views are not particularly relevant to his audience; evidently, his Jewishness sometimes is.[14]

The treatment of the German Jewish woman assumes allegiance to a foreign country; the interrogation of van Hessen demands proof of having the correct relationship to that country. The German Jewish woman's testimony predates the October 7 attack, while the Dutch Jewish man's account shows how the demand for political purity persists after it. Whatever feelings the present war has intensified, the peculiar habit of assigning collective political responsibility for Israel's actions to Jews did not begin with it.

The fact that, for many Europeans, Jewish neighbours need to prove something—to undergo a purity test based on presumed affiliation with a foreign government—is evidence that the underlying mechanism which allowed Mala and Henri to be reduced to Jews 19880 and 52720 has not entirely disappeared. The consequences are obviously different, but the Shoah did not happen overnight, either.

"The Jew" was not an invention of Hitler or the Nazis. The idea of Jews as outsiders, contaminants, conspirators, or collectively suspect developed in different forms for centuries. With the publication and spread of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, antisemitism acquired an especially potent modern conspiratorial form. All these radically diverse European Jews were supposedly not different at all. A rabbi in Vilnius, a socialist in Berlin, a peasant in rural Ukraine—all were merely parts of a coordinated body, an imagined hive mind pursuing a common purpose while performing their differences for an unsuspecting public.[15]

When a synagogue in Europe is targeted because of something an Israeli government did or did not do, or when a European Jew is asked to account for that government's actions simply because they are Jewish, the same logic of collective attribution is at work.

5. Israeli is a nationality; Jewishness is not citizenship. There are more than two million non-Jewish Israelis, and millions of Jews who are not Israelis.

The European Commission's guidance distinguishes criticism of Israel from holding Jews collectively responsible for that state's actions.[16] The very question, the demanded proof, the demanded purity, betrays

the premise underneath it: Jews are not really separate individuals with different citizenships, politics and loyalties. They are, by implication, parts of a single political organism: *THE Jews*.

Once that imagined creature has taken shape, it no longer needs an actual Jew standing in front of it. A stand-in will do just as well.

For example, in October 2026, an episode in Dublin showed just how readily an imagined collective can pick up proxies. Maurice Cohen, president of the Jewish Representative Council of Ireland, reported that the Herbert Park Hotel had pulled a confirmed booking of over seventy rooms arranged for delegates to an international conference on fighting antisemitism. Once hotel management learned what the gathering was about, they reportedly wanted to know whether the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) would play any part in it. There was no such link to the conference, and a good number of the delegates were not Jewish at all.[17]

Still, the chain of association seemed to be enough on its own for the cancellation: Antisemitism leads to Jewish organisations, then to Jews, then to Israel, and finally to the IDF. In places where real Jews are scarce, the imagined Jewish collective apparently never runs short of stand-ins.



Figure 5. The chain of presumed associations: how a conference on antisemitism becomes linked to the Israeli military.

This is what makes the incident particularly pertinent in a country with a very small Jewish community. An imagined collective does not need large numbers of actual Jews to operate. Non-Jewish officials, diplomats, academics, and entire institutions can be assigned roles as the community's agents or accomplices. A gathering about Jewish security becomes, through associative leaps, a suspected extension of the Israeli state. When a Jew is not immediately available, a proxy can become *THE Jew*.

A more direct illustration emerged in Reggio Emilia, Italy, in October 2026. A delegation of American Jewish educators cancelled a planned professional-development visit after being presented with a proposed declaration distancing themselves from Israeli actions in Gaza and the occupied territories. The educators had intended to study the internationally recognised Reggio Emilia approach to early-childhood education, not Israeli politics. The city's mayor subsequently acknowledged that seeking agreement through such a declaration had been a mistake and apologised. The proposal was eventually abandoned, and organisers maintained that it had never become a formal participation requirement.[18] Yet the underlying question remains: why were Jewish educators, travelling to Italy to study preschool education, being asked to establish their position on the actions of the Israeli government in the first place?

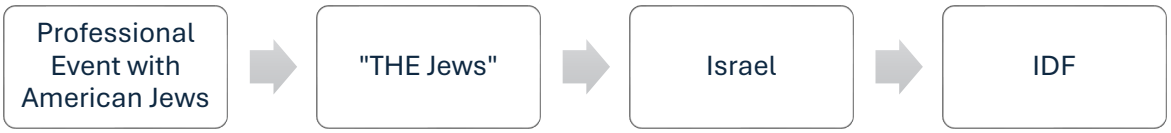


Figure 3. The chain of presumed associations: how an educational visit by Jewish educators became a political purity test.

The question of compulsory disavowal is also becoming increasingly explicit in Jewish institutional debate. In September 2026, the European Jewish Congress joined other organisations in a declaration objecting to demands that Jews renounce Zionism as the price of acceptance in political, academic, professional, or cultural life. Opinions about Zionism and Israeli policy are plainly not uniform among Jews or anyone else.[19] That is exactly why an individual's Jewishness cannot legitimately be treated as sufficient evidence of what that individual believes about Zionism or Israel.

And that is what is meant by the proof being in the proof. Evidence that this old habit of collectivising Jews has not entirely disappeared in Europe can be found precisely in the proofs demanded of them: proof that one condemns the Israeli government, proof that one rejects a particular Israeli policy, proof that one stands on the "correct" side, proof that one's Jewishness does not imply the wrong loyalties. These are proofs that are not ordinarily required from other neighbours and compatriots before allowing them to remain individuals. Collectivising people is *not* unique to how Europe has treated its Jews. But the Holocaust was.

6. What Is to Be Done? A Grammar of Inclusion

Where does this current situation leave us?

Let me be clear about what is *not* required: vocabulary lists, speech codes, or top-down audits of institutional language. Such measures would very likely backfire, and in any case, language tends to change from the ground up far more reliably than from the top down. What is proposed here is comparatively modest in terms of institutional intervention, though perhaps considerably more ambitious in what it asks of individuals: a shift in attitude, grounded in a working presumption of belonging.

Across public debate, institutional reporting, journalism, classrooms and everyday conversation, the starting point ought to be that European Jews are members of the political and civic communities they live in. They are not guests, not stand-ins for a foreign state, not a problem to be managed; they are citizens.

None of this means pretending that there are no Jewish Europeans with ties to Israel, or to Jewish communities elsewhere, just as we do not pretend Irish Americans have no connection to Ireland. However, that connection must not define their civic identity, especially when one considers the "Jew tagging" phenomenon and its role in antisemitic milieus.[20] A person's ethnicity or religion should not be foregrounded in a biography unless it is relevant to their public identity or notability. Whether someone is Jewish is obviously relevant if they are the chief rabbi of a community; it is considerably less relevant if they head an artificial intelligence company. That is hardly an exotic principle. The difficult part is applying it consistently.

The FRA and other comparable institutions could model a small but meaningful shift in wording. Where the subject is belonging, phrases like "European Jews" or "Europeans of the Jewish faith" would make that belonging explicit. The same principle could also be applied to language used in schools and universities when teaching the history of antisemitism. Alongside persecution and violence, students could be taught to recognise the *grammar of exclusion*: the moment when our neighbour silently becomes the Jew among us. In addition to the work in experimental psychology discussed at the beginning of this paper, George Lakoff's work on framing helps explain how language shapes the conceptual categories through which we understand others. "Our neighbour" presumes belonging; "the Jew among us" subtly positions the same person as someone distinct from "us."[21]

Table 1: Simplified framing diagram

How wording frames belonging

Three formulations can refer to the same people, but they do not frame belonging in the same way.

Jews in France	French Jews
Focus: geographical presence	*Focus:* national belonging
Identifies Jewish people who are located in France; belonging to France is left unstated	Makes French belonging explicit, while also retaining Jewish identity.
Frames people as *being in a place*.	Frames people as *belonging to a place*.

Key Point

The issue is not that one phrase is automatically antisemitic, and the other is automatically correct. The issue is that different formulations can subtly frame people as *merely present*, as opposed to *connected*, or *fully belonging*.

None of these proposals require new linguistic purity tests or constitute philosemitic Newspeak constructions. Rather, what is suggested is something ordinary: a habit of intellectual honesty. When Jewish identity is raised, is it actually relevant? When an expression such as "Jews in [country A]" is used, is it merely a geographical description, or does it subtly distinguish between those who belong and those who are merely present? When a citizen of a European country is asked to condemn Israel, why that person? When Israel is raised in a discussion, has a real connection been demonstrated, or merely imagined? When institutions act, as in the case of Herbert Park Hotel in Dublin or the proposed declaration in Reggio Emilia, are they responding to demonstrable conduct, or to the convenience of a category?

Demanding that our European Jewish neighbours, colleagues, and fellow citizens denounce or distance themselves from a foreign government's actions, simply because they are Jewish, is not and should not be a test of civic trust. Such a demand is, at best, a category error dressed up as political scrutiny, and at worst blatant antisemitism. We do not normally ask our neighbours to prove their innocence before we let them remain individuals.

7. Final Thoughts

Lastly, none of this is intended to prescribe, let alone restrict, how European Jews express their identity, including their relationship with Israel or Jewish communities elsewhere. Neither is this an argument for concealing or diminishing Jewish identity—quite the opposite. It is about leaving that choice where it belongs: with European Jews themselves, as individuals. How they understand and express their Jewishness is entirely their own affair.

The last word, though, should not be institutional; it should be personal.

The next time you hear someone say, or you yourself use the phrase, "Jews in Europe," it is worth pausing to ask why, and what has been assumed. Would the same phrasing feel equally natural for other people who are understood to belong here? Perhaps nothing at all was intended, but that is exactly why the question is worth asking.



Figure 6:. Portrait of Mala Zimetbaum (1918–1944). ***Photographer:*** *Unknown.* ***Date:*** *Before 11 September 1942.* ***Original source:*** *Yad Vashem, The World Holocaust Remembrance Center.* ***Image:*** *Wikimedia Commons.* ***Copyright:*** *Public domain in the European Union (PD-anon-70-EU), based on the expiry of copyright protection for anonymous works.*

Bibliography

Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum. “Escape on 24 June 1944.” *Escapes from Auschwitz*. Accessed October 25, 2026. https://lekcja.auschwitz.org/en_15_ucieczki/sco_32.html.

Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum. “Tragic Love at Auschwitz.” *Google Arts & Culture*. Accessed October 25, 2026. https://artsandculture.google.com/story/KgXBdmyTRwp2IQ.

Bandura, Albert. “Moral Disengagement in the Perpetration of Inhumanities.” *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 3, no. 3 (1999): 193–209. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0303_3.

Bauman, Zygmunt. *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Polity Press, 1991.

Boroditsky, Lera. “How Language Shapes Thought: The Languages We Speak Affect Our Perceptions of the World.” *Scientific American*, February 1, 2011. https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/how-language-shapes-thought/.

Cohen, Maurice. “Ausgerechnet eine Antisemitismuskonferenz fällt dem Judenhass zum Opfer.” *Jüdische Allgemeine*, October 14, 2026. https://www.juedische-allgemeine.de/meinung/ausgerechnet-eine-antisemitismuskonferenz-faellt-dem-judenhass-zum-opfer/.

Comune di Reggio Emilia. “Reggio Children, i chiarimenti del Sindaco Massari.” October 15, 2026. https://www.comune.reggioemilia.it/novita/comunicati/reggio-children-i-chiarimenti-del-sindaco-massari.

Deinhardt, Katja. “Centralverein.” *LeMO: Lebendiges Museum Online*. Deutsches Historisches Museum, September 9, 2015. https://www.dhm.de/lemo/kapitel/kaiserreich/antisemitismus/centralverein.

Deutsche Welle. “Jewish Life in Europe.” Accessed October 25, 2026. https://www.dw.com/en/jewish-life-in-europe/t-69012234.

European Commission. “Combating Antisemitism.” Accessed October 25, 2026. https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combatting-discrimination/racism-and-xenophobia/combating-antisemitism_en.

European Jewish Congress. “EJC Joins Jewish Organisations and Communities from Around the World in a Declaration Reaffirming That Anti-Zionism Is a Contemporary Form of Antisemitism.” September 11, 2026. https://eurojewcong.org/news/news-and-views/ejc-joins-jewish-organisations-and-communities-from-around-the-world-in-reaffirming-that-anti-zionism-is-a-contemporary-form-of-antisemitism/.

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. *Jewish People’s Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism*. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2024. https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2024/experiences-and-perceptions-antisemitism-third-survey.

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. “Tackling Antisemitism in the Digital Age.” October 12–14, 2026. https://fra.europa.eu/lt/event/2026/tackling-antisemitism-digital-age.

Fausey, Caitlin M., and Lera Boroditsky. “Who Dunnit? Cross-Linguistic Differences in Eye-Witness Memory.” *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review* 18 (2011): 150–157. https://doi.org/10.3758/s13423-010-0021-5.

Gentner, Dedre, and Susan Goldin-Meadow, eds. *Language in Mind: Advances in the Study of Language and Thought*. MIT Press, 2003.

Joods Monument. “Henri Abraham de Jong.” Accessed October 25, 2026. https://www.joodsmonument.nl/en/page/190355/henri-abraham-de-jong.

Kosner, Edward. “Jew-Tagging @Wikipedia.” *Commentary*, May 2020. https://www.commentary.org/articles/edward-kosner/jew-tagging-wikipedia/.

Lakoff, George. *The ALL NEW Don’t Think of an Elephant!: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate*. Chelsea Green Publishing, 2014.

Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg, Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, and Zentrum für Schulqualität und Lehrerbildung. *Wahrnehmen – Benennen – Handel* Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg, Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, and Zentrum für Schulqualität und Lehrerbildung, 2019. https://ofek-beratung.de/wp-content/uploads/2026/02/handreichung-antisemitismus-schule-km-bw-2.pdf.

NOS Nieuws. “Joodse Nederlanders over antisemitisme: ‘Mensen willen dat ik me verantwoord.’” December 14, 2025. https://nos.nl/artikel/2594556-joodse-nederlanders-over-antisemitisme-mensen-willen-dat-ik-me-verantwoord.

Schiffer, Jen. “I Was Supposed to Go to Italy With Fellow Jewish Educators. Then Reggio Emilia Pressed Us on Gaza.” *Algemeiner*, October 22, 2026. https://www.algemeiner.com/2026/10/22/i-was-supposed-go-italy-fellow-jewish-educators-then-reggio-emilia-pressed-us-gaza/.

Thibodeau, Paul H., and Lera Boroditsky. “Metaphors We Think With: The Role of Metaphor in Reasoning.” *PLoS ONE* 6, no. 2 (2011): e16782. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0016782.

Trinity College Dublin. “Statement from Board 2025: Update from Board on Taskforce Report.” *Trinity College Dublin News & Events*, June 5, 2025. https://www.tcd.ie/news_events/articles/2025/statement-from-board-2025/.

Trinity College Dublin Board. *Minutes of the Board Meeting, 4 June 2025*. Trinity College Dublin, 2025. https://www.tcd.ie/media/tcd/committee-papers/downloads/board/minutes/2024-25/universityboard_minutes_20250604.pdf.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "An Antisemitic Conspiracy: The Protocols of the Elders of Zion." *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. Accessed October 25, 2026. https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/protocols-of-the-elders-of-zion.

Endnotes

[1] Lera Boroditsky, "How Language Shapes Thought: The Languages We Speak Affect Our Perceptions of the World," *Scientific American*, February 1, 2011, https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/how-language-shapes-thought/.

[2] Dedre Gentner and Susan Goldin-Meadow (eds.), *Language in Mind: Advances in the Study of Language and Thought* (MIT Press, 2003); Caitlin M. Fausey and Lera Boroditsky, "Who dunnit? Cross-linguistic differences in eye-witness memory," *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review* 18 (2011), 150-157, https://doi.org/10.3758/s13423-010-0021-5.

[3] Paul H. Thibodeau and Lera Boroditsky, "Metaphors We Think With: The Role of Metaphor in Reasoning," *PLoS ONE* 6:2 (2011), https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0016782.

[4] For a biographical account of Mala Zimetbaum, including her deportation, imprisonment, and attempted escape, see Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, "Tragic Love at Auschwitz," *Google Arts & Culture*, accessed October 25, 2026, https://artsandculture.google.com/story/KgXBdmyTRwp2lQ.

[5] For Henri Abraham de Jong's biographical record, including details of his deportation and registration at Auschwitz, see Joods Monument, "Henri Abraham de Jong," accessed October 25, 2026, https://www.joodsmonument.nl/en/page/190355/henri-abraham-de-jong.

[6] Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, "Escape on 24 June 1944," Escapes from Auschwitz, accessed October 25, 2026, https://lekcja.auschwitz.org/en_15_ucieczki/sco_32.html.

[7] Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Polity Press, 1991); Albert Bandura, "Moral Disengagement in the Perpetration of Inhumanities," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 3:3 (1999), 193-209, https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0303_3.

[8] The underlying mechanism is centuries old. Medieval blood libels could transform the alleged murder of a single Christian child into an indictment of an entire Jewish community. The accusation did not require evidence of collective participation; Jewishness itself supplied the presumed connection between the alleged perpetrators and everyone else.

[9] Katja Deinhardt, "Centralverein," LeMO: Lebendiges Museum Online, Deutsches Historisches Museum, September 9, 2015, https://www.dhm.de/lemo/kapitel/kaiserreich/antisemitismus/centralverein.

[10] European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Jewish People's Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism* (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2024), 30, 32.

[11] European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Jewish People's Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism* (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2024), 1, https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2024/experiences-and-perceptions-antisemitism-third-survey.

[12] Deutsche Welle, "Jewish Life in Europe," accessed October 25, 2026, https://www.dw.com/en/jewish-life-in-europe/t-69012234.

[13] Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg, Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, and Zentrum für Schulqualität und Lehrerbildung, *Wahrnehmen – Benennen – Handeln: Für Lehrkräfte und Schulleitungen, Handreichung zum Umgang mit Antisemitismus an Schulen* (Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg, Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, and Zentrum für Schulqualität und Lehrerbildung, 2019), 34, https://ofek-beratung.de/wp-content/uploads/2026/02/handreichung-antisemitismus-schule-km-bw-2.pdf.

[14] "Joodse Nederlanders over antisemitisme: 'Mensen willen dat ik me verantwoord,'" NOS Nieuws, December 14, 2025, https://nos.nl/artikel/2594556-joodse-nederlanders-over-antisemitisme-mensen-willen-dat-ik-me-verantwoord.

[15] The history of that forgery has been traced by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and numerous historians.

[16] European Commission, "Combating Antisemitism," accessed October 25, 2026, https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combatting-discrimination/racism-and-xenophobia/combating-antisemitism_en.

[17] Maurice Cohen, "Ausgerechnet eine Antisemitismuskonferenz fällt dem Judenhass zum Opfer," *Jüdische Allgemeine*, October 14, 2026, https://www.juedische-allgemeine.de/meinung/ausgerechnet-eine-antisemitismuskonferenz-faellt-dem-judenhass-zum-opfer/; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, "Tackling Antisemitism in the Digital Age," accessed October 25, 2026, https://fra.europa.eu/lt/event/2026/tackling-antisemitism-digital-age.

[18] Jen Schiffer, "I Was Supposed to Go to Italy With Fellow Jewish Educators. Then Reggio Emilia Pressed Us on Gaza," *Algemeiner*, October 22, 2026, https://www.algemeiner.com/2026/10/22/i-was-supposed-go-italy-fellow-jewish-educators-then-reggio-emilia-pressed-us-gaza/; Comune di Reggio Emilia, "Reggio Children, i chiarimenti del Sindaco Massari," October 15, 2026, https://www.comune.reggioemilia.it/novita/comunicati/reggio-children-i-chiarimenti-del-sindaco-massari.

[19] "EJC Joins Jewish Organisations and Communities from Around the World in a Declaration Reaffirming That Anti-Zionism Is a Contemporary Form of Antisemitism," European Jewish Congress, September 11, 2026, https://eurojewcong.org/news/news-and-views/ejc-joins-jewish-organisations-and-communities-from-around-the-world-in-reaffirming-that-anti-zionism-is-a-contemporary-form-of-antisemitism/.

[20] Jew Tagging is a controversial practice of a number of Wikipedia editors adding identifiers such as "Jewish," "born to a Jewish family," or similar markers to biographies of living people where Jewish identity is not central to their public notability. See: Edward Kosner, "Jew-Tagging @Wikipedia," *Commentary*, May 2020, https://www.commentary.org/articles/edward-kosner/jew-tagging-wikipedia/.

[21] George Lakoff, *The ALL NEW Don't Think of an Elephant!: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate* (Chelsea Green Publishing, 2014).