From: Ted Molnar president@jcvt.org

Sent: Sunday, August 13, 2023 3:07 PM

To: Samuelson, Jennifer < Jennifer.Samuelson@vermont.gov>

Cc: Tobie Weisman <<u>rebtobie@jcvt.org</u>>; Kolbe, Tammy <<u>Tammy.Kolbe@vermont.gov</u>>; Jepson, Lyle <<u>Lyle.Jepson@vermont.gov</u>>; Lovett, Tom <<u>Tom.Lovett@vermont.gov</u>>; Bouchey, Heather <<u>Heather.Bouchey@vermont.gov</u>>; Diop, Mohamed <<u>Mohamed.Diop@vermont.gov</u>>; <u>Grey.Fearson@partner.vermont.gov</u>>; Gleason, Kimberly G <<u>Kimberly.G.Gleason@vermont.gov</u>>; Jennifer.Ofarell@vermont.gov <Jennifer.Ofarell@vermont.gov>; Werner, Rich <<u>Rich.Werner@vermont.gov</u>>; <u>Aaliyah.Wilburn@partner.gov</u> <<u>Aaliyah.Wilburn@partner.gov</u>>

Subject: VERMONT IRIS ETHNIC STUDIES STANDARDS FRAMEWORK

You don't often get email from president@jcvt.org. Learn why this is important

EXTERNAL SENDER: Do not open attachments or click on links unless you recognize and trust the sender.

Dear State Board of Education Chair Samuelson

We are attaching Jewish Communities of Vermont letter signed by Rabbis throughout our

State outlining three deeply felt concerns and needed revisions to the proposed Vermont IRIS

Ethnic Studies Standards Framework (Framework) before you.

Our hope for this Framework is that it will encourage a learning environment in which our Vermont youth, who represent the future of our State, will be taught about Jewish Americans and be encouraged to act on antisemitic hatred that still exists in our society, including in Vermont.

We, as Jews, have been subjected throughout the centuries to antisemitism; within the last century alone we have faced genocide and persecution.

Fortunately, we have found a generally safe haven in the United States and a largely welcoming

society in Vermont. Vermont, however, has felt less safe for Jews recently including on UVM

campus where the US Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights' investigators found that the University of Vermont failed to respond to antisemitic harassment. <u>https://www.ed.gov/news/press-</u>

releases/us-department-educations-office-civil-rights-

resolves-investigation-addressing-university-vermontsresponses-allegations-antisemitic-incidents

University faculty are still asking for more to be done there.

In addition, many of Vermont's Jewish residents felt exceptionally

unsafe when the cause of BDS, with its virulent hatred of Israel, was brought before the

Burlington City Council. (2019-2021 Ethnic and Social Equity Standards Advisory Working

Group member New Hampshire activist Asma Elhuni testified in support of this BDS resolution

at the September 13, 2021 Burlington Council Meeting:

"those same people that know the

history of their ancestors [the Holocaust] are now

supporting the same kind of atrocities...people

have the right to boycott, people have the right to boycott, people have the right to boycott

[Israel]")

You may be aware that this Spring the Biden Administration issued a first-in-US- history ; National Strategy To Counter Antisemitism&; road map and call to "confront antisemitism in America with urgency." A key focus is its " whole-of-society " call to action for K-12 Departments of Education, county offices of education, and school districts to provide " readily available quality educational resources" that "include Jewish studies in ethnic studies and history curricula." It lists for inclusion curriculum on " Jewish history...positive Jewish contributions to America, Jewish diversity, and manifestations of contemporary antisemitism [as well as the histories of antisemitism experienced by Sephardic and Mizrahi Jews—who trace their ancestry to Spain, the Middle East, and North Africa—and their stories of exclusion, persecution, and expulsion." Copy is attached for your reference.

We do not find the Framework to be in the spirit of the White House's call to action for Ethnic Studies courses to include Jewish Americans and antisemitism.

Please advise us when you plan to place the Framework on the State Board of Education's agenda.

We hope that your Board will incorporate our recommendations as outlined in the attached letter.

Very truly yours,

Rabbi Tobie Weisman, Executive Director, Jewish **Communities of Vermont** Ted Molnar, President, Jewish Communities of Vermont Matt Vogel, Executive Director, UVM Hillel Rabbi Yizhok Raskin, Chabad of Vermont, Burlington Rabbi David Edelson, Temple Sinai, S. Burlington Rabbi Aaron Philmus, Ohavi Zedek, Burlington Rabbi Jan Salzman, Ruach HaMagom, Burlington Rabbi David Fainsilber, Jewish Community of Greater Stowe Rabbi Ellie Shemtov, Rutland Jewish Center Rabbi Binyamin Murray, Chabad of Mlddlebury Cantor Scott Buckner, Israel Congregation of Manchester Rabbi Seith Daniel Reimer, Beth El, Bennington Rabbi Amita Jarmon, Shir HeHarim, Brattleboro Rabbi Donna Kirshbaum, Bethlehem Hebrew Congregation

Attachments



August 13, 2023

Re: Vermont's IRIS Ethnic Studies Standards Framework

Dear State Board of Education Chair Jennifer Deck Samuelson and Board of Education Members:

Jewish Communities of Vermont is a non-profit which has been supporting Jews and Jewish organizations throughout Vermont, including advocating for their interests, since 2013.

We recommend that the changes below be made to the Vermont Ethnic and Social Equity Standards Advisory Working Group's ("Working Group") recommended "IRIS Ethnic Studies Standards Framework" ("Framework"):ⁱ

a. <u>Revise "Vermont's Definition of Ethnic Studies" Sectionⁱⁱ to Comply with Act 1</u>

In the second sentence of the first paragraph delete "and outside" so it reads: "suffered....within the United States." (page 4)

In the third sentence of the second paragraph reword and add "as well as groups that have been historically subject to persecution or genocide" to align it with Act 1 so it reads:

"when we refer to Ethnic Studies Groups, it is in reference to (i) <u>nondominant racial and</u> <u>ethnic groups in the United States including</u> indigenous <u>groups</u> (with a special focus on the Indigenous People of Vermont, the Abenaki, Mahican, Pennacook, Pocomtuc, and others), <u>Africans</u>, <u>Asians</u>, <u>Pacific Islanders</u>, <u>Chicanx</u>, <u>Latinx</u>, <u>or Middle Easterners</u>, and additional people of color <u>as well as (ii) groups that have been historically subject to</u> <u>persecution or genocide.</u>" (page 4)

These changes align the Framework to Act 1's statutory requirements:

Act 1, Section 1(b): "Definitions. As used in this act:

(1) "Ethnic groups" means:

(A) nondominant racial and ethnic groups in the United States, including people who are Abenaki, people from other indigenous groups, people of African, Asian, Pacific Island, Chicanx, Latinx, or Middle Eastern descent; and

(B) groups that have been historically subject to persecution or genocide."iii

The Vermont Agency of Education's Act 1 Request for Proposal requires that the contract's output (i) incorporate Act 1's statutory lens, and (ii) "embody the broadest possible commitment to group inclusivity."



Note: In February 2019, Amanda Garces pressed the Vermont Legislature to not include clause (B) in Act 1. Sharing that this clause concerned her coalition, Garces stated that including teaching about these ethnic groups – people who had been subject to persecution or genocide – could result in students learning about antisemitism which could "punish" activists who push to boycott Israel.^{iv}

Soon thereafter, Garces was appointed Chair of the Working Group. In that role she drafted recommendations for the Working Group's consideration. In 2022, dismissing the Jewish Community of Vermont's objections and suggestions, the Working Group, a majority of whom were Garces' Education Justice Coalition appointees, approved her recommendation that the Education Quality Standards' definition of "Ethnic Group" exclude clause (B).

b. <u>Remove references to consultant "Community Responsive Education" and its</u> <u>representatives</u>

Delete "Community Responsive Education Consultants: Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales, Samia Shoman and Aimee Riechel" (page 1) Delete ", in collaboration with Community Responsive Education," (page 3)

Community Responsive Education (CRE) is a private, fee-based Ethnic Studies consulting firm.

The State of Vermont should follow other States' examples and avoid promoting private, for-profit consulting firms to Vermont Superintendents, administrators and teachers who will receive the Framework. For example, in January 2022 State Superintendent of Public Instruction Chris Reykdal removed private, fee-based consultants from Washington State's Ethnic Studies materials noting that the groups he removed also advance political agendas. Similarly, the consultants retained to assist the California Department of Education prepare the CA Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum (ESMC) are not mentioned in the ESMC; it credits the California State Board of Education and Department of Education only.^v

Moreover, the State of Vermont need not promote private groups which push discriminatory materials. Vermont law requires schools to furnish students "educational services…in a nondiscriminatory manner"^{vi} and Vermont's Educational Quality Standards "prohibit discrimination against any student … as a result of or based upon, ethnicity [and] religion."^{vii}

In 2019 the State of California rejected CRE representatives' Ethnic Studies content due to its biased, antisemitic, and anti-Israel content. See Appendix. CRE's Vermont consultants advance similar content in their private Ethnic Studies teacher trainings and writings.^{viii}



c. <u>Remove reference to political activist group "Education Justice Coalition"</u>

Delete: "The Education Justice Coalition responsible for appointing community members" (page 1)

The reference to Education Justice Coalition (EJC), a group not recognized in Act 1 to work on this project, should be removed.

Act 1 calls for the Vermont Coalition for Ethnic and Social Equity in Schools to appoint some working group/advisory committee members. Act 1 does not mention the Education Justice Coalition (EJC):

Act 1, Section 1(d)(1): "Vermont Coalition for Ethnic and Social Equity in Schools (Coalition) shall appoint the 10 members who represent ethnic groups and social groups and the member identified under subdivision (c)(2) of this section. Appointments of members to fill vacancies to these positions shall be made by the Coalition."^{ix}

If EJC in fact appointed Act 1 Working Group members, as it appears it did,^x the State of Vermont's projects that EJC representatives informed (including the Framework) should be set aside and a new Working Group, that is constituted in accordance with Act 1, should be convened to complete these projects.

Moreover, EJC is an activist group with a pronounced anti-Israel bias. Interspersed in EJC's social media posts on "building inclusive messaging for education justice" is anti-Israel messaging such as promoting Act 1 Working Group Vice Chair Mark Hage's Vermonters for Justice in Palestine June 2023 march that denigrated Israel employing false narratives. ^{xi} EJC's social media posts are peppered throughout with anti-Israel commentary and events hosted by anti-Israel activist groups, including some for K-12 Ethnic Studies teachers and students.^{xii} (Hage is a well-known anti-Israel activist who led Vermonters for Justice in Palestine's decade-long campaign to pressure Ben & Jerry's to not sell its ice cream in Israel.^{xiii})



Finally, this EJC credit was added *after* the Working Group approved the Framework. It is not part of the Working Group's recommendation and was not shared with the public so it could not comment on this reference prior to the Working Group's vote.

Thank you for your careful consideration of our recommendations.

Very truly yours,

Rabbi Tobie Weisman, Executive Director, Jewish Communities of Vermont

Ted Molnar, President, Jewish Communities of Vermont Matt Vogel, Executive Director, UVM Hillel Rabbi Yizhok Raskin, Chabad of Vermont, Burlington Rabbi David Edelson, Temple Sinai, S. Burlington Rabbi Aaron Philmus, Ohavi Zedek, Burlington Rabbi Jan Salzman, Ruach HaMaqom, Burlington Rabbi David Fainsilber, Jewish Community of Greater Stowe Rabbi Ellie Shemtov, Rutland Jewish Center Rabbi Binyamin Murray, Chabad of MIddlebury Cantor Scott Buckner, Israel Congregation of Manchester Rabbi Seith Daniel Reimer, Beth El, Bennington Rabbi Amita Jarmon, Shir HeHarim, Brattleboro Rabbi Donna Kirshbaum, Bethlehem Hebrew Congregation

Attachment

cc: Heather Bouchey, Interim Vermont State Secretary of Education



<u>Appendix</u>

The Vermont Agency of Education's October 2022 Request for Proposal for an Act 1 Working Group on Ethnic Studies' consultant called for bids from those (i) with expertise with similar projects, (ii) that will ensure that "the framework ...embody the broadest possible commitment to group inclusivity," and (iii) that "take into account parental concerns about religion." *See also* Act 1, Section 1(g)(1)(F) (2019) ("Duties of the Working Group...ensure that the basic curriculum [is] welcoming to all students and take into account parental concerns about religion or culture").

In November 2022, the Agency of Education awarded this \$50,000 contract to Community Responsive Education (Contract # 45131).

Community Responsive Education (CRE) is a private California Ethnic Studies consulting firm cofounded and led by Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales and Jeff Duncan-Andrade. Working in Vermont were Tintiangco-Cubales and her CRE consultants Aimee Riechel and Samia Shoman.

Controversial California Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum Draft

In 2019, Tintiangco-Cubales co-chaired the State of California's Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum (ESMC) Advisory Committee,^{xiv} an important State of California project that made national news immediately after her advisory committee's ESMC draft was released to the public for comment. (Vermont Ethnic Studies consultants Riechel and Shoman served on Tintiangco-Cubales' ESMC Advisory Committee.)

The reaction to Tintiangco-Cubales' ESMC draft was exceptionally negative and, within weeks, the State of California discarded her draft.

Among those displeased were (i) Governor Newsom who called Tintiangco-Cubales' draft offensive and publicly stated that her draft would never see the light of day in California,^{xv} (ii) the California State Board of Education (SBE) President Linda Darling-Hammond who added that it did not comply with California law or the SBE's project guidelines,^{xvi} (iii) the California legislature which in 2021 enacted guardrails to attempt to prevent its content from entering classrooms,^{xvii} and (iv) 19,000 Californians who submitted public comments.

Of great concern to the California Jewish community was that Tintiangco-Cubales' draft was rife with antisemitic and anti-Israel content including the trope that Jews control the media and the characterization of the anti-Jewish and anti-LGBTQ hate group the Nation of Islam as an "African American spiritual and religious tradition."^{xviii}

Tintiangco-Cubales' draft denigrated Israel as well as targeted Jews' right to self-determination there, their indigenous homeland, with favorable mentions of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanction Israel (BDS) movement, a movement whose aims are to deny Jews this right there, tagging BDS instead a social justice movement for students to study and advance during school.^{xix}



Moreover, in an Ethnic Studies curriculum designed to teach students about discrimination against minorities, Tintiangco-Cubales' ESMC did not list antisemitism among the eight types of hate it called out for study^{xx} -- despite the fact that antisemitism is the motivation behind 63% of our nation's religious-based hate crimes directed at the Jewish 2.4% of the population.^{xxi} Also, it did not offer content on Jewish Americans.

SBE President Linda Darling-Hammond aptly summed up the situation caused by Tintiangco-Cubales' work: an Ethnic Studies curriculum "should be accurate, free of bias, appropriate for all learners in our diverse state" so Tintiangco-Cubales' draft -- which "wades unnecessarily into the global debate over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict" -- must be "substantially redesigned."^{xxii}

Vermont's Ethnic Studies Frameworks Draft and Policy Recommendations

CRE's May 2023 Vermont Ethnic Studies Framework (Framework) draft presented to members of the Vermont Ethnic and Social Equity Standards Advisory Working Group (Working Group) included as teacher resources the controversial concepts that California discarded, later deleted from the Framework *after* the Agency of Education shared this draft with the public pursuant to a records request. (The Working Group Chair did not post this draft, which was discussed in agendized public sessions, for the public to access.)

The May 2023 draft Framework's recommended teacher resources included:

- i) the 2019 California ESMC draft that the State of California rejected,
- ii) an article that portrays teens' religious conversion to the Nation of Islam positively (Akom, "Reexamining Resistance as Oppositional Behavior: The Nation of Islam and the Creation of a Black Achievement Ideology"), and
- iii) a paper that encourages readers to advocate for anti-Zionism (Maira and Shihade, "Meeting Asian/Arab American Studies: Thinking Race, Empire and Zionism").

In August 2023, CRE's Vermont Ethnic Studies policy recommendations were shared publicly.^{xxiii} In it is a link to a Jefferson Union High School District presentation. Jefferson Union's Ethnic Studies course outline instructs teachers to teach students that "anti-Zionism" is a social justice movement around which students should build solidarity in class.^{xxiv} (CRE is Jefferson Union's Ethnic Studies consultant, providing services under a \$180,000 contract with the district.^{xxv} CRE and its representatives are involved with the Ethnic Studies work in the three other districts mentioned in its Vermont policy recommendations; Shoman and Riechel are employed by San Mateo Union and San Francisco Unified School Districts, respectively.)

As with BDS, anti-Zionists single out Jews' beliefs and aims for disdain and to deny Jews the same rights they advance for other groups -- self-determination and sovereignty in one's indigenous homeland. See Jewish Virtual Library. Almost a century ago, anti-Zionism was devised as a state-sanctioned, "legitimate" way to discriminate against Jews in the Soviet Union. Soon thereafter, anti-Zionism became a rationale to oppress, imprison, dispossess, and ethnically cleanse almost one million Jews in the Middle East and North Africa.^{xxvi} Today, United States anti-Israel activists advance anti-Zionism as an anti-racist, anti-settler colonialist political campaign based on narratives, not facts, with the same antisemitic intent as in the Soviet Union and Middle East decades ago.^{xxvii}



For a detailed description of the anti-Israel messaging that CRE representatives, including Samia Shoman, inject into K-12 Ethnic Studies teacher trainings see "Under the Radar: Ethnic Studies Activists Push Anti-Israel Content Into American Schools."xxviii

"Building on these definitions, this framework refers to Ethnic Studies Groups throughout the text. Ethnic Studies, from its inception in 1969, focuses on providing 'safe academic spaces for all to learn the histories, cultures, and intellectual traditions of Native peoples and communities of color in the YUS in the first person and also practice theories of resistance and liberation to eliminate racism and other forms of oppression." (San Francisco State University). In this framework, when we refer to Ethnic Studies Groups, it is in reference to Black, Indigenous (with a special focus on the Indigenous People of Vermont, the Abenaki, Mahican, Pannacook, Pocomtuc, and others). Asian Americans, Latinas/os/e', and additional people of color."

iii https://legislature.vermont.gov/Documents/2020/Docs/ACTS/ACT001/ACT001%20As%20Enacted.pdf

https://legislature.vermont.gov/Documents/2020/WorkGroups/Senate%20Education/Bills/H.3/Written%20Testimony/H.3~Amand a%20Garces~Testimony-VT%20Coalition%20for%20Ethnic%20Studies%20and%20Social%20Equity%20in%20Schools~2-6-2019.pdf (Garces: including this clause could "allow...abuses against marginalized people to occur" and "punish advocacy groups and activism promoting boycotts of Israel") (February 6, 2019)

v Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum (ca.gov) at pdf page 4.

^{vi} 16 V.S.A. Section 165(a)(7).

^{ix} Draft Bill Template (vermont.gov)

* Act 1 Organizing — Education Justice Coalition of Vermont (edicoalitionvt.org)

- March 22, 2022 book "P is for Palestine"
- July 15, 2022 post "Zionism is a political ideology, not a race or a religion"
- September 19, 2022 post "Come out Wednesday to support Vermonters for Justice in Palestine. We need to ensure UVM students for justice in Palestine are not silenced."
- October 13, 2022 post calling upon members to "support students in solidarity with Palestine and our collective ability to tell the truth" displaying a sign that says "that criticism of apartheid Israel is not antisemitism."

xii (20+) Facebook (posted on Education Justice Coalition Vermont's Facebook page February 2021)

ⁱ Standards Framework 6-30-2023 (1).pdf - Google Drive

ⁱⁱ Working Group's recommended Framework:

[&]quot;According to the WG's suggested revisions to the EQS, 'Ethnic Studies' is defined as is interdisciplinary, age appropriate and grade-appropriate curricula and programs dedicated to the historical and contemporary study of race, ethnicity, and indigenous peoples (including the Indigenous People of Vermont). This requires a critical examination of the experiences and perspectives of racial and ethnic groups and indigenous peoples that have suffered systemic oppression, marginalization, discrimination, persecution, and genocide within and outside the United States. 'Ethnic Studies' may involve a critical examination of these experiences and perspectives through the lens of the characteristics of social identity groups. The WG defined 'Social Identity Group' to mean a group of people who share common characteristics that shape their identity and promote a sense of unity. Including sex, sexual orientation, gender identification, disability, class, socio-economic status, or other characteristics and conditions that are innate, unchangeable, or fundamental to identity.

^{vii} <u>https://education.vermont.gov/sites/aoe/files/documents/eqs-final-revisions-updated-05-18-23%20.pdf</u> (approved by SBE May 2023).

viii Under the Radar: Ethnic Studies Activists Push Anti-Israel Content into Schools | CAMERA ("Samia Shoman, who has Palestinian roots, is a leading anti-Zionist proponent among LESMCC consultants. ... she showed a map of the Middle East in which the name 'Palestine' appears, and the State of Israel is missing from the map") and Fight for Ethnic Studies Moves to K-12 Classrooms | Convergence (convergencemag.com) (Tintiangco-Cubales co-wrote that "as soon as Islamophobic and Zionist organizations like the Antidefamation League (ADL), the Jewish Community Relations Center (JCRC) and the Simon Wiesenthal Center saw the inclusion of Palestine in the curriculum, they organized an aggressive campaign to sanitize the curriculum [and] the Department of Education approved a gutted, all-lives matter version")

xi (20+) Facebook. See also EJC Facebooks posts:

xⁱⁱⁱ We got Ben & Jerry's to stop selling in Israeli settlements. Here's how we did it | Mark Hage | The Guardian x^{iv} List of Advisory Committee Members - Curriculum Frameworks & Instructional Materials (CA Dept of Education)



^{xv} In face-to-face with Gov. Newsom, strong support for Jewish concerns (jweekly.com)
^{xvi} California needs time to get ethnic studies curriculum right | EdSource

^{xvii} <u>Bill Text - AB-101 Pupil instruction: high school graduation requirements: ethnic studies. (ca.gov)</u> (see Section 51225.3(a)(1)(G)(vi))

^{xviii} Instructional Quality Commission Agenda - Instructional Quality Commission (CA Dept of Education) (Agenda Item 2, Attachment 2 at pages 44 and 259).

xix Instructional Quality Commission Agenda - Instructional Quality Commission (CA Dept of Education) (Agenda Item 2, Attachment 4 at page 2).

^{xx} <u>190729 Jewish Caucus Letter on Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum.pdf</u>

xxi cde.ucr.cjis.gov/LATEST/webapp/#/pages/explorer/crime/hate-crime

xvii https://www.cde.ca.gov/be/pn/nr/yr19sberel01.asp and https://edsource.org/2019/california-needs-time-to-get-ethnic-studiescurriculum-right/617650

xxiii Vermont Ethnic Studies Framework: Recomendations for Policies

xxiv Ethnic Studies Course Proposal Form (eboardsolutions.com)

xxv jeffersonunion.agendaonline.net/public/Meeting.aspx?AgencyID=85&MeetingID=26253&AgencyTypeID=1&IsArchived=True

xxxi https://fathomjournal.org/soviet-anti-zionism-and-contemporary-left-antisemitism/ and https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/rapingthe-jews-in-egyptian-prisons/

xxvii Anti-Zionism | ADL

xxviiihttps://www.camera.org/article/under-the-radar-ethnic-studies-activists-push-anti-israel-content-into-american-schools/



In May 2023, President Biden issued a first-in-US-history nationwide alert to "confront antisemitism in America with urgency" and "U.S. National Strategy To Counter Antisemitism" road map.

A key focus is President Biden's "whole-of-society" call to action which includes K-12 Departments of Education, County Offices of Education, and school districts providing "readily available quality educational resources:"

We call on state and local governments to include Jewish studies in ethnic studies and history curricula. Lessons should include Jewish history, as well as curricula on positive Jewish contributions to America, Jewish diversity, and manifestations of contemporary antisemitism.

More education [is needed] on Jewish American history and the valuable role that Jews have played in our national story.

President Biden highlights the need for students to also learn about the United States and global histories of antisemitism, including the Holocaust, and "histories of antisemitism experienced by Sephardic and Mizrahi Jews—who trace their ancestry to Spain, the Middle East, and North Africa—and their stories of exclusion, persecution, and expulsion."

President Biden, embracing the most prominent definition of antisemitism, the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)'s working definition, reiterates the United State's "unshakable commitment to the State of Israel's right to exist, its legitimacy, and its security [and] recognize[s] and celebrate[s] the deep historical, religious, cultural, and other ties many American Jews and other Americans have to Israel." <u>https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/U.S.-National-Strategy-to-Counter-Antisemitism.pdf</u>