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Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism

Antisemitism Worldwide
- 2018 -

General Analysis

The Program for the Study of Jews in Arab Lands

The Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of
Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism





Antisemitism Worldwide 2018 / General Analysis

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These country reports are based on full reports available on the Kantor Center's website: <http://kantorcenter.tau.ac.il/>. The country reports included herein may differ in structure and footnote system as they come from about 40 countries.

INTRODUCTION



Tendencies and Developments in Antisemitic Manifestations, 2018

Dina Porat

Ça suffit!

Enough is enough! These two words in French express the feeling among Jews, individuals as well as groups and communities, who were exposed during 2018 and the beginning of 2019, to antisemitic manifestations, which they perceived as having increased in intensity and frequency. Known former taboos had been crossed: "Jews to the gas!", and "death to Zionists!" were slogans heard more than once, as if reflecting a notion that it is the very existence of Jews, Jewish communities and the Jewish state that arouse hostility.

The year 2018 witnessed the largest number of Jews killed (13), compared to previous years (though it should be noted that that the murder in Pittsburg in October was registered as one – most unfortunate - case); an increase in almost all forms of antisemitic manifestations in the public space as well as in the private one; and a sense of emergency among Jews in some countries, regarding their security and their place in their respective societies.

- The number of the major violent cases monitored by the Kantor center team has increased by 13%, from 342 to 387.
- The countries with highest number of cases are the US (over 100 cases), the UK (68), France and Germany (35 each), Canada (20) Belgium (19) the Netherlands (15) and Argentina (11). It should be noted that the numbers of cases in Eastern Europe have been much lower, for a number of years, in comparison to Western Europe, going down from 12 in the Ukraine to a few in the other countries.
- The main modus operandi remain cases of vandalism (216, 56%), threats (89, 23%) and weaponless means (55, 14%). These numbers show that while the use of weapon and arson is in lower numbers, most of the attacks are against people and their property. Indeed, at least 138 people were attacked (36%), private property was damaged (104 cases, 27%). The reason is that persons and their property are less protected than synagogues (47 cases, 12%) and community centers (22, 6%). Cemeteries and monuments are still a traditional target: 76 cases, 19%.

Numbers pinpointed by the Jewish communities and governmental agencies are monitored according to different criteria, that vary from one country to another, and are thus not comparable. They most often include all types of cases, from the major violent ones, to harassment, insults, minor threats, verbal assaults, Holocaust denial and social media shaming. Let us emphasize that these, the insults and harassment and shaming hurt more than the actual violence, for they create the atmosphere and set the tone.

A few examples: In Italy 197 cases of all types were registered, a 60% increase; in South Africa – 62 incidents, 25%. In the U.K. – 1652 documented incidents, a rise of 16%. In France a 74% rise, from 311 to 541 incidents was recorded. In Australia – 366 cases, a rise of 59%. A 22% rise in New York, was noted by the city police.

A sense of emergency?: The most disturbing development, that keeps continuing and intensifying since 2016, is that Jews in some countries feel they live in a state of emergency, because of the continuing rise, most notably in Western Europe and North America, in antisemitic manifestations.¹

- As a result Jews started questioning and **doubting their association** with places and societies they have lived in for long, sometimes for centuries. This year, Jews in Scotland, for example, consider leaving the country.² This sense of turning gradually to an outsider is coupled with an ominous feeling of insecurity that reached its peak in October, after the murder of 11 elderly Jews in the Pittsburgh Tree of Life – Or LeSimcha Synagogue.

The **normalization and mainstreaming of antisemitism** in public forums, debates and discussions is manifested in all media channels, most notably the social networks. Antisemitism is no longer an issue confined to the activity of the far left, far right and radical Islamists triangle - it has mainstreamed and became an integral part of life. "Antisemitism in France in 2018 is daily [...] not one day [passes] without an antisemitic act," asserts the report of the French Ministry of the Interior and the SPCJ (Service de Protection de la Communauté Juive). According to the surveys (see below) most Jews, about 75-80 percent, do not report the antisemitic manifestations that they experience - they are too many and too frequent to handle.

Mainstreamed as well is the growing use of antisemitic terms **in anti-Zionist discourse**, and the disproportionate hostility directed against the Jewish nation-state, which resumes Jewish characteristics. "All the stereotypes of classical Judeophobia are projected onto the Jewish state... and Israel-related hate is becoming a politically correct form of antisemitism."³ One may add that Israel is rejected as a nation state, and that the European post-colonial guilt feelings have led, as historian Alexander Joffe claims, to the opposite of nationalism – to self-flagellation, self-punishment, by letting into Europe mass immigration, mainly Muslim.⁴ Yet, there are other reasons: The impact of the Holocaust; the issue of human rights and minorities protection; and finally, the European demographic severe problems.

- A host of recently conducted large scope **multi-national surveys** corroborated and highlighted the perceptions expressed by Jews. FRA, the Fundamental Rights European Union Agency conducted a survey in 12 EU countries, interviewing 16,500 Jews;⁵ the CNN interviewed 7000 Jews and non-Jews;⁶ and the Eurobarometer conducted 23,640 face to face interviews in the 28 EU states, that complemented the FRA survey.⁷ They leave no room for doubt: the perceptions of Jews as well as of non-Jews are that antisemitism is on the rise in every aspect of daily life. 85% answered that it is by far the Jews' most serious problem in the FRA survey; 40% answered that the Jews in their countries are endangered by racist violence in the CNN poll; and 89% answered that antisemitism had recently increased in the Eurobarometer survey.

1 The title of Katharina von Schnurbein's, E.U. Coordinator on Combatting Antisemitism, lecture in TAU, on 7 March, 2019 was: *Antisemitism Today – A State of Emergency?*

2 <https://www.timesofisrael.com/scottish-lawmakers-pan-anti-semitism-as-many-jews-said-thinking-of-leaving/>

3 Monika Schwarz-Friesel, "The Persistence of European Antisemitism", 18.1.2019, BESA Center Perspective Paper No. 1067.

4 Alexander H. Joffe, "The West's New Antisemitism Crisis: Why Right Now? BESA Center, 23.9.2018.

5 "Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism - Second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU", available at <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2018/2nd-survey-discrimination-hate-crime-against-jews>.

6 <https://edition.cnn.com/interactive/2018/11/europe/antisemitism-poll-2018-intl/>.

7 http://data.europa.eu/euodp/en/data/dataset/S2220_90_4_484_ENG.

- The surveys and reports, and the wide media coverage they got, give antisemitism a certain status, that of an acknowledged problem to be dealt with on a public, local and multi-national levels. Substantial budgets have been allocated in order to carry out these surveys (23,640 face to face interviews!). They certainly reflect reality, however, is it possible that the massive exposure had in turn an impact on the perception of the situation, since they unanimously depict it as worsening and threatening. Moreover, the interviewees are asked about their perceptions, a wide notion that is very difficult to define and to quantify. There is always a danger that such an effort, invested in Jews only, would cause resentment. There are surveys conducted on other minority groups, but they do not get the same public attention, as if they are less important.

Authorities and governments have recently acknowledged antisemitism as a severe problem, so that antisemitism and its implications were put during 2018, and more so during the first months of 2019, on the agenda of both local and international authorities. There is a **growing awareness among governmental agencies that are responsible for the well-being and security of their Jewish citizens** of the need to confront the situation, and prevent further deterioration.⁸

Given this situation, political, civil and religious leaders have been repeatedly addressed and requested to act urgently, through education, information, legislation and enforcement, and by setting standards of leadership, that match the declared values of their respective countries. Consequently, workshops and conferences, encounters and media footages, concluding with declarations and promises regarding antisemitism have almost become the order of the day, as part of the efforts to tackle the problem.

Indeed, some **encouraging achievements** have been reached and they deserve to be mentioned: the Working Definition of Antisemitism, as formulated and adopted by the 31 IHRA (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance) member states of in 2016 was adopted by more countries in 2018. The European Union joined IHRA, so that its 28 member states are committed to adopting it as well. It is not a legally binding document, but it had been recognized not only as a useful tool for police training and courts of justice, but turned into a standard of values and a test of conduct in the struggle against both antisemitism and radical anti-Zionism.

The Vienna, New York and Tel Aviv universities organized in February a large scale conference, supported by Dr. Moshe Kantor and the EJC (the European Jewish Congress) and entitled "An End to Antisemitism." It resulted in a comprehensive **catalogue of policies** and means to fight antisemitism, presented to the participants of conferences held in November by the EU and its presidency.⁹ These conferences resulted in a historic commitment, issued by the EU., to develop a holistic strategy in the struggle against antisemitism, adopt the WDA and secure the Jewish communities by allocating appropriate budgets.¹⁰ Following this commitment, a working group was established by the EU, whose members consist of the special envoys for monitoring and combating antisemitism, that are gradually being appointed in the various countries. Most recently President Trump appointed attorney Elan Carr to the post which was vacant for two years.

8 President Emmanuel Macron to members of the CRIF, accessed at <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/02/21/anti-zionism-new-form-anti-semitism-warns-emmanuel-macron/>.

9 https://anendtoantisemitism.univie.ac.at/fileadmin/user_upload/p_anendtoantisemitism/PDF/Catalogue_FINAL_webversion_complete.pdf.

10 <http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-15213-2018-INIT/en/pdf>.

Steps, especially legal ones, proved useful against the BDS movement, which despite its vociferous presence in the media, in cultural events and campuses, suffered a number of setbacks in 2018. In US campuses, where anti-Zionist harassment of Jewish student rose by 66 percent since 2017, the BDS movement has an impact on the academic and social life (see more in our BDS analysis and in the US campuses report).

Nevertheless, politicians, activists and researchers doubt whether these activities have an effect on the growing phenomenon. It seems that the commendable and well-meant efforts of authorities and leaders to tackle antisemitism still **do not meet the street** and the social nets, where antisemitism thrives, and the question is when and if the many and positive efforts will indeed have an effect on the deteriorating situation.¹¹

The tendencies are clear, yet the question is **Why**, why are antisemitic manifestations increasing and why now? – Needless to say, each country and each region has its distinct characteristics that are the source of distinct local antisemitism, and those are presented below, in the country reports. Still, we would like to offer some answers, and pinpoint a number of overarching reasons:

- **Growing ignorance, diminishing commitment**: the explosion of information, in every aspect of life, especially in social networks, in a time of political and economic instability, when people are yearning for an explanation, and all the more so young generations, brings about shallow ready-made convictions. The history of the Jewish people and its culture; the layers of antisemitism accumulated along centuries; World War II, the Nazi regime and the Holocaust; the complicated complex called the Middle East; the reality in Israel - are all demanding issues. In 2019, almost 75 years after World War II ended, a growing number of the present third generation feel free of the commitment to know, remember and expiate for bygone wrongs.¹² They are free of the burden that cast a shadow on former generations regarding the plight of Jews.

- While looking for in-depth reasons for the surge of worldwide antisemitism, law professor Alan Dershowitz identifies today's antisemitism and anti-Zionism with the murder of Jews during World War II, led by the Germans yet supported by most European societies or parts within them. The same irrational hatred that persisted in the 1930s and the 1940s is now the source of new antisemitism, he warns, because today's Jewish presence, especially in Europe, is a constant reminder for the grandchildren generation of their forbearers' sins.¹³ His warning got wide attention, but we would like as historians, to emphasize that each period has its own distinguished characteristics, and the 1930s and 1940s are not comparable to our time.

His analysis touches upon a well-seated reason for **the presence of classical antisemitism** and stereotypes: The strengthening of classical anti-Judaism is deeply rooted in European culture, and reappears in times of crisis. Jews were considered the ultimate victims for a number of decades, especially after the Holocaust, yet with the intensification of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and Israel's strength as a state, their status was transferred to the Palestinians. They are now seen as the new Jews, the martyrs, who suffer much as Jesus had.

¹¹ Dina Porat in the March 7, 2019 INSS conference in TAU.

¹² see the CNN survey, on rampant ignorance regarding the Holocaust among European youngsters.

¹³ lecture in Montreal, in a TAU gala dinner, August 26, 2018.

The Jews, on the other hand, came to be perceived as the anti-Christ, and the Israelis are compared to the worst evil of our time - the Nazis, and more recently to ISIS as well. Accordingly, a host of caricatures depicts bleeding Palestinians on crosses and cruel der Stuermer-like Israelis dominating them.

The post-Holocaust image of the Jew accentuates the strengthening of classic antisemitism: it is the same Jew - greedy (for compensations), foreign and double-loyal (supporting another country), egoist and tribal (takes care first of all of his and his co-religionists interests), power and money thirsty (conspires against the non-Jewish world). No wonder that the term "Jew" has turned into a pejorative nickname in many countries and languages.¹⁴ Classic antisemitism thrives when the religious factor motivates conflicts, such as is evident in some of the conflicts involving Muslims¹⁵, or when the church gains ground back in the post-communist era.

- These explanations are rooted in history and tradition, yet the contemporary political arena is no less fertile for the growth of antisemitism. The crises of democracies, that have been the traditional bastion of human and minorities rights, intensified in 2018 and the beginning of 2019; growing economic uncertainty; issues of national identity; the fusion among ideologies and movements, such as even a leftist women movement with an Islamist group, are all key elements for the understanding of contemporary antisemitism.

Right wing parties and movements have gained more political impact and public support due to the immigration crisis. They consider Jews a cosmopolitan foreign agent that constitutes a threat to national local identity, and keep accusing them of being the driving force behind the arrival of immigrants to Europe. East European governments, most notably Poland, Hungary and Lithuania, continue to promote forcefully a positive national historic narrative, according to which their population never cooperated with the German occupier during World War II. On the contrary, they fell prey to German cruelty, and extended a helping hand to the other victims, their fellow Jews. This national ethos is a source of constant conflict with the local Jewish communities that are trying to set the record straight, and are accused of promoting a distorted narrative, by constantly inflating their neighbors' guilt. In Eastern Europe, antisemitic violence comes in small numbers, yet thrives in the social nets, in Russia for instance, where classic antisemitic accusations against Jews are widespread; Jews are constantly depicted as a negative factor, and antisemitism is used as a political tool, most notably in election campaigns and over conflicts, such as in the Crimea and the Ukraine.

In **Western countries**, where both democracy and capitalism proved debatable, the far-left regards Jewish alleged world power as responsible for the failures of global economy. Jews are being blamed for globalization that increases economic uncertainties, and the man-in-the-street's anxiety over being left alone to cope with powers he cannot identify or control. Moreover, in both sides of the European continent, as well as in other parts of the world, Jews and especially Jewish communities, are perceived as immune against economic crises and unaffected by them. They are perceived as well organized, a people that knows how to pull political strings in his favor.

¹⁴ See for example, Esther Webman, "The 'Jew' as a Metaphor for Evil in Arab Public Discourse," *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, Vol. 6, issues 3-4 (2015), 275-292.

¹⁵ See for example, Esther Webman, "Rethinking the Role of Religion in Arab Antisemitic Discourses," to be published in forthcoming issue of *Religions*.

Several current political developments worldwide converge and have a crucial impact on the rise of antisemitism:

- The Brexit that polarizes the British society and politics, and its repercussions in the Labor party, whose leader voices virulent antisemitic opinions, disguised as anti-Zionism. For the first time in their long history British Jews, who feel they lost their political home, question their future in Britain.

- The deepening social and economic crisis in France, where tens of thousands of protesters, nicknamed the Yellow Vests, took to the streets in November, enabling antisemites and anarchists to come to the fore; the presence of a strong far-right party, coupled with a strong presence of immigrants from Muslim countries, most of whom unintegrated, while the Jews are a source of envy, undermine the security of the Jewish community.

- The growing rift between the two major parties in the US, in which the attitudes towards Israel and to the Jews play a major role; the hard choice that Jewish students have to make, between manifesting their national identity and support for Israel, and their wish to be part of the environment that criticizes them for that; the presence of extreme right groups, and the violent attacks they perpetrated, are a source of grave concern and uncertainty among Jews.

- The opposition to Angela Merkel's immigration policy undermines stability, strengthens the far-right that feeds on the fear and economic worries that immigration evokes and raises the question whether antisemitism among the newcomers has enhanced overall antisemitic tendencies.

Newcomers from countries with a traditional antisemitic attitudes constitute a threat, and surveys show that the level of antisemitism among the Muslim population is higher than in the general society. This was apparent in Germany, for instance. However, it is still debatable whether after having been more accustomed to their new environment, and after joining former immigrants, they are also engaged in antisemitic activity. This debate includes a number of claims: in places where antisemitism is punishable, or at least not politically correct, newcomers refrain from engaging in unlawful activities; and on the other hand, the more Muslim presence gains ground in west European society, the media and politics, the more they influence local cultures "to unlock antisemitic tendencies," as it happens in the UK labor party, and expressed by newly elected US Muslim congress members.¹⁶

Two more points to conclude the answer to the WHY question: first, there are **modes and fashions**, even in an issue such as antisemitism. Publicity and attention given to a shooting spree, a large-scale desecration of an ancient cemetery, to the setting of fire to a synagogue, encourage followers and imitators. A related development is the nature of the public political and social discourse, that is undergoing a process of

polarization and radicalization, reflected in the media and in the public arena and more so in the social networks, where anonymity allows for unrestrained expressions and reactions. Moreover, regardless of numbers and statistics, the language and imagery used by bigots, has become more audacious and brazen, creating a public atmosphere in which extreme language and expression

¹⁶ <https://www.thejc.com/comment/comment/does-muslim-immigration-into-europe-pose-a-threat-to-jewish-communities-pears-institute-survey-1.467385>; <https://www.france24.com/en/20190213-anti-semitism-hate-crime-jews-germany-afd>.

have become a norm. Needless to say that the political arena, where leaders openly use antisemitic motifs according to their needs, especially during electoral campaigns, and the antisemitic radicalizing activism, feed upon each other.¹⁷

And second: antisemitism is on the rise, even **without any Israeli-Palestinian-Gaza confrontations**. We suggest to reconsider the traditional pinpointing at such confrontations as an immediate trigger for the rise of antisemitism. Antisemitic manifestations increase, obviously, for other reasons, as we have tried to explain.

We, the Kantor Center team raise a suggestion: Let us exercise a sense of proportion, certainly not underestimating the situation, yet not over inflating it either. Let us look around and cooperate with other discriminated groups and minorities. Extremist groups cultivate hatred against whoever does not follow their views, not just Jews; the number of hate crimes against the "others" far exceeds the number targeted against Jews. Christians have been attacked and murdered during the last years, thousands of them in Nigeria, for instance, and hundreds of churches were desecrated in France. Let us extend a friendly hand to others.

¹⁷ According to David Nirenberg to Patrick Kingsley, in "Antisemitism is Back, From the Left, Right and Islamist Extremes. Why?" *New York Times*, April 4, 2019.

Summaries of the Country Reports

Before turning to a short summary of the numbers of antisemitic incidents as sent to us, let us emphasize that there are no common criteria agreed upon among Jewish communities and among the various governmental agencies. Each monitors the situation according to its decisions and traditions. Hence, there are some types of incidents put together in one list, and others in another. Therefore, we did not put them together in one chart: comparison is impossible, given the absence of common context and methodology.

Arab Countries

The dominant views of Jews, Israel and Zionism in the Arab media are still hostile and negative. The use of conspiracy theories, the blood libel, and Holocaust denial continues unabated. The tension in the Gaza Strip, the Palestinian marches of return and the demonstrations on the fence between Israel and the Strip from March to the end of the year and beyond, were a fertile ground for antisemitic discourse, although it seems that 2018 did not witness an increase in antisemitic manifestations. The comparison of Israel to ISIS was also a theme employed to portray Israel as cruel and violent based on religious fanaticism. However, some positive trends are to be noted. In the wake of the newly emerging strategic interests in the region there are increasing voices criticizing Holocaust denial and antisemitic views as well as rethinking the past Jewish presence in Arab countries.

Argentina

Complaints of antisemitic incidents doubled compared to 2017, 80 percent occurred on the net. Among sources of concern: a number of antisemitic episodes in educational institutions, including Nazi glorification in schools and deicide accusations in at least one university; antisemitic remarks made by public figures; and plans to commit attacks against the Jewish community (in at least one case in connection with the terrorist organization of Hezbollah).

Australia

During the year in review (Oct. 2017-Sept. 2018), 366 antisemitic incidents were recorded, an increase of 59 percent over the previous twelve-month period. This is an unprecedented percentage increase. From 2017 to 2018, there were increases in harassment, vandalism, threats by email, telephone and posters/stickers; a decrease in graffiti and postal mail; while the number of assaults remained the same. There were 156 attacks, and 210 threats, higher numbers than were recorded in 2014, the year of the last major war in Gaza, when there was a significant spike in the total number of incidents. The rise in recorded incidents of verbal abuse, harassment and vandalism is especially concerning.

Nazi glorification and traditional antisemitism couples with conspiracy theories, derogatory portrayal of Jews, and use of Nazi imagery to describe Israel. Digital platforms constitute a venue of untethered expression of antisemitism, also in discussions around traditional media content, politicians' statements, Christian and Muslim groups' discussions in connection with Israel.

Austria

In 2018 ZARA (Zivilcourage und Anti-Rassismus-Arbeit) counted a total of 232 incidents linked to antisemitism, 106 of them took place online, constituting 46 percent of the cases. Already last year ZARA noticed that online hate and incitement to hatred has increased in number and smearing cases grew in intensity in recent years. Moreover, hate speech has reached areas of society that had so far remained untouched. 20 of these incidents are prosecutable. Others are connected with the use of Nazi rhetoric (including against migrants) or Nazi glorification (including extreme right students' fraternities).

Belgium

The 101 documented cases of antisemitism include mainly conspiracy theories and use of Nazi rhetoric (above all online), Holocaust denial, verbal assaults, and vandalism. The number of incidents doubled compared to the previous year, and particularly increased with regards to antisemitism online and acts of vandalism.

Brazil

Part of the antisemitic incidents involve the use of Nazi rhetoric and symbolism in acts of vandalism perpetrated in public spaces. Moreover, in a number of occasions, inflammatory language used to describe Israel conveyed antisemitic stereotypes.

Canada

Victims of antisemitic assaults were targeted because of visible Jewish religious symbols and symbols associates with the State of Israel. Antisemitic discourse seems to manifest in terms of conspiracy theories and Holocaust denial, as well as in terms of comparison between Nazi Germany and Israel. Academic venues and discussions on boycotting Israel have also been exploited to convey antisemitic messages.

Chile

While traditional antisemitism remains a marginal phenomenon, forms of anti-Israel sentiment are increasing and often turn into antisemitic expressions. The public association or support of Zionism or Zionist ideas may result in social marginalization in universities and in the cultural arena.

Czech Republic

A survey conducted by the Center for Public Opinions Surveys in March 2018 showed that 44 percent of the respondents have expressed neutral or indifferent attitudes to the Jews. 24 percent labeled them as partially sympathetic, and 9 percent as unsympathetic; 6 percent as very sympathetic, and 7 percent very unsympathetic. The low level of antisemitism is also characterized by general condemnation of episodes that gain public exposure and judicial response to antisemitic hate speech. Yet, antisemitism discourse is increasing in the media, especially in the form of conspiracy theories.

France

According to figures from the Ministry of Interior and the SPCJ (Service de Protection de la Communauté Juive) 541 acts against Jews were reported in 2018, an increase of 74 percent compared to 2017 when 311 incidents occurred. Antisemitic acts constitute half of documented hate crimes in France at large. Of the 541 acts, 81 involved physical violence, including the murder of Mireille Knoll, a Holocaust survivor, in her own home. The number of threats increased by 67 percent to 358 from 214 in 2017. The SPCJ claims that antisemitism exists on a daily basis, and not a week passes by without an act of violence. Online antisemitism is a major challenge. Moreover, online antisemitism is the main challenge. Extreme right haters are increasingly using the Russian VK social network, while jihadists publish antisemitic content mainly in Arabic and English. Conspiracy theories catalyze traditional antisemitism, anti-Zionism and combines anti-system and anti-global trends, manifesting itself in parts of the Yellow Vests movement.

Germany

The total number of recorded antisemitic manifestations in Germany for the year 2018 indicates an overall rise of at least 10 percent. 1646 antisemitic crimes were reported, including 62 acts of violence (a rise of almost 70 percent) that left 43 people injured, in comparison to 2017, when 1504 reported antisemitic crimes (including 37 violent incidents) were registered.

Antisemitic expressions and assaults (such as the attack on a kosher restaurant) by neo-Nazi activists continue, and extreme right hate speech, including antisemitism, strengthens in light of social changes. Moreover, stereotypes of classical antisemitism characterize manifestations of anti-Jewish hatred, deriving also from Muslim minorities. A particularly concerning phenomenon is increasing antisemitic incidents in schools against Jewish pupils.

Greece

While no physical assault was documented in Greece, cases of vandalism and online antisemitism increased. Conspiracy theories and Holocaust denial are also common, together with the slanderous accusation that Jews do not pay taxes. Prominent politicians made antisemitic statements, triggering online anti-Jewish discourse, while in at least one case Nazi glorification was advanced by an Imam.

Italy

197 episodes of antisemitism were documented, a 60 percent increase compared to 2017, the great majority of which occurred on digital platforms (including attacks to prominent Jewish public figures). Antisemitic content, which was also used to portray the State of Israel, includes conspiracy theories, Holocaust denial and distortion, and a revival of traditional anti-Jewish stereotypes. The number of online activists spreading antisemitic content is increasing.

Mexico

The great majority of the 126 registered incidents took place on digital platforms, mainly Twitter and discussion forums. As the main cause behind the manifestation of antisemitic content is the development of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The Netherlands

Saw a rise of 19 percent in registered antisemitic incidents in 2018: CIDI (Centrum Informatie en Documentatie Israël) registered 135 incidents plus 95 incidents on the internet. The 230 documented incidents represent a 19 percent increase compared to 2017. Antisemitism constitutes 41 percent of discrimination cases documented by public authorities. The decline of violent attacks is coupled with an increase of incidents as threats and remarks in the workplace and schools. Online antisemitism has sensibly increased. Moreover, Holocaust denial risks an increase in the absence of legislation prohibiting it. While far-right extremism is decreasing, antisemitic expressions in relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict is evident in demonstrations.

Poland

Several antisemitic incidents occurred in relation to Holocaust memory and the Polish law controversy. These incidents included mainly declarations of MPs, which referred to Jews as passive victims or even collaborators during the Holocaust, and as perpetrators of crimes against Poles. Others accused Jews and Israel of monopolizing the Holocaust and exploiting it for muting criticism of Israel.

Turkey

Antisemitism is manifested in social network, public discourse, and increasingly in government's officials' statements. The semantical equivalence of "Jew" and "Zionist," coupled with a virulent anti-Israeli language, advances an antisemitic narrative that portrays Jews as cruel and killers. The President often equates Israel with Nazi Germany, while his adversaries use the term "Jew" as a smear against him.

Scandinavia

Most of the antisemitic attacks were verbal, physical assaults and vandalism, including the arson of a Jewish politician's house in Sweden and an arson attempt of a synagogue by a Palestinian immigrant. Public expressions of antisemitism are generally condemned, and neo-Nazi activists are present but diminishing, although the extreme right is growing. According to Jewish leaders' assessment, the Arab-Israeli conflict affects antisemitic attacks in Scandinavia.

Slovakia

Antisemitism manifests itself as part of extreme right racist hate speech, which is directed against Roma people and Jews. Nazi glorification is also a phenomenon that occurs both in extreme right activists' speech and online, particularly on Facebook, through profiles associated with neo-Nazi activists.

South Africa

Despite the still low rate of antisemitism, 62 incidents were documented, including one physical assault, which represent a 25 percent increase compared to 2017 and 2016. These incidents included manifestation of Judeophobia (portrayal of Jews as Satanic), traditional antisemitism (portrayal of Jews as parasites), and use of Nazi rhetoric also coupled with anti-Israel sentiment in 50 percent of the cases.

Spain

Major incidents involved acts of vandalism against Jewish properties and Holocaust memorials, public expressions of antisemitism, and online antisemitic slurs. Some of the incidents were in connection with Israel, such as graffiti on the Barcelona main synagogue or comments of local politicians in relations to celebration of Jewish culture. Jihadist digital network also spread antisemitic content, including calls to kill the Jews.

Switzerland

The majority of antisemitic episodes occurred in social platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, triggered by developments in the Middle East and domestic issues involving the Jewish community, while other online incidents occurred in media outlets' talkbacks. In at least one case, Jews were physically assaulted, while other cases involve insults and threats.

French Switzerland: 174 antisemitic acts were recorded in 2018, including 2 physical attacks. The vast majority of the acts listed in this report, 64 percent, emanate from social networks. Nazi glorification is primarily used by extreme right activists, and in at least one case the Nazi salute was publicized by a Swiss sportsman. Conspiracy theories constitute the main theme of antisemitic manifestations for diversely political or religious motives. Incidents of Holocaust denial were prosecuted by the authorities. Nazi language is also used to portray Israel in periods of tension in the Middle East.

German Switzerland: The SIG (Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities) recorded 42 antisemitic incidents (excluding online ones) in 2018. These included 1 assault, 11 incidents of verbal abuse and 5 graffiti. The recorded number of attacks online - i.e. social media and newspaper opinion columns - was 535. In addition to these, there was an unknown number of attacks that have not been reported.

United Kingdom

With 1,652 documented incidents, antisemitism has not only increased by 16 percent since 2017, but also reached the highest peak (even compared to 2014). More than half of the incidents included verbal assaults and online antisemitism, which increased gradually, while physical assaults have diminished by 17 percent (a total of 123, including a man stabbed over a sale dispute) as attacks on properties have decreased. Conspiracy theories, Nazi and Holocaust-related rhetoric are often used, not necessarily by individuals affiliated to extreme right movements.

Uruguay

Antisemitic attacks are rare, and antisemitism is mostly expressed on digital platforms. A case of discrimination against Israeli tourists triggered governmental condemnation.

Venezuela

Antisemitism is mainly promoted by the state and its various agencies. Particularly, the anti-Israel policy, the close ties to Iran and its proxies, as well as the adoption of the Palestinian narrative, negatively affect the Jewish community because of the conflation between Israel, Zionism, and Judaism. Certain media outlets (such as TeleSUR) consistently replicate antisemitic content originated in Hezbollah or Iran-linked networks, such as Al Manar Spanish and Hispanic TV.



REGIONS

The Post-Soviet Region / Samuel Barnai

Russia

During 2018 no antisemitic violent incidents took place in Russia. A survey conducted in July by the Levada Center, an independent, non-governmental polling organization, clearly showed an increase in negative feelings towards foreigners (especially Roma, Africans, Caucasians, people from Central Asia, Chinese and Ukrainians) in general, including towards Jews, although in a smaller rate.¹⁸

However, there is an increase in antisemitic rhetoric on the Internet and anti-Israeli comments in the Russian media. In January, Charles Bausman, editor of the Russia Insider website accused the Jews of ritual murders and of being hostile to Russia.¹⁹ A vivacious antisemitic discussion took place in social networks after a fire in a shopping center in Kemerovo on 25 March. Russian-Orthodox marginal figures disseminated videos in which claims were made that the fire was connected to Jewish holidays (the fire took place close to Passover). Former Bishop Evtikhii (Ivan Kurochkin) blamed the Jews of ritual murder of children.²⁰ In July Dmitrii Gryzlov (chairman of the youth committee of the United Russia Party and son of Boris Gryzlov, chairman of the supreme council of United Russia and former Interior Minister) criticized on Facebook journalist Evgenia Zaslavskaja for receiving Israeli citizenship. According to Gryzlov, this is an act of treason that also explains "why the Jews crucified Jesus."²¹ In September, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Liberal-Democratic Party, attacked during a TV show Alexander Khinshtein, MP from United Russia of Jewish origin, and shouted at him "you are a Jew! Go to Israel"²² (even though Zhirinovskiy's father himself immigrated to Israel in the 1940s and died in Israel in 1983).

The intensity and scope of antisemitic statements reached a pick after the downing of the Russian spy-plane IL-20 on September 17 in Syria. Russia's government and especially the Ministry of Defense blamed Israel. In the mass media there were discussions about "a small country which allows itself too much" and that Russia should punish Israel hard. Israel was depicted as ungrateful to Russia and the USSR, which prevented the annihilation of the Jewish people in World War II and supported the establishment of the State of Israel. The anti-Israeli and antisemitic rhetoric in the media was silenced after Vladimir Putin's statement that Israel was only to be blamed for creating the situation in which the plane was shot down by the Syrian anti-aircraft system. In October, probably as a consequence of the Russian plane incident in Syria, the Jewish community of Naberezhnye Chelny (in Tatarstan) received a threatening e-mail message from an unknown organization.²³

Several antisemitic incidents were recorded in the months of June and July during the football World Cup games in Russia, involving foreign citizens. For example, British fans in Volgograd sang Nazi songs and made the Nazi salute.²⁴ No antisemitic incidents initiated by Russians were monitored. However, fans from Arab countries attacked Israeli fans. During a match between Portugal and Morocco, fans

18 <https://www.levada.ru/2018/08/27/monitoring-ksenofobskih-nastroenij/>.

19 <https://russia-insider.com/en/politics/its-time-drop-jew-taboo/ri22186>.

20 <https://www.kasparov.ru/material.php?id=5AC26A4134F36>.

21 <https://www.vesty.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-5303940,00.html>; https://www.znak.com/2018-07-03/syna_eks_spikera_gosdumy_borisa_gryzlova_obvinili_v_derevenskom_antisemitizme_v_socsetyah.

22 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iYtxv0iVdjo>; <https://riafan.ru/1099311-video-potasovki-zhirinovskogo-s-khinshteinom-na-peredache-soloveva-poyavilos-v-seti>.

23 <http://chelny-biz.ru/news/243695/>.

24 <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2018/jun/20/police-england-fans-russia-nazi-salute-world-cup>.

from Morocco attacked an Israeli fan for lifting Israel's flag. Fans from Tunisia attacked an Israeli fan that was walking in the downtown of Moscow with an Israeli flag on his shoulders.²⁵

On the criminal level, several lawsuits were filed for uploading antisemitic posts on the Internet and at least six people were sentenced to different terms of imprisonment for antisemitic and anti-foreigners posts. Others received fines. In August a court in Naberezhnye Chelny ordered the Slavica Company in Tatarstan to stop selling ice-cream under the name "the poor Jew" with an Israeli flag on its cover.²⁶ In contrast to its name, the ice-cream was rich with ingredients, implying that the Jews only pretend that they are poor while actually being extremely rich. It should be mentioned that the same company sold ice-cream under the name "Obamka" with an African child on its cover (as a racist hint to former US President Barack Obama) as well as "Khokhol" ice-cream (derogatory name to Ukrainians). In spite of the court's ruling, the products are still available on the company's website slavica.ru.

In August, antisemitic slogans and symbols were painted on the Jewish cultural center in the village Lubavich (Smolensk District). Law enforcement agencies identified a resident of Murmansk and he was accused of the crime.²⁷ In September Roman Yushkov was convicted in Perm for making antisemitic statements, but he was acquitted of Holocaust denial even though he minimized the number of victims. In November the Supreme Court of Russia rejected the appeal of the prosecutor's office and Yushkov's sentence was reinstated.²⁸ Also in November the authorities blocked a page on the VKontakte popular social network that held a Nazi beauty contest "Miss Hitler", which included Nazi and racist symbols and slogans.²⁹

The central media in Russia continued this year to systematically use antisemitism and the Holocaust in the anti-Ukrainian and anti-Baltic discourse, by depicting the national movements in those countries as antisemitic and pro-Nazi both in the past and in the present. In addition, it was stressed that the Jews were passive victims of the Nazi regime and they owe their rescue exclusively to the Soviet/Russian people.

Ukraine

In spite of the meaningful decrease in numbers, several cases of antisemitic leaflets, graffiti, posters and signs, desecrations or neglect of Jewish cemeteries and mass graves of Holocaust victims (motivated by antisemitism or searching for gold) were recorded this year in Ukraine. Such incidents were recorded in Kyiv, Odesa, Cherkasy, Nemyriv, Orativ, Chernihiv, Lviv, Rivne, Berdychiv, Petrykiv village, Poltava, Ostroh, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Konotop, Kryvyi Rih and Kremenchuk.³⁰ For example, in January a smoke bomb was

25 https://www.newsru.com/russia/23jun2018/tunisiens_israel.html; http://mignews.com/news/240618_204641_23016.html.

26 <https://www.vosizneias.com/303629/2018/08/10/krasnoyarsk-russian-court-forces-ice-cream-maker-to-drop-poor-jew-label/>.

27 <https://cursorinfo.co.il/all-news/yurij-kanner-evreev-v-lyubavichah-net-antisemity-ostalis/>; <https://lechaim.ru/news/najden-podozrevaemyj-v-nanesenii-antisemitskih-graffiti-na-evrejskij-tsentr-v-russkoj-derevne/>; <https://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/Swastika-and-antisemitic-slogans-found-on-original-Chabad-center-in-Russia-565418>; <https://www.jta.org/2018/08/27/global/suspect-identified-anti-semitic-graffiti-attack-jewish-center-russian-village>; https://www.hakolhayehudi.co.il/item/Jewish_identity

28 http://rapsinews.com/judicial_news/20181129/291824816.html; <https://lechaim.ru/news/otritsatel-holokosta-roman-yushkov-osporil-zaklyuchenie-ekspertov/>; <https://cursorinfo.co.il/all-news/otritsatel-holokosta-atakuet-evrei-dolzheny-zaplatit-za-genotsid-russkih/>.

29 <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/social-media-miss-hitler-2018-beauty-pageant-banned-in-russia-qbc2hxthc>; <https://regnum.ru/news/2482579.html>; <https://www.sova-center.ru/racism-xenophobia/news/counteraction/2018/09/d40021/>.

30 For instance, see: <https://www.jta.org/2018/08/03/global/dc-rabbi-says-he-found-trash-and-bone-fragments-at-jewish-mass-graves-in-ukraine>; https://densegodnya.ru/obschestvo/article_post/na-ukraine-grabyat-mogily-unichtozhennykh-vo-vremya-kholokosta-yevreyev-v-poiskakh-tsennostey.

thrown at a bookstore in Lviv where a lecture on the Holocaust was taking place, and in October, a store in Odesa selling Israeli food was set on fire.³¹ In May, the grave of the daughter of Rabbi Nachman was desecrated for the 5th time in the past couple of years.³² In all those incidents no one was injured, minimal damage was caused and in most cases the law enforcement agencies opened investigations.

It should be noted that the increase in antisemitic incidents can be attributed to various reasons: an increase in the willingness to report on such incidents and not hide them; political power struggles in the Ukrainian society that contribute to increase in transparency (and by that, among other things, to revealing the incidents); and the activity of local nationalistic elements. In addition, one should not underestimate the impact of the propaganda campaign of anti-Ukrainian slander and provocations, which is an important part of the war condition in the eastern part of the country since 2014.³³

Antisemitic defamation (including on the social network) became a prominent component in the protests about the economic situation and fierce political debates (presidential elections took place in March-April 2019). In February in the Ternopil District, Mariana Polianska, editor of the Chortkivskiy Visnyk newspaper, published an antisemitic article titled "Yids or Jews?," in which she claimed that Israel is denying the Holodomor (the great famine in Ukraine during the 1930s).³⁴ Chortkiv mayor denied that the newspaper is being supported by the municipality and a criminal case was opened against Polianska. In May, Titiana Soikina, leader of the Right Sector in Odesa, called during a demonstration to remove the "yids" from power.³⁵ The Right Sector apologized and a criminal case was opened against her. In October, during a demonstration in Vinnytsia, shouts against the takeover of power by the Jews were heard and the head of the local branch of Svoboda Party at Fastiv (Kyiv District) uploaded an antisemitic illustration on Facebook.³⁶

The year 2018 continued the policy of preserving the memory and public glorification of the controversial "nation's heroes," those who were involved in the crimes against the Jews during the struggle for the independence of Ukraine. The authorities allow and even initiate events commemorating characters such as Roman Shukhevich, the commander of a Ukrainian battalion that till 1942 was part of the German army and from 1943 the commanded the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and Stepan Bandera, who was one of the prominent leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist movement. The municipality of Zhitomir announced 2018 as the Mykola Stsiborskyi year.³⁷ Stsiborskyi was born 120 years ago in the city and became one of the ideologists of the integral nationalist Ukrainian movement (he was assassinated in August 1941, and he likely did not take part in the Holocaust).

31 https://tsn.ua/ukrayina/u-lvovi-pid-chas-lekciyi-pro-golokost-zhburnuli-dimovu-shashku-1099395.html?_ga=2.54283624.176858338.1555514255-1704335238.1555514254.

32 <http://tass.com/society/1003766>; <https://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/On-the-ground-an-eyewitness-to-antisemitism-in-Ukraine-559603>.

33 For instance, see: https://www.jta.org/2018/05/02/global/congressmens-letter-ukraine-anti-semitism-may-russian-conspiracy-jewish-leader-suggests?_ga=2.98053526.824005541.1555512814-443414635.1555512814.

34 <https://www.unian.ua/society/2387775-na-ternopilschini-mistseva-gazeta-napisala-stattyu-pro-jidiv-scho-zahopili-vladu.html>.

35 <https://replyua.net/news/95375-soykina-izvinilas-za-gromkoe-antisemitskoe-zayavlenie.html>.

36 <https://tsn.ua/politika/u-fastovi-kerivnik-miscevoyi-svobodi-zburiv-socmerezhi-antisemitskoyu-kartinkoyu-1231383.html>.

37 http://zhitomir.today/news/government/na_zhitomirshchini_2018_rik_ogolosheno_rokom_mikoli_stsiborskogo_odnogo_z_fundatoriv_organizatsiyi_ukra-id24734.html.

Similarly, the council of Lviv District announced in December that 2019 will be the Stepan Bandera year, marking his 110th birthday and the 60th anniversary of his death. Israel's ambassador to Ukraine protested in a letter against this decision.³⁸ In addition, a book "Boktjuvarna. Jakten på de försvunna biblioteken" (The Book Thieves. The Nazi Looting of Europe's Libraries and the Race to Return a Literary Inheritance) by a Swedish author Anders Rydell was forbidden for circulation because the book mentions pogroms that were conducted during the civil war by Symon Petliura's supporters.³⁹ In October, software developers from Odesa invented a new computer game titled "The Cost of Liberty."⁴⁰ The game is taking place in a "Polish concentration camp" during World War II and the players need to choose to play as an escaping inmate or as an SS guard. As a result of a public storm in Poland and among Jewish organizations, the game's developers stopped its dissemination and promised to change its rules so there will be no resemblance to the war.

Senior officials in the political arena spoke against antisemitism during year and announced the country's commitment to fight antisemitism. For example, in May, President Petro Poroshenko condemned antisemitism and intolerance after a nationalist march in Lviv. In the same month Minister of Interior Arsen Avakov condemned "antisemitic behavior."⁴¹ Later on the Ukraine's consul in Hamburg, Germany, Vasyl Marushynets, was fired for expressing antisemitic views and posts on his Facebook page supporting Hitler.⁴²

In November, Foreign Minister Pavlo Klimkin said that the law enforcement agencies must respond decisively to any antisemitic incident. He also talked about the warm relations between Israel and Ukraine and expressed the latter's support of Israel.

However, several antisemitic statements by officials were also recorded. In January, deputy director of the tourism department of Chernivtsi District, Sergii Krupko, posted on Facebook a song with anti-Russian and antisemitic lyrics.⁴³ As a result of a public debate the post was removed and Krupko was fired, but the same song was published in April in a local weekly of the city Kaniv, Cherkasy District. In February, Sergii Sukhanov, a member of the Dnepropetrovsk (from May 2016 – Dnipro) city council from the "Opposition Block", published a song calling the residents to unite against the Jews.⁴⁴ Sukhanov was condemned by Mayor Boris Filatov and other members of the council and he was expelled from his party. In May, Volodymir Moskal, mayor of Skole (Lviv District) talked in public against the domination of world Judaism over Ukraine through history and the tendency of the Jews to cause damage to all other religions in the world.⁴⁵ An investigation was initiated against him. In June, Anatolii Matios, Military Advocate General, made antisemitic remarks during an interview about the subversive Jew who exists everywhere and instigate strife between

38 <https://znaj.ua/world/194751-rik-banderi-izrajil-zvinuvatv-ukrajinu-u-strashnomu-zlochini>.

39 <https://ukranews.com/ua/news/603821-ekspertna-rada-derzhteleradio-zaboronyla-v-ukraini-vsievitno-vi-domu-knygu-shvedskogo-istoryka-zi>; <https://www.svd.se/darfor-forbjuder-ukraina-min-bok>.

40 <https://www.rp.pl/Prawo-karne/310299933-Chca-zarobic-na-tragedii-w-Auschwitz---ukrainska-gra-komputerowa-pod-lupa-prokuratury.html>; <https://www.euronews.com/2018/11/07/poland-launches-probe-into-ukrainian-developed-nazi-like-video-game>; <https://www.rp.pl/Prawo-karne/310299933-Chca-zarobic-na-tragedii-w-Auschwitz---ukrainska-gra-komputerowa-pod-lupa-prokuratury.html>.

41 <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-society/2455911-avakov-upevnenij-so-diskriminacii-i-antisemitizmu-v-ukraini-ne-misce.html>.

42 https://zaxid.net/mzs_zvilnilo_konsula_u_gamburzi_cherez_antisemitski_dopisi_v_sotsmerezhi_n1458010; https://ru.tsn.ua/ukrayina/mid-ukrainy-uvolil-konsula-v-germanii-za-antisemitskie-vyskazyvaniya-1164339.html?utm_source=page&umt_medium=readmore.

43 <https://detaly.co.il/chinovnik-iz-chernovtsov-pozdravil-moskalej-i-zhidov/>

44 https://zik.ua/news/2018/02/10/proty_opobloktivsya_yakyy_rozmistyv_antysemitski_zaklyky_rozpochato_1263075.

45 https://humanrights.org.ua/material/mer_skole_prochitav_antysemitsku_lekcijiu_video

brothers.⁴⁶ He brought as an example the Bolshevik Revolution. The demand of Jewish organizations to investigate these statements was rejected. In July, Yuri Biriukov, an advisor to the president and to the Minister of Defense, uploaded a post on Facebook with Nazi symbols, which was erased after it was exposed.⁴⁷ In September, Dmytro Ustiushev from the National Aviation Authority attacked the staff during a flight with antisemitic insults because he was not satisfied with the food he received.⁴⁸ He was fired after the incident.

A rare case of attempt of a blood libel was recorded in September when the website Informator published a false announcement about a group of Jewish religious people who came to Uman for the Jewish New Year and raped a girl. Within two days the website StopFake, which is specializing in exposing anti-Ukrainian lies on the Internet and mass media, checked the announcement with the police of Cherkasy District and it turned out to be false accusations.⁴⁹ In March, April and August the security services of Ukraine announced the exposure of several groups which organized tens of violent provocations, many of which were against Jewish facilities and institutions, as well as Polish and Hungarian ones, in 2016-2017.⁵⁰ Trials of the arrested provocateurs are still taking place.

Like in previous years, the situation in the Middle East in general and in Israel in particular had no meaningful influence on antisemitism in Ukraine.

Other Countries

A few antisemitic incidents were recorded in other countries of the region. They mostly reflected the ongoing controversy over the memory of World War II, and particularly the participation of the local population in the atrocities against Jews during the Nazi occupation.

In Lithuania a struggle over the memory of Jonas Noreika, an officer at the Lithuania army who during World War II fought against the Soviets, supported the Germans and participated in the murder of Jews in the region of Šiauliai, culminated in the opening of a trial in January 2019, on the demand to stop commemorating him. Noreika, who was appointed by the Germans as Chief of Šiauliai District, is considered as a fighter for the independence of Lithuania and streets were called after him, a memorial sign was placed at one of the central streets of Vilnius, a statue in his honor was placed at the village where he was born, Šukioniai and he was decorated posthumously with the Order of the Cross of Vytis in 1997.⁵¹ In March, the Vilnius County administrative court rejected the appeal and ruled that Noreika is to be honored and commemorated as before. The Presidential sub-committee for the investigation of Nazi crimes in Lithuania, in which known historians from the world at large are

46 https://24tv.ua/matiosa_vimagayut_zvilniti_z_posadi_za_antisemitski_vislovlyuvannya_vidoma_sut_n992027.

47 <https://thegrayzone.com/2018/07/09/yuri-biryukov-ukraine-president-adviser-heil-hitler-neo-nazi/amp/>.

48 <https://antisemitism.org.il/134534>; https://zaxid.net/za_antisemitski_vislovlyuvannya_v_derzhaviasluzhbi_zvilnili_odnogo_z_kerivnikiv_n1468325; <https://ru.tsn.ua/ukrayina/iz-gosaviasluzhby-uvolili-chinovnika-kotoryy-pyany-na-bortu-samoleta-gorlanil-antisemitskuyu-bran-1238016.html>.

49 <https://www.stopfake.org/en/fake-hasidim-rape-underage-girl-in-uman/>.

50 For instance, see: <https://ssu.gov.ua/ua/news/1/category/21/view/4540#.OQ8H26i6.dpbs>.

51 <https://www.lzb.lt/en/2018/07/27/regarding-jonas-noreika/>; https://www.jta.org/2018/08/03/global/lithuanian-jews-say-a-national-hero-killed-jews-and-should-have-honorary-plaque-removed?_twitter_impression=true; <https://www.salon.com/2018/07/14/my-grandfather-didnt-fight-the-nazis-as-family-lore-told-it-he-was-a-brutal-collaborator/>.

members, published in April a strongly-worded letter of protest, trying to set the historical record straight. As part of the same tendency, the municipality of Vilnius decided to mark the Lithuanian uprising against the Soviets in June 1941 after the Nazi invasion, even though it involved pogroms against the Jews. In addition, in August it was reported that the Jewish cemetery in Siauliai was damaged during digging for placing a pipe in the area.⁵² In February, Virgilius Sadauskas, Ombudsman for Academic Ethics and Procedure, published on the Internet an announcement calling students to write papers for a prize of 1000 Euro about crimes conducted by Jews. He explained that he wanted to show that the Jews are a people like all peoples.⁵³ The Parliament condemned Sadauskas and he was fired.

In Latvia, a member of the right-wing party "National Alliance" in Parliament, Aleksandrs Kiršhtins, blamed in January the "Zionist agents" of protesting against the closing of Russian speaking schools.⁵⁴

In August, in Estonia, a Holocaust memorial was desecrated in Kalevi-Liiva (Jõelähtme Parish, Harju County). Swastikas, the word "Juden" and a Nazi slogan were sprayed on it.⁵⁵ Law enforcement agencies started an investigation.

In Belarus there was a debate in June around a restaurant at the Kurapaty forest near Minsk, where at the late 1930s-early 1940s the Soviet secret police executed tens or even hundreds of thousands of citizens as part of the cleansing policy of the Stalinist regime.⁵⁶ The debate was tainted with antisemitic overtones. The fact that the initiators of the restaurant were of Jewish origin triggered antisemitic comments on social networks. In addition, the authorities chose to mark the 75th anniversary of the annihilation of the Minsk Ghetto almost ignoring the ethnicity of the victims of the Nazis. On the state website in memory of the Maly Trostinets extermination camp (at the outskirts of Minsk) there is almost no mentioning of the fact that most of its victims were Jews.

In Georgia, during the presidential elections campaign in November, it was reported that former president Mikheil Saakashvili, who supported the opposition candidate Grigol Vashadze, called Moshe Klughaft, Israeli advisor of an independent candidate supported by the ruling party Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia, Salome Zourabishvili, "dirty Jew" and "money-grubbing Jew."⁵⁷

52 <https://www.jta.org/2018/08/03/global/earth-bone-fragments-disappears-desecrated-jewish-cemetery-lithuania#.W2ao-JZunArE>.twitter; <http://musu.skrastas.lt/?data=2018-08-03&rub=1065924812&id=1533227430>.

53 <http://www.diena.lt/naujienos/lietuva/salies-pulsas/zydu-bendruomene-kaltina-akademines-etikos-kontrolieriu-antisemitizmu-850161>; <https://www.jta.org/2018/02/09/global/lithuanian-ethics-official-offers-cash-reward-for-thesis-pinning-war-crimes-on-jews>.

54 <https://twitter.com/akirstei/status/949398860710973440>.

55 <https://news.err.ee/855579/holocaust-victim-memorials-vandalised-at-kalevi-liiva>; <https://www.jta.org/2018/08/24/global/holocaust-memorials-atop-mass-graves-estonia-torched-vandalized-swastika>.

56 <https://novychas.by/hramadstva/na-czyih-intaresah-paustala-restaracyja-lja-kurapa>; <https://belisrael.info/?p=15736>;

57 <https://www.israelhayom.com/2018/11/27/ex-georgian-president-calls-candidates-israeli-strategist-dirty-jew/>; <https://antisemitism.org.il/136523>; <http://agenda.ge/en/news/2018/2444>.

Latin America / Lidia Lerner

Jews in Latin America are generally well integrated in their respective countries and, with the possible exception of "Chavist" Venezuela, do not suffer from official discrimination. Most Latin American countries have adopted legal instruments prohibiting discrimination and hate speech and protecting minorities, and authorities in general attempt to enforce measures protecting these rights.

Although antisemitism persists in some Latin American countries, it has not reached critical dimensions. In contrast to developments in Europe and other parts of the world, and despite the two major Iranian backed terrorist attacks which took place in Argentina in the 1990s, antisemitism in Latin America today has mostly remained in the "virtual world". Most, though not all, antisemitic manifestations and incidents are linked to the conflict in the Middle East.

However, the last decades have seen a progressive rise in antisemitism. Antisemitic manifestations emanate from the conservative, nationalist right and from populist circles on the left, in addition to Muslim militant groups. While "classical" antisemitism has diminished, there has been a significant increase in the "new antisemitism" directed against the State of Israel and Jews in general, which are considered Israeli instruments and are accused of double loyalty.

One should not, however, speak about antisemitism in Latin America as a whole. There is a big difference between the various countries, some of which are or were home to significant Jewish communities, like Argentina, Mexico and Venezuela, and some where the communities are very small or non-existent. There is also a vast difference between the numbers of antisemitic incidents recorded in each country.

A noteworthy phenomenon is the emergence of neo-Nazi groups among indigenous groups in Latin America. Such groups have emerged in Peru, Ecuador, Colombia and there is even an Emerging Vegan Movement, a small group of "non-Aryan" vegans with dozens of members in Chile, Bolivia, Colombia, Peru and the surrounding areas, who take Veganism and Nazism as their banner. They support the Palestinian cause and broad spectrum conspiracy theories such as: 9/11 was perpetrated by the Mossad; the Jewish Holocaust is a lie to justify the state of Israel.

Argentina

Argentina has the largest Jewish community in Latin America, estimated at over 180,000 Jews. Although antisemitism in Argentina is not as big a problem as it has become in other countries, especially in Europe, its past, including the two major Iranian backed terrorist attacks against the Israeli Embassy and the Jewish Community Center left its imprint. Although no final statistics for 2018 are available yet, according to the DAIA, the umbrella organization of Argentina's Jewish community, during 2018 they registered over 200 percent more complaints of antisemitic incidents than in 2017, with over 2000 cases reported. It is estimated that more than 90 percent of the complaints correspond to events that occurred in the virtual space. The massiveness, speed and reach offered by the Web leads to the viralization of the message and serves as a context that encourages the expansion of discriminatory behavior. The growth of antisemitic manifestations on the web contrasts the noted decline of other forms of antisemitism, which traditionally caused prejudicial attitudes towards Jews.

The increase in attacks in the digital world has an inverse relationship with those that take place in the real world environment. However, several concrete incidents caused concern in the Jewish community. From the right wing, there were a number of antisemitic episodes in educational institutions, including Nazi glorification in several schools and deicide accusation in at least one university.⁵⁸ As in previous years, Nazi paraphernalia was found in police actions against extremist groups in different locations. There were several cases of antisemitic remarks by public figures, both from the right and the left wing, some of them utilizing antisemitic stereotypes and conspiracy theories such as the Andinia plan which allegedly seeks to establish a Jewish state in parts of Argentina and Chile. Among them Santiago Cuneo, journalist and candidate for governor of Buenos Aires,⁵⁹ Gustavo Vera, former Buenos Aires legislator and head of foundation which fights against human trafficking⁶⁰, and actress Esmeralda Mitre.⁶¹ There were also threats against Jewish figures and at least two cases of suspected terrorist threats to commit attacks against Jewish targets, including the arrest of two Argentinian citizens with suspected links to the terrorist organization of Hizballah, who were said to admit they were planning to attack Jewish targets.⁶²

Chile / Gustavo Guzman

The situation of antisemitism in Chile during 2018 was paradoxical. On the one hand, overt hostility toward Jews remained a marginal phenomenon, rarely leading to physical violence or anti-Jewish aggressions. On the other hand, delegitimization of Zionism and demonization of Israel kept growing among key segments of Chilean society. In multiple cases, the latter implies that legitimate expressions of criticism vis-à-vis the Israeli government mingle with attacks on the Jews' nationhood, their right to have a state, and their identification with Zionism, reaching thus grey zones between anti-Zionism and antisemitism.

In this scenario, it is crucial to highlight the situation of Chilean universities. Although Jewish students are far from being institutionally discriminated there, their public identification with Israel and Zionism is strongly contested, especially in public universities such as Universidad de Chile and Universidad de Santiago. This objection to Zionist identification is traceable not only among Palestinian-rooted students, though, but also in vast other sectors of the student body. In 2018, the most remarkable example of this was the case of Jorge Testa, a law student whose candidacy for a representative position within the Federation of Students of Chile was (unsuccessfully) banned as a consequence of his Zionist commitment. The candidacy of Testa, member of the Socialist Party of Chile and descendant of one of President Allende's closest collaborators, had been challenged by some of his own 'comrades', who considered his Zionist commitment incompatible with the "Socialist values" of their party.

Another example of this delegitimization of Zionism in universities took place shortly after, when the influential Federation of Students of Chile declined an invitation from the Jewish Interactive Museum. The former's spokespersons claimed the latter is a 'Zionist' institution, making impossible any sort of cooperation between them. Similar arguments were used by Villa Cariño, a musical band highly popular

58 <http://www.radiojai.com/rj/noticom.php?>; <http://www.radiojai.com/rj/noticom.php?>; <https://www.jta.org/2018/05/17/global/buenos-aires-teacher-taught-anti-semitic-stereotypes-said-hitler-good-things>.

59 <http://www.radiojai.com/rj/noticom.php?cod=7323>.

60 <http://www.radiojai.com/rj/noticom.php?cod=7184>.

61 <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/128672-entre-el-negacionismo-el-antisemitismo-y-el-perdon>.

62 <https://www.timesofisrael.com/mossad-said-to-thwart-hezbollah-terror-plot-against-jewish-targets-in-argentina/>; <http://www.aurora-israel.co.il/despliegue-antiterrorista-en-un-club-judio-de-argentina>.

among university students who declined to perform in Estadio Israelita (Viña del Mar) in October. Although these musicians lack Arab origins, their “embracement of the Palestinian Cause,” they said, made it impossible for them to perform in a “Zionist arena.”

The situation peaked in November, when Roger Waters visited Santiago. Then, the British musician’s steady expressions of support to BDS gave great visibility to anti-Israeli discourses, especially among the politically progressive forces. This is something that cannot be overlooked anymore when dealing with the situation of antisemitism in Chile.

Mexico

Based on report by Renée Dayan-Shabot

Although antisemitism has never been an official policy in Mexico, and the country has an anti-discrimination Law that considers antisemitism as a discriminatory action, antisemitic manifestations especially in mass and social media appear frequently.

As in previous years, during 2018 the dynamic of the Israeli-Arab conflict was the principal trigger of antisemitism and anti-Zionism within the written press, social networks and public concentrations.

Incidents

Graffiti (swastikas, flags, flyers, etc.)	3
Verbal aggressions or threats	4
Other	7
Total	14

Incidents on Radio and TV

Radio	2
TV	0
Total	2

Incidents on Internet and Social Networks

Facebook

Negative posts	2
Posts that generated negative comments	5
Profiles and groups	5

Twitter

Cases that generated antisemitic tweets	3
Tweets that generated antisemitic comments	28
Offensive tweets	8

Blogs, web pages

Web pages	1
Articles that generated negative comments	27

Videos

YouTube	1
Video	1
Total	81

Support for the Palestinian cause

Events (conferences, seminars, etc.)	11
Concentrations (demonstrations, rallies, etc.)	17
Other	1
Total	29
TOTAL	126

Written Media

Neutral articles (including, op-eds, cartoons and letters to the editors)	3,115
Negatives articles (including op-eds, cartoons and letters to the editors)	374
Positive articles (including op-eds, cartoons and letters to the editors)	22
TOTAL	3511

Three specific incidents triggered the dissemination of antisemitic and anti-Zionist messages in Mexico, both in the written media as well as in social media and Internet:

'Ahid Tamimi

Palestinian solidarity groups in Mexico joined the world campaign in defense of 'Ahid Tamimi – a Palestinian teenager activist from the West Bank who was sentenced and detained for her provocations against Israeli soldiers. Although the Palestinian solidarity groups failed to organize protests, they provided an opportunity to express anti-Israeli arguments both in the written media and in social networks, some writers comparing it to the Holocaust.⁶³

United States Embassy moves to Jerusalem

The opening of the US embassy in Jerusalem on the occasion of Israel's Independence Day on May 15 was widely covered both in the written media and the social networks and involved several antisemitic comments.⁶⁴

Conditions in Gaza and support for the Palestinian cause

As in previous years, pro-Palestinian groups organized demonstrations and events. They were all marked with low attendance, however, the condition in Gaza served as triggers to antisemitic articles and posts in written media, as well as the social networks.

63 Some examples:

Rosi (@rosira_rosi) Sept. 24, 2018: "Right, Jews are behaving towards the Palestinians as they were treated during Hitler's era Ahed Tamimi: Palestinian people are 'paying the Holocaust price'..."

64 *Juan Samaniego (@pheloponeso) May 14, 2018: "While the f... Americans, ignored the UN resolution to move the Embassies out of Jerusalem, and were celebrating, the f... Zionist Jews murdered Palestinians "that wanted to get out of Gaza", confined in their country, to protest". Transit C. García: "Trump wants to see more blood... that is what is going to happen to the poor Palestinians that live there... As always, Jews are going to take them out with their miserable military power... and who is going to answer for this newGenocide?" Néstor Pedroza: "F... Jews, you are world's cancer."*

Other issues, such as the commemorations in honor of the Holocaust victims on January 27; Natalie Portman's tweet criticizing Israel; Israel's first place at Eurovision and the antisemitic attack in Pittsburg, also triggered negative posts in social networks but in a smaller proportion.

Brazil

Based on reports by Alexandre Gomes and Luis Nazario

Antisemitism in Brazil, though not widespread, emanates both from the right and the left. It is often expressed in the guise of anti-Zionism, especially from left wing and Muslim elements.

2018 was characterized by the victory of the far right candidate Jair Bolsonaro in the presidential elections and the strengthening of the Brazilian extreme right. Despite Bolsonaro's support of the State of Israel, and warm relations with the Israeli Prime Minister, antisemitic incidents associated with radical right activists were registered in several places in Brazil. Some of them were carried out by the right wing Misanthropic Division and Hooligan Impact organizations and others possibly by "Lone Wolves" stimulated by the candidacy of Bolsonaro. There were, for instance, several incidents of pro-Nazi posters such as the one affixed to the Kahal Zur Israel synagogue in the city of Recife in June 22. There were also cases of Holocaust denial.

Although anti-racism is a traditional theme among the various organizations and parties of the Brazilian left, there are cases in which anti-Zionist discourse adopts antisemitic themes. One example was an attack on the synagogue in the southern city of Pelotas which was damaged when vandals set fire to its entrance on May 21 after painting threats to the Jewish community on its walls such as "wait" for an "international Intifada."

There were also antisemitic articles both by right wing and left wing writers such as "Who is a Jew" published by columnist Lelê Telles in the news portal "Brazil 247" and "Anniversary of Moses Marx" by Vittorio Medioli, Mayor of the city of Betim.⁶⁵

Venezuela / The Latin American Observatory

Venezuela constitutes a special case of antisemitism. Its particularities and specific characteristics have been manifested since the government of Hugo Chávez and even more so in that of Nicolás Maduro. The primordial source of Judeophobic hatred and prejudice in Venezuela is the government itself, it is state antisemitism. It should be noted that despite the fact that about 20 years have passed since the rise to power of Chavism, and the permanent anti-Jewish campaign utilizing the tools of the State, such as the media, statements by authorities, theaters, museums and other state properties, the Venezuelan population has in general remained immune to this hatred. However, there is a certain sector, quite small, mainly among the followers of Chavism, which supports and repeats the governmental messages. Additionally, since Nicolás Maduro is considered an illegal and illegitimate president who has led the vast majority of Venezuelans to poverty, and does not enjoy even ten percent of popular favor, the people do not believe in his speeches nor accept his propaganda, which contains clear antisemitic slogans.

⁶⁵ <https://polibiobraga.blogspot.com/2018/03/artigo-lele-teles-brasil247-quem-e-judeu.html>; <https://www.otempo.com.br/opini%C3%A3o/vittorio-medioli/anivers%C3%A1rio-de-moses-marx-1.1608201> ¶

Antisemitism directed against Israel and Zionism

A large percentage of antisemitic events are directed against Israel and Zionism. It is a clear alibi used by the government and pro Chavism spokesmen to attack Judaism in a "politically correct" manner. They simply change the word Jewish for Zionist and thus give themselves the license to slander with any distortion, manipulation and farce, without risking being accused of Judeophobia. Moreover, authorities of the Chavez regime have challenged the Jewish community in an attempt to prove that it is the community that promotes antisemitism, and that their criticism is valid, since they reveal the criminal policies of the State of Israel. In several events that took place in 2018, the line is very blurred, because the same antisemites mix Judaism with Israel and disguise it as Zionism, always with the objective of delegitimizing and demonizing the Jewish State.⁶⁶

One of the most widespread "theories" is to blame the West, mainly the US and the CIA, of promoting rebel movements in several Arab countries, including Libya, Iraq and Syria, with the purpose of dominating or dividing them in order to seize their wealth. In many cases, simultaneously to blaming the US, they also hold Israel and the Mossad responsible. Many take as an example the civil war in Syria and affirm that this is intended to be applied in Venezuela; thus, supposedly, behind the sanctions that the US, Canada and the European Union imposed on Venezuela are the opposition, the US, Colombia and Israel. In many cases, they continue to attribute to the US and Israel the creation of ISIS with the presumed purpose of destroying Middle Eastern countries (Libya, Iraq, Syria). They even claim that Israel finances this terrorist group. In addition, due to the perception of a rapprochement between Israel and Saudi Arabia, there has been strong criticism of the Saudi kingdom and of Prince Mohammad bin Salman bin Abdul Aziz for the murder of journalist Jamal Khashoggi. This criticism has been accompanied by accusations against Israel. Simultaneously, there has been a rapprochement between the Venezuelan government and the government of Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdogan, which resulted in their echoing some of his slander and insults against Israel.

On the other hand, the government of Nicolás Maduro continues with the task of bringing up the Palestinian cause in all international forums. The Palestinian ambassador to Venezuela, Linda Sobeh Ali, participates in government activities as if she were a minister of the Maduro regime and is very active in promoting the Palestinian cause, utilizing the state media, the Teresa Carreño theater, the National Pantheon, etc. These venues are often used as platforms for "anti-Zionist" propaganda. In May 2018, Palestinian Authority president, Mahmoud Abbas visited Venezuela, asking for help from Latin American countries. It should be noted that, taking advantage of Abbas' visit, Maduro called on the "Jewish people to stop the killing of the Palestinians. With your conscience and your mobilization, you can stop this massacre against the Palestinians who are in Gaza."⁶⁷

66 For example: <https://www.aporrea.org/internacionales/a259688.html>; <https://www.conelmazodando.com.ve/estado-genocida-de-israel-asesino-a-mas-de-15-palestinos-e-hirio-a-more-of-1200-people-photos/>.

67 For example see: <http://www.eluniversal.com/politica/8499/venezuela-aportara-millones-petros-para-creacion-fondo-bina-cional-palestina>; <http://mppre.gob.ve/2018/05/06/arriba-al-pais-the-president-of-the-state-of-palestine-mahmoud-abbas/>; <http://mppre.gob.ve/2018/05/16/presidente-nicolas-maduro-expresa-su-solidaridad-con-el-Peter-Palestinian/>.

Several state and pro-government media sources use Hispan TV, the antisemitic Iranian-Spanish-language channel and Al-Manar, the Hizballah channel in Spanish, as sources. In this way, they disseminate without making any changes, the texts published by Iranian and Lebanese media, with all the slanders, distortions and falsehoods adapted to their convenience. AVN, Correo del Orinoco, Ciudad Caracas, Aporrea, Con El MazoDando are among the media that most repeat the materials of Hispan TV, and TeleSur should be specially mentioned for the frequency and its editorial policy.⁶⁸

In 2018, TeleSur reproduced 44 articles by the Chilean Pablo Jofré Leal, apparently an employee of Hispan TV, whose articles are published at the same time in the bulletin of the Palestine Federation of Chile, an organ which demonstrates a radicalization closer to Hamas than to the Palestinian Authority and Fatah.⁶⁹

Another year in a row, we see the permanent public activities of the Iranian Latin American Cultural Exchange Center, CICIL, which is the facade of the Iranian embassy, to promote Islam, and its anti-Western and antisemitic positions.

Last but not least, during 2018 a form of Judeophobia that irresponsibly uses the theme of the Holocaust has been exacerbated. Maduro and the most notorious protagonists of his regime have pointed out on several occasions, that the hatred and resentment against the Chavistas is similar to that which the Jews faced when they were discriminated against and persecuted by the Nazis, before the Second World War and during the Holocaust. In this way, they trivialize that tragic chapter in the history of mankind. In fact, using such an infamous comparison, Maduro coined the phrase: "we are the Jews of the 21st century."

68 For example see: <https://www.telesurtv.net/news/soldados-israelies-asesinan-pescador-palestinoga-20180225-0022.html>.

69 For example see: <https://www.telesurtv.net/bloggers/La-mentira-sionista-no-tiene-limites-20181204-0002.html>.

Scandinavia / Mikael Shainkman

Since there are no official census data dealing with religion or ethnicity in the Scandinavian countries, it's impossible to know exactly how many Jews live in Scandinavia (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden). But a cautious estimation would be that the total Jewish population doesn't exceed 30,000, and roughly two-thirds of the Scandinavian Jews live in Sweden. The Jewish population in Scandinavia is well integrated in the general population, its level of religious observance is low, while the level of intermarriage is high.

The level of antisemitism in Scandinavia is relatively low, compared to many other countries. The ComRes study of antisemitic attitudes published in December 2018 included Sweden, and it showed that even though there is antisemitism in Sweden the levels are among the lowest in Europe with less than ten percent of the respondents being antisemitic. At the same time, more than forty percent of the respondents answered that antisemitism was a growing problem in Sweden, and about half of the respondents claimed that Jews run the risk of being subject to antisemitic hate speech or physical attacks. It should be noted that respondents who identified as Muslim displayed antisemitic tendencies to a significantly higher degree than those who identified as Christian or "other". This can explain the gap between the general low levels of antisemitic attitudes and the concern for antisemitic incidents.

The European Union Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) survey carried out in 2018 included two Scandinavian countries: Denmark and Sweden. The vast majority of Scandinavian Jews live in these two countries—with less than two thousand in Finland and Norway each, and approximately 100 Jews in Iceland. Over 1,000 Swedish Jews and 400-800 Danish Jews participated in the survey. The FRA survey results show that 82 percent of Swedish Jews find antisemitism to be a big or fairly big problem in their country. In Denmark that figure is 56 percent. This is a rise from 60 percent in Sweden in a previous FRA survey in 2012 (in which Denmark wasn't included). 91 percent of Swedish Jews, and 85 percent of Danish Jews, feel that antisemitism has grown as a problem in the last five years.

Both Swedish and Danish Jews worry most about antisemitism in the media, on the internet and antisemitic attacks in public—thus not feeling safe while moving about in public. In terms of antisemitic statements made by non-Jews in the last twelve months, the most common ones reported among Swedish and Danish Jews were 1) that Israel behaves like Nazi Germany toward the Palestinians (DK 63 percent, SE 43 percent, EU average 51 percent); 2) that the world would be a better place without Israel (DK 38 percent, SE 26 percent, EU 33 percent); 3) that Jews exploit the Holocaust for their own gain (DK 32 percent, SE 25 percent, EU 35 percent); and 4) that Jews have too much power in Denmark/Sweden (DK 24 percent, SE 27 percent, EU 43 percent). Most of these statements were made online, in other media outlets, at political events or in social situations. It is notable, that relatively few Scandinavian Jews interpret anti-Israeli sentiments as antisemitism: 63 percent of Danish Jews and 66 percent of Swedish Jews think supporting a boycott of Israel to be antisemitic. That is the lowest figure in the EU. The EU average is 82 percent. 19 percent of Danish Jews find criticism of Israel to be an indication of antisemitism. In Sweden that figure is 28 percent, while the EU average is 38 percent. Only the Netherlands and Poland had lower numbers.

In terms of assault, either verbal or physical, the FRA report showed that 25 percent of Danish Jews and 28 percent of Swedish Jews have witnessed an antisemitic assault within the last twelve months. The EU average is 24 percent. 20 percent of Danish Jews and 19 percent of Swedish Jews have witnessed a family member being attacked that way. The EU average is 20 percent. 28 percent of Danish Jews worry about becoming the victim of a verbal antisemitic assault within the next twelve months and 18 percent worry

about a physical attack. In Sweden, those figures are 39 percent and 27 percent respectively. When asked if they avoid wearing clothing or other items that could identify them as Jews in public, 78 percent of Swedish and 81 percent of Danish Jews said yes. 35 percent of Swedish and 28 percent of Danish Jews said they had considered emigrating to avoid antisemitism. In 2012, only 18 percent of Swedish Jews said the same thing. (Denmark wasn't included in the 2012 survey.)

The Arab-Israeli conflict has a significant negative impact on Scandinavian Jews, according to the FRA survey. 96 percent of Danish and 95 percent of Swedish Jews felt the conflict impacted their safety to some degree. 81 percent of Danish Jews and 77 percent of Swedish Jews felt they were blamed for Israeli policies. When asked about the perpetrators of antisemitic incidents, Danish Jews said 34 percent were Muslims, 27 percent were leftists, and 10 percent were described as rightwing. Swedish Jews said 40 percent were Muslims, 27 percent leftists and 18 percent rightwing.

The FRA survey shows a marked difference in how Danish and Swedish Jews perceive their respective governments' efforts to combat antisemitism. 78 percent of Danish Jews felt their government tried to combat antisemitism, while only 21 percent of Swedish Jews felt the same. The EU average was 54 percent.

The FRA survey also asked about reporting antisemitic incidents. The results showed that the vast majority of incidents go unreported. Only 17 percent of Danish Jews and 18 percent of Swedish Jews reported an antisemitic incident that they had experienced in the last five years.

Most of the antisemitic incidents in Scandinavia that were reported during 2018 were, as has been the case in previous years, either spontaneous harassment in the street of people identified as Jews by assailants who did not know them, or antisemitic graffiti or other forms of vandalism. In the case of spontaneous harassment, either physical or verbal, the assailants tend to have extra-European immigrant roots. The identity of the vandals is very rarely ascertained, since this is a kind of crime that is almost never solved.

Another form of antisemitism is antisemitic statements in public—often posted on social media. There are several examples of these, both from the left and the right and among public figures with roots in the Middle East. A positive development is that there is a growing awareness of such statements, and they tend to become scandals in public discourse. But unfortunately, such statements also tend to be politically instrumentalized by political opponents, who use the statements to undermine political adversaries (or sometimes rivals). At the same time, the very same people studiously turn a blind eye to, or exculpate, similar statements coming from people whose views they share or whose political career they have an interest in supporting. Very few public figures—politicians, journalists or others—have a consistent policy of condemning all forms of antisemitism.

Like in 2017, the most serious antisemitic incident in Scandinavia took place in Sweden. On October 10, an arsonist burned down the home of a Jewish politician in the southern Swedish town of Lund. The politician in question had received several threats of an antisemitic nature in the months leading up to the event. The attack was widely condemned by politicians, journalists and the Central Council of Jewish Communities in Sweden, but so far no one has been arrested for the arson attack.

On December 9, 2017, a group of immigrants from the Middle East tried to burn down the main synagogue in Gothenburg, Sweden. Three of the men involved were arrested and in June 2018 they were convicted for the attempted arson. Two of them were sentenced to prison and the third, a Palestinian immigrant who wasn't a Swedish citizen, to expulsion from Sweden. He appealed, and on September 12 the court of appeals confirmed his prison sentence, but not the expulsion with the reasoning that there was a very real danger that the state of Israel would try to seriously harm, even kill, the man if he was sent back to the West Bank after having tried to burn down a synagogue. Therefore, the very fact that he had carried out a violent antisemitic crime was the reason he must be allowed to stay in Sweden. The decision, and the reasoning behind it, met with harsh criticism from politicians and in the media.

Scandinavia, but most specifically Sweden—and to some extent Norway—has experienced a dramatic influx of immigrants from the Middle East in the last decade, with a peak in 2015. This sets Sweden apart from Denmark and especially Finland and Iceland, where immigration has been much more limited.

Swedish public discourse on immigration, and especially from the Middle East, is currently in flux. It used to be an unassailable truth that there is no limit to how many immigrants Swedish society can absorb and that Sweden has a moral duty to receive as many immigrants as possible of those who make it to Sweden. Until the fall of 2015, anyone expressing a different opinion in public would be shunned and accused of racist or fascist tendencies. This has changed and currently this position is held only by leftists and some liberals, whereas pragmatist social-democrats and most people on the right believe immigration must be curtailed.

To the frustration and bewilderment of many Swedes, in other Scandinavian countries, Sweden's immigration policy has been used as a cautionary example for years.

The high level of extra-European immigration has strengthened the populist extreme right in Scandinavia—not only in Sweden. These parties, the Progress Party in Norway, the Danish People's Party, the Sweden Democrats and the True Finns, are today large parties represented in the national parliaments (usually with 15-20 percent of the seats). Their growing strength has a destabilizing effect, as it breaks up the traditional political discourse. Whereas Scandinavian politics used to be divided between a socialist and a liberal-conservative bloc, arguing over economic policies but all sharing a progressive and liberal social agenda, a new situation emerged with a progressive bloc and a conservative bloc, where economic policies are pushed to the sidelines and issues of mores and values are in focus. This has put a certain strain on the political system in the Scandinavian countries. For instance, it tends to break up the traditional alliance between liberals and conservatives, where liberals draw closer to social-democrats and conservatives move toward the populist rightwing parties. At the same time, the smaller leftwing parties, usually the rebranded former communist parties, are increasingly isolated as they are the only ones insisting on sticking to their old agendas of socialist economic policies and striving for open borders. This realignment of the Scandinavian political map seems to lead to the shrinking of the traditionally dominating social-democratic and conservative parties, and the strengthening of the peripheral parties to their left and the right, leading to a more volatile situation where consensus and long-lasting agreements—the hallmark of Scandinavian politics—are harder to reach.

From a Jewish perspective, this development is worrying on several levels. The leftwing, former communist, parties are extremely hostile to Israel and loath to deal with, or even recognize, antisemitism when it appears

in the guise or under the cover of anti-Zionism. The populist rightwing parties usually support Israel, but are eager to limit freedom of religion for any non-Protestant religious community. They habitually support any bills calling for bans on kosher butchering, circumcision, religious dress in public etc. Their support of Israel is also based on their understanding of Israel as an enemy of the Muslim world and their ally against the rising tide of Islam.

At the same time as the populist extreme right is rising dramatically, the ideological extreme right, i.e. the neo-Nazi movement, is losing strength. It seems that the extreme rightwing sympathizers flock to the bigger, populist parties when they have an increasing chance to affect policies. With that said, neo-Nazi movements are still active online, and organize demonstrations. As in previous years, January 27—International Holocaust Memorial Day—became a day of neo-Nazi activity. On this day, they carry coordinated attacks on media outlets (radio stations and newspapers), and distribute leaflets “warning the public” against the mainstream “Jewish-controlled” media spreading “the myth of the Holocaust.”

Arab Countries / Esther Webman

The manifestations of antisemitism in the Arab world continued to waver between Islamist preachers' calls for the elimination of the State of Israel and the denunciation of the antisemitic phenomenon and of Holocaust denial by liberal journalists and pragmatic politicians. The tension in the Gaza Strip, the Palestinian marches of return and the demonstrations on the fence between Israel and the Strip from March to the end of the year and beyond, were a fertile ground for antisemitic discourse. However, one cannot point to an increase in antisemitic manifestations. These typically were an amalgam of Islamic motifs, which were expressed in the Hamas media and Islamist sermons, and of conspiracy theories, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, accusing Israel of racism, and comparing its deeds to the deeds of Nazi Germany. The Arab media reacted also to subjects which were on the Israeli public agenda, which had no direct relevance to the Arab world. Thus, for example, the controversial legislation of the "Polish Death Camps Law" in February, which threatens to punish whoever relates to the Polish people's involvement in the extermination of Jews, and the new Israeli nationality bill, which defines Israel as the nation state of the Jewish people, preoccupied the Arab media and provided it with additional opportunities to attack Israel. While doing so, they evinced entrenched antisemitic perceptions, but also exposed contending views.

One of the antisemitic expressions that caused a strong condemnation by international and Jewish organization and triggered a debate in the Arab media was Palestinian Authority President, Maḥmud 'Abbas' speech in the gathering of the Palestinian National Council (PNC) in Ramallah on April 30, 2018. Out of his disappointment and frustration at the political impasse in the negotiation with Israel and the reconciliation talks with Hamas, 'Abbas accused Israel for all his failures and revealed widespread antisemitic perceptions about the Jews, blaming them for what befell them. He contended that through Jewish history since the 11th century to the Holocaust, Jews suffered from antisemitism and massacres "not due to their religion, but rather due to their function in society," as usurers and bankers. He contrasted the Jews' situation in Europe and under Muslim rule, in which he contended there was no one anti-Jewish incident any place in 1,400 years. Resorting to one of his old claims, 'Abbas accused the Zionists of collaborating with the Nazis in the 1930s, and signing an agreement one month after Adolf Hitler's rise to power in Germany, which enabled German Jewish immigrants to Palestine to transfer their assets – the main theme of his doctorate dissertation from the early 1980s. Hitler allowed the Transfer Agreement, 'Abbas explained, because he sought the establishment of a Jewish state loyal to him. In response to the angry reactions to the speech, his office issued a statement on May 4, apologizing, especially to the Jewish people, whose faith he fully respects.

The reactions to 'Abbas' speech in the Arab media presented a wide range of opinions. On the one hand, there were those who defended him. 'Abbas "is the last person who can be described as antisemitic," claimed the Paris-based Syrian author, Subhi Hadidi, in *al-Quds al-Arabi* daily on 4 May. From all his colleagues in the Palestinian leadership, Hadidi went on to say, 'Abbas is the most loyal to the Zionist narrative on peace. Hadidi's rage in his article entitled "Mahmud 'Abbas and the Holocaust: He Meant to Correct but he Upset," was mainly directed at American administration officials and especially U.S. ambassador to Israel David Friedman, whom he defined as "more Jewish than American." He emphasized that 'Abbas renounced Holocaust denial and clarified that it was a despicable crime against the Jewish people and against humanity, in an interview to *Haaretz* in 2003. Jordanian writer Samih al-Mahariq as well supported 'Abbas' statements in the same paper and on the same day, claiming that the notion of antisemitism was not invented by him. Antisemitism, he wrote, derived from Jewish monetary misconduct, and is "deeply rooted" in Europe and "hard to refute." Moreover, he and other Arabs do not deny the Holocaust and had no role in this chapter of history. If they played any role at all during the Holocaust it was a positive one, such

in the case of Paris Great Mosque's imam, Si Qaddour Bin Ghabrit, who gave shelter to Jews during the Nazi occupation of France.

On the other hand, there were those who criticized 'Abbas. Extremely critical was liberal Lebanese journalist, Hazim Saghiya, in *al-Hayat* on May 4. 'Abbas is a bad advocate for the right cause of the Palestinian people, he claimed. In his long speech in front of the Palestinian National Council (PNC), he evinced his antisemitic mind, futile imagination and ignorance. He turned Joseph Stalin into a "Jewish historian," and presented the Marxist interpretation to the Jewish problem in a most vulgar way, knowing that the equation between Jews, usury and capitalism carries antisemitic overtones. The long flawed knowledge of history among the Palestinian leadership is worrisome, added Saghiya, who attacked 'Abbas' rule and general Arab ideational stagnation in the wake of the "Arab Spring."

The Hamas-organized weekly violent demonstrations on the border fence of the Gaza Strip led to clashes with IDF forces throughout the year, and were accompanied with numerous inciting statements against Israel and antisemitic expressions. Some of these made use of Qur'anic verses and hadith relating negatively to the Jews. On March 30, for example, Hamas' al-Aqsa TV broadcasted a Friday sermon held in East Jabalya refugee camp, during which a local preacher was recorded as saying: "we are [located] very near our blessed land, which is being trampled by those descendants of the apes and pigs." In another sermon held on the same day in Khan Yunis, a local Imam, Muhammad Salah, was recorded chanting antisemitic slogans such as: "The herds of plundering Jews will leave Palestine" and "Khaybar, Khaybar, oh Jews, the army of Muhammad is here!."

Another statement in the same vein, was made by Gaza cleric Shaykh Musa Abu Julaydan on April 27, during a Friday sermon held at al-Abrar mosque in Rafah, accusing the Jews of being the "philosophers of terrorism and crimes, people of treachery and deceit, who slayed Allah's prophets." Therefore, "it is an honor for us... to fight them and strike fear in them." The Secretary General of the Palestinian Mujahidin movement, Shaykh As 'ad Abu Shari 'a, as well, accused on May 11, the Jews of being "behind all corruption upon the land," describing them as "accursed," "tyrannical" and "infidels," "lying violators of agreements." According to a report by the Meir Amit Intelligence and Information Center from December 20, Hamas's senior official Isma 'il Radwan also referred to the apes and pigs in a speech at a demonstration on November 5. Defining Hamas's goals as the complete lifting of the "siege" on the Gaza Strip, the realization of the "right of return," and the elimination of the "Deal of the Century" (of the United States), he called on the masses to support the continuation of the resistance and threatened those who will not support it, saying that "the land will spew them out..., and they will be burned in the fire (hell fire) along with the apes and pigs."

But the most extensive use of religion to incite for action was made by Hamas leader Yahya Sinwar on November 16, at the memorial of Nur Baraka, a militant who died in a confrontation with Israeli forces just few days earlier. Praising the dead and addressing the situation in Gaza, he resorted to several religious symbols: Jerusalem; Jihad; martyrdom; and the Islamic heroic heritage. According to Ronit Marzen in *Haaretz*, November 19, Sinwar invoked in his speech Qur'anic episodes to demonstrate continuity between them and the present militancy. One of them was the battle of Badr (624), which ended with Muhammad's victory in his confrontation with the Quraysh tribe,

signaling yet another warning to Israel that despite its numerical inferiority Hamas will emerge triumphant. Moreover, it was a warning to dissenting factions to enable Hamas to pursue its struggle against Israel. The other episode was the destruction of the Temple of the Children of Israel as a punishment for their sins, alluding to the forthcoming punishment of the Jews and encouraging his listeners that the day will come and they will liberate al-Aqsa.

Other themes also were invoked in the denunciation of Israel. Egyptian scholar ‘Ali Bayumi, accused in his discussion of the Gaza protests in mainstream Egyptian daily *al-Ahram* on October 28, the so-called “Zionist gang” of implementing the 15th protocol of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which referred to the alleged need to “relentlessly slaughter those bearing arms in their hands to resist,” the Jewish kingdom. Bayumi claimed that the protesters don’t carry any weapons, and they only demand their right to return to their homes, while the Zionist soldiers carry murderous crimes against them. On November 14, Palestinian writer Walid al-Hawadli condemned Israeli aggression on Gaza in the Hamas-affiliated Felesteen online, accusing Israel of becoming like Nazi Germany. He described the Jews, who had been abused by the Nazis and annihilated in gas chambers, as becoming like the Nazis, “committing the same crimes perpetrated against them against the Palestinian people,” and directing their anger and hatred towards people who have nothing to do with what they have went through.

The same message was conveyed in a caricature by the Gaza-based caricaturist Umayya Juha, published in *al-Quds al-‘Arabi* on June 6. It depicted Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu pointing a rifle with blood-dripping hands at the lifeless body of paramedic Razan al-Najjar. Najjar was killed during protests held at the fence near Khan Yunis on June 1. Netanyahu stood behind the Israeli flag, adorned with a Swastika instead of the Star of David, under the title: “The Occupation Targets Medical Teams (Martyr Razan al-Najjar).”

Two issues which preoccupied the Israeli public agenda during the year and had no direct relevance to the Arab world but triggered discussion also in the Arab media were: the “Polish Death Camps Law”; and the new Israeli nationality bill. Both cases provided additional opportunities to attack Israel and exposed entrenched antisemitic themes. The reactions to the Polish Law mainly supported Poland’s decision to criminalize false statements ascribing to the Polish nation collective responsibility for Holocaust related crimes, while accusing Israel of exaggerating and exploiting the Holocaust for its own purposes. On February 7, Egyptian scholar Wahid ‘Abd al-Majid accused Israel in *al-Ahram*, of not only exaggerating and “exploiting what had truly happened in the Holocaust,” but also of “denying Poland’s right to renounce its responsibility over the Nazi’s crimes.” Jordanian writer, Rashad Abu Dawud, claimed in the UAE-based daily *al-Bayan* on February 9, that “although nobody denies what Hitler had done to the Jews, the Zionist movement overinflated the [dimensions] of the Holocaust in order to build a Trojan Horse with which it invaded Palestine.” Dawud also praised Poland for “breaking the Zionist Taboo” on the Holocaust and encouraged them to continue.

Jihad al-Khazin accused Israel in *al-Hayat* on February 3, of attempting “to cast eternal responsibility on Poland for crimes not committed by the current Polish people,” adding that the overall number of Holocaust victims is “much lower than the six million that Israel propagandizes.” Moreover, al-Khazin mocked “the neo-Nazi government of Israel” for daring to accuse the Poles for actions that “Israel performs against the Palestinians in their own lands on a daily basis.” Similarly, ‘Abdullah al-Suwayji contended in UAE-based daily *al-Khalij* on February 5, that Israel overblows and exaggerates the number of victims of the Holocaust “to extort the countries of the world.” Al-Suwayji also criticized the Palestinians and the Arabs, who in

contrast to Israel which commemorates the Holocaust every year, fail to properly memorialize their victims of Israeli massacres.

The legislation of the Israeli Nationality Bill on July 19, defining Israel as the nation state of the Jewish people triggered numerous responses in the Arab media, invoking comparisons to the Nazi era and South Africa's apartheid regime on the one hand, and to ISIS on the other hand. "Benjamin Netanyahu and his predecessors are no different than Hitler, Himmler and Eichmann," claimed Husni 'Ayish on July 23 in the Jordanian daily *al-Ghad*. "Zionazi Israel" and Nazi Germany are similar. Whereas Nazism sought to implement a "final solution" to the Jewish problem, Israel seeks a "final solution" to the Palestinian problem. "Nazism has ended within few years ...but the cruel Zionazis continue to exist since the Balfour Declaration of 1917 to this day," 'Ayish concluded. The law, commented Rahil Muhammad Ghurayba on July 24 in Jordanian daily *al-Dustur*, defines Israel as a nation state of the Jewish people and uses the Holocaust to justify it. "This country [Israel] is based on clear racist foundations and a whole legal system." It imposes its Holocaust ideology on the whole world, and those who dare to criticize or deny it are subjected to legal prosecution and even punished by law in many countries, whereas the Palestinians "are paying the price of the Holocaust for the past century without even being connected to it."

Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who is known for his hostility toward Israel and for his antisemitic utterances, also referred to the law on July 24, in an address to members of his Justice and Development Party (AKP). The law "legitimizes all unlawful actions and oppression," he maintained. Calling upon the international community to mobilize against Israel, he contended that "there is no difference between Hitler's Aryan race obsession and Israel's mentality," and the law shows that Israel is "the most Zionist, fascist and racist country in the world," where the spirit of Adolf Hitler has re-emerged. Similarly, Fayiz Rashid accused the Israeli political system on July 18 in *al-Khalij* of "surpassing Nazism and Facism," whereas Talal Salih Bunan compared it in Saudi daily ' *Ukazon* July 24, to the Apartheid regime, which "limited democracy solely to the white minority in the country." While countries are advancing towards democracy, added 'Ali Qabaja on July 29 in *al-Khalij*, "Israel is advancing towards ideological racism in its worst form by targeting the Palestinians of [19]48, by abolishing their identity and culture, and [by] imposing Hebrew as their official language."

Another frequent comparison was made between Israel and ISIS to emphasize the alleged similar fanaticism and extremism. In an article entitled "Israel's ISISism and Racism" in the London based Pan-Arab media outlet, *al-'Arabi al-Jadid*, on July 26, Jordanian scholar Mundhir al-Hawarat asserted that since its inception Israel has adopted the religious perception of God's Chosen people to base its claims on Palestine. The law insists on the Jewish identity of the state, its language and symbols, and on the right of return, and extends the responsibility of the state to all the Jews of the world. "Isn't this ISIS logic," which used religion to recruit Muslim youngsters, he wondered. Palestinian writer Majid al-Shaykh also considered Israel as the epitome of the ISIS state, in an article in *al-Hayat* on August 7, likening the "ISIS-style" discriminating legislation of our time to the brutal racism of Nazism, Fascism and Zionism. Israel, he claimed, "established its entity on Palestinian land, armed with specific selective religious myths, and perpetrated crimes against humanity, annihilation and ethnic cleansing," for years. The Israeli colonial state and the ISIS Caliphate state, he concluded, share a religiously-based racial discriminatory worldview which enables their tyrants to control all walks of life.

References to the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the blood libel, Holocaust denial and relativization as well as denigrating the Jews in religious terms and calling for their annihilation continued to appear randomly in the Arab media and in sermons without any particular trigger. However, there were during the year several writers and even officials who condemned antisemitism and Holocaust denial. On the occasion of International Holocaust Memorial Day on January 27, the secretary general of the Muslim World League in Saudi Arabia, Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim Al-'Isa, condemned Holocaust denial as a "crime that distorts history and an insult to the dignity of those innocent souls who have perished," in a letter to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. He described the Holocaust as a "human tragedy perpetrated by evil Nazism" which won't be forgotten by history. 'Isa stressed that true Islam is against such crimes. Several writers supported him, among them 'Abd al-'Aziz Bin Ahmad Sirhan, who praised 'Isa in the Saudi paper 'Ukaz on February 1, claiming it was a "long-awaited and much delayed statement," which demonstrates the true human nature of Islam that does not differentiate between human beings. Sirhan thanked 'Isa for "undermining what has been stuck in our minds" for so long, referring to Arab traditional views about the Holocaust. 'Aqil al-'Aqil described 'Isa's move in *al-Hayat* on January 30, as "courageous," adding, however, that the occupation of Palestine deepened the denial of these heinous massacres in the Arab and Islamic world, and accused the Zionists of committing massacres against the Palestinians, which are "no less than the massacres suffered by the Jews and others under Nazi Germany."

But not all found 'Isa's statement timely and worthy. Felesteen published an Op-Ed on January 28, denying the Holocaust and accusing him of "leading an unprecedented normalization campaign with the Israeli occupier." The article stated that "all scientific and objective studies proved unequivocally that the Holocaust, in the magnitude claimed by the Jews is virtually non-existent." It explained that the death of "tens or hundreds of thousands of Jews was not an exception," when "tens of millions of other people, most of them Muslims, have died in wars, diseases, famines and more." The article called "not to be deceived by an institution putting itself under an Islamic framework that condemns the Holocaust," accusing the Muslim World League of "shedding tears on a myth that has no place except in museums, books and Israeli novels."

Following the opening of the American embassy in Jerusalem, Saudi writer Dahham al-'Inazi suggested to Saudi Arabia in *al-Khalij* on July 7, to establish diplomatic relations with Israel and to open an embassy in west Jerusalem. As Muslims, he asserted, "we do not have any problem with the Jews nor with Judaism as a religion," adding that as Saudis as well, "we do not have any problem with the Jewish people," recalling the days that he was stationed in Washington and used to meet many Israeli Jews who referred to him as cousin. "They are indeed our cousins and are the closest [people] to the Arabs compared with the Turks and Persians," he concluded.

Former Kuwaiti Information Minister, Sami 'Abd al-Latif al-Nasf, also spoke against extremism on July 1, in the al-Mulla Internet TV station, defining it as the cause of the continuation of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Calling for peace, he criticized Palestinian leaders, especially the Mufti of Jerusalem during World War II, Hajj Amin al-Husayni. "To this day, the Palestinian cause is paying the price of his pictures with Hitler," claimed al-Nasf, who also acknowledged the Jewish connection to Palestine, according to the Qur'an.

Another positive development was the appointment of Jewish businessman Roni al-Trabelsi as Tunisia's Minister of Tourism on November 6. The appointment took place against the background of an internal debate on the question of his loyalty due to his religious affiliation. Tunisian journalist Hassan al-'Ayadi

posted in the independent daily *al-Maghrib* on November 12, an article in support of Trabelsi, condemning the manifestations of racism in Tunisian society, regretting the fact that “we still distinguish between citizens according to their religion.” Roni is a Tunisian citizen, concluded al-‘Ayadi, like his father and grandfather, and his religion “is his own personal matter and should not determine his identity, rights and duties in his own homeland.”

Another positive trend which could be detected was the changing perception of the past Jewish presence in Arab countries. This was clearly expressed in an article by Haydar Muftin Jarallah posted in the liberal Pan-Arab daily *Ilaf* on August 5. “Iraq must apologize to its Jewish community, restore its good name, compensate it materially and spiritually, and make its leaders into bridges for peace and normalization,” he wrote. Regretting acts of discrimination, massacres and forced eviction of Jews from Iraq, Jarallah called upon the Iraqi government to act to change the entrenched stereotypical image of Iraqi Jewry, which “casts the Jews as the reason for the disasters and problems affecting Iraq.”

Yet, despite the changes in the perception of Israel in the Arab world due to new strategic interests and developments in the regional and international arenas, the negative hostile perceptions of the Jews are still pervasive and deep-rooted. However, while still in the margins of the discourse, the voices criticizing these views and advocating a more positive attitude toward Israel and the Jews are increasing.



COUNTRIES

Australia / Julie Nathan

The 12 month period ending September 30, 2018, saw a 59 percent increase in the total number of antisemitic incidents in Australia over the previous year, including threats and acts of violence.

The Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), State and ACT Jewish community roof bodies, and other Jewish community groups logged a total of 366 antisemitic incidents during the period, including physical assaults, abuse and harassment, vandalism, graffiti, hate and threats communicated directly by email, letters, telephone calls, posters, stickers and leaflets. This compares to a total of 230 such incidents logged by the same sources over the preceding 12 month (October 2016-September 2017), an overall increase of 136 incidents.

In the period between October 2017 to September 2018, there were 156 attacks (assault, abuse, vandalism, and graffiti), accounting for 43 percent of the total number of incidents. There were 210 threats (email, letters, telephone, leaflets, posters and stickers), accounting for 57 percent of the total number of incidents. There is also much anecdotal evidence of incidents which went unreported.

Overall, between 2017 and 2018 the number of ‘attacks’ increased slightly (from 145 to 156), while the number of ‘threats’ increased by 147 percent (from 85 to 210). There was a marked increase in antisemitic abuse, vandalism, and threats via email, telephone, posters and stickers; a decrease in graffiti and threats by postal mail; while the number of physical assaults remained the same.

Jews continue to be verbally abused and harassed around synagogues on a regular basis, especially over the Jewish Sabbath - Friday evening and Saturday, and on Jewish festivals. These are times when many Jews are congregating at, and walking to or from, synagogue. Synagogues and the Sabbath are the easiest and most convenient places and times for antisemites to drive around in their vehicles on the lookout for Jews to target for abuse, harassment and intimidation.

There has been a noticeable emboldening of the far right in Australia, as has been occurring in much of the Western world. Many far right individuals who were formerly active against Islam and Muslims during 2015-2017 have now switched their focus away from Muslims and towards Jews. They have adopted the conspiracy theory that “the Jews” are plotting and orchestrating the genocide of the European races, which they refer to as “White Genocide.” Through the “importation” of non-Europeans, especially Africans, Arabs and Asians, into Europe, North America and Australasia, Jews allegedly seek to destroy European culture and to subjugate and decimate those of European ethnicity. These political activists have not just embraced antisemitism but many have also adopted Nazism and veneration for Hitler.

One group, Antipodean Resistance, which has an overtly neo-Nazi ideology, was responsible for 133 (36 percent) of the year’s total of 366 incidents, mostly consisting of placing posters, stickers, graffiti and murals in public places, and one incident of vandalism. The total number of incidents attributable to Antipodean Resistance rose from 50 in the previous year, a rise of 166 percent. It thus accounted for 83 of the additional 136 incidents compared to the previous year. However, the activities of Antipodean Resistance do not account for the significant increase in recorded incidents of verbal abuse/harassment and vandalism.

The continued proliferation, from October 2016 through October 2018, of Antipodean Resistance posters calling to “Legalize the execution of Jews,” posters warning of “Jewish Poison,” posters blaming Jews for non-white immigration, posters of the *Ungeziefer* (“Vermin”) image used by the Nazis to portray Jews, and many forms of stickers, has created a situation where a tiny and peripheral group of maladjusted youths has had a disproportionate impact. Antisemitic posters and stickers have often been put up at universities, high schools, and areas where many Jews live.

There was a concerted effort by more than a dozen members of the far right Lads Society in New South Wales (NSW) to infiltrate a mainstream parliamentary party, the National Party. The aim was to manoeuvre and manipulate the National’s policies in line with the extreme racist right, beginning with immigration, by promoting an end to Australia’s non-racially discriminatory policy and a return to the racially-based White Australia policy. The Lads Society is closely connected to Antipodean Resistance, sharing many members and a worldview.

Many of the principal themes in contemporary expressions of antisemitism, especially online, involve a cross-fertilization of concepts between the political Left and Right. For example, left-wing rhetoric exaggerating the power of a so-called “Jewish lobby” has helped to revive and stoke far-Right myths about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions. Conversely, symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism, which attribute negative qualities such as cruelty and blood-lust to Jews as a group, have frequently been deployed by left-wing and Islamist groups and individuals to characterize Israel or Israelis, or Jews outside Israel who simply support Israel’s right to exist.

There has been a surge in online calls for the killing of Jews, for the extermination of Jews worldwide, and images of Jews being killed – through stabbing, shooting and hanging. Most of this incitement occurs on Gab, a Twitter-like platform, which is a haven for extremists and racists. Many racists moved over to Gab when Twitter closed their accounts in December 2017. In October 2018, Gab suspended its whole platform, but only for a week, after the murder of 11 Jews in a synagogue in Pittsburgh, U.S.A., by a man who had incited against Jews on Gab, and who subscribed to and promoted the “White Genocide” myth. However, other more popular social media platforms also continue to host pages which denigrate and demonize Jews, and incite against them.

Within the mainstream of Australian society there are elements that either express or downplay antisemitism. Within the media, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) continues to stand out from other media outlets, as it permits antisemitic comments to remain online and unmoderated. It allows those who make antisemitic comments on Facebook to continue to comment without facing bans, and people who made antisemitic comments several years ago are still freely commenting on the ABC, using the same names. It is this toleration for antisemitism, and in fact an enabling of antisemitism that threatens not only Australian Jews but the whole of society, as it warps societal bounds of decency.

Holocaust minimization continues mainly in the form of false comparisons between Nazi Germany and Australian government policy. This is often done in order to sensationalize political issues at home, but it is at the expense of the memory of the suffering and deaths of millions of people of all nationalities and ethnicities under Nazi control and grossly underplays the horrors perpetrated by Nazi Germany.

The sale of Nazi memorabilia, although not illegal, continues in auctions and online. One egregious item was the production and sale of replica labels and canisters of Zyklon B, the blue crystal that turned into a gas upon exposure to the air. It was used in the gas chambers in Nazi death camps as one of the principal means by which the Nazi genocide against the Jewish people was carried out.

Within religious communities, notably Christian and Muslim, there has continued to be those individuals and groups who have over the years consistently either expressed antisemitic sentiment or have tolerated it on their social media pages. Some, like the Islamist group, Hizb ut-Tahrir, openly expresses hatred for Jews. Inter-faith dialogue remains an important means to promote mutual understanding and beneficial relationships.

The anti-Israel movement, although with much less wind in its sails nowadays, continues to attract rabid antisemites, especially online. Often these people are not only tolerated but are embraced. Conspiracy theories about Jews abound as do calls for the destruction of Israel. It appears that many are more concerned with hating Israel as a Jewish state than with supporting Palestinian Arabs.

In summary, although Australia remains a stable, vibrant and tolerant democracy, where Jews face no official discrimination, and are free to observe their faith and traditions, antisemitism persists. There are segments of Australian society which are not only hostile towards Jews, but actively and publicly express that hatred with words and threats or actual violent acts. As a result, and by necessity, physical security remains a prime concern for the Jewish community.

As the political far right increasingly becomes emboldened and more active, and as far right groups publicly denigrate, demonize and incite violence against Jews, it is incumbent upon political and other leaders to demonstrate that antisemitism, and all forms of racism, is not acceptable in Australia, and to ensure that policies, laws and other measures are adopted and implemented in order to effectively counter antisemitism.

Collection of Data

Data collected is restricted exclusively to incidents which were reported to, and authenticated and logged by, any one or more of the following:

- Jewish community roof bodies in each State;
- their respective Community Security Groups (if any);
- the ECAJ.

Criteria for inclusion

Incidents are included as antisemitic attacks or threats using the definition of racist violence and the categories developed by the 1991 national inquiry into racially motivated violence conducted by the then Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC).

Under-Reporting

It is known anecdotally that many incidents of antisemitism in Australia occur but are not formally reported either to appropriate Jewish authorities or to the police. Thus, the statistics in this Report represent only a proportion of incidents actually occurring in Australia.

Trends

As has been the pattern in previous years, intimidation and harassment of Jews occur regularly around synagogues on the Jewish Sabbath on Friday evenings and on Saturday mornings when Jews are walking to and from synagogue, and attending religious services.

Incidents of antisemitism

Antisemitic incidents are manifested through many different kinds of acts. As in the ECAJ's previous annual Antisemitism Reports, incidents have been categorized as set out in Table 1 below. Incidents are divided into eight categories.

Four categories relate to physical attacks against persons or property, and four categories relate to threats of physical harm to persons or property.

Table 1: Antisemitic Incidents Tally

Comparative 2013-2018, and % change from 2017 to 2018

	Incident Type	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	% change
Attacks	physical assault	5	15	8	12	3	3	0
	abuse, harassment	115	75	119	84	76	88	+ 16
	vandalism	6	10	7	22	11	19	+ 73
	graffiti	29	43	21	31	55	46	- 16
Threats	email/online	39	109	10	30	11	51	+ 364
	postal mail	18	12	12	2	5	1	- 80
	telephone	11	39	11	17	10	21	+ 110
	posters, stickers, etc	8	9	2	12	59	137	+ 132
TOTAL		231	312	190	210	230	366	+ 59

Table 2: Antisemitic Incidents Tally

State by state: October 1, 2017- September 30, 2018

Incident	ACT	Tas.	Qld	SA	WA	NSW	Vic	Tally
physical assault	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3
abuse, harassment	1	-	-	-	5	59	23	88
vandalism	4	-	1	-	-	12	2	19
graffiti	-	-	1	1	-	27	17	46
email/online threat	-	-	4	-	-	34	13	51
postal mail threat	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
telephone, text, fax threat	7	-	-	-	-	4	10	21
leaflets, posters, stickers, other threats	1	4	43	21	2	29	37	137
TOTAL	13	4	49	22	7	166	105	366

Chart 1: Antisemitic Incidents 2018 – by category

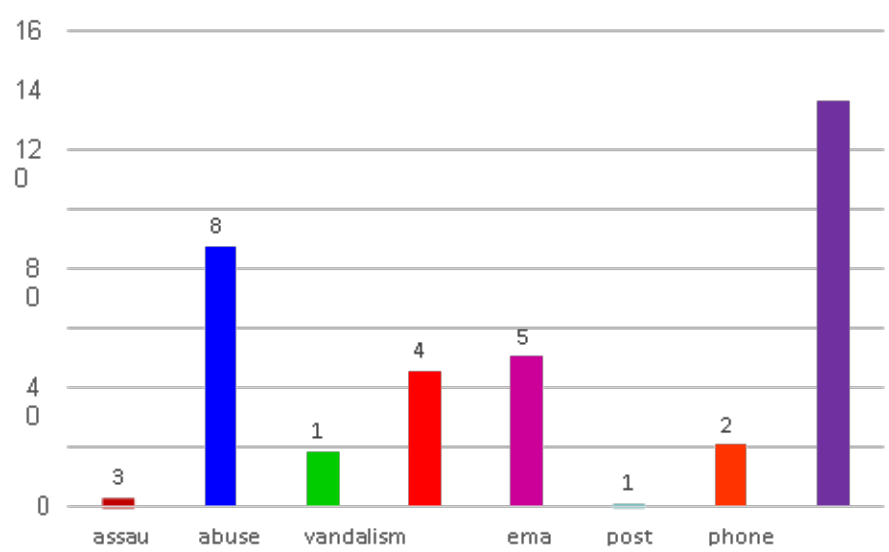
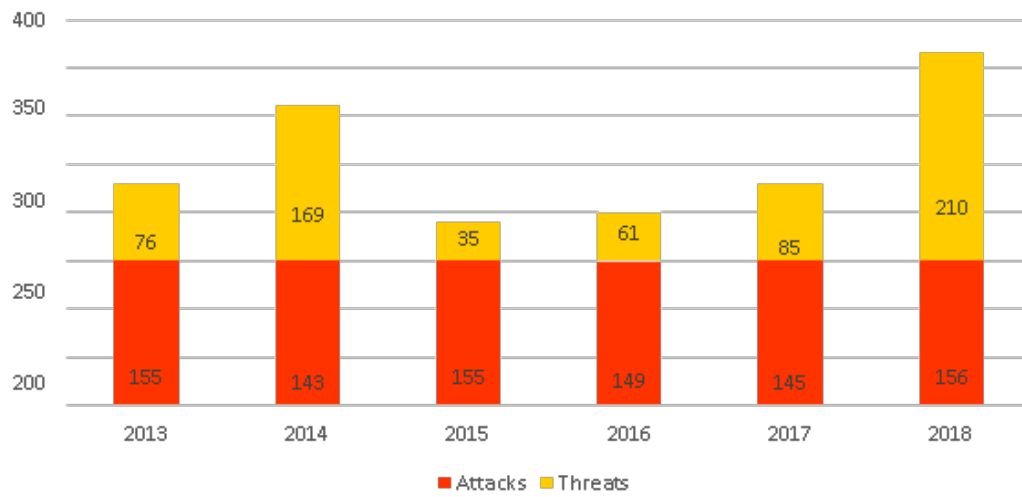


Chart 2: Antisemitic Incidents 2013-2018 – comparing years by attacks and threats



Austria/ Florian Zeller

1. Antisemitism in Austria After one year of Right-Wing Government

Since the last report on 2017, the coalition of the conservative Austrian People's Party (Österreichische Volkspartei, ÖVP) and the far-right Freedom Party of Austria (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ) has assumed governmental responsibility for more than a year.

Under this leadership, there is a rapid shift towards the far-right in Austrian party politics. This transformation is accompanied by a process of normalization of opinions, previously regarded as politically unimaginable, in the so-called political Center. Extreme-right content was not only promoted by the far-right FPÖ but was to some extent integrated into the Austrian People's Party agenda and shifts the Party towards right-wing populism. This discursive shift is described by the political scientist and linguist Ruth Wodak as a process of "Shameless Normalization." With respect to this symbiosis between the FPÖ and ÖVP, the situation of antisemitism in 2018 in Austria is analysed. However, this does not mean that antisemitic articulations within other political parties and in society should be ignored.

2. Antisemitism in Austria - Reports, Figures and Trends

Data collection on antisemitism in Austria is scarce. Annual reporting mainly consists of "service-based data," i.e. the documentation and statistics provided either by victim protection organisations, NGOs or the police. A small number of NGOs and political organisations collect data on incidents and also monitor antisemitism in the media. Police reports and statistics are compiled for the annual report of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution ("Verfassungsschutzbericht"). In addition, there are some federal country institutions, which also collect data. For example, the "Antidiscrimination Office Styria" enables reporting of discrimination cases on their website and funds the phone application "Banhate" for easily accessible reporting.

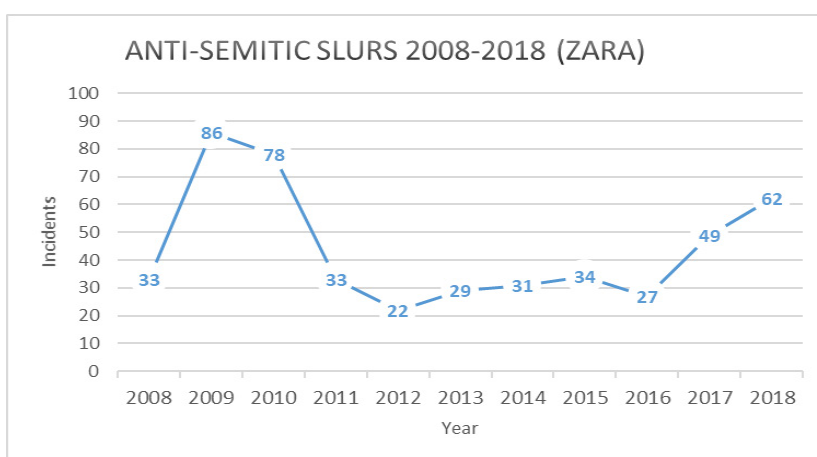
Currently, there are three major institutions that systematically collect and publish data on antisemitic and/or racist incidents: the NGOs Forum against Antisemitism (FGA), and Civil Courage and Anti-Racism Work (ZARA), which monitors antisemitism as a sub-category of racist or (extreme) right-wing incidents. The third institution is the foundation Documentation Center of Austrian Resistance (DÖW), which monitors current activities of the extreme right as well as antisemitism in all its manifestations - Islamic and left-wing.

The data acquired by those organizations is mainly based on the documentation of antisemitic incidents and, as a consequence, determined by the access of victims to the respective institutions (NGOs, police, etc.) and by the social incentives or restraints to report—a fact, which constitutes a general bias-problem regarding service-based data collection. The actual extent or prevalence of antisemitism, as well as the underlying social-psychological reasons for antisemitic resentments, could only be analysed via integrated qualitative-quantitative studies, which are still lacking in Austria. Service-based data, however, definitely allows an estimation of trends.

The 2018 annual reports of DÖW, FGA, and ZARA, as well as the data of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, have not been published at the time of writing this overview.

Therefore, this report is based on unpublished statistics from ZARA, and last year's reports as well as on last year's surveys on antisemitism in Austria.

In 2018 ZARA counted a total of 232 incidents linked to antisemitism, 106 of them took place online, that is 46 percent percent of the cases. Already last year ZARA noticed that online hate and incitement to hatred has increased in number and intensity in recent years. They also indicated that hate speech has reached layers of society that were previously untouched. In the last 10 years, ZARA collected data on antisemitic slurs. This allows us a long-term observation, and it shows that there was a drastic increase in the past two years, with 62 such incidents in 2018.



Out of all antisemitic cases, 100 were registered as prosecutable under the Prohibition Act (“Verbotsgesetz”). The Prohibition Act of 1947 contains various provisions to combat the resurgence of National Socialist activities by law. 20 other cases are subject to provision sec 283 Criminal Code Incitement to hatred (“Verhetzung”). While reports to the police concerning the Prohibition Act remained on the same level over the past years, the number of incitement to hate incidents have increased greatly and the convictions nearly doubled between 2016 and 2017 from 52 to 107 sentences.⁷⁰ This rising number could be an indicator of the increase in hate speech cases. The unchanging number of cases with respect to the Prohibition Act could be the result of the overload in the reporting office in the Federal Ministry of the Interior.⁷¹

In addition to the service-based data in the year 2018 there were two surveys revealing alarming results concerning antisemitism in Europe and Austria. The CNN Poll and the FRA Survey both focused on Europe and exposed interesting data on Austria.

2.1 CNN Survey

The CNN Poll, carried out by ComRes, surveyed online 1,007 adults in Austria on September 7–20, 2018. The data was representative of Austria based on age, gender and region. It revealed that antisemitic stereotypes are very alive in Europe, while the memory of the Holocaust is starting to fade.

⁷⁰ <https://derstandard.at/2000073689438/Schuldsprueche-wegen-Verhetzung-seit-2015-mehr-als-verdoppelt>.

⁷¹ <https://derstandard.at/2000098211176/NS-Meldestelle-ueberlastet-Anfrage-nach-Aussage-im-U-Ausschuss>.

In Austria, one third of the people asked think Jews have too much influence in the financial sector and one fifth believes they have too much leverage in the media and in politics. Being asked, “How favourable or unfavourable are you towards Jews?” four percent answered they were “very unfavourable” and six percent were “somewhat unfavourable.” In other words 10 percent openly approve of antisemitism.

On the other side, 35 percent agreed that Jews were affected by “racist violence” in Austria and 52 percent think the government should do more to combat antisemitism. Being asked about the reasons for antisemitism however, 25 percent admit they think antisemitism is a response to the actions of the State of Israel and 15 percent think it is a response to the everyday behaviour of the Jewish people.

Very concerning is the polls result of how little is known about the Shoah. One out of twenty persons in Austria answered that they never heard of the Holocaust and 40 percent of the adults said they only know little about it. The younger generations know even less. 12 percent of the respondents between the ages 18 and 34 said that they never heard about the Holocaust and 36 percent answered they only know little.

Moreover, eleven percent strongly agree with the statement that the “Jewish people use the Holocaust to advance their position or to achieve certain goals,” and 26 percent tend to agree with the statement. When the question was linked with Israel, eleven percent strongly agreed that “Israel uses the Holocaust to justify its actions,” and 31 percent tend to agree. In addition, a total of 8 percent disagree that Israel has the right to exist as a Jewish state and only 57 percent support the existence of the State of Israel. (ComRes: 2018)

2.2 Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism in Austria

“Antisemitism and racism are like the Wiener Schnitzel. They are part of the Austrian cultural heritage, just as xenophobia and ‘we are different.’ There is nothing to fight against, just suppressing the consequences has to suffice.” (Man, 50–54 years old, Austria)

The FRA 2018 study is the second survey since 2013 for the analysis of discrimination and hate crimes against Jews in the European Union. In Austria, 525 persons who identify as Jewish participated in the study. The poll was carried out between May and June 2018. Due to the voluntary participation of the respondents, it is unlikely that they accurately represent the whole Jewish population, especially concerning attributes like age, gender, and education. Therefore, the study is not statistically representative. Nevertheless, the results still show detailed information about antisemitism in Europe. The FRA survey reached almost 16,500 self-identified Jews and is the biggest survey of the Jewish people ever conducted worldwide.

In Austria, 73 percent of the respondents described antisemitism as the biggest problem in Austria and three quarters are of the opinion that antisemitism in Austria has increased in the last five years. The survey also showed that 40 percent of the participants either have considered emigrating or prefer not to stay in Austria, because they were not feeling safe in the past five years. The results of the study underscore that antisemitism has become disturbingly normalized and remains pervasive

across Europe. The available data from Austria does not constitute an exception to the European trend even if in some cases the results were below average. (FRA: 2018)

2.3 Interpretation

The Forum against Antisemitism points to a general trend of increasing antisemitism. The 2018 data indicates a continuation of this trend, one of the examples is the rise of slurs. In addition, nearly all sources refer to a dangerous normalization of antisemitism.

3. Incidents and the Normalization of antisemitism

Following is a selection of antisemitic incidents, which became an issue of public debate and were reported by the media. This list is not complete. Unfortunately, there were many more incidents that would be worth mentioning.

January 2018 - Udo Landbauer, who was the FPÖ candidate for the federal state election of Lower Austria to the provincial election, came under closer attention. It was discovered that his fraternity “Germania zu Wiener Neustadt” produced a songbook in 1997 that included references to killing Jews. One line of the song says “Turn up the gas [...] We’ll make it to 7 million.”⁷² Landbauer who was the deputy leader of the fraternity suspended his membership after the scandal erupted and temporarily stepped down from his political functions. Public Prosecutor started an investigation against four persons responsible for the Songbook. One of them is a senior official of the Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ). Later on, the proceedings were dropped and attempts of closing down the fraternity also got dismissed. Udo Landbauer returned to his office in state government and in the local council of St. Pölten.

February 2018 - A second antisemitic songbook was discovered. It was produced by the fraternity “Bruna Sudetia” whose chairman Gerwig Götschober is also a member of the FPÖ, and an aide to Minister of Transport, Innovation and Technology, Norbert Hofer (also FPÖ). Götschober claims that he did not know about the existence of that book. One line in the book reads: “In their midst comes the Jew Ben Gurion / Step on the gas, old Germanics, we can make it to seven million.”⁷³ After being suspended for some days Götschober continues in office while an investigation is going on.

April 2018 - Leading FPÖ Politicians invoked conspiracy theories, accusing George Soros of planning “the mass migration” into Europe. Johann Gudenus, member of the National Council, claimed that there was “solid gossip” about Soros supporting “migration streams to Europe.”⁷⁴ After public and media criticism about this antisemitic conspiracy, Minister Hofer supported Gudenus by saying that “Soros controls for sure a lot of things in the world even the migration flows.”⁷⁵ Vice President and Minister of Civil Service and Sport, Heinz Christian Strache (FPÖ), as well blamed Soros of having a seven points plan for Migration.⁷⁶

72 <https://www.falter.at/archiv/wp/wir-schaffen-die-siebte-million>.

73 <https://www.dw.com/en/fresh-nazi-songbook-scandal-hits-austrian-far-right-freedom-party/a-42665051>.

74 <https://diepresse.com/home/innenpolitik/5409914/Gudenus-und-die-Soros-Verschwoerungen>

75 <https://derstandard.at/2000078502101/George-Soros-als-Suendenbock-der-Rechten>.

76 <https://kurier.at/politik/inland/soros-sager-strache-stellt-sich-hinter-gudenus/400025875>.

The Debate about Soros continued over the year because the Central European University founded by Soros will move to Austria in 2019. Strache calls the Central European University a “Wandering University” and is referring by that to the antisemitic stereotype of the “Wandering Jew.”

May 2018 - On the annual Memorial Day against violence and racism in Commemoration of the Victims of Nazism in the Austrian Parliament the famous writer Michael Köhlmeier delivered a speech,⁷⁷ in which he criticised antisemitism in the Austrian Government. The speech received a positive feedback from the parliamentary opposition and from civil society, but the FPÖ reacted angrily and accused Köhlmeier of personal hatred towards the FPÖ as party. The ÖVP claimed that Köhlmeier directly compared the allegedly legitimate politics against illegal migration with the murder of six million Jews during Shoah.⁷⁸

June 2018 - The human rights organization “SOS Mitmensch” released a study about the extreme right magazine Aula. After several reports and scandals that revealed the tight links between FPÖ and the magazine, it shut down.⁷⁹

June 2018 - The Department of African Studies at the University Vienna planned to organize a lecture with the antisemitic association “Dar al Janub”. Because of various interventions from different student unions the event could not take place at the University.⁸⁰

July 2018 - Gottfried Waldhäusl (FPÖ), animal rights official and member of the provincial council in Lower Austria, proposed an obligatory registration for Jews and Muslims whenever they seek to purchase kosher or halal meat. Vienna’s Israeli Cultural Community association branded the law proposal a “reversed Aryan paragraph.”⁸¹

3.1 Freedom Party “individual Cases” of antisemitism

The last Report aimed to describe the history of the FPÖ and showed how antisemitism is a core element of its ideology. All the incidents collected by the Austrian Mauthausen Committee this year underline that antisemitism is still very alive in the Party and emerged more openly in the past year.⁸²

On a discursive level, there were many cases in which FPÖ officials used national socialist terminology or referred to conspiracy theories. Interior minister Herbert Kickl suggested to “concentrate” asylum seekers and is hinting thereby to concentration camps.⁸³

77 <https://neuwal.com/transkript/20180504-michael-koehlmeier-english.php>.

78 <https://diepresse.com/home/innenpolitik/5417945/OeVP-uebt-scharfe-Kritik-an-Schriftsteller-Koehlmeier> .

79 <https://www2.sosmitmensch.at/fpoe-und-antisemitische-aula-weiterhin-eng-verzahrt>.

80 <https://www.facebook.com/notes/%C3%B6h-uni-wien/wichtiger-erfolg-im-kampf-gegen-antisemitismus-an-der-uni-wien/1883352481729446/>

81 https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2018/07/19/an-austrian-state-wants-to-force-kosher-meat-consuming-jews-to-register-drawing-nazi-comparisons/?utm_term=.8534568029b6

82 <https://www.mkoe.at/rechtsextremismus/broschuere-einzelfaelle-und-serientaeter>

83 <https://www.profil.at/oesterreich/kickl-fluechtlinge-an-einem-ort-konzentrieren-8618910>

Gottfried Waldhäusl as well played with Nazi terminology. He demanded a special treatment “Sonderbehandlung” for refugees. This term was used as a euphemism for mass murder by Nazi functionaries.⁸⁴ Miriam Rydl, FPÖ official in the city Tulln used the term “Untermensch” in an online posting.⁸⁵ Martin Glier FPÖ Spokesman used the word “Blutzeuge”,⁸⁶ and Vice President Strache called his opponent a “well-poisoner” “Brunnenvergifter”.⁸⁷

3.2 Austrian People’s Party Zero Tolerance towards antisemitism

When the Council of Ministers adopted in 2017 the Working Definition of Antisemitism of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, ÖVP Chancellor Sebastian Kurz announced a “zero tolerance towards antisemitism.”⁸⁸ However, he remained very cautious in his reaction to most antisemitic incidents in the past year. This was the case in reference to the examples introduced above of Landbauer,⁸⁹ Kickl,⁹⁰ and Gudenus.⁹¹ This restraint to speak up against his right extremist coalition partners gained him the Austrian word of the year award as a “silent chancellor” (Schweigekanzler).⁹² This non-interference politics supports the normalization of antisemitism in the Public. Another antisemitic scandal involved a conservative student representative who got promoted to a position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁹³ The student was a member of a WhatsApp group of the conservative student representation at the University of Vienna’s Law School (“AG Jus”) where they shared antisemitic pictures. One of those was an image of an ash heap, displaying the caption “Anne Frank Nudes.” The student’s promotion raises question as to the so called “zero tolerance policy” of Sebastian Kurz.

4. Conclusion

Data collected in the year 2017 indicate a steady growth of antisemitism in Austria in the past years. Most public incidents were associated with the extreme right political spectrum. The many antisemitic articulations of the FPÖ and the Chancellor’s silence is a disturbing sign of the ongoing normalization of extreme right-wing politics. This particular combination leads to a more hostile climate not only regarding antisemitism, but for most social and racialized minorities.

Furthermore, it can be observed that many antisemitic incidents in 2018 had little or no consequences for the people involved. Many politicians connected with scandals related to antisemitism retain their public positions. This lack of consequences leads to a loss of inhibition (“Enthemmung”) in open antisemitic hate speech.

84 https://diepresse.com/home/innenpolitik/5545651/Sonderbehandlung-fuer-Asylwerber_Ruecktrittsaufforderungen-an

85 <https://derstandard.at/2000073825654/Tullner-FPOe-Funktionaerin-postet-ueber-Untermenschen>

86 <https://kurier.at/politik/inland/fpoe-pressesprecher-zitiert-aus-rechtsextremem-online-lexikon-metapedia/309.592.472>

87 <https://kurier.at/politik/inland/brunnen-vergiften-strache-provoziert-bei-im-klartext-mit-sager-gegen-kern/400027078>

88 <https://www.heute.at/politik/news/story/Kurz---Null-Toleranz-fuer-Antisemitismus--43187603>

89 <https://kurier.at/politik/inland/kurz-sieht-landbauers-fpoe-zukunft-nicht-als-seine-sache/309.022.473>

90 https://diepresse.com/home/innenpolitik/5352413/Kurz-zu-KonzentrierenSager_Kickl-hat-Aussage-klargestellt

91 <https://diepresse.com/home/innenpolitik/5409914/Gudenus-und-die-Soros-Verschwoerungen>

92 <https://orf.at/stories/3103328/>

93 <https://www.oeh.univie.ac.at/aktuelles/stories/ag-leaks-mitglied-nun-im-fpoe-aussenministerium>

The FPÖ as an extreme right Party is continually using a strategy that can be described as “lying with the truth.” That means the party developed different strategies like openly condemning antisemitism only when it comes from Muslims. By highlighting Muslims’ antisemitism the FPÖ tries to cover up its own antisemitism. Masking antisemitism is a FPÖ strategy to enable it to cooperate with other right-populist parties within the European Parliament. Their denial of antisemitic attitudes is a precondition to work together with parties like the Party for Freedom in the Netherlands. This could gain importance in the upcoming elections of the European Parliament.

Obituary for Rudolf Gelbard

Rudolf Gelbard, who died after a long illness at the age of 88 was not only an important contemporary witness of the Shoah, but also a dedicated anti-fascist. Born in 1930, he was deported to Theresienstadt with his parents as a 12-year-old Jewish boy. For his entire life he fought with all his strength for democracy and against fascism.

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Belgium / Joël Kotek

Except for France, Jews do not experience anywhere in the EU as much hostility on the streets as they do in Belgium.

Since 2001, Belgium has seen an increase in the number of cases related to antisemitism. For the fourth time in 10 years, UNIA, *the governmental Center for Equal Opportunities*, has handled more than 100 cases of antisemitism in 2018. The number of antisemitic incidents nearly doubled between 2017 and 2018, from 56 to 101. The statistics recorded by “[Antisemitisme.be](#)” (a platform monitoring antisemitism in Belgium since 2001) confirm this upward trend, and although it lists a lower number of incidents (90 in 2018 against 35 in 2017), it also shows that incidents have more than doubled.

According to [Antisemitisme.be](#) and UNIA, antisemitism is most common on the Internet: 30 percent in both institutions. The number of cases in this category quadrupled in one year. It goes from the post about the Jewish plot to the one about Hitler who did not finish his job. UNIA dealt with 31 files relating to Holocaust denial and 15 verbal assaults or threats against persons identified as Jewish. Six acts of vandalism were also recorded in 2018, compared to one in 2017. On six occasions, people were targets of violence because they were identified as Jewish, five of them were against the visible Haredi community in Antwerp ([Antisemitisme.be](#)).

Both CCOJB (the Jewish political umbrella organization in Belgium) and UNIA urged in December, during the hearings on antisemitism in the Belgian Senate, for the reintroduction of an antisemitism watchdog. They both asked the Minister Kris Peeters, responsible for Equal Opportunities, to take the first steps towards an inter-federal action plan against discrimination and racism. Obviously, antisemitism remains a persistent problem. The calls were made in response to the FRA survey in twelve EU countries.⁹⁴

Antisemitism in Belgium has many faces. Different forms of Jew-hatred exist alongside each other. They derive from the extreme right and from the extreme left, and recently also from the Muslim population. There is also a sort of “everyday antisemitism” in the form of stereotypes.

An example of **traditional antisemitism** is the openly antisemitic slogans and chants during football matches, which are quite common in Belgium. In August and December 2018, Soccer fans in Belgium chanted about burning Jews during a match in the city of Bruges. A video footage from the match shows dozens of fans celebrating their local team’s victory over Brussels’ Anderlecht team that day by singing in Flemish: “My father was in the commandos, my mother was in the SS, together they burned Jews cause Jews burn the best.” The chant, whose use was first reported by the media in 2015, has proliferated in the Netherlands and Belgium in recent years.

The daily newspaper *La Libre Belgique* published in May a report by the Coordination Unit for Threat Analysis (OCAM), which was submitted to the Parliamentary Review Committee for the Implications of the Brussels Attacks in March 2016, and covered the academic year 2016 to 2017. The report indicated that the training of imams, delivered in Arabic, within the Islamic and Cultural Centre of Belgium (known as “the CICB”), which houses the Grand Mosque of Brussels, is inciting followers to enter into armed jihad “for getting closer to

94 <https://www.unia.be/en/articles/unia-maakt-zich-zorgen-over-antisemitisme>.

God,” “to break the neck” of Druze and Alawite religious minorities, to throw down homosexuals from the top of buildings and to despise Jews.⁹⁵

An example of far-right antisemitism was the case of the two defence lawyers of Medhi Nemmouche, the perpetrator of the attack at the Jewish Museum in Brussels in May 2014. Linked to the European far-right, and partisans of Zionist conspiracy theories, they both received the *golden quenelle*, a trophy created by the antisemitic comedian Dieudonné, to reward the worst enemies of the „Zionist Jews.“ Nevertheless, despite their efforts, Nemmouche was sentenced to life imprisonment, in March 2019.

On the left as well antisemitism was rampant. Robrecht Vanderbeeken, a Flemish senior executive of one of Belgium’s main trade unions (the socialist ACOD) and associated university scholar affiliated with the Vrije Universiteit Brussel, wrote that the population of Gaza is being “starved to death, poisoned and children are kidnapped and murdered for their organs!“ His column was published in August 2018 on the left-wing news site *De Wereld Morgen*. Following complaints from members of the Antwerp Jewish community, *De Morgen* removed the part about stealing organs but kept in place the claim about poisoning and death by starvation.⁹⁶

95 <https://hrwf.eu/training-manuals-in-the-grand-mosque-of-brussels-advocating-jihad-anti-semitism-and-stoning-of-homosexuals/>.

96 <https://eurojewcong.org/news/communities-news/belgium/belgian-trade-union-boss-says-israel-kills-palestinian-children-to-harvest-their-organs/>.

Canada / Ran Ukashi & Aidan Fishman

It is apparent that the elevated levels of antisemitism which characterized the trend of the past six years is continuing. Antisemitic incidents of harassment, vandalism, and violence, as well as antisemitism proliferating on online social media and other forums continues apace, emanating - as in previous years - from promulgators across the political spectrum, ranging from the far-right to the far-left, and with significant contributions from radical Islamists and Arab nationalists as well.

Brazen Antisemitic Assaults

In February 2018, two Jewish elementary school children were harassed and beaten by other students on the grounds of a school in Saskatchewan, resulting in the issuing of restraining orders against the children that inflicted the violence.

In June, a group of teenagers attacked Hasidic Jews at random by shooting fireworks at them in a Montreal suburb, prompting calls to the police.

In the following months, multiple attacks occurred in the Toronto or Greater Toronto Area, including:

- the verbal and physical assault of a man wearing a kippah, and his family at a busy intersection in full view of the public;
- a physical assault on a man by their Pakistani neighbours for having an Israeli flag affixed to his car;
- a non-Jewish student being attacked for defending her Jewish friend in a hallway argument at a major high school in Toronto over the flying of an Israeli flag;
- and a woman was verbally and physically assaulted by a woman outside of her child's school.

Additionally, in October, a Montreal-area man named Robert Gosselin, was arrested and charged with incitement to hatred after threatening to murder Jewish girls at a Jewish school for girls in his neighbourhood. The threats were made on the public comments forum of the *Journal de Montreal* online newspaper. Initially following Gosselin's arrest, bail conditions were set that did not include a restriction against his being in proximity to Jewish institutions.

This caused much concern and consternation within the local Jewish community, as many were afraid to send their children to school or attend functions at Jewish institutions. Moreover, many felt that the local police did not take antisemitism seriously enough. Following B'nai Brith advocacy and efforts from the broader Jewish community, the court has committed to setting new bail conditions restricting Mr. Gosselin to limiting his proximity to Jewish institutions in early January 2019.

In a particularly brazen attack in November, four Chabad teenagers were attacked by a group of unknown teenagers after being mocked for wearing religious garb. Two of the four attacked teenagers were also subsequently robbed by members of the group. Police investigated the incident as a hate crime and arrested a 17-year old boy in relation to the crime.

Institutional Antisemitism

The year 2018 demonstrated a number of worrying high-profile cases of antisemitism receiving support, or at least, no condemnation, from key actors in Canadian society, including levels of government, and post-secondary institutions. However, following B'nai Brith advocacy, some positive results were achieved to hold particular purveyors of antisemitism accountable.

Former University of Alberta Professor Anthony Hall, who was exposed by B'nai Brith after he taught students that Israel was responsible for 9/11 and produced Holocaust denial videos alongside now-convicted Holocaust denier, Alfred Schaefer, was forced to “retire” suddenly in the fall of 2018, after B'nai Brith exposed his continued teaching schedule despite receiving assurances that he would be barred from the classroom.

This victory comes along the vein of a surprising and rare legal intervention in Hall's battle against the university by the Alberta government, after the government had amended provincial labour law in ways favourable to Hall, and thereby allowed him to regain his academic title, at the time.

It should be noted, as well, that Alfred and Monika Schaefer, two German-Canadian siblings who were associated with Hall, received prison sentences of three years and two months, and ten months, respectively, for incitement to hatred in Germany in October 2018, for producing Holocaust denial videos in the country. The charges were laid following the provision of evidence by B'nai Brith to German authorities.

In May 2018, British Columbia's Premier John Horgan bestowed a certificate of recognition on a controversial Vancouver-area imam named Tarek Ramadan. Ramadan has publicly ranted against “malevolent Jews” and insisted that “all of Palestine should only be in the custody of the Muslims,” while also having engaged in conspiracy theories surrounding the Rothschild family controlling global banks and media outlets, and justifying the Holocaust, among other vitriolic statements. Despite rescinding the certificate following outreach from B'nai Brith, this award was shocking in that there appeared to be no due diligence prior to bestowing an award on such an antisemitic and prejudiced character.

Similarly, Iqra Khalid, Member of Parliament for Mississauga-Erin Mills presented a certificated of appreciation to Amin El-Maoued, who was investigated for leading an antisemitic chant at a July 2017 rally where children uttered words such as “Israel and Hitler are the same,” while others in attendance chanted, “with our souls, with our blood, we shall redeem al-Aqsa.” Moreover, El-Maoued is the Public Relations Director of Palestine House, which lost its federal funding in 2012 because of its “pattern of support for extremism.”

MP Khalid withdrew the certificate and apologized for the misstep, but this again demonstrates the growing problem of a lack of due diligence on the part of the highest levels of government to avoid countenancing antisemitism.

Campus Antisemitism

In February 2018, the Global College, a faculty of the University of Winnipeg, co-sponsored an event entitled *My Jerusalem: Responding to the U.S. Embassy Announcement*. At the event claims denying the Jewish indigenous and ancestral connection and right to self-determination in Israel, as well as endorsement of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement, among other antisemitic comments were made by panelists.

Following a B'nai Brith complaint, coupled with subsequent and broad community condemnation of a university-sponsored event of such a nature, the university investigated the incident and met with B'nai Brith and other stakeholders to review the event. Ultimately, the review determined that antisemitism was indeed promoted at the event and the university issued an apology—a welcome victory in the fight against antisemitism on Canadian university campuses.

Yet many other instances of antisemitism emerged throughout the year in campuses across Canada. For instance, in April, a University of Toronto professor accused a student of being an “Israeli government agent” due to the student’s association with a pro-Israel student group.

In November, the Canadian Federation of Students voted in favour of a resolution endorsing the discriminatory BDS movement, which has been publicly opposed by B'nai Brith. Additionally, some affiliated university student unions have refused to abide by the resolution, such as the University of Manitoba Students’ Union, out of recognition of its discriminatory nature.

In December, the University of Toronto Graduate Students’ Union tried to employ an unconstitutional procedure to advance a BDS motion which was defeated by students on campus, in consultation with B'nai Brith. The motion is being referred to a future “special meeting,” the date of which will be determined, demonstrating the tenacity with which proponents of BDS have in promoting the movement on campus, despite its discriminatory character.

Preliminary Conclusions

Overall, we have observed that harassment, vandalism, and violence, as well as the mainstreaming of antisemitism in public forums is an ongoing problem requiring strong action from all levels of government, police forces, university administrators, and civil society. The examples provided here are by no means exhaustive, but are intended to be illustrative of the types of antisemitic incidents that are being experienced across Canada.

In particular, the proliferation of online antisemitism by way of various social media platforms, including Facebook, Twitter, and other forums is the fastest growing medium for antisemitic harassment, including threats of violence, in Canada. Social media sites often prove anonymity for individuals, making it attractive for those who traffic in antisemitic harassment and other forms of racism and bigotry. With this in mind, it is not surprising that online antisemitism accounted for 80 percent of harassment incidents in Canada.

Over a five-year period (see table below), we also see that for the past three years, there appears to be a “new normal” in the baseline trend of antisemitism, as it has incrementally increased since the Audit first began in 1982. While more frequent and improved rates of reporting to B’nai Brith has contributed to the awareness of such incidents where in the past they may have gone unreported, there also appears to be a general increase in the actual frequency of antisemitism in Canada compared to previous years.

INCIDENT TYPE	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
HARASSMENT	1,370	1,123	1,559	1,409	1,809
VANDALISM	238	136	158	327	221
VIOLENCE	19	10	11	16	11
TOTAL	1,627	1,269	1,728	1,752	2,041

Table 1: Five-Year Trend of Antisemitic Incidents in Canada

The year 2018 demonstrated a 16.5 percent increase of incidents over the year prior. While Ontario and Quebec, home to Canada’s largest Jewish populations, respectively, maintained the highest levels of incidents overall, it was observed that there was a significant increase in other areas of Canada where such incidents are comparatively less common.

REGION	Total Incidents 2017	Total Incidents 2018	Difference
Quebec	474	709	49.6% Increase
Ontario	808	481	40.5% Decrease
British Columbia	165	374	126.7% Increase
Alberta	206	160	22.3% Decrease
Atlantic Canada	45	78	73.3% Increase
Prairies	54	131	142.6% Increase

Table 2: A Comparison of Total Incidents between 2017 and 2018

According to the most recently available statistics by Public Safety Canada, hate crime incidents in Canada have reached an all-time high in 2017, with Jews still being the most victimized group on the basis of religious identity.

B’nai Brith continues to monitor and respond to incidents, as appropriate, and advocates for effective solutions to mitigate and eliminate antisemitism wherever and whenever it emerges.

Czech Republic / Zbynek Tarant

Introduction

The Czech Republic seems to be dealing with significantly lower levels of antisemitism than Poland or Hungary, yet vigilance remains crucial. While the general society takes a rather indifferent attitude to the Jews, the country also struggles with a growing indifference toward hate-speech and incitement in general. Activity of the political extremists has been rather stagnating and their discourse has been taken over by political subjects, who are closer to the mainstream. The country is under heavy influence of pro-Kremlin propaganda, which pragmatically uses antisemitic conspiracy theories. Conspiratorial language, including (but not limited to) antisemitic conspiracy theories, is used by some of the national political and cultural elites for pragmatic purposes. Several antisemitic incidents, including violent ones have been reported by the Jewish community, although the total levels are relatively low, compared to the regional averages. New trends include Islamist incidents and isolated attempts to discriminate against Jews under the pretext of “boycotts of Israel.”

Surveys and election results

In a survey from March 2018 by the Center for Public Opinion Surveys, almost half of the respondents (44 percent) have expressed neutral or indifferent attitudes to the Jews. About 9 percent labeled the Jews as partially unsympathetic and 7 percent as very unsympathetic. On the other hand, 24 percent labeled the Jews as partially sympathetic and 6 percent as very sympathetic. In conclusion, while there is a group that holds negative views of the Jews, the general attitudes are mostly indifferent. When the respondents were asked to use a school-grading system, where 1 means the best and 5 means the worst, the mean grade for Jews was 2.86. The respondents graded their own Czech nation by a grade of 1.69. Comparison with surveys from previous years shows that the attitudes of the general society to the Jews have remained unchanged as the differences between the periodical surveys are mostly below the level of statistical error.⁹⁷

However, another survey, performed by the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes in 2018 found that there is a trend of growing negative attitudes against the Jews among younger people and also among citizens of large cities, such as Prague.⁹⁸ The results were considered particularly concerning as most of the participants of this survey were youngsters, who previously attended seminars on Holocaust, racism and diversity.⁹⁹

There are no official government data on the number of hate-crimes as publication the Annual Report on Extremist Manifestations is being blocked by the right-wing populist Freedom and Direct Democracy party, because it mentioned the party alongside the extremist subjects.

97 Vztah české veřejnosti k národnostním skupinám žijícím v ČR – březen 2018 [Attitudes of the Czech Public to National Minorities Living in the Czech Republic – March 2018], available at: https://cvvm.soc.cas.cz/media/com_form2content/documents/c2/a4584/f9/ov180409.pdf (cit. 14.12.2018)

98 Hoření, Kateřina et al. Co si myslíš o... Předsudky v české společnosti a jak s nimi účinně pracovat ve škole. Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů: Praha 2018, available at: http://stereotypy.cz/assets/pdf/co_si_myslís.pdf (cit. 14.12.2018)

99 Mladí Češi jsou méně tolerantní než jejich rodiče. Každý čtvrtý nemá rád Židy. *iRozhlas* 07.02.2018, available at: https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-domov/deti-mladi-netolerance-romove-zide_1802071350_mos (cit. 14.12.2018)

This is probably the first time in history, when such an official report on political extremism was a subject of open political interference by a parliamentary political party. Only partial data from quarterly reports on extremist activity are currently available. From these reports, it seems that the activity of both far-right and far-left extremists has been rather stagnating. No significant increase has been recorded.¹⁰⁰

Main characteristics of the contemporary Czech antisemitism

- Antisemitism without Jews – Jewish features are being attributed to non-Jewish targets. Attempts to “discover the Jews” where they are not present.
- Conspiracism and pro-Kremlin ‘fake-news’ are currently the main source of antisemitic content on the Czech internet.
- Latent antisemitism – antisemitism that manifests itself only when the Jew becomes identifiable as the Jew.
- Self-confident antisemitism – antisemites often publish their hate-speech under their real civic names, be it on social media, websites, blogs or public spaces.
- No correlation between attitudes to Israel and antisemitism – Parties and politicians, who claim to be “friends of Israel” often enjoy endorsement of antisemites, cooperate with antisemites, or are known to have caused an antisemitic incident in the past.

Positive trends

- Antisemitism remains fairly low compared to the regional average.
- Antisemitic manifestations are mostly verbal.
- Exposed antisemitic incidents often met with strong rejection and denunciation by the general society.
- Czech-Israeli relations remain strong and stable.
- The far-right parties have mostly failed in their attempt to gain more power by utilizing the anti-immigration rhetoric. All of the far-right parties have suffered a bitter defeat in the October 2018 Municipal Elections, despite heavy mobilization.

Negative trends

- Isolated cases of vandalism reported.
- While the levels of antisemitism remain fairly low in the general society, there is a trend of national elites (celebrities, high-ranking politicians) toying with conspiracy theories, including the antisemitic ones.
- Influential, pro-Kremlin websites spread explicit antisemitic hate-speech.
- Politicians, who are otherwise quick to denounce their opponents (even by using rude words), seem reluctant to take a clear stand on antisemitic conspiracy theories spread by their supporters.
- Conspiracy theories about “secret societies” used in the 2018 presidential campaign.
- At least two isolated cases of Muslim converts attempting to join the terrorist groups in Mali and Syria. One case of a Muslim convert threatening to perpetrate terrorist attacks on the Czech territory.

¹⁰⁰ Quarterly reports on extremism by the Department of Security Policies *Ministry of Interior*, available at: <https://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/ctvrtletni-zpravy-o-extremismu-odboru-bezpecnostni-politiky-mv.aspx> (cit. 14.12.2018)

- Some universities, namely the private ones, give a platform to conspiracy theories and Holocaust relativization, despite the pseudo-scientific nature of these subjects.
- Right-wing populist “Strana přímé demokracie” party managed to obtain 10 percent in the parliamentary elections. Despite its official “pro-Israeli” stance, the party uses conspiratorial discourse inspired by the pro-Kremlin websites (including the antisemitic ones) and there have been several antisemitic incidents caused by the party members.
- Right-wing “Strana přímé demokracie” party blocks the official report on political extremism in an attempt to censor sections that mention it alongside extremists. By doing this, it also hinders publication of official statistics on hate-crimes in the country, which is a part of the report.

Examples of antisemitic incidents from the victim’s perspective

The Jewish community in Prague has recorded several incidents of harassment and even physical assault motivated by antisemitism. Anonymized accounts of three selected incidents are disclosed below with the permission of the Jewish community:

Example no. 1: Jewish, kippah-wearing customer attacked by a taxi-driver in Prague.

The victim reported:

“I came back from Prague and I called this taxi driver to pick me up. When he arrived he was with a friend. I'm quite sure that they were drunk. I asked him why he was late so he started to curse me (very bad words). I didn't react. [...] When we arrived to the destination I told him listen, you lost a good customer. At this moment he started again to curse me and right after I left the taxi he came after me and came close to me and punched me in the face and then his friend also came out and they started to come after me cursing in Czech and coming after me (I only understand „Zid“. If you know me so you do know that I'm wearing Kippah).”¹⁰¹

Example no. 2: Jewish employees of a hotel fired by a new manager, following a series of verbal anti-Jewish slurs and physical threats.

A hotel that was previously rented and run by an Israeli entrepreneur was taken over by a new Czech management, which demanded that all the Jewish employees quit their jobs immediately, citing “loyalty” concerns, and using physical violence against those, who refused to comply. The victim reported:

“She [the new manager] did not want any Jews to continue working for her, with an explanation that as Jews, we would be too loyal to the previous [Israeli] employer. She said literally: „I know that you Jews keep always together, so it would not be possible that you continue working for me.” On the next day... / the situation became tense and we have shown our passive resistance. Everything got worse when her husband came and started to act very aggressively from the very start. After several minutes of threats, when the husband saw that we are not backing away and not leaving our workplace voluntarily, he started to insult my faith. On the recording ... / I have got only one concrete sentence: "Go fuck yourselves, you Jewish motherfuckers!" Before shouting this slur, he took me by my neck and punched me in my face by his fist.”¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Anonymized description of an incident as reported to the Prague Jewish Community.

¹⁰² Anonymized description of an incident as reported to the Prague Jewish Community.

Example no. 3: A Jewish woman verbally assaulted in a bar by a Nazi sympathizer.

During a meeting of a group of friends in a local bar in the city of Liberec, a Jewish woman was approached by a friend of her classmate, who assaulted her verbally for her Jewish background. The victim reported:

“I was in a party with friends, with whom I have reunited after many years. A friend of my former classmate from the gymnasium joined us. During the evening, we have talked and he insisted to ask me about something. We have finally met at the bar and he abruptly started boasting that we [i.e. the Jews] are responsible for the Holocaust and that we control the world. I was mainly in a state of shock. I did not expect something like this at 2 AM in the morning, especially as I was in no way identifiable as a [Jewish] community member. I tried, within the limits of my abilities, to argue with him, but I had to ask him to leave after a couple of minutes. As we were packing up to leave the bar, he came back and in front of everyone, he said: “Let Israel be wiped off the map. Heil Hitler.” And he raised his right hand for the Nazi salute.”¹⁰³

Other notable events, trends and incidents

Conspiracist course taught on a private university

In Autumn 2018, the private *University of Finance and Administration* (Vysoká škola finanční a správní, VŠFS) offered a course “Secret societies” in the framework of its third-age university (public lectures for adults). Journalists from the website Manipulatori.cz were first to report the story.¹⁰⁴ The course taught by Ing. Jaroslav Srkal, included references to blood-libel, Illuminati, and basically all the currently trending conspiracy theories. An entire seminar was dedicated to the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, described as: “an expression of the Jewish program, which both outlines the plan and means for control and destruction of all non-Jewish nations and states with no exceptions. It gives a manual, how should the Jewry act in order to build its world-government on the ruins of these states. The quarrel over the authenticity of the Protocols has currently become totally meaningless as their program is being fulfilled step-by-step and is about to be finished according to the Jewish opinion.”¹⁰⁵ The content of the lectures was verified and recorded by one of the course's attendees. Recordings were evaluated and found to be heavily steeped in antisemitism, including the belief of a world Jewish conspiracy, blood-libel etc.¹⁰⁶

As the course is a part of public lecture series, there is almost no quality control or content oversight. Anyone, who can put together a group of paying “students”, can start a “course” in this lecture series. Certificate is awarded at the end of the course to each participant. VŠFS is not the first private university to provide a platform to antisemitism. Recently discovered cases included degrees awarded for these with antisemitic content and neo-Nazis invited to give lectures. The case is also a small example of a larger problem of pseudo-science, fake-science and esotericism penetrating certain educational institutions (see the issue of “flat-earthers,” “Christian science” or “intelligent design” in the USA).

103 Anonymized description of an incident as it was reported to the Prague Jewish Community.

104 Kadlec, Miroslav: VŠFS rozhlasového radního Tomáše Kňourka a vědeckého radního Aleše Gerlocha. *Manipulátoři.cz* 26.9.2018, available at: <https://manipulatori.cz/vsfs-rozhlasoveho-radniho-tomase-knourka-a-vedeckekeho-radniho-alese-gerlocha/> (cit. 14.12.2018)

105b Obsah kurzu. *Vysoká škola finanční a správní*. Available at: https://www.vsfs.cz/prilohy/obsah_kurzu_uni3_zs_2018_2019_-_26_cyklu.pdf

106 Recording of the lectures. Personal archive of the author.

Prominent hate-speech indictments

In a long-prepared and closely observed trial, Adam Bartoš, who is currently a leader of the National Democracy party, was sentenced in November to two years of probation for his systematic antisemitic incitement.¹⁰⁷ It is the second sentence that Bartoš received for antisemitic incitement in websites, books and public rallies. Earlier the same year, the Supreme Court upheld the decision of the district court in Jihlava, which sentenced Bartoš to one year of probation for his attempts to re-awaken the infamous case of blood-libel, known as the 1899 Hilsner's affair.¹⁰⁸

In 2017, MP Jaroslav Staník (Freedom and Direct Democracy) was heard saying that *"Gays, Jews and Romanies should be gassed upon birth"* in the Parliament cafeteria according to multiple testimonies. His party never apologized for these remarks, which the MP himself has denied.¹⁰⁹ Staník left his post and in August 2018, he was sentenced to a fine of 70 thousand Czech crowns (about 3 thousand US dollars) and two years of probation.¹¹⁰ The sentence is not yet legally effective as it was a single-judge decision and appeals are expected, after which an ordinary trial would take place.

BDS

Attempts to build an active infrastructure of the BDS movement continue with mixed results, possibly due to the very negative image of the Palestinians in the Czech society. However, some isolated cases do appear. For example, a Jewish participant in a seminar in 2018 about racism and the situation of minorities in Czechia, was asked to either sign a declaration denouncing Israeli policies, or to cancel her participation.¹¹¹

Cases of jihadism

According to the quarterly reports of the Ministry of Interior in 2018, based on the information of the Police and security services, there seem to be no established jihadist, Salafist or other radical Islamic networks operating on the Czech territory.¹¹²

There have been, however, several cases of radicalized individuals traveling to conflict zones in order to join the fighting in the ranks of Islamist terrorist movements. These individuals were arrested and deported back to Czechia thanks to the assistance of the Turkish and Jordanian police. One of these cases took place in 2018 and involved the former imam of the Prague Muslim community, Samer Shehadeh.¹¹³ There was also

107 Za šíření protižidovských nálad dostal Adam B. Bartoš podmíněný trest, *iDnes.cz*, available at: https://zpravy.idnes.cz/adam-bartos-zide-antisemitismus-trest-soud-proces-fwr-/domaci.aspx?c=A181101_134953_domaci_kafi (cit. 14.12.2018)

108 Trest za antisemitský text pro Bartoše platí. Nejvyšší soud odmítl jeho dovolání, *Aktuálně.cz* 4.1.2018, available at: <https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/domaci/trest-za-antisemitsky-text-v-polne-pro-bartose-plati-nejvyss/r~db211170f15111e79704ac1f6b220ee8/> (cit. 14.12.2018)

109 'Střílet po narození.' Tajemník SPD urážel ve sněmovně gaye, Židy a Romy, tvrdí Marksová a Černoch. *iRozhlas*. 10. listopad 2017, available at: https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-domov/strilet-po-narozeni-tajemnik-spd-urazel-ve-snemovne-gaye-zidy-a-romy-tvrdi_1711101320_kro (cit. 14.12.2018)

110 Staník dostal za nenávislné výroky podmínku a pokutu. *Novinky.cz*, available at: <https://www.novinky.cz/domaci/479426-stanik-dostal-za-nenavistne-vyroky-podminku-a-pokutu.html> (cit. 14.12.2018)

111 Personal interview.

112 Quarterly reports on extremism by the Department of Security Policies *Ministry of Interior*, available at: <https://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/ctvrtletni-zpravy-o-extremismu-odboru-bezpecnostni-politiky-mv.aspx> (cit. 14.12.2018)

113 Policie viní z terorismu bývalého imáma z Prahy. Jeho bratr válčí v Sýrii, available at: https://zpravy.idnes.cz/cesi-terorismus-obvineni-imam-syrie-al-kaida-f31-/domaci.aspx?c=A180122_204612_domaci_ane (cit. 14.12.2018). *Neovlivní.cz*: V cizině dopadli bývalého pražského imáma. Je obviněn z podpory terorismu. *ČT 24* 7.11.2018, available at: <https://ct24.ceskatelevize.cz/domaci/2645276-neovlivnicz-v-cizine-dopadli-byvaleho-prazskeho-imama-je-obvineny-z-podpory-terorismu> (cit. 14.12.2018)

one case of a Slovak convert to Islam, Dominik K. (a.k.a. Abdul Rahman), who was arrested after publishing threats of violence against the Czech nation online.¹¹⁴ The Czech Police and Security services take seriously such threats, while also dealing at the same time with misinformation about the true extent of the threats. Responses of the organized Muslim institutions in Czechia, which represent only a minority of Czech Muslims, were unfortunately somewhat unconvincing, sometimes even with “whataboutism” and hints of relativization of these incidents.¹¹⁵ That is despite the fact that one of the cases involved a former imam of the Mosque in Prague, who was dismissed from his post after his involvement in an antisemitic incident in front of the Israeli embassy back in 2009. This protest included shouting of: “*Khaybar, Khaybar, Ya Yahud! Jaish al-Muhammad Sa-Ya‘ud!*”¹¹⁶ Technically a “vice-imam” of the Prague Mosque and founder of the *Sunna.cz* website,¹¹⁷ Samer Shehadeh, has published several speeches that relativized terrorist attacks as mere “*reactions to provocation*” and contained disguised threats.¹¹⁸ Shehadeh was a notorious personality at the time because of his supportive remarks regarding the 9/11 terrorist attacks and his justification for the killing of innocent children. He was later forced to resign from the position when his activities became a burden even for the Saudi backers of the Prague Muslim Community.

Despite, or perhaps exactly because of, the hostile atmosphere, faced by the Muslim community in the Czech Republic, one would expect the community leaders to issue a much stronger denunciation of religious extremism from within their ranks in order to calm the emotions down after the 2018 revelations. The community missed an opportunity to take a clear stand, which in turn further harms its image. The problem is even more complex, however, as the community might be also reluctant to report such incidents to the police out of fear that news about “Czech jihadists” could lead to increased hostility. This vicious cycle can be broken only by sincere efforts to establish more mutual trust between the community and the national security services.

114 Džihád v Česku. Policisté obvinili muslima z přípravy bombového útoku. *Idnes.cz* 14.9.2018, available at: https://zpravy.idnes.cz/muslim-utok-bomba-slovak-abdul-rahman-dominik-k-policie-islam-islamsky-stat-1bj-/domaci.aspx?c=A180913_215619_domaci_elka (cit. 14.12.2018)

115 Ničím se nevymykal, říká Sánka k mladíkovi obviněnému z přípravy útoku *iDnes.cz* 14.9.2018, available at: https://zpravy.idnes.cz/muslim-obvineni-priprava-utoku-vladimir-sanka-rozhovor-pka-/domaci.aspx?c=A180914_114241_domaci_jj (cit. 14.12.2018)

116 “*Khaybar, Khaybar, O Jews, the army of Muhammad will return*”. See: Lhot’an, Lukáš: *Islám a islamismus v České Republice – druhé vydání*. Prague 2011, p. 107.

117 *Sunna.cz*. Accessed February 20, 2016, <http://www.sunna.cz>.

118 Samer Shehadeh – Vzkaz všem spoluobčanům. *YouTube*. January 12, 2015. Accessed February 20, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wsH-DxdM9Nk>.

France/ Riva Mane and SPCJ

"Antisemitism is Spreading Like Poison, Like Venom"

In February 2019 following a spate of antisemitic incidents in France, French Interior Minister Christophe Castaner announced that the total number of registered antisemitic incidents in 2018 increased by 74 percent after two years of decrease.¹¹⁹ Castaner subsequently declared that "antisemitism is spreading like poison, like venom, it is rotting minds, it is killing."¹²⁰

France is home to Europe's largest Jewish population numbering around 500,000.

According to official data provided by the French Ministry of Interior¹²¹ and the Jewish community's SPCG:¹²²

- The overall number of recorded antisemitic incidents during 2018 increased by 74 percent with 541 incidents (compared to 311 incidents in 2017).
- The number of recorded antisemitic violent incidents (attack or attempted attack, homicide or attempted homicide, violence, arson or attempted arson, defacement or vandalism) increased by 89 percent with 183 incidents (compared to 97 in 2017).
- Within the violent incidents category, antisemitic physical violence against persons increased by 170 percent with 81 incidents (30 in 2017).
- The number of recorded antisemitic threats (oral threats, threatening gestures or insults, flyers and hate mail, graffiti) increased by 67 percent with 358 incidents compared to 214 in 2017
- 824 Jewish community sites are subject to protection by police security and military forces.

During the year, French Jews, who represent less than 1 percent of the French population, suffered 55 percent of all racist physical violence committed in France. This figure is even more striking in comparison to government data showing a decrease in overall racist and anti-Muslim incidents.

- Racist and xenophobic incidents have decreased by 4.2 percent with 496 incidents (compared to 518 in 2017).
- Anti-Muslim incidents have reached a record low since 2010 with 100 recorded incidents.
- Anti-Christian incidents in France were steady with 1063 recorded incidents (compared to 1038 in 2017).

Major Antisemitic Incidents

The murder that shook France

The most significant and shocking antisemitic incident in France in 2018 was the brutal killing of Mireille Knoll, an 85-year old French Jewish Holocaust survivor, who was murdered in her Paris apartment by two men, Yacine Mihoub, a 29-year-old neighbor, and his 21-year-old friend Alex Carrimbacus. They were charged with stabbing her to death and setting fire to her body.

119 <https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/Actualites/Communiqués/Lutte-contre-la-haine-la-discrimination-le-racisme-et-l-antisemitisme>.

120 <https://www.nouvelobs.com/societe/20190212.OBS9993/les-actes-antisemites-se-repentent-comme-un-poison-74-en-2018.html>.

121 <https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/Actualites/Communiqués/Lutte-contre-la-haine-la-discrimination-le-racisme-et-l-antisemitisme>.

122 SPCJ 2018 Report on Antisemitism in France.

According to investigations, one of the perpetrators allegedly told the other: "She's a Jew. She must have money." Mihoub allegedly shouted "Allhu Akbar" as they stabbed her.¹²³

In contrast to the previous cases of the murder of Ilan Halimi (2006) and Sarah Halimi (2017), French authorities immediately recognized Knoll's murder as an antisemitic hate crime. Some view her murder as marking a shift in the attitude of the French government towards antisemitic hate crimes. This change apparently came in reaction to the anger of the Jewish community at the official response to the killing of Sarah Halimi a year earlier, which prosecutors took months to characterize as antisemitic.¹²⁴

Knoll's brutal murder profoundly shocked France and prompted several thousands to participate in a silent march in her memory on March 28, organized by the CRIF (the umbrella organization of the Jewish community in France),¹²⁵ including leading politicians and controversial figures such as Marine Le Pen (far-right National Front leader) and Jean-Luc Mélenchon (far-left leader of La France Insoumise party).¹²⁶ Prior to the march CRIF director Francis Kalifat said: "Antisemites are over-represented in the far-left and the far-right [...] therefore they are not welcome [in the march]."¹²⁷ French President Emmanuel Macron who attended Knoll's funeral, declared that she was killed because she was Jewish. Macron also reaffirmed his "determination to combat antisemitism."¹²⁸

74 percent rise of antisemitic incidents

According to French Interior Minister Christophe Castaner the sharp increase of 74 percent in overall antisemitic incidents could partly be explained by government measures taken over the past year to encourage people to report hate crimes, including a new online portal facilitating reports of antisemitic incidents to police. However despite the French government's efforts to combat antisemitism for years, "we are very far from having finished with antisemitism."¹²⁹

Re-emergence of traditional antisemitism

While since the year 2000 antisemitic attacks in France were mainly linked to an importation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and derived from radical Islamism, in 2018 it appears that more traditional forms of antisemitism have re-emerged. According to Frédéric Potier, a French government official of the anti-racism and antisemitism body Dilcrah, "we are witnessing the resurgence of a virulent, far-right identity politics that does not hesitate to put its beliefs into action."¹³⁰

123 <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/two-charged-with-killing-85-year-old-holocaust-survivor-mireille-knoll-antisemitism-nz39s09jg>.

124 <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/26/world/europe/france-holocaust-survivor-murder.html>.

125 CRIF: *Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juives de France* an umbrella organisation of French Jewish groups.

126 <https://www.france24.com/fr/20180328-france-marche-blanche-memoire-mireille-knoll-marine-le-pen-jean-luc-melenchon-crif>.

127 <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-43574313>.

128 <https://www.i24news.tv/en/news/international/171032-180328-after-murder-of-holocaust-survivor-thousands-to-march-in-paris-and-jerusalem>.

129 <https://www.i24news.tv/fr/actu/international/europe/188271-181109-france-les-actes-antisemites-en-tres-forte-hausse-philippe>.

130 <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/feb/15/antisemitism-rising-sharply-across-europe-latest-figures-show>.

Marc Knobel, historian and head of the studies at the CRIF also indicated a re-emergence of old antisemitic tropes involving Jews, money and power. The fact that President Macron previously worked for the Rothschild merchant bank had "fueled a load of rumors" in France.¹³¹

Although it may yet be early to draw definite conclusions, we may assess that the severe rise of antisemitism in France results from the convergence of several factors – antisemitic conspiracy theories widely disseminated via online social networks; a rising influence of the radical right and a growingly radical and violent climate on all sides of the political spectrum in French society.¹³² French female rabbi Delphine Horvilleur claims that these "horrifying numbers" are a warning sign of a society in a state of breach and failure. Antisemitism is always a prelude to a general violence."¹³³

Responses to surge in antisemitism

In February 2019 following an outburst of antisemitic incidents, thousands of all parties in France participated in a rally against antisemitism.¹³⁴

"Internal Migration"

On August 29, Francis Kalifat said that antisemitism in France has moved "from the streets directly into the homes of Jewish people. [...] Jews in France feel threatened in their own homes." Kalifat also described "a new phenomenon" of "internal aliyah" (or internal migration), "whereby Jews are leaving the neighborhoods where they were born and raised in Paris, in Marseille, in Lyon, in Toulouse [...] and are moving into neighborhoods that are more Jewish".¹³⁵ He explained that this phenomenon was the consequence of "day-to-day antisemitism," which is "not necessarily related to [physical] violence, often it's more low level — [...] mezuzot being ripped from the doorposts, hostile looks in the street, graffiti on the walls." Kalifat also remarked that between the powerful extreme right, led by Marine Le Pen, and the powerful extreme left, led by Jean-Luc Mélenchon, "we reject both, because we believe that both of them are participating in the rise of antisemitism in France."¹³⁶

Manifesto condemning antisemitism

Alain Finkelkraut initiated a manifesto, signed 300 prominent Jewish and non-Jewish dignitaries and celebrities, denouncing what it called the "new antisemitism marked by Islamic radicalization." Published in *Times of Israel* in August, it echoed statements previously expressed by Finkelkraut. "Anti-Semitism is not a Jewish affair, it's everyone's," the manifesto declared. "France has become a theater of murderous anti-Semitism." The signatories condemned what they called a "quiet ethnic purging" of Jews, especially in working-class, multi-racial neighborhoods and accused the media of remaining silent on this issue.

131 https://www.liberation.fr/france/2019/02/12/antisemitisme-un-fleau-sans-fin_1709009.

132 <https://www.france24.com/en/20190213-france-surge-anti-semitism-jews-hate-speech-yellow-vests-far-right>.

133 <https://www.france24.com/en/20190213-perspective-delphine-horvilleur-france-rabbi-rise-anti-semitism-acts-prelude-violence>.

134 <https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/europe/thousands-in-france-rally-against-anti-semitism-following-rash-of-hate-crimes-1.6955294>.

135 <https://www.algemeiner.com/2018/08/29/antisemitism-in-france-has-moved-from-streets-into-homes-says-head-of-french-jewish-community/>.

136 <http://www.leparisien.fr/societe/antisemitisme-obliges-de-demenager-parce-que-juifs-24-02-2019-8019558.php>.

Antisemitic Elements among Yellow Vests Movement

Since November 2018 antisemitic manifestations were also witnessed during weekly demonstrations by the Yellow Vest ("Gilets Jaunes") anti-government social protest movement. The violent behavior of some of the movement's supporters and the infiltration of antisemitic elements from the far-left and right were a source of concern for many.

A number of antisemitic and anti-Zionist signs have been spotted at the demonstrations, along with hundreds of similar posts by "yellow vests" supporters on social media.¹³⁷

However these incidents have been publicly denounced by many members of the movement, and French Prime Minister Édouard Philippe claimed that "it would be false and absurd to call the yellow vest movement anti-Semitic," but he warned that "antisemitism has very deep roots in French society" and promised a tough new law targeting online hate speech by the summer of 2019.¹³⁸ Referring to this issue, CRIF's president commented that "I would not say that the movement is antisemitic but I say that these mass movements are always exploited by anti-Semites."¹³⁹

In December, a group of Yellow Vest demonstrators in Paris' Montmartre neighborhood performed the "quenelle" hand gesture, an inverted Nazi salute, and the "quenelle song", hinting at Zionist plots. Both the gesture and song were popularized by Dieudonné M'bala M'bala, a French comedian convicted several times of racism and antisemitism.¹⁴⁰ In the same month, a 74-year-old Jewish woman was subjected to antisemitic abuse while traveling on the Paris Metro, after requesting three supporters of the "Yellow Vests" to stop their abusive chants and "quenelle" salutes. The three men, scolded her, demanding that she get off the train, while mockingly denying the existence of the Nazi gas chambers.¹⁴¹

137 <https://www.algemeiner.com/2018/12/26/french-police-launch-search-for-yellow-vest-protesters-who-accosted-elderly-jewish-woman-on-paris-metro/>.

138 https://www.huffingtonpost.fr/2019/02/19/les-gilets-jaunes-un-mouvement-antisemite-faux-et-absurde-selon-edouard-philippe_a_23672535/.

139 <https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/france-s-yellow-vest-movement-dogged-by-anti-semitism-and-conspiracy-theories-1.6890985>.

140 <https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/france-s-yellow-vest-movement-dogged-by-anti-semitism-and-conspiracy-theories-1.6890985>.

141 <http://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/gilets-jaunes-enquete-apres-des-agissements-antisemites-presumes-dans-le-metro-23-12-2018-7975410.php>.

Germany / Sarah Rembiszewski

About 100,000 Jews live today as German citizens in the Federal Republic (this does not include those not registered with the Jewish communities). Most of them emigrated from the former Soviet Union in the 1990s. In addition, there are about 13,000 Israelis living permanently in Germany. According to data from the Central Council of Jews in Germany, there are in the Federal Republic at least 100 Jewish communities, 20 Jewish kindergartens and seven secondary Jewish schools.

The total number of recorded antisemitic manifestations (according to the official governmental data) in Germany for the year 2018 indicates an overall rise of at least 10 percent. 1646 antisemitic crimes were reported, including 62 acts of violence (that left 43 people injured) - a rise of almost 70 percent, in comparison to 2017, when 1504 antisemitic crimes, including 37 violent incidents, were registered. However, the recorded manifestations are far from giving a truthful picture of the extent of the phenomenon. The level of reporting of antisemitism is low throughout Europe (and elsewhere) and the numbers represent only the tip of the iceberg. The reasons behind this phenomenon are multiple: mistrust of the authorities, shame of being a victim, and a certain normalization of antisemitic manifestations. This phenomenon, which is becoming an almost daily occurrence, is part of a racist and antisemitic experience which has become so normal, that the victims do not even react to it. That is why monitoring becomes a difficult task, as low reporting prevents the true extent of hate crimes, especially antisemitism to reach the relevant authorities and monitoring agencies. So numbers may indicate a trend but are far from rendering a true picture, which is especially true for the bulk of antisemitic expressions and threat on the Internet, social media, posts etc. Findings of a long-term study "Antisemitism in the World Wide Web" by Prof. Monika Schwarz-Friesel, published in July 2018, show not only a massive increase (22 percent) in the amount of antisemitic content online, but also a radicalization in terms of the content's quality, which have become mainstream and not confined only to extremists.¹⁴²

Most antisemitic incidents were reported in Berlin, home of the largest Jewish community in Germany. Although the overall numbers for the first six months of 2018 stayed stable on a high level in most parts of the city, in Berlin-Mitte there was a decrease of registered incidents (2018: 63; 2017: 81) while in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, antisemitic incidents almost doubled (2018: 40; 2017: 22) during the same period, according to the RIAS report.¹⁴³ In March 2018, a Berlin police report revealed that antisemitic crimes in the capital had doubled during the 2013-2017 period, a fact that was connected to the increased number of migrants from the Middle East living in the city. National Antisemitism Commissioner Felix Klein has also admitted the RIAS statistics support the feeling among Jews that Muslims are far more involved in antisemitic incidents than official statistics indicate.¹⁴⁴

But these statistics are far from rendering the true picture of the atmosphere perceived by the Jewish members of the society and not only by them. According to the CNN survey, published in December 2018, 44 percent of the Europeans who participated in the poll agree and probably are aware of the fact that antisemitism is a growing problem, while 18 percent think that the cause lies in the "everyday behavior of Jewish people."

¹⁴² https://www.linguistik.tu-berlin.de/menue/antisemitismus_2_0/; <https://www.timesofisrael.com/in-germany-online-anti-semitism-is-going-mainstream-study-finds/>.

¹⁴³ <https://report-antisemitism.de/#/public>. The Research and Information Office on Antisemitism in Berlin (RIAS) — an NGO that tallies expressions of hatred against Jews — counted 527 antisemitic incidents in the German capital in the first half of 2018.

¹⁴⁴ <https://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Berlin-Europes-antisemitism-capital-580076>.

A new survey about the perception of antisemitism in Europe was also published by the FRA of the European Union in December 2018. According to the survey 66 percent of Germans think that antisemitism is a problem in Germany (16 percent more than the EU Average), and 61 percent think that antisemitism increased in the last five years (25 percent more than the EU average). Furthermore, 76 percent do not think that people are well informed about the history, customs and practices of German Jews. Only 62 percent of those polled are aware that there is a law that criminalizes the denial of the Holocaust. 50 percent of Germans think that the Holocaust is sufficiently taught in German schools (the EU average is at 43 percent). As many as 48 percent admitted that antisemitism is a problem in German schools. As to the Middle East conflict, 69 percent of Germans think that it has influenced the way German Jews are perceived by people in Germany (15 percent higher than the EU average). According to the FRA report, this opinion is equally shared in the left/right political scale. Generally speaking, the better the education of the participant, the higher is his awareness of antisemitism.¹⁴⁵

A study about right-wing extremist and authoritarian attitudes in Germany was published by the University of Leipzig in 2018. According to the study, antisemitism decreased since 2002, but remains on a still high level. 10.1 percent of all participants say that the influence of Jews is too high; 7.6 percent say that Jews are using “nasty tricks;” and 9.1 percent say that Jews do not fit in German society. The study also analysed secondary antisemitism and the findings are worrying, as 12.9 percent of those polled said that due to Israeli politics, Jews are getting dislikeable; 24 percent think that “Israel war crimes” are getting downplayed; 36 percent say that reparations are just used for a Holocaust-Industry [sic]; and 10 percent can understand why Jews are unpleasant to some people.¹⁴⁶

In Germany, antisemitic comments are punishable under law, and yet, violent manifestations against Jews, whether verbal or physical, have been increasing and are no longer found exclusively in what was once described as extreme right-wing fringe groups. Antisemitism has entered the mainstream society and can be found in ideologies of all colors. One surprising fact can be seen in the ignorance of German young adults (40 percent) about the history (Holocaust) and life of the Jewish population.

Most antisemitic crimes, according to the official data are motivated and perpetrated by the extreme right. However, this data does not take into account, that even Muslim antisemitism is more influenced by classic stereotypes of antisemitism (53 per cent) than by conceptions of Israel as the “enemy” (35 per cent). Thus the unknown perpetrator who uses classic antisemitic stereotypes cannot be automatically ascribed to the extreme right, as it is mostly done in official statistics. According to Schwarz-Friesel classic antisemitism “is with an average of over 54 percent.” She also showed that “Israel-related hatred of Jews appears to be on the way to becoming a ‘politically correct form of antisemitism,’ as it meets with the least opposition in civil society, politics and the judicial system. As this hatred is based on classic anti-Jewish stereotypes, there is an overall danger that antisemitism will continue to spread and be normalized.”¹⁴⁷

145 <http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/survey/getsurveydetail/instruments/special/surveyky/2220>.

146 <https://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2018-11/autoritarismus-rechtsextremismus-antisemitismus-deutschland-ost-west-studie-uni-leipzig>.

147 https://www.linguistik.tu-berlin.de/menue/antisemitismus_2_o/.

One of the most publicized antisemitic incidents in 2018 was the attack on the kosher restaurant “Shalom” in Chemnitz on September 27th, when 12 men in black masks attacked the site and beat up the owner. In response, thousands of people gathered in the center of the city - 6,000 people in support of the far-right group, Pro Chemnitz, confronted 1,500 counter protesters. Protesters threw fireworks, bottles and other projectiles. Several far-right protesters performed Nazi salutes.

On Friday evening September 21, 175 neo-Nazis protested in Dortmund. They yelled slogans like “Wer Deutschland liebt, ist Antisemit” (Who loves Germany is an antisemite). During the German national holiday “Tag der deutschen Einheit” (German Unity Day) on October 3, 2000 neo-Nazis and right wing extremists protested at the main train station in Berlin. Protesters did the Hitler salute and yelled (among other things) “Wer Deutschland nicht liebt soll Deutschland verlassen (Who does not love Germany should leave Germany)”, “Rein in die Gaskammern (Go into the Gas chambers!)” and “Nie wieder Israel (Never again Israel).”

In 2018 the German government announced for the first time since 2011 an increase in the annual state funds for the Jewish umbrella organization (Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland) from 10 million euros to 13 million euros.

The arrival in Germany of 1.4 million refugees, mainly from countries where antisemitism is part of the official agenda, poses a potential and real threat to the Jewish population, which is reflected in the social media, in schools and on the streets. This development has also strengthened the xenophobic, racist and eventually the antisemitic sides of the far right. The Alternative for Germany (AfD) - the first far right party to enter the German parliament since 1961 - became the third powerful party in the Bundestag, with 94 seats, mainly by instrumentalizing what they call the “refugee problem.” This gave some kind of legitimation to xenophobic, racist and direct or indirect antisemitic attitudes, which are becoming part of the public consent. “Its message is clear: you don't have to be ashamed of being angry, you don't have to be ashamed of being white, you don't have to be ashamed of your past.”¹⁴⁸

The former chairwoman of the extreme right-wing AfD, Frauke Petry, called the party a “guarantor for Jewish life in Germany” - a highly controversial statement. Critical voices refer to officials of the AfD like Alexander Gauland (one of the two chairmen and speakers of the party), who called the NS Regime a “Vogelschiss” (bird shit) in the history of Germany. Gauland was quoted as saying that he was proud of the achievements (Leistungen) of German Soldiers in WWII, and Björn Höcke, leading politician of the AfD called the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin a “Memorial of shame.”

It must be mentioned that on October 7, the group of “Jews in the AfD” (“Juden in der AfD” - JAFD) was founded with 24 Members in Wiesbaden-Erbenheim (with 19 present). The group is highly criticized by Jewish organizations. In the declaration of intention, the JAFD states that it will raise the issue of “hatred against Jews among Muslims” which is “indisputably inseparable from the foundation of the Islam.”

¹⁴⁸ <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/11/27/europe/antisemitism-analysis-ward-intl/index.html>.

Schools

On February 29, 2019, German antisemitism commissaries met in Heidelberg for an opinion exchange with teachers of Judaism and Hebrew, in order to find ways to face and act against the growing verbal and physical antisemitism in schools. Teachers complained that school directors often do not act when antisemitic offences occur, because they fear about the school's reputation. The problem of antisemitism in schools is quite concrete, not only in Berlin, but in the entire republic. "We have to face this problem," demanded managing director of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, Daniel Botmann. But not only Jewish pupils have to deal with antisemitism in the classroom. Unsure and unequipped of how to deal with antisemitism in the classroom, Jewish teachers don't always report incidents concerning themselves, in order to avoid tipping off their own religious identity, according to Marina Chernivsky, the head of the Berlin-based organization Kompetenz Zentrum für Prävention und Empowerment (or Competence Center for Prevention and Empowerment), which provides counseling to individual and institutions after antisemitic and discriminatory incidents.¹⁴⁹

Felix Klein, the first commissioner for Jewish Life in Germany and the Fight against Antisemitism, appointed by the federal government in May, intends to create a nationwide reporting system for antisemitic acts, even those below the "criminal liability limit." In addition, said Klein, he wants to name a police contact person for each German state to make reporting of incidents easier, "in order to be able to fight antisemitism, we have to make it more visible."

BDS

In Germany different trends have been noticed as to the handling of BDS in 2018. Following are some examples:

Supporters of the BDS movement (Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions) in Germany have won a two-year court battle against a local authority that could set a legal precedent for BDS activism in the country. On September 27, the administrative court of the of Oldenburg ruled that the municipality's decision to cancel a 2016 BDS event had been unlawful, as the city council had "undermined the fundamental right of the applicant's freedom of assembly" as well as freedom of expression, which, it added, "was (and is) severely interfered with." "The fundamental right to freedom of expression is, as the most direct expression of the human personality in society, one of the most distinguished human rights of all."

In March 2019, the spokesman for the German city of Stuttgart told *The Jerusalem Post* that the municipality has removed the promotional page for a boycott Israel group as "BDS propagates the goal of an Israel boycott."¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ <https://zwst-kompetenzzentrum.de/?lang=en>.

¹⁵⁰ <https://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/Post-Expos%C3%A9-causes-German-city-to-remove-pro-boycott-Israel-advertisement-569282>.

Politicians have responded to growing grassroots support for BDS in Germany in a number of ways, often hoping to outlaw the movement. Last year, for instance, Frankfurt and Munich resolved to prevent BDS activists from using public venues for political purposes. In May, Berlin’s legislative council officially deemed BDS antisemitic, while parties across the political spectrum in the German parliament passed a resolution directing the judiciary to examine whether BDS could be classed as a criminal activity. In June, Uwe Becher, Frankfurt’s deputy mayor, was quoted as saying artists who support BDS were “not welcome” in the city.

The University of Cologne’s student parliament passed a resolution against the BDS campaign, targeting the Jewish State, because BDS is an antisemitic movement that seeks to exterminate Israel. According to the resolution adopted in late October, 2018, “the student bodies of the University of Cologne are fighting the antisemitic BDS campaign against the Jewish state of Israel by all available means.” BDS groups “should not be offered a platform at the University of Cologne. The student parliament and the AStA are working to prevent BDS propagating events at the University of Cologne.”

Greece / Michal Navoth

This survey is based on information the author has obtained from The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS). The information is part of KIS forthcoming report on antisemitism in Greece in 2018.

Throughout 2018, antisemitic manifestations were mainly not violent in Greece. As in 2017 there were no incidents targeting Jews, and vandal attacks of Jewish sites were few, although in comparison to 2017 there were more cases perpetrated against Jewish sites, causing severe property damage. Incidents of vandalism and graffiti took place in various cities in Greece: Komotini, Volos, Sparta, Trikala, Kastoria, but most of them occurred in Athens (four incidents) and in Thessaloniki (six incidents). In the latter, the Holocaust memorial was vandalized four times in 2018.¹⁵¹ In addition, graffiti and antisemitic signs were found in the public domain. Stereotypes and conspiracy theories are disseminated through the internet and social networks and they are rife in the mass media, the press and TV. The Jews are featured as controlling world politics and finance and even as responsible for the refugee influx in Greece. Two more trends characterize 2018 - one is related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the other to the BDS movement, almost inexistent in the past.

This survey also refers to the Golden Dawn (GD), the Greek extreme right wing party, and to other groups of the far right, the two new national parties founded in 2018, and to the initiatives for combating antisemitism.

Vandal attacks of Jewish sites

On January 2, the Holocaust Memorial in Komotini, a city in northeastern Greece, was desecrated. The memorial, situated in the central city park of Aghia Paraskevi, was defaced with red paint.¹⁵² On January 3, The Holocaust Monument in Athens, situated near the Synagogue and the Jewish Community headquarters, was desecrated with unintelligible spray-painted graffiti.

Also at the beginning of January, next to Holocaust Monument in Athens, the metallic plaques with the Elie Wiesel's dedication were scratched following their replacement after having been stripped off by unknown perpetrators in December 2017.

On January 10, the pavement in front of the Holocaust Monument in Thessaloniki was desecrated with "Free Palestine" graffiti.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ See also *Komotini Holocaust memorial vandalized three times in matter of months*, March 2 2018, <https://enantiastonantisimitismo.wordpress.com/2018/03/02/komotini-holocaust-memorial-vandalized-three-times-in-matter-of-months/> [in the original-M.N.]; Philip Chrysopoulos, *Vandals Desecrate Jewish Cemetery in Trikala, Central Greece*, October 15, 2018, <https://greece.greekreporter.com/2018/10/15/vandals-desecrate-jewish-cemetery-in-trikala-central-greece/>; *Jewish memorial in Kastoria desecrated*, December 26, 2018, <http://www.ekathimerini.com/236024/article/ekathimerini/news/jewish-memorial-in-kastoria-desecrated> [in the original-M.N.]; World Jewish Congress (WJC), *WJC denounces vandalism of Greece Holocaust memorial, for fourth time this year*, December 17, 2018, http://www.worldjewishcongress.org/en/news/wjc-denounces-vandalism-of-greece-holocaust-memorial-for-fourth-time-this-year-12-1-2018?utm_source=World+Jewish+Congress+Daily+News&utm_campaign=3528c1f303-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2018_12_19_06_02&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_a1de7e9b27-3528c1f303-318793389.

¹⁵² *Komotini Holocaust*.

¹⁵³ See also: *Holocaust memorial in Thessaloniki desecrated with "Free Palestine" graffiti*, 10 January 2018, <https://enantiastonantisimitismo.wordpress.com/2018/01/10/holocaust-memorial-in-thessaloniki-desecrated-with-free-palestine-graffiti/>.

On January 20, on the entrance gate of the Synagogue of Volos a graffiti reading “siktir Israel” (f...k Israel) was painted.

On January 21, the Holocaust Monument in Thessaloniki was vandalized once more within 11 days with a graffiti reading “Chryssi Avghi” (Golden Dawn in Greek). This is all the more evident from KIS’ condemnatory statement: “merely a week before the International Holocaust Remembrance Day followers of the Nazi party in Greece stated their presence by **desecrating the Holocaust Monument in Thessaloniki with their repulsive signature.**”¹⁵⁴ The desecration was discovered after a rally that took place on the same day, where hundreds of thousands of Greek citizens, including supporters of Golden Dawn, protested the use of the name Macedonia by the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM).¹⁵⁵

During the night of Friday to Saturday, May 4-5, unknown vandals desecrated the Jewish part of the Nikaia cemetery, a southwestern suburb of Athens, smashed all the nine marble headstones of the slabs that are used to mark the sectors of the cemetery.¹⁵⁶ Minos Moissis, the President of the Jewish community of Athens, responded to that act of brutality: “this is not the first time we see the result of a degrading act at our cemetery, but it is the first time we see that such an act was organized and planned in part of the Cemetery that is not visible from the neighboring houses and with incredible fury.”¹⁵⁷

On June 27, the Holocaust Memorial in Thessaloniki was desecrated with red paint.¹⁵⁸

On July 10, the Jewish Monument, situated in the campus of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, was vandalized with blue paint. The University was built upon the shattered tombs and the scattered bones of Jews buried in the old Jewish cemetery of Thessaloniki, which was one of the most significant Jewish cemeteries in Europe until its destruction in 1942. During the Nazi occupation, the Germans used the grave markers for construction material. Unveiled in 2014, the monument commemorates the historic Jewish cemetery, and is dedicated in memory of the Jewish students who perished in the Holocaust.¹⁵⁹

154 The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS), *Announcement for the Desecration of the Holocaust Monument in Thessaloniki*, 23 January 2018, https://kis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=755:announcement-for-the-desecration-of-the-holocaust-monument-in-thessaloniki&catid=9:deltiatypoy&Itemid=32.

155 The long-term dispute derives from the Greeks' belief for over two decades that their northern neighbor, which achieved independence in 1991 after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, should change its name, claiming that Macedonia is historically a Greek region. See *Salonica Holocaust memorial vandalized*, 25 January 2018, <https://www.jta.org/2018/01/25/global/desecration-of-thessaloniki-holocaust-memorial-condemned>.

156 The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS), *Announcement by the Jewish Community of Athens for the Desecration of the Jewish Cemetery*, 7 May 2018, [https://kis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=774:announcement-by-the-jewish-community-of-athnes-for-the-desecration-of-the-jewish-cemetery-&catid=49:2009-05-11-09-28-23;Headstones smashed in Athens cemetery](https://kis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=774:announcement-by-the-jewish-community-of-athnes-for-the-desecration-of-the-jewish-cemetery-&catid=49:2009-05-11-09-28-23;Headstones%20smashed%20in%20Athens%20cemetery), *Times of Israel*, May 5, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/jewish-headstones-smashed-in-athens-cemetery/>.

157 Victor Eliezer, *Jewish cemetery of Athens vandalized*, EUROPEAN JEWISH PRESS, 6 May 2018, <https://ejpress.org/jewish-cemetery-of-athens-vandalised/>.

158 The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS), *KIS Announcement for the Desecration of the Holocaust Monument in Thessaloniki*, June 29, 2018, https://kis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=778:kis-announcement-for-the-desecration-of-the-holocaust-monument-in-thessaloniki&catid=12:2009&Itemid=41; Thessaloniki prosecutor orders preliminary investigation into vandalism of Holocaust Memorial, 28 June 2018, <http://int.ert.gr/thessaloniki-prosecutor-orders-preliminary-investigation-into-vandalism-of-holocaust-memorial/>.

159 The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS), *Press Release on the Desecration of the Jewish Monument in the Campus of the University of Thessaloniki*, July 11, 2018, https://kis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=781:press-release-on-the-desecration-of-the-jewish-monument-in-the-campus-of-the-university-of-thessaloniki-&catid=12:2009&Itemid=4; The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS), *Secretary General for Religious Affairs condemns Desecration of Monument in Thessaloniki University*, 12 July 2018, https://kis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=783:secretary-general-for-religious-affairs-condemns-desecration-of-monument-in-thessaloniki-university&catid=49:2009-05-11-09-28-23; Greek Holocaust memorial vandalized for second time in 2 weeks, July 11, 2018, <https://www.jta.org/2018/07/11/global/greek-holocaust-memorial-vandalized>.

On October 12, in the Jewish cemetery of Trikala, Central Greece, eight tombs and tombstones, among which the two graves of the parents of the President of the Jewish Community there, were desecrated.¹⁶⁰

On November 15, the Jewish cemetery of Athens was once more attacked by vandals who threw oil against 40 tombstones, which were severely damaged.

On December 15, for the fourth time within 2018, the Holocaust Monument in the city center of Thessaloniki was defaced with a swastika spray-painted.¹⁶¹

On December 25, in the northern Greek town of Kastoria the Holocaust Monument was sprayed with black paint, including the bilingual inscription dedicated to the 1,000 Jews of the city deported in 1944 to Auschwitz, of which only 35 survived.

Graffiti and antisemitic manifestations in the public domain

On January 21, antisemitic leaflets were found at the White Tower square of Thessaloniki targeting the city's mayor, Yannis Boutaris, and calling him "slave of the Jews."¹⁶²

On August 28, Graffiti reading "Death to the Jews" was found in a central street of Sparta.

On August 31, on a bus stop in Thessaloniki a poster with the photo of an Orthodox Jew rubbing his hands was posted. Its title read: [t]he Jewish dog rubs his hands every time you use an ATM."

On December 1, antisemitic graffiti outside the Rhodes Casino: reading "Jew out" was photographed.

160 World Jewish Congress (WJC), WJC condemns desecration of Greece cemetery as 'inexcusable and direct attack against the Jewish community', 12 October 2018, http://www.worldjewishcongress.org/en/news/wjc-condemns-desecration-of-greece-cemetery-as-inexcusable-and-direct-attack-against-the-jewish-community-10-5-2018?utm_source=World+Jewish+Congress+Daily+News&utm_campaign=ea465c76d9-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2018_10_09_05_59&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_a1de7e9b27-ea465c76d9-318793389 [in the original-M.N.]; The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS), *Vandal Attack against the Jewish Cemetery of Trikala*, October 12, 2018, https://kis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=794:vandal-attack-against-the-jewish-cemetery-of-trikala&catid=49:2009-05-11-09-28-23; Chrysopoulos, *Vandals Desecrate*.

161 World Jewish Congress (WJC), *WJC denounces vandalism*; The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS), *Announcement for the New Desecration of the Holocaust Monument in Thessaloniki*, December 17, 2018, https://kis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=805:announcement-for-the-new-desecration-of-the-holocaust-monument-in-thessaloniki&catid=49:2009-05-11-09-28-23.

162 *Holocaust memorial in Thessaloniki desecrated with "Golden Dawn" graffiti*, January 21, 2018, <https://enantia-antonantisimitismo.wordpress.com/2018/01/21/holocaust-memorial-in-thessaloniki-desecrated-with-golden-dawn-graffiti/> [in the original-M.N.]. For the desecration of the Holocaust memorial in Thessaloniki see *supra*.

The internet and social networks

The internet facilitates the distribution of hate and bigotry in an abusive language and unleashed manner. Following the hate rhetoric of the Golden Dawn's posts, on January 4, 2018, the twitter account of the party (*@xryshaygh*) was suspended. In response, GD claimed that "after Facebook of Zionist Zuckerberg, after Instagram and all the corrupt media, it was Twitter's turn to target the party in a vulgar manner." On January 31, politician, John Chatziantoniou, who was candidate to the Greek parliament for Syriza in 2015 (but eventually was not elected), wrote on his twitter account (*@ichatzianton*), probably on the occasion of International Holocaust Remembrance Day, "JEWS... dead Jews were nice. It is the living with whom we have a problem."

The internet is also used for posting blogs and websites reiterating claims that Jews do not pay taxes. This slanderous lie, which has been popular in recent years and targets the Jews for Greece's economic woes, continued to spread in 2018.

The Blog "Education in Greece" posted an article relating to the Holocaust Museum in Thessaloniki, which is under construction, in an entry entitled "Thessaloniki under Jewish occupation and the dirty role of the Jews and the state church." According to the article "the Museum of the pseudo-Holocasut" aimed at "indoctrinating all children to serve the Jews." The article was reproduced and posted by other antisemitic blogs. Thus, the web is used also for spreading conspiracy theories and for denying the Holocaust.

The mass media: press and TV

The mass media contributes to the trivialization of the Holocaust, which was on the rise in 2018. The daily nationalist newspaper *Eleftheri Ora* targets Jews almost on a daily basis, exploiting every opportunity arising from the economic and migration crises to Macedonia name dispute. Similarly, in its articles the newspaper refers to antisemitic themes such as the Protocols of the Elders of Zion.

On January 31, on the occasion of the ceremony held to lay the cornerstone for the Holocaust Museum in Thessaloniki (by Greek Prime Minister Tsipras and Israeli President Reuven Rivlin) the mainstream daily *Kathimerini* published a cartoon drawing parallels between the refugee camps in Lesvos and Holocaust remembrance. The cartoon depicted two refugees speaking of a dream that in 2093 the Greek authorities would inaugurate in Lesvos a Remembrance Museum. In another article in the same paper published on March 2, dealing with the foreign policy on FYROM, and referring to Greek Prime Minister and to then Minister for Foreign Affairs, it wrote: "are you ... pawns of the Rothschilds, the Zionists dominators of the world that wish to establish the State of Macedonia of the Aegean." On April 4, in an article entitled "They abolish the 'antisemitic' Protocols of Zion in the light of the 70th anniversary of the foundation of Israel," the paper referred to the 6th Global Forum on Antisemitism, held in Jerusalem on March, criticizing the participation of the Greek Justice Minister Kondonis, and describing him as manipulated by the "Zionist and anti-hellenic lobby."

On July 4, the daily *Efimerida Ton Syntakton* published a cartoon, which attempted to lampoon Austrian decision on 12-hour workday. The cartoon showed the gate of Auschwitz with the inscription "12-hour work makes you free."

On February 16, a show broadcasted on TV channel “Art” was full of antisemitic references made by the host of the show and owner of the channel, George Karatzaferis, and his guest Konstantinos Plevris, writer and known Holocaust denier. Inter alia, Plevris alleged that Greece’s foreign policy was dictated by the Jews. The European Jewish Congress (EJC) imposed the name “Macedonia” for FYROM, given that the map of Europe on EJC website includes “Macedonia”, and Greek politicians comply.¹⁶³

Two characterizing trends

Two other trends characterize the antisemitic discourse in Greece: one is related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the other is the appearance of the BDS movement, which marks a new phenomenon. Similar to previous years, following the clash in the area surrounding the fence between Israel and the Gaza Strip since March, Israelis were equated with the Nazis. On April 10 and 11, Holocaust Memorial Day in Israel, two caricatures by cartoonist Michalis Kountouris, with strong messages of demonization of Israel and parallelism with the Holocaust, were published on the daily *Efimerida Ton Syntakton*. In one of them the Gaza Strip was identified with a prisoner of Nazi concentration camp, and the other depicted an Israeli soldier leaving the prints of his bloody hands on the Wailing Wall.¹⁶⁴

Articles posted in sites of the far right, Ethnikismos.net, and of the far left, info-war.gr, accused Zionism, for example March 31, of killing and carrying a “blood bath in Palestine.” Thus, despite good and developing relations between Israel and Greece, anti-Israelism is preached by both edges of the political spectrum, often promoted under the new rhetoric of “anti-Zionism” or by the description of Israel as “a murderer state”.¹⁶⁵

The second trend that characterized 2018 was the BDS movement, almost inexistent in Greece in previous years. It was institutionalized in campaigns organized by “The Greek Front of Resistance and Solidarity for Palestine, Ghassan Kanafani” through posts published in its official website and social media.

Antisemitism and Political Parties

The trial of the Golden Dawn (GD), which started on April 20, 2015, has gone into its fourth year. 69 individuals, among them GD’s leader and all its MPs from the 2012 elections, had been charged with participation in a criminal organization.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ For collaboration between Plevris and Karatzaferis in the past, see Michal Navoth, *Antisemitism, Holocaust Denial and Racism in Greece Today*, Moshet Journal for the Study of the Holocaust and Antisemitism, 7 Winter (2009), 71 n. 17 and accompanying text.

¹⁶⁴ The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS), “Bloody Handprints” by victor Is. Eliezer, Comments on Sketches Demoniz[ing] Israel, April 25, 2018, https://kis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=770:qbloody-handprintsq-comments-on-sketches-demonising-israel&catid=49:2009-05-11-09-28-23.

¹⁶⁶ For the new rhetoric see Michal Navoth, *Greece*, in *Antisemitism Worldwide 2015*, 45 n. 35 and accompanying text, <http://kantorcenter.tau.ac.il/sites/default/files/Report%202015%20with%20graphs.pdf>.

¹⁶⁶ Michal Navoth, *Between the Far Right and the Far Left: Current Issues of Racism and Nationalism in Greece*, Kantor Center Position Papers, ed. Mikael Shainkman (March 2017), 3, <http://www.kantorcenter.tau.ac.il/sites/default/files/PP%20Greece%20170320.pdf>.

In 2018, GD members of Parliament were also engaged with antisemitic activity. Two of them submitted to the Minister of Finance interpellations with antisemitic comments. In all polls of 2018, GD steadily keeps its third position, which translates to 7-8 percent of the votes.

In addition to the GD, two other political actors joined the far right in 2018. Two new nationalistic parties were established by right wing politicians. PAT.RI.E (Patriotic Radical Union) was founded in June by a former member of GD, and in October “Dynamis Ellinismou” (Power of Hellenism) was established. One of its cofounders, an expelled ANEL (Independent Greeks) MP Dimitris Kammenos, has been known for his antisemitic blogs, which affected his political career in the past.¹⁶⁷

This trend is indicative of the rise of nationalistic and far right forces and it remains to be seen what will be their impact on the forthcoming elections for the European Parliament in May 2019, which coincides with the municipal elections in Greece, and on the elections to Greek Parliament in autumn 2019.

As for the municipal elections, it should be noted that Plevris announced his candidacy as Mayor of Athens. On December his three new books were published *The Other Hitler; Auschwitz: Myths and Realities; and Antisemitism: Is it Racism or Humanity's Defense?*. A month before the books were released, the Greek Helsinki Monitor (GHM) filed a criminal complaint to the Department for Combating Racial Violence of the Police against Plevris and Tassos Simigdalas, the editor of the books, for antisemitism through the public denial and trivialization of the Holocaust.¹⁶⁸ Plevris enjoys the support of a wide range of the far right in Greek political spectrum and as he announced his candidacy his antisemitic rhetoric is assumed to continue and escalate.

Initiatives undertaken to combat antisemitism

Initiatives undertaken to combat antisemitism included immediate denunciations by Jewish organizations as well as by senior Greek politicians.¹⁶⁹ In some cases, the authorities responded swiftly to rectify damages caused by vandalism.¹⁷⁰ In response to the calls of the Jewish community to bring the perpetrators of the desecration of the Holocaust Memorial in Thessaloniki to justice,¹⁷¹ the head prosecutor ordered a preliminary investigation to determine the misdemeanors committed in combination with the violation of the antiracism law.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ See Navoth, *Between the Far Right*, 7.

¹⁶⁸ Plevris was prosecuted for the antisemitic contents of his previous book *Jews, the Whole Truth*, and was acquitted by the Supreme Court. In his article of 13 December, 2018, published in *Eleftheri Ora*, he referred to the “International Jewry” as the perpetrator of the immigrants wave in Greece, and wrote about his book and his trial. This information is part of KIS forthcoming report on antisemitism in Greece in 2018. See also Michal Navoth, *Antisemitism in Greece: The Trial of Konstantinos Plevris*, Stephen Roth Institute, Topical Brief No. 8 (2011).

¹⁶⁹ KIS Announcement for the Desecration of the Holocaust Monument in Thessalonik; Secretary General for Religious Affairs condemns Desecration of Monument in Thessaloniki University; Greek Holocaust memorial vandalized for second time.

¹⁷⁰ Keep Talking Greece, *Holocaust Memorial in Thessaloniki vandalized*, June 28, 2018, <https://www.keeptalkinggreece.com/2018/06/28/holocaust-memorail-thessaloniki-vandalized/>.

¹⁷¹ *Vandal Attack against the Jewish Cemetery of Trikala*; Based on information the author has obtained from The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS). The information is part of KIS forthcoming report on antisemitism in Greece in 2018.

¹⁷² *Thessaloniki prosecutor orders preliminary investigation*

Other examples of the activities of the law enforcement in 2018 are as follows. In March, after GHM filed a complaint, the Greek Counter Terrorism Police arrested 11 suspects, members of violent neo-Nazi group “C18 Hellas”. The group is affiliated to Unaligned Meander Nationalists (Greek abbreviation: AME), a neo-Nazi organization. In the past, both organizations have claimed responsibility for vandal attacks against Jewish sites in Greece.¹⁷³ GHM has been filing complaints in 2018 with a view to enhance the legal proceedings. Following an article published in *Eleftheri Ora*,¹⁷⁴ GHM filed a complaint on December 1, indicating that it constituted incitement to racial violence. On December 31, GHM filed another complaint against a monk that calls himself “father Kleomenis,” who uploaded a new antisemitic video in Rutube on 30 October 2018 entitled: “time will come when we slaughter the Jews.”¹⁷⁵

In its announcement after the desecration of the Holocaust memorial in Thessaloniki in December, KIS reiterated the proposal for the endorsement by Greece of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance’s (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism, which provides a practical guide to the identification of antisemitic crimes. It also called to reinforce educational and social awareness initiatives, because it is only through knowledge that society might be fortified against the preachers of hatred.¹⁷⁶

In the time of writing, mid-February 2019, it became known that the Minister of Education, Research and Religious Affairs, Kostas Gavroglou, announced that in the context of implementing actions on combating antisemitism, the General Secretariat for Religious Affairs has adopted IHRA’s Definition of Antisemitism.¹⁷⁷ It remains to be seen, how long it will take the Greek Government to adopt that Definition.

173 *Greek Police arrest members of Nazi group “C18 Hellas”*, March 14, 2018, <https://enantiastonantisimitismo.wordpress.com/2018/03/14/greek-police-arrest-members-of-nazi-group-c18-hellas/> [in the original-M.N.]; *See also* Navoth in *Antisemitism Worldwide 2015*, 42 ns. 13-14 and accompanying text.

174 The article made comments with reference to the results of CNN polls on antisemitism, <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/11/27/europe/anti-semitism-analysis-ward-intl/index.html> that it published.

175 Already in the past, on July 2017 “father Kleomenis” brutally vandalized the Holocaust Monument in Larissa. The GHM filed a complaint against Kleomenis for several actions including Larissa. Information provided to the author by GHM.

“Father Kleomenis” escaped arrest since July 2017. Based on information the author has obtained from The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS). The information is part of KIS forthcoming report on antisemitism in Greece in 2018. On January 2019, the First Misdemeanors Court of Larissa convicted in absentia “Father Kleomenis” to 18 months prison sentence and a fine of 7.500 euros for the vandal attack of the Holocaust Monument in Larissa. *See* https://www.huffingtonpost.gr/amp/entry/sten-felake-o-pater-kleomenes_gr_5c532dd6e4b093663f5c7665/?ec_c, information provided to the author by KIS.

176 The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS), *Announcement for the New Desecration*. In March 2018, Holocaust education program was institutionalized by the Greek Ministry of Education Research and Religious Affairs due to a long and fruitful cooperation between that Ministry and Jewish organizations. The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS), *Holocaust Education in Greece – A productive cooperation between Education Ministry and Jewish Organizations formalized by a Ministerial Decree*, June 5, 2018, https://kis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=777:holocaust-education-in-greece-a-productive-cooperation-between-education-ministry-and-jewish-organizations-formalized-by-a-ministerial-decree&catid=12:2009&Itemid=4 [in the original].

177 The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece, *KIS Announcement for the Adoption of the Working Definition of Antisemitism by the Ministry of Education*, 12 February 2019, https://kis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=818:kis-announcement-for-the-adoption-of-the-working-defintion-of-antisemitism-by-the-ministry-of-education-&catid=49:2009-05-11-09-28-23.

Hungary*

The 2018 FRA Survey shows that antisemitism remains the main concern for Hungarians, followed by racism and government corruption, although the number of people who deem antisemitism as a grave concern has relatively decreased over the last six years. However, the majority of the respondents agree that antisemitism has increased. 31 percent think antisemitism has increased “a lot” and 40 percent think it has increased “a little”. According to the survey, the main manifestations of antisemitism are on the internet and the social media, the political domain, and the media.¹⁷⁸

Regarding Hungarians’ perceptions of Jews, the 2018 CNN survey shows that 19 percent of the interviewed hold a negative opinion of Jews, compared to an average of 10 percent in the surveyed countries. The same survey also finds that two out of five people think that Jews are too influential in business; one out of three that they are too influential in political affairs; and more than one out of four people hold the view that Jews are too influential in the media.¹⁷⁹

The major categories of antisemitic incidents included: episodes of hate speech (18 reported incidents), vandalism (9 reported incidents), and assault (3 incidents).¹⁸⁰

In at least two cases concerning physical assaults, two men wearing a kippah, were attacked in public spaces and their kippahs pulled off. Vandalism incidents include a variety of graffiti with Nazi symbolism (such as swastikas) and antisemitic remarks against Jews on public and private properties.

Hate speech

Hate speech incidents strike for the highest number, including public remarks and online manifestations, such as circulation of antisemitic material and publication of posts with antisemitic content. In at least two cases, such episodes involved politicians who formulated remarks combining contemporary and classic antisemitic rhetoric.

In February 2018, the news portal “Origo,” known in the past for its critical positions toward the government, republished an interview given in 2010 by a candidate to the Parliament belonging to the centrist Momentum political movement.¹⁸¹ Reportedly, the candidate denied the existence of Jewish statehood and defined Zionism as criminal, also accusing the “Jewish lobby” for pushing the UN to abandon this definition.¹⁸² In

* Special thanks to Karl Pfeiffer, journalist and contributor.

178 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, “Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism – Second Survey on Discrimination and Hate Crime Against Jews in the EU,” (Luxembourg: Publications Office of The European Union, 2018). The survey is available at <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2018/2nd-survey-discrimination-hate-crime-against-jews>.

179 See, Richard Allen Greene, “A Shadow Over Europe – CNN Poll Reveals Depth of Anti-Semitism in Europe,” *CNN*, November 2018, available at <https://edition.cnn.com/interactive/2018/11/europe/antisemitism-poll-2018-intl/>; and Clarissa Ward, “Anti-Semitism never disappeared in Europe. It's alive and kicking,” *CNN*, 28 November 2018, available at <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/11/27/europe/anti-semitism-analysis-ward-intl/index.html>.

180 The data is taken from the monthly report on antisemitism is drafted by the Brussels Institute, which belongs to the TEV (Tett és védelem, Action and protection Foundation. The reports are available at <https://tev.hu/en/>

181 See the Brussels Institute monthly report for March, available at https://tev.hu/wp-content/uploads/TEV_Havi-2018feb_enn_g_72dpi.pdf.

182 Presumably, the author of such statement was referring to the UN 1975 resolution that equated Zionism to racism, later repealed in 1991.

another occasion, during the local elections for the municipal government in November, a member of the Youth Christian Democrat Alliance reportedly published on his Facebook page a post exposing an allegedly “Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy” for dominating the world, and claiming that these forces would now couple with Zionism in the pursuit of “globalization.”¹⁸³ The author of this remark subsequently ensured he had no antisemitic intent.

Old anti-Jewish stereotypes of Jews as money-mongers echoed in a December publication of the weekly *Figyelő*, whose front-page portrayed Hungary’s Jewish leader surrounded by dropping money. The news regarded alleged mismanagement in public funding allocated for a synagogue’s restoration.¹⁸⁴ The image chosen for portraying alleged mismanagement to the detriment of public funding was considered by many as an example of reviving of anti-Jewish hatred, condemned also because of the link of the media outlet to the government.¹⁸⁵

However, the conspiracy rhetoric has been object of a number of controversies during the year, showing its centrality in Hungarian public discourse today.

Anti-Soros campaign controversy

A preponderant part of the international public debate about antisemitism in Hungary involved the discourse about George Soros, the Jewish American-Hungarian investor and philanthropist. Prime Minister Orbán was heavily criticized for a number of statements invoking Soros, and the “Stop Soros!” campaign, initiated by the government and officially aimed against the funding of NGOs that support immigration, which were perceived as enhancing antisemitism.

The accusation formulated against Soros is that he strives for the demise of European culture and nations by supporting mass immigration to the continent. While this statement does not attack Jews directly, it however plays a role in the evolvment of anti-Jewish episodes that exploit Soros’ Jewishness. The nationalist perception of the need to preserve a nation’s culture against immigration combines with the definition of who is part of the nation and who is an enemy. The Jew has traditionally been conceived as an eternal stranger and an unassimilable alien of society by antisemites. Moreover, the Jew has often been considered a sinister presence that jeopardizes the social and moral order of the society he dwells in.

Such attitudes were echoed in various statements expressed in Hungary. For instance, during the local election campaign in Hódmezővásárhely, a flyer with the image of Soros was circulated with an antisemitic remark that accused Jews of stealing resources and creating a divisive environment.¹⁸⁶

183 See, the Brussels Institute monthly report for November, available at https://tev.hu/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/TEV_Havi-2018nov-eng_72dpi.pdf.

184 See, “Israel Condemns Depiction of Hungarian Jewish Leader Surrounded by Banknotes,” *Times of Israel*, 1 December 2018, available at <https://www.timesofisrael.com/pmo-condemns-depiction-of-hungarian-jewish-leader-surrounded-by-banknotes/>.

185 See, Ira Forman, “Viktor Orbán Is Exploiting Anti-Semitism,” *Atlantic*, December 14, 2018, available at <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/12/viktor-orban-and-anti-semitic-figyelo-cover/578158/>.

186 See, Brussels Institute monthly report for February, available at https://tev.hu/wp-content/uploads/TEV_Havi-2018feb-eng_72dpi.pdf.

In an article published in the *Guardian* in March, Orbán was blamed for using a virulent language in the Soros campaign that fueled antisemitic sentiments.¹⁸⁷ The controversy extended to a recent exchange of public statements between representatives of the Hungarian government and the British Jewish community.¹⁸⁸ This was further complicated by Hungary's political scene and friendliness to Israel, in which certain political factions also criticize Soros for funding political NGOs. This proximity is often exploited in a twofold manner: for overlooking possible antisemitic incidents, or for bashing Israel and its foreign policy.

Consequences of historical revisionism

Antisemitic sentiments also unleash in connection with the commemoration of historically controversial figures, considered by mainstream historians as collaborators of the Nazis. They are being rehabilitated by revisionists, who are encouraged by the nationalistic discourse promoted by the current government.

One such figure is Miklós Horthy, the controversial governor of Hungary, who enacted anti-Jewish laws during WWII and held an ambiguous policy toward Nazi Germany. His responsibility toward the Hungarian nation and in the persecution, deportation, and extermination of Hungary's Jews is challenged by nationalist activists. Horthy's commemoration as a political and historical figure, has increasingly become associated with the far-right, nationalist movements in Hungary, which combine anti-Roma, antisemitic, and xenophobic discourse with irredentist aspirations. In Karl Pfeifer's view, the government's nationalistic drive contributes to the revisionist trend and to the rehabilitation of the country's past and the role of Hungarian collaborators in the Holocaust, leading to enhanced antisemitic sentiments despite the government's commitment to combat Jew-hatred.¹⁸⁹

In January 2018, a Catholic congregation planned a ceremony for commemorating Horthy to be held immediately before the international Holocaust Remembrance Day on 27 January. Following the outcry of the local and international Jewish leaders and other political groups, the ceremony was cancelled.¹⁹⁰ Other commemoration ceremonies took place during the year, organized by Christian and other social organizations during September and October.

While no clear episode of antisemitism was reported, such ceremonies are fertile ground for historical revisionism and trivialization of the Holocaust, which inevitably lead to the increase of antisemitic feelings.

187 See, Shaun Walker "Hungarian leader says Europe is now 'under invasion' by migrants," *Guardian*, March 15, 2018, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/15/hungarian-leader-says-europe-is-now-under-invasion-by-migrants>, in which the author says that "Orbán attacked Soros using language that critics have said contains antisemitic undertones."

188 British Jewish leader Marie Van der Zyl was reported to have expressed her concerns regarding antisemitic tones in the government-sponsored anti-Soros campaign to Hungary's Secretary of State Vince Szalay-Bobrovniczky in February 2019. See, Cnaan Liphshiz, "British Jewish leader's talk with Hungarian official on anti-Semitism deteriorates into an email clash," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, February 13, 2019, available at <https://www.jta.org/2019/02/13/global/british-jewish-leaders-talk-with-hungarian-official-on-anti-semitism-deteriorates-into-an-email-clash>. The response of the Hungarian government was harsh, basically suggesting Van der Zyl deal with problems related to Britain only. See, Cnaan Liphshiz, "UK Jewish leader publishes email clash with Hungarian official on anti-Semitism," *Times of Israel*, February 14, 2019, available at <https://www.timesofisrael.com/uk-jewish-leader-publishes-email-clash-with-hungarian-official-on-anti-semitism/>.

189 Karl Pfeiffer, "Hungary: Zero Tolerance for Antisemitism?" *The Algemeiner*, November 8, 2018, <https://www.algemeiner.com/2018/11/08/hungary-zero-tolerance-for-antisemitism/>.

190 See, Reuters, "Hungarian mass honoring Nazi ally canceled after Jewish protests," January 25, 2019 available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-jews/hungarian-mass-honoring-nazi-ally-canceled-after-jewish-protests-idUSKBN1FE1RU?il=0>.

Italy / Betty Guetta and Stefano Gatti

The Osservatorio Antisemitismo defines as antisemitic incident any deliberate act against Jews, Jewish organizations or property in which there is evidence that the action has antisemitic motivation or contents, or that the victim has been targeted as Jewish or deemed so. The Osservatorio compiles the information on antisemitic incidents in Italy through the main media and through the reports to the Antenna Antisemitismo. It is indisputable that the actual number of antisemitic incidents is higher than the recorded one. It is more frequent in fact to hear about serious acts than about verbal or written offenses, more rarely reported.

In the last decades, racist and anti-Semitic prejudices have become by and large more legitimate. The more we move away from the Second World War and the Shoah, the more the taboo on antisemitism is cracked. The political climate with the recent strengthening of the far right in many European countries is characterized by slogans and symbols that recall, with all due differences, the 1930s. The electoral and political successes of the far right create concern, but it is important to pay attention also to the rise of leftist antisemitism, which supports Islamist anti-Judaism and anti-Israeli attitudes expressed in antisemitic terms as in the BDS movement.

The gradual return of accusations against the Jews – which go back to classical antisemitic stereotypes – is evident in the use of myths and symbols of anti-Judaism (e.g. deicide, blood accusation, exclusivism, hatred against mankind). Antisemitic discourses are rampant with conspiracy, anti-Zionism, trivialization and denial of the Holocaust. The theme of deicide, reenacted in the Palestinian threat rhetoric, has re-emerged, while raising particular concern. Whereas violent actions out of anti-Jewish hostility distinguish the extremist political groups (right, left, Islamists), prejudice against Jews is widely spread among socio-cultural classes and political and ideological groups.

The Arab-Israeli conflict helps to feed antipathy towards the Jews

The demonization of Israel and the dehumanization of the “Zionists” perpetuate the tradition of hostility towards the Jews, legitimizing antisemitism among people. Codification and dissemination of antisemitism are increasing at the global level, in particular because of the non-stop development of technological tools. Messages against Jews are present both in the antisemitic as well as in mainstream websites and social networks (also in those of the main press services), where “offensive” comments are posted and shared with articles or videos dedicated to Jewish themes or to Israel. This is because postings are not generally controlled.

The evidence of verbal radicalization and the lowering of the taboo threshold clearly emerge through the language, the extent of violence, the climate of anti-conformism and desecration, and racist sarcasm. In the discourse about and portrayal of the Jews, the antisemitic clichés feed a negative and stereotypical image. The Web makes it possible to modernize and globalize the dissemination of antisemitic theses and discourses.

Web 2.0 has allowed the development of a culture in which antisemitism has been socially accepted, particularly among young people. In such an environment, the promotion of conspiracy theories,

the demonization of Jews/Zionists and the Jewish state, the use of the Jews/Zionists as a scapegoat has become the norm. They may lead, as consequence, to fierce actions against the Jews. The organized attempt to legitimize the antisemitism – the core of antisemitism 2.0 – challenges the defenses that society has erected against racism.

In 2018 the Osservatorio Antisemitismo of the CDEC Foundation recorded 197 antisemitic incidents, 66 percent increase compared to 2017 and 2016, when 130 were recorded. No case of physical violence or proven discrimination has been reported.

Antisemitic Incidents, January–December 2018

	2018	2017	2016
January	14	13	17
February	13	10	14
March	8	3	14
April	24	8	5
May	24	10	13
June	25	10	12
July	20	19	8
August	14	4	4
September	13	14	12
October	16	9	7
November	13	21	9
December	13	9	15
Total	197	130	130

Incident Types

Antisemitism on the Web	133
Defamation and insults	36
Graffiti and graphics	12
Threats to people	7
Vandalism	4
Antisemitism in the mass-media	2
Other	3

Over the period considered, 133 cases out of a total of 197 appeared on the Internet. In detail: 70 Facebook, 25 Twitter, 9 YouTube, 28 Websites, 1 WhatsApp.

The high number of antisemitic incidents recorded throughout the year reflects the political and economic climate; many cases are related, as usual, to events that see the Jews and / or the State of Israel at the center of attention:

- Day of Remembrance (January 27)
- Giro di'Italia (Grand Tour) started from Israel
- Celebration of the 70th anniversari of Israel
- Murder of Mireille Knoll
- Clashes in Gaza
- Liliana Segre named Life Senator
- Liliana Segre Law Proposal against online hate
- Vandalization of stumbling stones

The antisemitic incidents of 2018 relate, in order of importance, to: conspiracy, anti-Zionism, neo-Nazism, trivialization of the Holocaust (mockery of the Shoah), anti-Judaism (Christian and religious antisemitism).

The themes of anti-Judaism (blood accusation, deicide, etc.) have been experiencing a strong recrudescence over the last few months. While the denial of the Shoah (typical of neo-Nazism) or the blood libel (characteristic of anti-Judaism) are wide spread only in the sphere of neo-Nazism, the same myths adapted to Israeli reality gather consensus in more heterogeneous contexts: far left, ethno-regionalism, ecology, anti-elite galaxy, Islamism.

Conspiracy, which has become more and more the “glue” of antisemitism, is structured in three great themes of accusation towards the Jews or the Zionists:

- They dominate the West; they are rich and powerful; they own all banks (Goldman Sachs, Rothschild); they preside over places of power (Bilderberg Group, Trilateral Commission, EU); they govern and manipulate information.
- They are racist, especially in the Middle East, where they behave – like / worse than the Nazis – against the Palestinians, which are currently victims of a genocide, worse than the Shoah.
- They have a strong occult and behind-the-scenes influence, they rule the world public opinion and orchestrate and plot everywhere in the world. The attack of September 11, 2001, the wars in the Middle East and Africa, the jihadist terrorism, al Qaeda and ISIS are “their” work.

Online antisemitism is openly conveyed and expressed while using extremely aggressive and demonizing iconographic and lexical forms. The major providers have become more attentive to the problem of hate on Internet and more effective in erasing the contents of hatred. Still, the Internet remains the privileged place for the dissemination of hate speech, a place where antisemitism is now fully legitimized. Facebook is the most popular social networking site used by haters. The one that publishes the most brutally antisemitic material is the Russian social site VK, which, due to its permissiveness, has become the online shelter of the most virulent antisemites.

Defamation and insults against Jews and Jewish institutions. 36 such incidents were recorded: 20 cases affected Jews or phantasmal “Zionists”; 9 concerned Jewish Institutions – mainly UCEI and Osservatorio antisemitismo of the CDEC Foundation, and 7 concerned individuals, including a rabbi. Public figures such as Gad Lerner, Emanuele Fiano, Sandro Parenzo, Enrico Mentana and Liliana Segre are often victims of antisemitic invective, especially on social media.

Graffiti and graphics (12 cases). Graffiti writers come mainly from neo-Nazi groups. It clearly emerges from the symbolism used (swastikas) and from stadium antisemitism. Slogans and writings are often re-launched through social media.

Threats to people (7 cases). Half of the recorded incidents were offenses, threats and harassment against people identified as Jews. A case of incitement to homicide concerns the neo-Nazi Massimiliano Z., whose posting on Facebook incites to kill Jews.

Vandalism (4 cases). Acts of vandalism are directed exclusively against symbols that remind the Holocaust, mainly the stumbling stones.

Moldova / Natalia Sineaeva-Pankowska

Vandalism of Jewish Property and Antisemitism in the Media/Internet

Moldova is a country with a relatively low number of hate crimes registered by its authorities compared to other European countries. The most frequently reported types of antisemitism in 2018 were vandalism of Jewish property, including Jewish cemeteries. For example, on 29 October, unknown perpetrators drew a swastika on one of the grave stones at the Jewish cemetery in Chisinau, the Moldovan capital. As an important measure to prevent and deal with such cases, the Jewish Community of Moldova signed a cooperation agreement (memorandum) in June with the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the World Jewish Congress. It is expected that such cooperation will improve the mechanism of identifying and reporting antisemitic incidents.

Social media sites (personal blogs, newspapers' forums) have become a space for disseminating antisemitic comments, including amongst certain Moldovan politicians and public figures. The comments mostly support the traditional stereotypes of Jews dominating the world, and have appeared as a result of the political situation in the country, namely forthcoming elections and competition amongst candidates.

In August, the Jewish Community made a statement against antisemitism and hate speech in the media, and sent a complaint to the Equality Council (Council on Preventing and Eliminating Discrimination and Ensuring Equality) with a request to deal with particular cases of antisemitic statements made by public individuals. In October, the Jewish cemetery in Chisinau, the capital of Moldova, was desecrated.

Holocaust Commemoration

In recent years, with strong international encouragement and support, Moldova has begun to deal with various aspects of Holocaust history and its commemoration on a national level. Within the National Plan on the implementation of the Declaration of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova on the acceptance of the final report of the Elie Wiesel Commission, in January, the first Holocaust Information Center-Museum in the State Bureau for Interethnic Relations was inaugurated in Chisinau. The commission was established to perform a pertinent analysis of the curriculum and school textbooks regarding the study of the Second World War and to develop curricular content on Holocaust study within the educational unit "Second World War Crimes."

However, the official recognition of the Romanian Holocaust and the process of its commemoration on a national level was accompanied by numerous examples of Holocaust distortion and banalisation. This can be explained by a low level of knowledge of Holocaust history, but it can also be argued that identity complexity challenges the process of Holocaust commemoration.

Aside from nationalist politicians and Holocaust distorters, in September, surprisingly, Maia Sandu, one of the leaders of the opposition party in Moldova (elected to the Parliament in 2019), known for her progressive and pro-democratic views, stated in an interview to one of the TV channels that Ion

Antonescu was a person who “did both good and bad things.” Her answer reflects the general attitude of Moldovan society towards Antonescu (both the electorate and politicians) which mostly results from a lack of knowledge about the Holocaust in Moldova. The Jewish Community of Moldova issued a statement condemning this position on Antonescu.

The topic of the Holocaust currently is often in the media, but at the same time the level of knowledge about the Holocaust remains low. There are more examples of Holocaust banalisation, such as comparing the Holocaust with different disasters, crimes or other social problems. A comparison of abortions with the Holocaust during the conservative World Family Congress in Chisinau in September 2018 (influenced by the Orthodox Church) with the participation of the Moldovan president, is a characteristic example of this.

Moldova demands a more comprehensive approach to Holocaust history, not limited to official public commemoration and statements to appease the international community. One of the subjects which had been discussed repeatedly in the media is the renaming of one of the central streets which crosses the Kishinev ghetto site – Octavian Goga Street. Octavian Goga was an extreme-right and fascist politician who served briefly as prime minister of Romania, and introduced antisemitic legislation in Romania in 1938. The issue appears in the media from year to year, but has not been tackled by the authorities.

Countering Antisemitism in Moldova

There have also been attempts to counter antisemitism in Moldova. In April, The Jewish Community of Moldova and the KEDEM Jewish Cultural Centre, in cooperation with the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association, launched and conducted a broad awareness raising campaign about the infamous Kishinev pogrom of April 19-20, 1903, which became a turning point in Jewish history and the history of antisemitism. The campaign included media publications and a poster exhibition displayed in a public space in the central square of Chisinau (Kishinev).

In conclusion, it should be said that Moldova needs a more comprehensive programme to deal with antisemitism and Holocaust distortion, which includes raising awareness and educational work, to solve the problem of the lack of awareness of the population on the subject of antisemitism and Holocaust distortion.

The Netherlands / Hanna Luden

Overview

CIDI registered 135 antisemitic incidents in 2018 (online incidents excluded). This is the highest number since 2014. Compared with 2017, the number of incidents has increased by 19 percent.

The most drastic increase was registered in incidents occurring in people's direct vicinity. This encompasses incidents at schools, at work or between neighbors. The increase in this category is 67 percent compared to the previous year (from 24 in 2017 up to 40 in 2018). This is the highest number of antisemitic incidents in people's direct vicinity in 10 years.

- Antisemitic incidents at schools have increased in number. In 2018, twelve such incidents were registered, compared to nine in 2017.
- For a second year, CIDI has also registered expressions of antisemitism on the internet. This includes expressions of antisemitism on social media, comments in discussion forums and websites. A total of 95 cases were recorded.
- An increase in the number of antisemitic incidents was also registered in other European countries, which shows that the increase in the Netherlands is not isolated or exceptional.

Findings

Online antisemitism

Online communication can serve as a catalyst for all forms of antisemitism that exist offline. However, communication dynamics on social media and public discussion forums show unique patterns. When news reports appear on matters related to the Israel-Arab conflict or Holocaust remembrance, discussion threads often quickly fill with numerous antisemitic comments of various kinds - classic antisemitism, new antisemitism, religiously inspired antisemitism, etc..

A number of extremist websites spreading classic antisemitic conspiracy theories in Dutch have been found. Although much of their content is classified as hate crime under Dutch law, under current circumstances, law enforcement is unable to trace any authors of websites that are hosted in the United States. The use of automated search algorithms can have unintended consequences by promoting extremist content. There are known cases of news applications spreading content from extremist websites in Dutch.

Holocaust denial and conspiracy theories

Increased access to the internet lead to higher exposure of students to hateful conspiracy theories. CIDI increasingly receives signs from teachers that students voice such ideas in classrooms, often in the context of discussions about politics in the Middle East or the history of the Holocaust.

Scolding

The report finds that antisemitic scolding is still a prevalent issue. In many social circles, the word "Jood" (Jew) is commonly used as an insult, often in combination with other offensive phrases used

in scolding in the Dutch language. Antisemitic scolding has occurred both towards people working as public servants (in particular police officers) as well as towards people recognizable as Jewish by their appearance. Incidents of antisemitic chants by large groups of football hooligans still occur from time to time.

Police and public prosecutors

A report by the EU Fundamental Rights Agency shows that only 25 percent of the respondents in the Netherlands report incidents of antisemitism to the police, other government agencies, or NGOs. It also shows that only 61 percent of the respondents in the Netherlands are aware of the existing law banning hate crime. This may be due to the slow speed of investigations.

Police statistics of the year 2017 show that 8 percent of registrations of discriminatory incidents concern antisemitism (statistics from 2018 are not available yet). The same report also notes the frequency by which police officers are scolded at in public with antisemitic slurs.

Statistics by the public prosecution service of the year 2017, equally show that 41 percent of all cases of discrimination concern antisemitism. Many of these incidents have occurred around football matches.

The prevalence of antisemitism as a discriminatory motive is in stark contrast to the actual proportion of Jews in Dutch population, which is estimated to be around 0.3 percent. Authorities can do more to give details of incidents of racism registered by them. For instance, little is known about who the offenders of different types of antisemitic hate crime are.

The European context

An increase in the number of antisemitic incidents was also registered in surrounding European countries, including France, the UK and Germany. In the UK, the Community Security Trust (CST) measured a 16 percent increase in the number of antisemitic incidents in 2018 compared to 2017. In Germany, an increase of 9 percent was observed by authorities. In France, the Ministry of Interior even reported an astonishing increase of 74 percent.

As collection standards differ per country, it is difficult to establish comparisons or correlation. However, the overall picture shows that the increase in antisemitic expressions is a cross-border trend. The case of the Netherlands is a welcome exception among these countries in that hardly any antisemitic violence has occurred. However, according to the FRA's report, many respondents nevertheless avoid wearing attributes that could identify a person as Jewish in public. This situation is unlikely to change if antisemitism becomes more prevalent.

Recommendations

The increase in the number of antisemitic expressions is worrisome. These statistics confirm a trend in Europe more generally. CIDI offers a number of suggestions to tackle this problem efficiently.

Education

- *Teaching about the Holocaust and Judaism in general*

Teaching about the Holocaust is important, and requires constant attention from policy makers. However, it is important that Jews not only be portrayed as victims. Jews have long been part of Dutch society, and consequently should not be thought of as an ultimate 'other'.

- *Support teachers in their work*

Teachers increasingly face resistance in classrooms when discussing sensitive issues. There are increasing signs of students spreading conspiracy theories or Holocaust denial in classrooms. Teachers should receive adequate support to deal with these challenges.

- *Recognize and tackle antisemitic bullying*

Schools should be a safe place for all students, regardless of background. When antisemitic bullying is detected, the school should immediately intervene.

Assimilation

- *Teach newcomers to the Netherlands about Jews and the Holocaust*

Newcomers often originate from societies where antisemitism is not uncommon. It is important that the naturalization process pays attention to these subjects.

- *Give special attention to the values of democracy and the rule of law*

When newcomers originate from societies where such values are not evident, these subjects should be taught to facilitate life in a democratic country.

Security

Government institutions can do more to provide insight on the manifestations of antisemitism in society. For instance, too little is known about the culprits of antisemitic hate crime.

- *Train police officers*

As enforcers of the law, people should feel safe to report antisemitic crime to police. There are too many indications that people are turned down, as police officers may not recognize antisemitism or hate crime in general.

- *Speed up the process of filing charges*

When complaints regarding hate crime are filed, it can take long periods of time before reporters are informed of possible further steps, or even whether investigation will take place.

- *Encourage reporting hate crimes*

Research shows that the majority of hate crimes are never reported. However, reporting is vital both for mapping the problem of antisemitism and for strengthening norms against it.

-
- *Severe punishments for violent hate crimes*

When somebody is physically attacked because of his or her group identity, harm is not only done to the victim, but also to the victim's group as a whole.

Sports

- *Implement policies with football clubs and the Dutch football association (KNVB)*

Too often, antisemitic chants are heard surrounding football matches. This occurs especially when there is a relation to the club Ajax, the supporters of which are sometimes nicknamed "Jews". However, this is by no means an excuse to use antisemitic slurs.

- *Football clubs and their players and supporters should denounce antisemitism*

Certain clubs in particular contribute to norms against antisemitism.

Internet

- *Enforce a zero-tolerance policy against hate crime online*

The anonymity of the internet frequently leads to waves of antisemitic hate crime. Authorities should show that what is illegal offline is illegal online as well.

- *Force social media companies to keep their platforms 'clean'*

Social media outlets have a responsibility to tackle hate speech that is expressed through their channels. Reports of hate crime should be reviewed quickly, not by an automated process, but by humans capable of sound judgements.

Poland / Rafal Pankowski

Examples of antisemitic discourse in Poland in 2018

In 2018, Poland experienced a wave of antisemitic discourse in the media and politics on a scale which had not been observed in many years. Numerous antisemitic statements were related to the controversies around the history of the Polish-Jewish relations during the Holocaust, including the controversial law on the Institute of National Memory enacted by the Polish Parliament in late January and early February. For example, on February 5, the extreme nationalist and neo-fascist groups, such as Ruch Narodowy (Nationalist Movement) and Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny (National-Radical Camp), conducted a demonstration outside the Polish president's palace with antisemitic slogans such as "Enough of Jewish lies!"

During the first half of 2018 in particular, hundreds of antisemitic statements appeared in the Polish media (including the state-controlled media), many of them expressed by mainstream figures such as members of Parliament. Many of the instances of antisemitic speech appeared in the public sphere soon after the passage of the controversial law. For example, on January 27, a popular commentator on Polish state TV, Rafal Ziemkiewicz, wrote on Twitter: "For many years I convinced people that we must support Israel. Today, because of a few stupid and greedy scabs, I feel like an idiot," employing an extreme term historically used in antisemitic discourse in Poland: *parchy* (scabs). Despite using extreme antisemitic language, Ziemkiewicz was not disciplined or punished and he repeated the offensive term in subsequent media appearances. Later, on April 15, Ziemkiewicz noted he had been mentioned in the Kantor Center's report and tweeted: "I consider it as my professional success to be on a list of antisemites."

Some of the statements by mainstream figures bordered on Holocaust revisionism or Holocaust trivialization. For example, Jacek Zalek, a deputy chairman of the parliamentary faction of the ruling party said in a TV interview that if the Poles are held responsible for the 1941 Jedwabne pogrom, "one might conclude that, since the Jewish police were ... responsible for leading Jews to the gas chambers, the Jews prepared the Holocaust for themselves."

Pawel Kukiz MP, the leader of the third largest political group in the Polish parliament said in another TV program: "Making Poles co-responsible for the Holocaust is a moral and ethical Holocaust against the Poles. (...) Maybe the Jews have a crisis, a moral crisis, since they accuse the Poles of participation in such crimes." Another MP, Marek Jakubiak accused Jews of collaborating with the Soviet Union: "On September 17, 1939, we were attacked by our eternal enemy, Soviet Russia. The Jews welcomed them with flowers. I'm asking where the Jews were when 500,000 Poles were murdered in front of their eyes and 2 million Poles were put on the death trains to Siberia. I'm asking if there was even a single Pole saved by Jews in a situation like that. (...) I want to say that the Poles also suffered a Holocaust, which was not less than the Jewish Holocaust." In the same vein, Ireneusz Zyska MP claimed on state TV: "Let us remember that there was also a Holocaust against the Polish people. The Jews and Israel have no monopoly on the word 'Holocaust'."

A well-known MP, Krystyna Pałowicz, referred to alleged Jewish crimes against the Poles and associated them with Israel, by posting on her Facebook page: “The Holocaust against the Poles continued after World War II. ISRAEL, are these JEWS guilty of crimes against the Poles?.” The comment was accompanied by a list of Stalinist-era Communist officials of Jewish background.

Andrzej Zybertowicz, an adviser to President Andrzej Duda, gave an interview to *Polska Times* (the Polish edition of the British *Times*) under the headline: “Anti-Polonism in Israel results from the feeling of shame at the passivity of the Jews during the Holocaust. It’s a form of compensation.” In the interview, Zybertowicz strongly linked the Holocaust with current conflicts in the Middle East: “The brutal treatment of the Palestinians and the Hezbollah by the Israelis is also a form of the compensation. (...) Earlier they experienced the trauma of humiliation and now—perhaps in line with their tradition of *chutzpa*—they are making up for it.”

Zybertowicz criticized the behaviour of the Jews during World War II and repeated some antisemitic stereotypes: “Many Jews engaged in denunciation and collaboration during the war. (...) I wonder if this political and symbolic attack of Israel on Poland and Poles is not, apart from all else, a smokescreen against remembering how they behaved in the face of the Holocaust—they were passive, they collaborated, and the Jewish elites from the East Coast of the USA, having learned from the Poles about what was going on in the concentration camps, behaved passively (...). But as a Pole, I don’t agree to Israel conducting its own reckoning with history at the expense of our country. (...) In this dispute one can see clearly that Israelis are fighting to keep a monopoly on the Holocaust. The ‘religion’ of the Holocaust has become a symbolic shield for that country, which is used by Israel to create for itself a special position in many places in the world—a shield meant to protect Israel against any criticism. And now Israel is afraid that Poland’s IPN law will break its monopoly on the Holocaust?.”

MP Kornel Morawiecki, another well-known politician, and the father of the current PM, said in an interview on March 22: “Do you know who chased the Jews into the Warsaw Ghetto? The Germans, you think? No. The Jews themselves went because they were told that there would be an enclave that they would not have to deal with those nasty Poles.”

Some politicians also blamed the Jews themselves for the new wave of hostility against them in Poland. For example, Beata Mazurek, a deputy speaker of the Polish parliament and the official spokesperson of the ruling party, approvingly tweeted a quote from Father Henryk Zielinski, a Catholic priest who said on state TV: “What the Israeli ambassador has done [by criticizing the Polish history legislation – R.P.] makes it difficult for me to look at Jews with friendship and sympathy.” MP Iwona Arent said in a TV discussion on February 3: “If there is now a wave of antisemitism, or a different perspective on the Jews, then one must say it is the fault of the Jews themselves.”

The alleged danger posed by the Jewish lobby in the US was stressed by then Vice-President of the European Parliament Ryszard Czarnecki who stated on February 3: “The circles of American Jews have often been even more aggressive [toward Poland] than the Jewish circles in Israel. But I am a Polish politician and I have Polish duties.”

Polish state radio commentator Piotr Nisztor suggested on air that Polish citizens who share Israel's criticism of the Polish history legislation should consider relinquishing their citizenship. "If somebody acts as a spokesman for Israeli interests, maybe they should think about giving up their Polish citizenship and accepting Israeli citizenship."

Many more examples of antisemitic discourse can be given. Although the controversial legislation was (partly) annulled in June 2018, the resurgence of antisemitic stereotypes in the Polish public space cannot be denied.

Romania/ Raphael Vago

Events and trends in 2018 and early 2019 indicate contradictory developments in Romania.

Several antisemitic incidents and expressions in the public sphere and media have taken place on the background of various high level activities conducted by the government in combating all forms of antisemitism, racism, xenophobia. The government activity was reflected in holding commemorative and educational activities linked to the Holocaust, and especially to Romania's role in it. Romania activities against antisemitism were held also in the framework of its Presidency in the EU in late 2018 and early 2019.

As various surveys show, prejudices, antisemitism and forms of Holocaust denial continue to exist in Romanian society. A major survey conducted in 2017 by the "Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust" in Bucharest found that 46 percent of those interviewed agreed with the statement according to which "it would be better for Jews to go live in their own country." Moreover, 58 percent believe that "Jews are following their own interests only." Only 68 percent have heard of the Holocaust, and only 33 percent knew that there was a Holocaust in Romania, and of those who have heard only 22 percent identified the Antonescu government as responsible. Some 7 percent held the Jews as responsible for their own tragedy.¹⁹¹

On the one hand Romanian legislation against antisemitism is tough, but in referring to a new law in 2018, one leading activist, Maximilian Marco Katz, Director of MCA Romania, the Center for Monitoring and Combating Antisemitism told JTA (Jewish Telegraphic Agency), that Romania does not lack laws against antisemitism, but "they are meaningless without enforcement." He cited, among others, the case of failure to prosecute Gheorghe Funar, a former mayor of Cluj and known extremist, who said that "Romanians are victims of Jews within" who "perpetrated the greatest Holocaust in history." Katz also noted that the "laws who are in place and are not implemented are almost unknown by the police, prosecutors and judges."¹⁹²

In August 2018 offensive graffiti was sprayed on the external walls of the Elie Wiesel Museum, the house where he was born in Sighet, Northern Romania. Among the graffiti there were signs, as "public toilet" "Nazi Jew lying in hell with Hitler", "Antisemite pedophile."¹⁹³

The most severe case was the smashing of some 76 headstones in the Jewish cemetery in the town of Husi, in early April 2019.¹⁹⁴ It should be noted that Husi is the birthplace of Codreanu, the leader of inter-War Romanian fascist movement the Iron Guard. The head of the Romanian Jewish community, Aurel Vainer has noted that the vandalization of the Husi cemetery is the "culmination of a series of antisemitic attacks," including incidents in Husi, and he suspected that there is a "legionary nest" of Iron Guardists in the locality. He called upon the authorities to investigate the attack.¹⁹⁵ The Federation of Jewish communities also stated that "such acts should not be admissible in our days, in contemporary Romania.

191 The findings were published in an article by Marius Cazan, Researcher at the "Elie Wiesel" National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, "On Antisemitism in Today's Romania ,Who is in Danger", Campaign In Action Blog, November 7, 2017.

192 JTA, June 25, 2018.

193 JTA, August 4, 2018.

194 *Haaretz*, April 6, 2019.

195 RFI-Romania, April 4, 2019.

Klaus Iohannis the President of Romania expressed his concern over the grave incident and called for “firm actions” to sanction antisemitic manifestations. The President emphasized that Romania is a model of regional success in the preservation of the memory of the Holocaust, in Romania’s a “correct assumption” of Romania’s past, and in “combating anti-Semitism, negationism, xenophobia, hatred, racism.”¹⁹⁶ The President also stated that the defense of these values is especially important for Romania for the current term of its Presidency of the EU Council.

The possible connection between the desecration in Husi, to the birthplace of Codreanu, is not the only link to the continuing signs of Codreanu’s cult. In November 2018, on the 80th anniversary of the killing of Codreanu and other leaders of the Iron Guard in 1938, by the King Carol regime, candles and flowers were placed by pilgrims commemorating Codreanu at a crucifix at the small locality of Tancabesti. The crucifix became a place of pilgrimage and memorial site for Codreanu, and a symbol not reserved for an ordinary citizen. This continues in spite of clear legislation against symbols of the Iron Guard, as noted by Alexandru Florian, the Director of the Elie Wiesel Institute.¹⁹⁷

The visit in Israel by the Prime Minister of Romania, Viorica Dancila and the President of the Chamber of Deputies, Liviu Dragnea in April 2018,¹⁹⁸ and the possible relocation of the Romanian Embassy from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem - a promise reiterated with some caution by Premier Dancila before the AIPAC Conference in Washington in March 2019, was one of the major expressions of the good relations between Israel and Romania.¹⁹⁹ It caused internal debates within Romania, not only in the media but also among the political leadership, as President Iohannis expressed reservations in 2018 over the intended move for political and procedural reasons. In the media and social networks there were voices on the extensive Israeli and Jewish influence in Romania.

A major crisis erupted in early 2019, when Aurelian Badulescu, the deputy-mayor of Bucharest expressed his intention that a bust commemorating Antonescu should be set in Bucharest. Among the very strong reactions, Alexandru Florian, the Director of the Elie Wiesel Institute, cited Romanian laws against commemorating fascist persons and symbols. In his strong reaction Florian emphasized that Badulescu is a public personality and that there are strict laws to punish such steps.²⁰⁰

Some of the talkbacks in the social media were analyzed by an expert at RFI-Romania,²⁰¹ noting a very large number of pro-Antonescu messages, who hailed him as a “great Romanian,” and as a “national hero.” Such strong pro-Antonescu sentiments are known in Romania, and they point to a continuing trend. Among the significant critical voices, Liviu Rotman, a noted academic and expert at the National University of Political Science and Public Administration (SNSPA), described Badulescu’s texts and aims as “fascist” on Facebook.

The public debate further escalated when Marco Maximilian Katz, the Director of MCA Romania, also strongly protested against Badulescu’s intentions. In response, Badulescu sent a letter to Katz, where

196 News.ro, April 5, 2019.

197 RFI-Romania, November 29, 2018

198 *Jerusalem Post*, April 27, 2018.

199 *Times of Israel*, March 24, 2019.

200 RFI-Romania, March 28, 2019.

201 RFI-Romania, March 29, 2019.

among others things, he wrote to him that “I do not know who and what brought you to Romania, but it is evident that you are a stranger to this nation, and to the history of the Romanian people... Return to where you came from and leave me to take care of the dead of our people...you are a guest in my country.”²⁰²

As of April 2019 it is not clear what official stand will be taken due to the pro-fascist sentiments of the deputy mayor of Bucharest. It certainly could turn into a legal test case how effective are indeed Romania’s tough laws against antisemitism and the spread of totalitarian ideas.

Romania’s successful efforts in assuming responsibility for the Holocaust, in promoting Holocaust education and the history of the Jewish past and antisemitism, should not divert attention from some very disturbing signs – such as the smashing of 76 headstones in Husi, and pro-fascist, pro-Antonescu deeds by public figures, such as the deputy mayor of Bucharest.

²⁰² Ziare.com, April 4, 2019.

South Africa / David Sacks

Overview

There was approximately a 25 percent increase in the number of antisemitic incidents in South Africa in 2018 compared with the two previous years. A total of 61 incidents of abuse and harassment considered to be wholly or in part motivated by antisemitism were recorded by the SAJBD (South African Jewish Board of Deputies) and Community Security Organisation. By comparison, the comparable figures for 2016 and 2017 were 43 and 44 respectively. The higher figure for 2018 was mainly due to an unusual spike in antisemitic activity in June, when nearly a quarter of all the year's incidents (15) occurred. Despite the slight uptick in reported incidents, the 2018 figures are consistent with the relatively low rates of antisemitism in South Africa that have been recorded over the past two decades.

The great majority of incidents either took the form of face-to-face verbal abusive and/or insulting gestures or offensive communications, mainly via the social media. There was only one reported case of antisemitic assault. This took place in a Johannesburg nightclub, with a Jewish woman being pushed and having a drink thrown at her by another woman after she had objected to her performing a Nazi salute. In about 50 percent of the reported cases, attacks were motivated wholly or in part by anti-Israel sentiment.

Incidents comprised the following:

- | | |
|----------------------------|----|
| • Abusive behaviour | 26 |
| • Offensive communications | 32 |
| • Assault | 1 |
| • Graffiti | 3 |

“Abusive behaviour” would include direct, face-to-face, verbal abuse and/or threats, telephonic messages and insulting gestures, while “offensive communications” encompasses a broad range of written messages sent to a Jewish recipient, including comments posted on Jewish-run social media sites.

1. Antisemitic discourse

‘Negative discourse’ can be defined as defamatory and demeaning statements that are made *about* rather than *to* Jews. As in the world at large, this phenomenon manifests for the greater part in the social media or individual websites. Occasional antisemitic statements made in public by political figures did occur, however, most notably:

- EFF (Economic Freedom Fighters) leader Julius Malema, in a press conference on August 23 alleged that Jews were training right-wing white extremists to become snipers to kill blacks over land. He later insisted it was never his intention to hurt or upset the Jewish community.

- A Good Friday message, issued in the name of EFF National Spokesperson Mbuyesani Quinton Ndlozi, invoked the charge that Jews were guilty of the death by crucifixion of Jesus Christ. This was done by drawing parallels between what was referred to as “the brutal death on the cross of Jesus Christ” with the alleged actions of “the racist, murderous Apartheid Israeli regime,” with the Palestinians being described as “the crucified, hanging body of Jesus today, under a permanent crucifixion and death sentence by the Israeli apartheid regime.”
- Speaking in the Cape Provincial Parliament on February 23, ANC (African National Congress) MPL Sharon Davids stated that the DA (Democratic Alliance) had fabricated the water crisis so as to obtain desalination contract kickbacks from the “Jewish mafia”. She further attributed the opposition to Patricia de Lille to the fact that she had opposed the award of a property for purposes of building a Jewish day school. ANC Provincial Secretary Faiez Jacobs defended Davids, saying that “antisemitism is not a scaremongering tool to whip others in line and to prevent them from interrogating the truth. If there is an illicit relationship between DA and Some Jewish aligned formations for whatever reasons, such must be interrogated without fear or prejudice.” The SAJBD described the allegations as both factually incorrect and amounting to a racist smear campaign against the Jewish community.

The readiness of political spokespeople to peddle bigoted, conspiratorial sentiments about Jews should be interpreted in the context of a general deterioration in public discourse over issues pertaining to race, in which incitement to hatred and sometimes to violence are becoming commonplace.

It has become a matter of much concern that the National leadership of the ANC failed to condemn or even distance themselves from the statements by Davids and Jacobs, despite frequent requests that it do so. It is not improbable that the tolerance for antisemitic rhetoric (combined with a stance on Israel that is distinctly more hard-line and pro-BDS than in the other provincial branches of the party) on the part of ANC spokespeople in the DA-controlled Western Cape, is at least in part motivated by the desire to increase support for the ANC within the province’s large Muslim community.

2. SAJBD responses

- In most of the cases where the perpetrators could be identified and located, the SAJBD took action deemed by it to be appropriate to the nature of the offence, the circumstances and the attitude of the offending party. Wherever possible, a process of conciliation was followed with the aim of achieving a suitable apology combined with an educational process (usually a tolerance awareness programme run under the auspices of the SA Holocaust Foundation). A number of incidents, usually involving younger offenders, were resolved in this way.
- In cases of serious antisemitic behaviour in which the offending party refuses to admit fault or apologise, the SAJBD will take stronger action, including laying criminal charges or through laying complaints with the Equality Court or the SA Human Rights Commission (SAHRC).

- Two long-running hate speech rulings involving a former high-ranking government member and ANC Western Cape leader, Marius Fransman, and former Western Cape Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) leader were brought to finality in 2018, with the SAHRC upholding complaints of antisemitic hate speech against them. On the negative side, in December the High Court of Appeal overturned the previous year's Equality Court hate speech ruling against Cosatu International Relations Spokesperson Bongani Masuku. The judgment has since received scathing criticism from Constitutional Law experts. The matter, which has critical ramifications for laws governing hate speech in SA, will shortly be referred to the Constitutional Court.

Spain / Lidia Lerner

Antisemitism in Spain today is not as eminent as in other European countries. As in other parts of Europe, it emanates from the right, including vestiges of the old, traditional, religious antisemitism of the past (as may even be seen in expressions and celebrations based on anti-Jewish legends); from the left, mostly “new antisemitism” disguised in many cases as anti-Zionism; and from Islamic circles.

As in previous years, the BDS movement was very active in Spain during 2018 and was supported by various local authorities. In May, Navarre became the first autonomous province in Spain to adopt the boycott against Israel and called on the Spanish government to freeze its ties with Israel until it “stopped its policy of oppression against the Palestinian population.” On December 29, the municipality of Valencia also joined the boycott movement.

In March, the Committee for Solidarity with the Arab Cause, which receives funding from several municipalities in Spain, filed a criminal lawsuit against Angel Mas of the ACOM group, an organization that combats BDS in Spain. It contended that ACOM undertakes a strategy of threatening legal action against Spanish municipalities that adopted BDS as their policy. A Spanish judge enabled the anti-Israel group to initiate a trial for alleged incitement to hatred and intimidation against Mas. On November 6, a women’s water polo match between Israel and Spain was left without a venue after the Spanish municipality that was supposed to host the event backed out due to pressure from anti-Israel boycott activists. When the Israeli women’s team arrived in Barcelona they were told that the Molins de Rei municipality had decided to cancel the planned game due to the pro-Palestinian BDS movement.

However, as in the past, the BDS movement suffered defeat in Spanish courts. Following an administrative appeal by ACOM, the City Council of Montcada i Reixac in metropolitan Barcelona announced on February 22 that it had withdrawn its decision from December 2017 to join the BDS movement against Israel. The boycott motion had the support of Catalan separatist groups, including the Republican Left of Catalonia, the Catalan European Democratic Party, the Popular Unity Candidacy (CUP) and the local branches of the extreme-left parties, Podemos and the United Left. In June the Superior Court of Justice of the Spanish province of Asturias ruled that the city council’s policy of boycotting Israel was unconstitutional. Since the beginning of March, legal actions have resulted in seven other courts throughout Spain canceling or suspending boycotts against Israel in the cities of Castrillón, Telde, Montcada, La Roda, Barbate, Artes and Vitoria. However, the attempts to boycott Israel continued unabated.

Other significant incidents:

Right and Left wing cases of graffiti and desecration

On February 5, the facade of the Synagogue, Mayor of the Call, of Barcelona was defaced with the graffiti: “Out of our Land.” On the lintel of the door there was other graffiti of the same color which seemed to read “pigs.” On March 24, the Spanish Civil Guard arrested a man for painting a swastika on the monument to the victims of Mathausen concentration camp in the cemetery of Vinaròs (Castellón). In December, the Spanish National Police, in collaboration with Europol and the Swiss Federal Police, arrested the three administrators of the Spanish version of Daily Stormer, the most important and influential neo-Nazi website in the world.

Those arrested in Barcelona, Tarragona and Zaragoza, were accused of massively propagating antisemitic, homophobic and racist hate messages among their Spanish-speaking followers.

The general secretary of the left-wing Spanish party Podemos, Pablo Iglesias, made antisemitic statements in a dialogue with the Spanish Radio and Television Corporation in June, speaking of "the policy of apartheid of the State of Israel" and calling it "a criminal state." The mayor of Jaén, Javier Márquez, believed that antisemitism was behind a proposal of the PSOE (the Spanish Socialist Party) in the city to rescind the contract of the House of Artists with the Israel-Andalusia association signed in 2017. Márquez stressed that the PSOE criticized the group, referring to it as an "association of Jews."

There were several Islamic based incidents such as the arrest on August 1 of two men of Moroccan origin in Mataró for allegedly engaging in recruiting jihadists to join terrorist groups. Both had among their objectives "to kill all the Jews." In an article published in November in Arabic in the Islamic State magazine *Fustat al Muslimim*, Mustafá Setmariam, founder of Al Qaeda branch in Spain, encouraged attacking Jewish interests. Referring to the education of Muslim children, he proposed to "incite ... the youth, to fight against the Jews, crusaders (Christians) and apostate rulers (of Muslim countries) and their assistants."

On April 20, the Spanish Civil Guard arrested three people in the municipality of Las Navas del Marqués in Avila. They were accused of inciting violence through the Internet against the Jewish people and the State of Israel, by disseminating photographs and comments trivializing the Holocaust, as well as of drug trafficking.

Following Israeli singer Netta Barzilai's triumph in the 2018 Eurovision contest, satirical magazine *El Mundo Today*, published on May 14, an article titled: "All the countries that voted for Israel in Eurovision did so for fear of being bombed and a general interest to "maintain the best relations with this country."

Switzerland / Jonathan Kreutner

The Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities (SIG) recorded 42 antisemitic incidents (excluding online ones) in 2018. These included 1 assault, 11 incidents of verbal abuse and 5 of graffiti, but none of damage to property. The number of recorded online attacks - i.e. on social media and in newspaper comment columns - reached 535. In addition to these, there was an unknown number of attacks that have not been reported.

The nature of these attacks is sub-divided into four categories: general antisemitism (148 attacks); Holocaust denial or trivialization (37); Israel-related antisemitism (170); and modern-day antisemitic conspiracy theories (222). The enormous boom in antisemitic conspiracy theories continues to thrive in today's world. The most varied and absurd theories are linked to this, but ultimately they all point to a supposed "Jewish world conspiracy."

Over 90 percent of the recorded online attacks are on the social media platforms Facebook and Twitter. This trend coincides with the general findings on hate speech on social media. There are far fewer antisemitic postings in the comment columns on the websites of Swiss newspapers. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that most of these comments are checked before being published.

So-called "triggers", events or incidents that for a limited period of time result in a massive increase in numbers of antisemitic attacks, play a central role in the spread of anti-Semitic attacks. In particular, many of the anti-Semitic attacks on the Internet are triggered by a specific incident or the media's reporting of it. Internationally, these are primarily events in the Middle East.

In Switzerland, the media coverage of the trial of the far right extremist Kevin G., an article in *Blick* newspaper on Muslim antisemitism, the attack on a group of Jews by a man armed with a knife, and the debate over Orthodox Jewish holiday-makers were particular catalysts for an above-average number of antisemitic comments and posts.

The most serious incidents in 2018 were:

- The assault on a group of Orthodox Jews by a man armed with a knife;
- In May, a man who was clearly identifiable as a Jew and his son were verbally threatened on their way to the Synagogue. The perpetrator ran behind them both, making threats, including: "I'm going to slit your throat;"
- In July, two Jewish women with their children were insulted in the middle of the street. They were having a conversation with a charity fund raiser when a woman who was passing by called out: "All Jews are misers!;"
- SIG has received various documents containing borderline or explicitly antisemitic statements. Jews were insulted in the most sickening manner in one letter, which also demanded the release of two jailed Holocaust deniers, Ursula Haverbeck and Horst Mahler;
- During the demonstration organized by the Swiss Nationalist Party (PNOS) in Basel on November 24, the PNOS member for Basel Tobias Steiger delivered a speech on the Migration Pact. This was riddled with openly antisemitic conspiracy theories. Steiger posted a recording of the speech on YouTube and Facebook;
- In July, two swastikas were drawn on a bathroom wall in the Jewish retirement home SIKNA in Zurich;
- A couple from Zurich returned home from vacation in September to find that someone had written "A Jew lives here" on their garage door.

Turkey/ Efrat Aviv

The unofficial number of Turkish Jews in Turkey is estimated at 10,000 Jews. The community itself reports a higher number which is unlikely to be correct. A slow but steady wave of emigration from Turkey has been part of Jewish community's life, thus the community is shrinking with each passing year. Most of the Jews have immigrated to Israel but some left to the U.S. and Canada. About 2,000 Turkish Jews have applied for Portuguese citizenship after Portugal's government decided to grant nationality to descendants of Sephardic Jews who were expelled from Portugal and Spain in the 15th century.²⁰³ The nationalist and Islamist push of the AKP (Justice and Development Party), the party of President Erdoğan, worries the small Turkish Jewish community, mainly concentrated in Istanbul. With the rise of violence and antisemitism, many are considering leaving the country.²⁰⁴ The community faces antisemitic manifestations on an almost daily basis in the media, especially by nationalist and Islamist national and local newspapers such as *Yeni Akit* and *Milli Gazete* and especially when Israel is on the news.

The consequences of the 2016 coup attempt caused fears amongst the Jewish community, and the deterioration of the Turkish economy strengthened the unstable feeling and push Jews out of Turkey. With a most powerful Erdoğan, and especially due to his rough assertions against Israel and his antisemitic approach, the position of the average Turkish Jew is complicated. It should be stressed that Erdoğan is definitely the main reason for the growing antisemitism in Turkey. Polls clearly confirm this assertion, and the legitimacy that anti-Israel sentiments receive as well as the support antisemitic journalists and columnists receive from the current government further reinforces it.

Anti-Israeli sentiments

The accusation of Israel's involvement in Turkey's domestic affairs was very common in 2018. For instance, the cult of Adnan Oktar was arrested by Turkish police on several charges which included fraud, sexual assault, and military espionage. According to the Turkish press, Oktar was accused of conveying military secrets to the Israeli Mossad through Israeli MK Yehudah Glick.²⁰⁵ The same accusations took place with Fethullah Gülen movement which was grasped as supported by the Jewish lobby and other Jews. This old popular stereotype of the Jewish lobby continued the year. For example, Eyüp Aksu, the chairperson of the Istanbul taksi drivers protested against Uber on March 12, in front of the court in Cağlayan, Istanbul, where a trial against Uber was opened, saying that "the global Jewish lobby is doing a trade taxi piracy in Turkey."²⁰⁶

It is important to pay attention to this stereotype as Israel is perceived as even more dangerous when it ostensibly attempts to harm Turkey itself. This accusation along with other conspiracies regarding

203 <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/2-000-turkish-jews-applied-for-portuguese-citizenship-envoy-131418>.

204 <https://cicad.ch/fr/la-communaut%C3%A9-jui-quitte-la-turquie-d%E2%80%99erdogan#overlay-context=fr/com-battre-les-juifs-est-un-ordre-religieux-professeur-%25C3%25A0-gaza>.

205 <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2018/gundem/adnan-oktar-devlet-sirlarini-israile-aktardi-iddialari-2516888/> 12 July 2018.

206 http://www.salom.com.tr/arsiv/haber-106142-taksiciler_odasi_baskani_global_hirsiz_yahudi_lobisi_korsan_taksicilik_yapiyor.html.

Israel is the most problematic accusation in current Turkey where the political atmosphere is unstable and volatile. It was implied in one of Mehmet Korkmaz's series of articles, published in *Marmaris Yeni Sayfa* newspaper on April 11.

Israel is grasped as a perilous country which along with the US is considered "derin devlet" (deep state) whose aim is to ruin Turkey and divide it. The title of Korkmaz's article was: "The real problem 4 - 2 deep states: Israel and USA."²⁰⁷ Another example is what Vehbi Kara wrote on December 3, in Islamist daily *Akit*. In his op ed titled "The revolutionary fanatic Sabbateans are the proof for the existence of Hell," in which he claimed that the Jews who "are mostly Sabbateans" have been trying to destroy the Ottoman Empire and to damage Islam in Turkey for many ways.²⁰⁸ It is believed in some circles that the Sabbateans (Dönme, descendants of the Jewish devotees of Shabtai Zvi) and Zionism stood behind the Committee of Union and Progress' revolution in 1908 against Sultan Abdülhamid II in order to punish him for refusing to accede to Herzl's requests regarding the Charter on Israel.

Confusion between anti-Israelism and antisemitism

As said, conspiracy theories are very popular in Turkey and when it comes to Jews the range of accusation is even wider. On January 8, Süleyman Baş accused Jews in his column in the Islamist *Yeni Söz*, of running a world organ trafficking trade organization. His article dealt with the case of Moshe Harel, an Israeli citizen, who was allegedly involved in illegal medical procedures, and was allegedly part of an organ trafficking ring arranging kidney transplants for rich Israelis in 2011 in Kosovo. This case reinforced the already existing stereotype of Jews (not necessarily Israelis). For Baş Harel, the "Jewish murderer" is a manifestation of the "Zionist Israel's" maltreatment of the Palestinians, whose lands she stole and whose kids' organs she trades with.²⁰⁹

Since there is a blurring between antisemitism and anti-Zionism in Turkey, sometimes the word "Israeli" refers to "Jews" and vice versa. Furthermore, if until the last decades the Jewish stereotype was of a "korkak yahudi" (a frightful Jew) when related to Israel and Israeli affairs, the Jewish stereotype has been transferred into a Jew who is cruel, blunt, violent and even terrorist. The distinction between the allegedly cruel Israeli and the allegedly cruel Jew is absent. A good example for this confusion is an article published in *Milli Gazete* on January 31. According to the article, "an occupier Jewish terrorist ran over a Palestinian child."²¹⁰ Thus the religious identity of the suspect is emphasized and increases the link between Jews and cruelty. Yet, if anti-Israeli feelings are mixed with antisemitism, once antisemitic expressions are made, the distinction between Israeli and Jew is not important anymore. In other words, if anti-Zionism or anti-Israeli tendencies are so integrated that the average Turk cannot even distinguish between them, there is no need to differentiate between them. Once the average Turk comes up with antisemitic assertions, it does not matter if he is a real antisemite or 'just' an anti-Israeli. In the final analysis, he reacts in an antisemitic way.

207 <http://www.marmarisyenisayfa.com/yazarlar/mehmet-korkmaz/asil-mesele--4-iki-derin-devlet-israil-ve-abd/219/>.

208 <https://proxy-prg.hidemyass-freeproxy.com/proxy/en-ww/aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cueWVuaWFraXQuY29tLnRyL3lhemFybG-FyL3ZlaGJpLWthcmEvZGV2cm1tLXlvYmF6aS1zYWJldGF5Y2lsYXItY2VoZW5uZW1pbi12YXJsaWdpbmEtYmlyLWRlbg-GlsZGlyLTI2NjY0Lmh0bWw.>

209 <http://www.yenisoz.com.tr/siyonist-frankenstein-yakalandi-haber-26871.>

210 <https://www.milligazete.com.tr/haber/1495260/yahudi-terorist-filistinli-cocugu-ezdi.>

Misuse of the Holocaust

On 5 December, Players of the Maccabi Tel Aviv basketball team encountered a disturbing sign when they arrived on at their hotel in Istanbul, ahead of their match on the next day against Darüşşafaka as part of the EuroLeague. The players were greeted by a German-language sign reading “Arbeit Macht Frei,” (work sets you free) the statement at the entrance of Auschwitz. Maccabi center Jake Cohen tweeted a photo of the sign and cynically wrote, “Very curious as to why this sign was posted in our Istanbul hotel. #WeRemember.”²¹¹



Antisemitism based on Islamic understanding

On April 21, nearly 300 French personalities published in the daily *Le Parisien* a manifesto that urged prominent Muslims to denounce anti-Jewish and anti-Christian references in the Quran as outdated so “no believer can refer to a holy text to commit a crime.” It also calls for combating anti-Semitism “before it’s too late.”²¹² The manifesto has caused a furore in Turkey. Erdoğan wondered if the signers have ever read their own holy book the Bible, or the Torah. If they read them, they would have wanted to ban them. Columnist Mehmet Memiş Hoca in his column published on May 9 in *Güneş*, supported Erdoğan and called Sarkozy “a Jew.” It is worth noting that accusing someone of being ‘a Jew’ is considered to be something negative, and the accused party attempts to refute and reject. One of the first accusations against Erdoğan and the AKP for example, was that they have Jewish origins – it was a way to prove how dangerous Erdoğan and his comrades were, how untruthful they were, and how they all cooperate with Western intelligence agencies. Then Memiş Hoca called the signers “dogs” and recommended them to look at the “so called” holy book of the Jews and see the assertions against Muslims and Christians which appear there.

²¹¹ https://twitter.com/jacohen15/status/1070388462694662144?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1070388462694662144&ref_url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.israelnationalnews.com%2FNews%2F-News.aspx%2F255776.

²¹² <https://www.trtworld.com/turkey/turkey-blasts-french-group-s-demands-over-quran-texts-17310>.

Antisemitism as political tool

The most important and dangerous thing in antisemitic and anti-Israeli expressions in Turkey is the fact that many of them were expressed by Turkish politicians including the president Erdoğan. For example, on November 21, Erdoğan said in a meeting of local elected officials that “the famous Hungarian Jew Soros” was behind an individual who “financed terrorists” during the nationwide anti-government protests of 2013. He added that George Soros is “a man who assigns people to divide nations and shatter them. He has so much money and he spends it this way.”²¹³ The individual whom Erdoğan smears as a “terrorist financier” is Osman Kavala, one of Turkey’s leading philanthropists and civil-society activists. Turkish authorities arrested Kavala in 2017 and have held him without an indictment for supporting the protests in Gezi Park in 2013, and the abortive coup of 2016. On May 18, at a summit of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) in Istanbul he compared Israel’s actions against the Palestinians in Gaza to the Nazi genocide of the Jews in World War II.

According to him, there is no difference between the atrocities faced by the Jewish people in Europe 75 years ago and the brutality that the Gaza brothers are subjected to. He attacked Israel's nationality law, saying that the spirit of Adolf Hitler has reemerged in some Israeli officials. The approval of the law, he claimed, shows that Israel is the most fascist and racist country in the world, adding that the law legitimizes unlawful actions and oppression against the Arab minority.²¹⁴

In August, Burhan Kuzu, a founding member of Turkey’s governing AKP, blamed “Jewish-originated Zionist bankers” in a late-night rant for the currency crisis in Turkey that saw the lira plummet against the U.S. dollar. He made the remark in a series of late-night tweets in which he suggested that U.S. President Donald Trump was “not aware” that his country is being managed by what he termed “Jewish banking families.”²¹⁵ But antisemitic expressions are also made by the secular-Kemalist CHP (Republican People’s Party) members. For example, the main opposition presidential candidate in the June 24 parliamentary and presidential elections Muharrem İnce has drawn criticism for a tweet that was found offensive by the Jewish community. “You are the ones who are rewarded with Profile of Courage Awards and deem yourselves suitable for this war,” İnce wrote on his twitter account on August 16, in a series of tweets criticizing Erdoğan, referring to the award he received from the ADL in 2005, during his term as prime minister for Turkey's role in ensuring protection against all forms of malice against the Jewish community in Turkey.²¹⁶



213 <http://www.medyafaresi.com/haber/sizi-topraga-degil-yuregimize-gomduk/892020>.

214 <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-dunya-44939459>.

215 <http://www.avlaremaz.com/2017/11/13/burhan-kuzudan-tartisma-yaratan-yahudi-bankasi-paylasimi-serdar-korucu/>.

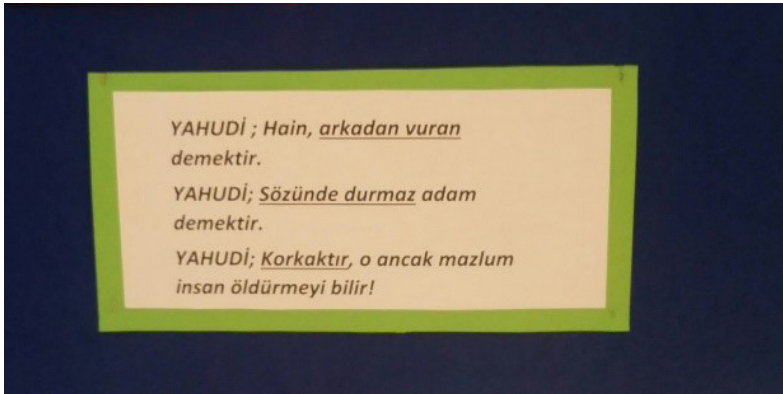
216 <https://twitter.com/HyeTert/status/1030126998746742786>.

The worst thing about this incident is that Ince admitted later that he referred to Israel and not to the Jewish community in Turkey, an explanation which also proves the confusion between anti-Israeli sentiments and antisemitism.

Education and public sphere

The educational system is even worse than the political sphere. Jews were overwhelmed to find in June 2018, several antisemitic posters in Turkish public schools where they voted on election day. In Pendik Alparslan Anadolu Lisesi's corridor, a poster saying: "March my brother, may the power of Jerusalem comes to your feet." Jerusalem (or Kudüs in Turkish) is a very delicate issue which arouses anti-Israeli and antisemitic expressions. According to Hrant Dink Institute's report, only between January and April, at least 36 antisemitic expressions regarding Jerusalem were expressed in local and general newspaper in Turkey.²¹⁷ Jerusalem is also the most frequent topic through which Israel is being demonized by the Turkish president.

In another poster, the definition of Jews read: "a Jew means traitor, someone who stab people in the back," "A Jew is a person who does not keep his word. A Jew is a coward, he only knows to kill innocent people."²¹⁸



Similar posters appeared in another school. In Düzce Arsal Anadolu Lisesi other antisemitic posters were put up. Photos of the Temple Mount with captions saying that half of the heart is in Mecca and the other is in Jerusalem appear but also a poster with the picture of Necip Fazıl Kısakürek,²¹⁹

²¹⁷ <https://hrantdink.org/attachments/article/1429/Media-Watch-on-Hate-Speech-January-April-2018.pdf>.

²¹⁸ The photo was uploaded to twitter on June 25, 2018 by Yusuf Sarfati: https://twitter.com/y_sarfati/status/1011280321629782024/photo/1?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1011280321629782024&ref_url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.avlaremaz.com%2F2018%2F06%2F25%2Flise-panosunda-antisemitizm%2F.

²¹⁹ Ahmet Necip Fâzıl Kısakürek (May 26, 1904–May 25, 1983) was a Turkish prolific poet, novelist, and a playwright. He was noticed by the French philosopher Henri Bergson, who later became his teacher, and Al-Ghazali, a Muslim theologian, jurist, and mystic. He expressed Sufist ideas in his plays and poems. He is also the spiritual father of the Turkish terrorist group IBDA-C (İslami Büyük Doğu Akıncılar Cephesi); he called for a foundation for a new Caliphate in Turkey and encouraged Islam based on pure Islamic values. Kısakürek is known for the ultranationalistic and also antisemitic views expressed in his writings. See, for instance, an anthology of all his articles published in Büyük Doğu [The great East] journal: Necip Fâzıl Kısakürek, Yahudilik-Masonluk-Dönmelik [Judaism, Freemasonry, Sabbetaism] (İstanbul: Büyük Doğu Yayınları, 2010). On Kısakürek and his antisemitic viewpoints.

saying: "did you say 'Jews'? in order to cook their eggs they don't hesitate to burn out the world."²²⁰

In June graffiti of a swastika and SS figures was painted on a wall in Şişli neighborhood.²²¹

Conclusion

The question of whether antisemitic manifestations increased in Turkey under the AKP rule is irrelevant. Even if they did not increase, there is an escalation which seems to be due to the 'visibility' of antisemitic comments, and to the fact that Turkey is led by a government and a president that hold antisemitic views and express them publicly. Jews feel intimidated, insecure, and 'un-Turkish' due to the government that is supposed to represent him. This is the most significant and problematic aspect of current antisemitism in Turkey. Moreover, antisemitic expressions are not considered as bad or as something to be ashamed of or to be hidden from the public eye. Antisemitic ideas became part of the daily agenda in Turkish society, especially when it comes to anti-Israeli sentiments which can be ostensibly justified by Israeli deeds. In fact, antisemitism has been normalized as part of legitimized accepted discourse in Turkey and the incidents in 2018 are a clear evidence for that.

²²⁰ This photo (and others) were uploaded on twitter by Virna Banastey on June 25th 2018. Worse than the posters are some of the comments to this tweet asking how come there is still a Jewish population in Turkey: https://twitter.com/virnabanastey/status/1011468702510927872?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwtterm%5E1011468702510927872&ref_url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.avlaremaz.com%2F2018%2F06%2F26%2Fbir-baska-lise-panosu-yine-antisemitizm%2F.

²²¹ <http://www.avlaremaz.com/2018/06/15/istanbul-kurtulusta-duvara-nazi-sembolleri-cizildi-serdar-korucu>.

United Kingdom / Mike Whine

CST recorded 1,652 antisemitic incidents in the UK in 2018, the highest total that CST has ever recorded in a single calendar year. This is an increase of 16 percent from the 1,420 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2017, which was itself a record annual total. CST also recorded a then-record annual high of 1,375 antisemitic incidents in 2016, making 2018 the third year in a row to see a record total; and there was also a record high of 1,182 antisemitic incidents in 2014.

Party debates were at their most intense and most public. These periods saw an increased number of incidents directly related to those debates, while the increased attention paid to the issue of antisemitism is likely to have emboldened offenders and encouraged victims to report more incidents. CST recorded 148 incidents that were examples of, or related to arguments over, alleged antisemitism in the Labour Party, of which 49 were recorded in August.

The record annual totals in 2016, 2017 and 2018 represent a sustained pattern of historically high antisemitic incident totals. Whereas previous high annual totals in 2014 and 2009 were associated with reactions to conflicts involving Israel, there has been no single trigger event to cause the high annual totals in recent years.

CST recorded over 100 antisemitic incidents in every month, the first time this has ever happened in a single calendar year. The highest monthly total came in May, with 182 incidents, followed by April with 151 incidents and August with 150 incidents. In the past three years there have only been five months where the monthly incident total has dropped below 100; in contrast, in the decade prior to 2016 there were only six months in which CST recorded more than 100 antisemitic incidents.

The factors that influenced the general, sustained high level of antisemitic incidents in 2018 appear to be a continuation of those that similarly affected the level of incidents during 2017 and 2016. While there was no sudden trigger event to cause the record annual total in 2018, the months with the highest totals appear to correlate to periods when political and media debate over allegations of antisemitism in the Labour

It is likely that the high monthly totals in April and May were also partly influenced by reactions to violence on the border between Gaza and Israel during those months, in which several Palestinians were killed. This peaked on 14 May when 62 Palestinians, many of whom were later reported to have been Hamas members, were killed by the Israeli army. Overall, CST recorded 173 antisemitic incidents that showed evidence of being motivated by anti-Israel sentiments or ideology (alongside antisemitism), compared to 70 incidents of this type in 2017. Over a quarter of the 173 antisemitic incidents showing evidence of anti-Israel political motivation occurred in the two months of April and May. The 182 antisemitic incidents recorded in May is the highest monthly total CST has recorded since August 2014, when Israel and Hamas last fought a sustained conflict over Gaza, and is the fourth-highest monthly total CST has ever recorded.

In addition to the 1,652 antisemitic incidents, a further 630 reports of potential incidents were received by CST but not included in the total number of antisemitic incidents, as there was no evidence of

antisemitic motivation, targeting or content. This is a 28 per cent decrease from the 872 potential incidents that were reported in 2017 but not included in the antisemitic incident statistics for that year. Many of these potential incidents involve suspicious activity or possible hostile reconnaissance at Jewish locations. These potential incidents play an important role in CST's provision of security protection to the Jewish community, but they are not classified as antisemitic for the purposes of this report. In total, CST staff and volunteers recorded, processed and analysed 2,282 incidents and potential incidents in 2018, most of which required some element of victim support or security response.

Almost three-quarters of the 1,652 antisemitic incidents recorded in 2018 took place in Greater London and Greater Manchester, the two largest Jewish communities in the UK. 950 antisemitic incidents were recorded in Greater London compared to 784 during 2017, an increase of 21 percent. In Greater Manchester, 250 incidents were recorded compared to 264 in 2017, a five percent decrease. These different trends may reflect the fact that incidents involving political language or motivation are more likely to occur in Greater London than Greater Manchester. Beyond these two centres, CST received reports of 452 antisemitic incidents from 40 of the 43 police forces in England and Wales, as well as the BTP (British Transport Police), Scottish, and Northern Irish police forces. This compares to 386 incidents outside of Greater London and Greater Manchester in 2017. There were 55 antisemitic incidents in Hertfordshire (of which 31 were in Borehamwood and Elstree), compared to 40 in 2017; 34 in Gateshead (32 in 2017), 23 in Leeds (22 in 2017), 19 in Liverpool (12 in 2017), 16 in Sheffield (three in 2017) 12 in Glasgow (six in 2017) and 11 in Birmingham (12 in 2017).

It is likely that there is significant under-reporting of antisemitic incidents to both CST and the Police, and that the number of antisemitic incidents that took place is significantly higher than the number recorded in this report. A 2018 survey by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights found that only 21 percent of British Jews who had experienced antisemitic harassment over the previous five years had reported it to the Police or to any other organisation. The Crime Survey for England and Wales estimates that around 53 per cent of all hate crimes come to the attention of the Police. It is likely, therefore, that the true figures for antisemitic hate incidents will be higher than those recorded in this report. No adjustments have been made to the figures to account for this.

There was one incident of Extreme Violence in 2018, the first time CST has recorded an incident in this category since 2015. Extreme Violence is an attack with the potential to cause the loss of life, or that causes grievous bodily harm (GBH). Overall, CST recorded a fall of 17 percent in violent incidents, from 149 in 2017 to 123 in 2018 (comprising one in the category of Extreme Violence and 122 incidents in the category of Assault).

Incidents of Damage and Desecration to Jewish property fell by 16 percent, from 93 incidents in 2017 to 78. Damage and Desecration is the only incident category for which 2018's total is not the highest or second-highest recorded in the past five years. 81 incidents were recorded in this category in both 2014 and 2016, and 65 in 2015. There were 109 incidents reported in the category of Threats, which includes direct threats to people or property, rather than more general abuse. This is an increase of 11 percent from the 98 incidents of this type recorded in 2017. 107 incidents were recorded in 2016, which had been the largest number of threats ever recorded until 2018.

There were 1,300 incidents of Abusive Behaviour recorded in 2018, the highest number of incidents ever recorded in this category. The 1,300 incidents of Abusive Behaviour is an increase of 22 percent from 2017's total of 1,065, which was itself the previous record high in this category. Incidents of Abusive Behaviour include verbal abuse, hate mail, antisemitic graffiti on non-Jewish property and antisemitic content on social media. 2018 is the third year in a row in which the number of antisemitic incidents in this category has risen.

There were 42 incidents recorded in the category of Literature, which comprises mass-produced antisemitic mailings and emails, rather than individual hate mail. This is an increase of 180 percent from the 15 incidents recorded in this category in 2017, a rise explained by a cluster of one particular leaflet that was distributed repeatedly across London during the year. 19 incidents were recorded in this category in 2016 and 12 in 2015.

The most common single type of incident in 2018 involved verbal abuse directed at random Jewish people in public, a form of antisemitism that is more commonly associated with anti-social behaviour or local patterns of street crime than with political activism or ideologies. In 483 incidents, the victims were Jewish people, male or female, attacked or abused while going about their daily business in public places. In at least 224 of these incidents, the victims were visibly Jewish, usually due to their religious or traditional clothing, school uniform or jewellery bearing Jewish symbols. A total of 724 antisemitic incidents out of the 1,652 incidents involved verbal antisemitic abuse.



CST recorded 384 antisemitic incidents that involved the use of social media, comprising 23 percent of the overall total of 1,652 antisemitic incidents. This is an increase of 54 percent from the 249 antisemitic recorded incidents involving social media in 2017 (18 percent of that year's overall total). CST does not proactively 'trawl' social media platforms to look for incidents of this type and will only record social media incidents that have been reported to it by a member of the public, where the offender is based in the UK or the incident involves the direct antisemitic targeting of a UK-based victim. These figures are only indicative and the total number of antisemitic posts, comments and tweets in the United Kingdom is certain to be far higher.

Sixty-six antisemitic incidents targeted synagogues, and a further 30 incidents targeted synagogue congregants on their way to or from prayers, compared to 76 and 45 incidents respectively in 2017. In 221 incidents, the victims were Jewish community organisations, communal events, commercial premises or high-profile individuals, compared to 141 such incidents in 2017.

Ninety-six incidents targeted Jewish schools, schoolchildren or staff, compared to 88 incidents relating to schools and schoolchildren in 2017. Of the 96 incidents of this type recorded in 2018, 46 affected Jewish schoolchildren on their journeys to or from school; 40 took place at the premises of Jewish faith schools; and ten involved Jewish children or teachers at non-faith schools.

There were 25 antisemitic incidents in which the victims were Jewish students, academics or other student bodies, compared to 21 campus-related antisemitic incidents in 2017. Of the 25 incidents recorded in 2018, 17 took place on campus and eight off campus. Out of these 25 incidents involving universities, two were in the category of Damage and Desecration of Jewish property, all of which occurred on campus; there was one incident in the category of Threats and 22 in the category of Abusive Behaviour. There were no incidents involving students, academics or student bodies in the category of Assault or Literature.

CST ask incident victims or witnesses if they can describe the person, or people, who committed the incident they are reporting. Interactions between perpetrators and victims may be crude and brief, leaving little reliable information and while it is often possible to receive reports regarding the apparent appearance or motivation of incident offenders, this is not absolute proof of the offenders' actual ethnic or religious identity, nor of their motivation. In addition, many incidents do not involve face-to-face contact between offender and victim, so there is no physical description of the offender. With these caveats, CST does provide data regarding the ethnic appearance of incident offenders, and the discourse they use to abuse or threaten Jews.

In 502 incidents, or 30 percent of the 1,652 antisemitic recorded incidents, a physical description of the offender was given. Of these, 300 offenders (60 percent) were described as 'White – North European'; 18 offenders (four percent) were described as 'White – South European'; 73 offenders (15 percent) were described as 'Black'; 64 offenders (13 percent) were described as 'South Asian'; three offenders (0.5 percent) were described as 'Far East or South East Asian'; and 44 offenders (nine percent) were described as 'Arab or North African'.

There were 270 antisemitic incidents which showed far right, anti-Israel or Islamist beliefs or motivations alongside antisemitism, making up 16 percent of the overall total of 1,652 antisemitic incidents, compared to 226 politically motivated incidents in 2017 (16 percent of the overall total for that year). Of the 270 antisemitic incidents showing ideological motivation or beliefs as well as antisemitism, 84 showed far right motivation or beliefs; 173 showed anti-Israel motivation or beliefs; and 13 showed Islamist motivation or beliefs.

There is not always a straightforward correlation between the motivation of incident offenders and the antisemitic language they use; contemporary antisemitic incident offenders will select from a range of Jewish-related subjects, particularly insults related to the Holocaust or Israel, for language or imagery with which to abuse, insult or threaten their Jewish victims. In 2018, 45 per cent of the incidents recorded by CST involved the use of political language or imagery, an increase from the 30 percent of incidents involving similar language in 2017. Of the 1,652 antisemitic recorded incidents, 456 involved language or imagery related to the far right or the Nazi period; 254 incidents involved references to Israel and the Palestinians; and 29 involved references to Islam or Muslims. In 285 incidents, more than one type of political discourse was employed.

Antisemitism on U.S. Campuses and Efforts to Address It / Tammi Rossman-Benjamin

Antisemitic Activity and Trends in 2018

A survey of antisemitic activity on college and university campuses in the United States in 2018 revealed **238** incidents of harassment, vandalism and assault targeting Jewish students on **118** campuses.²²² Although the total number of such antisemitic incidents was approximately the same as in 2017, the number of incidents identified as expressing classic antisemitism (e.g. swastika graffiti; posting of neo-Nazi recruitment flyers; anti-Jewish slurs such as “Kill all Jews;” the vandalism of a student’s mezuzah) decreased by 42 percent, while those identified as expressions of anti-Zionism or anti-Israelism (e.g. graffiti stating “Zionists to the gas chamber;” chants of “Zionists off our campus” at an anti-Israel student rally; organized efforts to disrupt and shut down a student-organized pro-Israel event; vandalism of a Jewish student’s Israeli flag) increased by 66 percent.

Other emerging trends suggest that campuses in America are becoming increasingly hostile for Jewish students who support Israel:

- **Silencing and Exclusion of Zionist Students** - Incidents involving attempts to suppress the expression of Zionist students or exclude them from campus life more than doubled from 2017 to 2018, with 73 incidents reported. These incidents also became more flagrant, with increasing numbers of open calls for the boycott or expelling of Zionist students or student groups from campus. For example at New York University, 53 student groups pledged to boycott NYU’s pro-Israel clubs and refused to co-sponsor events with them. The president of SJP at NYU was quoted in the student newspaper as saying, “Our point is to make being Zionists uncomfortable on the NYU campus.” And at San Francisco State University, the director of an academic program posted to her program’s Facebook page a message stating that welcoming Zionists to campus is “a declaration of war against Arabs, Muslims, [and] Palestinians.” Soon after her message was posted, numerous flyers and graffiti messages showed up all over campus stating, “Zionists Not Welcome Here.”
- **Denying Jewish Self-Determination** - Expression openly promoting the elimination or destruction of the Jewish state more than doubled with 129 reported incidents, including a three-fold increase in instances of such expression at events sponsored by academic departments. At the University of Michigan, for example, three academic departments sponsored an event at which the speaker claimed that it was “unjustifiable...that such a thing as a Jewish majority state ought to exist at the expense of those who can lay claim to that land historically,” saying that “to work against Zionism is to work against injustice everywhere.” At the University of California Los Angeles, tote bags bearing the slogan “Make Israel Palestine Again” were carried by attendees at the National Students for Justice in Palestine conference, and the same slogan appeared on placards displayed by students at anti-Israel rallies at the University of Houston and the University of California Davis.

²²² All data in this report compiled from AMCHA Initiative’s database of antisemitic incidents on U.S. campuses: <https://amchainitiative.org/search-by-incident#incident/search/display-by-date/search/>.

- **Prominence of Academic BDS** - Although the overall amount of BDS activity – including anti-Israel divestment resolution votes and statements, petitions, op-eds and events calling for or promoting BDS -- remained relatively constant from 2017 to 2018, there were 127 incidents involving student or faculty attempts to implement or promote an academic boycott of Israeli universities and scholars (academic BDS) in 2018, which was more than twice the number of academic BDS-related incidents in the previous year. Unlike other campus-based BDS initiatives, the implementation of academic BDS directly harms students wanting to travel to, study about or express support for Israel, disproportionately affecting Jewish and pro-Israel students. The guidelines of the US Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (USACBI)²²³ include calls for boycotters to work towards preventing students from participating in their institutions' study abroad programs in Israel; shutting down educational and cultural events and activities about Israel on their own campuses, including those organized by students; and refusing to collaborate with student, faculty or community organizations that promote “the normalization of Israel in the global academy.” In large measure the dramatic increase in academic BDS activity can be attributed to two incidents occurring in 2018 that brought academic BDS to public attention and sparked related activity on other campuses. At the University of Michigan a faculty member refused to write a letter of recommendation for a student wanting to study in Israel, in compliance with the USACBI guidelines. And at Pitzer College, the faculty senate voted overwhelmingly to shut down their school's only student abroad program in Israel, in compliance with the academic boycott. In the wake of these incidents, there was a flurry of expression of student and faculty support on campuses across the country, including conferences sponsored by multiple academic departments supporting the right of faculty to implement academic BDS, held at New York University and the University of Michigan.

Recent Efforts to Address Campus Antisemitism in America

There have been several recent sets of efforts to address campus antisemitism at the student, organizational, legal, legislative and government agency levels. These include:

- **Student Efforts:** In 2018, the student governments at Texas A&M University²²⁴ and Wake Forest University²²⁵ passed resolutions condemning antisemitism. In both cases the resolutions included the U.S. State Department definition of antisemitism, which acknowledges that some forms of anti-Israel expression are antisemitic. Since 2015, 15 student governments have passed resolutions condemning antisemitism, with the State Department definition included in ten of them.
- **Organizational Efforts:** AMCHA Initiative, a non-profit organization dedicated to monitoring, investigating and combating antisemitism on U.S. campuses,²²⁶ has organized a large coalition of more than 100 organizations to engage in advocacy efforts to address the problem. In 2018, one set of coalition efforts responded to incidents of egregious anti-Zionist harassment on several campuses, urging their leaders to ensure that Jewish and pro-Israel students are equally protected from peer-on-peer harassment that violates their freedom of expression and impedes their full participation in campus life.²²⁷ A second set

223 <https://usacbi.org/guidelines-for-applying-the-international-academic-boycott-of-israel/>.

224 <http://www.ssimovement.org/texas-am-university.html>.

225 https://docs.google.com/document/d/1OIDhelMObU6y_tIO11eDufnIRnjagFEAyHoKpi2h82I/edit?fbclid=IwAR1bCbPO-BqrMmRfCfrzCDgqnP_yWFwQ0GYT8OLXQJ8RaFOzTHpEekG-GkU8.

226 <https://amchainitiative.org>.

227 <https://amchainitiative.org/Over-60-Orgs-to-Columbia-NYU-Syracuse-UCIrvine-5.15.18pr>.

- of coalition efforts focused on raising awareness about the harms of an academic boycott to the academic rights and educational opportunities of students who want to study in or about Israel, and included a letter to 250 university presidents across the country, alerting them to the threat that academic BDS poses to students on their campuses and urging them to pledge to prevent implementation of academic BDS.²²⁸ In response to this effort, the ten chancellors of the University of California system signed a statement declaring that the implementation of an academic boycott of Israel on UC campuses “poses a direct and serious threat to the academic freedom of our students and faculty.”²²⁹
- **Legal Efforts:** A discrimination lawsuit against San Francisco State University (SFSU) filed in 2018 by the Lawfare Project and the law firm Winston & Strawn on behalf of Jewish students who were excluded from participating in a school-wide “Know Your Rights” fair, was recently settled before the case was set to go to trial. The settlement included SFSU officials agreeing to issue a public statement saying that “for many Jews, Zionism is an important part of their identity,” as well as the creation of a new position, coordinator of Jewish student life, as part of the school’s Division of Equity & Community Inclusion, and the allocation of \$200,000 to support “educational efforts to promote viewpoint diversity (including but not limited to pro-Israel and Zionist viewpoints).”²³⁰
- **Legislative Efforts:** In 2016, the Anti-Semitism Awareness Act (AAA) was introduced into Congress, requiring that the U.S. Department of Education’s Office of Civil Rights (OCR) use the U.S. State Department’s definition of antisemitism, including its identification of anti-Zionism as a form of antisemitism.²³¹ The bill failed to pass into law in 2017 and 2018, and was recently reintroduced in the U.S. Senate.²³²
- **Government Agency Efforts:** In 2018, the director of the U.S. Department of Education’s Office of Civil Rights sent a letter to the Zionist Organization of America stating that his agency would be re-opening an investigation into a ZOA complaint of Jewish student discrimination at Rutgers University.²³³ In that letter, the director also announced that OCR would be using the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism in determining whether students “face discrimination on the basis of actual or perceived Jewish ancestry,” and were there therefore eligible for protection under federal anti-discrimination law (Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act). The IHRA definition, which acknowledges that anti-Zionism is a form of antisemitism, had been adopted for use by the U.S. State Department a few months prior to the announcement.

228 <https://amchainitiative.org/100-groups-to-250-university-presidents-12.4.18pr/>.

229 <https://amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/UC-Chancellors-statement-on-Israeli-academic-boycott-Dec-2018.pdf>.

230 <https://www.thelawfareproject.org/releases/2019/3/20/sfsu-settlement>.

231 <https://www.congress.gov/bill/114th-congress/senate-bill/10/text>.

232 <https://www.scott.senate.gov/media-center/press-releases/scott-casey-introduce-anti-semitism-awareness-act>.

233 <https://www.politico.com/f/?id=00000165-ce21-df3d-a177-cee9649e0000>.

BDS / Giovanni Quer

The BDS (Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions) movement was launched in 2005 by a number of Palestinian civil society organizations with the stated goal of advocating for Palestinians' rights. The movement presents itself as a gathering of associations, grassroots organizations, individuals and groups that share the goal of advancing anti-Israel activities aimed at its isolation. The BNC (Boycott National Committee) and main BDS activists have constructed a general narrative that is widely accepted by BDS affiliates and BDS sympathizers. It includes distorted historical and legal arguments that portray Israel as a criminal state and Zionism as a racist enterprise.

There is no doubt that BDS's narrative promotes Israel's delegitimization and demonization. However, assessing antisemitism in the BDS movement is no easy task. Some would argue that the movement simply advocates for Palestinians' human rights and harshly criticizes Israel, which does not equate to antisemitism. Others would argue that calling for the demise of the existence of Israel as the Jewish state, the BDS movement is antisemitic *per se*. In Germany, the Federal Commissioner for Combating Antisemitism, Felix Klein, asserted that BDS is antisemitic "in its actions and goals."²³⁴

Besides this debate, some claims can be advanced with a certain level of certainty. First, the BDS promotes arguments that can be deemed as antisemitic according to the 2016 IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism, which includes examples of anti-Israel delegitimization and demonization. For instance, arguing that Israel is the product of a racist endeavor or associating Israel with Nazi Germany.

Secondly, the BDS movement is a catalyst for antisemitic acts perpetrated by individuals or groups that do not necessarily identify as BDS, but share the movement's narrative and goals. Some extreme right antisemitic organizations have expressed sympathy with the BDS movement precisely because of its anti-Israeli stances.²³⁵ Hamas, a terrorist organization, also expressed support for the BDS (and, tellingly, the BNC or other BDS organizations have not disassociated themselves from such sympathizers).²³⁶ Moreover, in certain domains, BDS activities directly target Jews and deem them responsible for what are perceived as Israel's wrongdoings, given their declared or undeclared Zionist affiliation.

Thirdly, disguised as a human rights cause, BDS campaigns promote the discrimination of Israel, Israeli citizens, Israeli entities and institutions, as well as international individuals, entities and institutions that, to varying degrees, are associated with Israel. The argument usually employed by BDS promoters is that their goal is to target the settlements and the economic, financial, social fabric that is involved in what they consider an illegal enterprise. Legally, the legitimacy or lack thereof of Israeli civil settlements in the post-

²³⁴ Felix Klein "Israel-Boykotteure unter dem Deckmantel der Kunstfreiheit," *Welt*, August 8, 2018, accessed at <https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article180793618/Antisemitismus-in-Deutschland-Israel-Boykotteure-unter-dem-Deckmantel-der-Kunstfreiheit.html>. See also, Ben Cohen "Defying 'Intimidation' by BDS Advocates Protesting Israeli Sponsorship, Berlin Music Festival Gets Underway," *the Algemeiner*, August 15, 2018, accessed at <https://www.algemeiner.com/2018/08/15/defying-intimidation-by-bds-advocates-protesting-israeli-sponsorship-berlin-music-festival-gets-underway/>.

²³⁵ The German extreme right, neo-Nazi Der Dritte Weg supports BDS and embraces the demonizing narrative that portrays Israel as genocidal, terrorist state. See, <https://der-dritte-weg.info/2014/07/israel-boykott-was-jeder-gegen-den-zionistischen-voelkermord-tun-kann/>.

²³⁶ See, "Hamas 'Salutes and Supports' Anti-Israeli Boycott Campaign," *The Tower*, October 7, 2017, accessed at <http://www.thetower.org/5182-hamas-salutes-and-supports-anti-israel-boycott-campaign/>.

1967 territories²³⁷ may be considered a grey area in international law, with so many arguments in favor as against. Furthermore, BDS's anti-settlement policy argument is simply not tenable: regardless of any connection to an Israeli settlement, BDS initiatives result in the *de facto* promotion of a total boycott of Israel.

During the past decade, supported and inspired by the BDS anti-Israeli boycott movement, a number of organizations, companies, churches, student councils and academic associations in countries across Europe, the U.S., Canada and Latin America, have applied either a wholesale boycott or a boycott of Israeli products, companies, institutions and universities on grounds of alleged connections to the Israeli settlements.

The following sections discuss the noteworthy developments pertaining to BDS activities and counter responses in 2018, including the legal development (comprising divestment cases), cultural and sport, and academic.

Legal developments

Significant legal arguments have been raised against the BDS movement, including those based on international non-discrimination principles, international trade agreements, prohibitions of national incitement to discrimination as well as the *ultra vires* (acting beyond one's vested powers) nature of local authorities calling for a boycott of a foreign state.

In the **United States**, as of 2019, 26 states have enacted laws against the boycott. These laws require state pension funds to divest from any investments in companies that boycott Israeli businesses which have connections with Israeli settlements. Moreover, according to some of the laws, like the South Carolina anti-boycotting law, a pre-condition for receiving state contracting is that the company does not boycott Israel.

During 2018, two federal state courts have ruled on the constitutionality of the states' anti-BDS laws. In January, the Kansas Federal Court blocked the implementation of the law which requires contractors to sign a document that they are "not currently engaged in a boycott of Israel." The court declared that the law violated the First Amendment right to participate in political boycotts. Subsequent to the ruling, the law was amended to minimize its scope.²³⁸

Similarly, in September, the Federal Court in Arizona blocked the implementation of the state law requiring state contractors to submit a written certification that they would not boycott Israel. The court ruled that the law has likely violated free speech rights protected under the First Amendment. This decision is currently being appealed in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Conversely, in January 2019 the Arkansas Court ruled to uphold the anti-boycott law, and stated that the First Amendment did not protect from actions that "refuse to deal, or to refrain from purchasing certain goods."²³⁹

²³⁷ *I.e.*, the territories administered by Israel since 1967, in consequence of the Six Day War and the capturing of areas previously annexed to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

²³⁸ "After Court Defeat, Kansas Changes Law Aimed at Boycotts of Israel", June 29, 2018, ACLU, accessed at <https://www.aclu.org/news/after-court-defeat-kansas-changes-law-aimed-boycotts-israel>.

²³⁹ "Federal Court Upholds Anti-BDS Bill in Arkansas," January 25, 2019, JNS.org, <https://www.algemeiner.com/2019/01/25/federal-court-upholds-anti-bds-bill-in-arkansas/>.

In **Germany**, anti-BDS activities are primarily initiated by local authorities, involving also private corporations. In 2018, bank accounts of organizations with ties to the BDS movement or showing support for listed terrorist organizations were reportedly shut down by the banks.²⁴⁰ In January, Frankfurt's Mayor Uwe Becker declared that the municipality would not cooperate with banks that have ties to BDS groups, as part of an anti-BDS policy adopted in August 2017.²⁴¹ Moreover, on September 27, the administrative court of Oldenburg ruled that the municipality's decision to cancel a 2016 BDS event had been unlawful. The city council's decision was deemed to have violated the applicant's right to freedom of assembly and freedom of expression.²⁴² As pointed out by Ahmed Abed, the lawyer representing the event's organizers in court, this was "the first time an administrative court has said it is unlawful to disallow a BDS event."

In May, Berlin's legislative council officially deemed BDS anti-Semitic,²⁴³ while parties across the political spectrum in the German parliament passed a resolution directing the judiciary to examine whether BDS could be classed as a criminal activity.

In **Ireland**, the Control of Economic Activity (Occupied Territory) Bill 2018 seeks to criminalize business activities carried out with entities in areas deemed (illegally) occupied under international law. Such activities include importing and selling settlement goods, providing services to settlements, and extracting resources from such territories. Despite the apparent neutral language recalling the obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention, this Bill was drafted as an anti-Israel initiative.²⁴⁴ This bill is the first legislative attempt outside the Middle East to endorse the anti-Israel boycott.²⁴⁵

In **Spain**, boycott policies have been adopted by local authorities over several years. Besides its declarative effect, such policies may be enacted by local governments in order to divest or refrain from cooperating with Israeli, Spanish, and international institutions that are deemed to support what is perceived as Israel's illegal conduct. Ever since 2016,²⁴⁶ Spanish jurisprudence has confirmed in several occasions that the adoption of boycott policies by local authorities violates the division of powers encompassed in the constitution. In October 2018, the High Court of Justice of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria confirmed the annulment of a boycott act adopted by the Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria (Island Council of Gran Canaria).

240 Benjamin Weinthal, "German Bank Shuts Account of Group Sympathetic to Palestinian Terrorists," *Jerusalem Post*, September 1, 2018, accessed at <https://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/German-bank-shuts-account-of-group-sympathetic-to-Palestinian-terrorists-566276>.

241 Frankfurt Municipality "Keine Zusammenarbeit mit Banken, die BDS unterstützen," press release of January 29, 2018, accessed at https://www.frankfurt.de/sixcms/detail.php?id=2855&_ffmpar%5B_id_inhalt%5D=33394609 Reportedly, the Municipality severed ties with at least one bank over BDS ties. See, <https://www.jpost.com/American-Politics/German-bank-enabling-antisemitic-BDS-banned-from-business-with-Frankfurt-552747>.

242 "VG Oldenburg hält Aufhebung der Entscheidung zur Überlassung eines Vortragssaals im PFL für eine Vortragsveranstaltung der BDS im Mai 2016 durch die Stadt Oldenburg für rechtswidrig," [//www.verwaltungsgericht-oldenburg.niedersachsen.de/aktuelles/vg-oldenburg-haelt-aufhebung-der-entscheidung-zur-ueberlassung-eines-vortragssaals-im-pfl-fuer-eine-vortragsveranstaltung-der-bds-im-mai-2016-durch-die-stadt-oldenburg-fuer-rechtswidrig-169355.html](https://www.verwaltungsgericht-oldenburg.niedersachsen.de/aktuelles/vg-oldenburg-haelt-aufhebung-der-entscheidung-zur-ueberlassung-eines-vortragssaals-im-pfl-fuer-eine-vortragsveranstaltung-der-bds-im-mai-2016-durch-die-stadt-oldenburg-fuer-rechtswidrig-169355.html).

243 "Berlin State Office Categorizes BDS as Antisemitic," September 4, 2018, *JTA*, accessed at <https://www.jpost.com/BDS-THREAT/Berlin-State-Office-categorized-BDS-as-antisemitic-566470>.

244 The bill has been approved by the upper House of the Irish Parliament and is now under discussion in the Lower House. The text and the related documents are accessed at <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/bills/bill/2018/6/?tab=bill-text>.

245 Since the late 1960s, many Middle Eastern countries have introduced legislation for preventing ties with Israel, be it in the business or cultural domains.

246 In 2016, the "Tribunal Superior de Asturias" (High Court of Justice of Asturias) confirmed the decision of the Tribunal of Oviedo, which nullified an act of the "Ayuntamiento de Langreo" (Langreo Municipality), by which the local authority had adopted the boycott of Israel.

Higher courts have struck local authorities' decisions on grounds that they acted beyond the scope of jurisdiction assigned by the constitution. Moreover, some courts have also noted that the discriminatory nature of BDS-backed policies is incompatible with principles enshrined in the Spanish constitution. Lower courts have in at least four cases annulled acts of boycott adopted by local authorities,²⁴⁷ while other cases were initiated and are still pending.²⁴⁸ In some cases legal lobbying proved effective to argue against the boycott, leading to the withdrawal of previously adopted anti-Israel acts.²⁴⁹

In **Chile**, the General Comptroller of the State defined illegal an act adopted by the Valdivia Municipality, which stipulated in June 2018 boycott policies, declared the city “free of Israeli apartheid,” accused Israel of ethnic cleansing, and called upon the President to discontinue cooperation and severe relations with Israel. The act was challenged with the General Comptroller, which declared the act illegal on two grounds: first, international relations are a domain under presidential jurisdiction, therefore the Municipality acted in contravention of constitutional provisions; secondly, the municipal act introduces a form of discrimination on basis of nationality, prohibited by the constitution.²⁵⁰

Israel has also adopted legislation against BDS. The legal corpus so far includes the Law for the Prevention of the Damage to the State of Israel through Boycott 5771-2015, which makes individuals and organizations liable under torts law for BDS activities that cause a provable damage.²⁵¹ The law also gives the government the authority to exclude civil society organizations from preferential tax regime if proven that they support BDS activities. In 2018, a Jerusalem Magistrate Court first adopted a decision in application of the law, recognizing the damages suffered by three Israeli citizens, who bought tickets for the concert of the New Zealander singer Lorde, eventually cancelled following BDS pressure. In October, an Israeli magistrate court in Jerusalem fined two BDS activists from New Zealand with a penalty of 45,000 shekels, as a result of their part in the cancellation of Lorde's concert in December 2017.

247 In December 2018, the Juzgado n. 1 of Alicante has struck an act of the San Vicente del Raspeig Municipality, which adopted the boycott of Israelis and Spaniards associated with Israelis. In September, Juzgado n. 1 of Huelva struck the BDS policy adopted by Ayamonte adopted in May 2017, noting its discriminatory nature. In May, Juzgado Contencioso Administrativo n. 2 of Castellón de la Plana annulled a boycott act adopted by Ayuntamiento de Benlloch on grounds of discrimination and incitement to discrimination and therefore unconstitutionality.

248 In October, the Molins de Rei Municipality was taken legal action against, because of a BDS policy adopted in 2013. In September, the decision by Pamplona Municipality to adopt the boycott of Israel in June was appealed. Other cases regard the Municipality of Valencia, which adopted boycott declaration in June 2018, and the Municipalities of Puerto Real, Conil de la Frontera, and Zahara de los Atunes (Cádiz Province).

249 It is the case of Ayuntamiento de Segunto (act withdrawn), Ayuntamiento de Villarrobledo (act withdrawn), Parlamento de Navarra (act not approved), and Ayuntamiento de Montcada i Reixac (act withdrawn).

250 See the “Dictámen” (opinion) n. 030145N18 issued by the Contraloría General on 5 December 2018, on the illegality of the “acuerdo” (resolution) n. 277 of 2018 adopted by the Valdivia Municipality and . The text of the opinion, in Spanish, is accessed at <https://www.contraloria.cl/pdfbuscador/dictamenes/030145N18/html>.

251 When adopted the law envisaged civil liability without necessarily proving damages. The Israeli High Court of Justice struck this part in 2015, deeming it unconstitutional. See, H CJ 5239/11, Avnery v. Knesset of 15 April 2015.

The lawsuit was based on Israel's "Anti-Boycott Law" adopted in 2011, under which damages may be applicable on persons calling for a boycott of Israel.²⁵² The ruling was criticized by the New Zealand Minister of Justice as a "political stunt,"²⁵³ and the BDS activists stated they had no intention to pay the fine.²⁵⁴

Moreover, in 2017 the Knesset (Israeli Parliament) passed amendment n. 27 to the Entry into Israel Law 5712-1952, which introduces the ban on visas and residency permits to non-citizens who knowingly call for the boycott of Israel or areas of it, while such boycott is likely to produce effects. The law was applied in 2018 in a number of cases, and at least once the denial of entry was challenged with the High Court of Justice. Lara Alqasem, an American citizen who applied for a student visa after enrolling in a student program at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, was denied entry in Israel because of her past activism in an anti-Israeli organization active on American campuses. The High Court of Justice struck the decision to ban Alqasem from entering Israel for lack of evidence of the student's current BDS activism. The Court found that given her young age and her previous marginal position in a BDS-supporting organization, the decision to ban her entrance is not consistent with the goal of the law, namely defending the existence and legitimacy of Israel. The court reaffirms that Israel has the right to defend itself, and this also implies the power to impede anti-Israel activists from entering the country, insofar as they are leading activists and their contribution to the boycott movement is consistent and continuous.²⁵⁵

A general legal consensus is growing, whereby the BDS is considered an incitement to discrimination on national grounds, repugnant to liberal democratic eyes. However, the individual right to boycott Israel, on the basis of personal convictions and opinions, is still to be recognized as a personal freedom of choice.

Culture and sports

A number of campaigns targeted in 2018 cultural and sport events. BDS campaigns are directed against events, products, and individuals. Not only Israeli artists, sportsmen, and cultural products are object of boycott campaigns, but also international cultural festivals that host Israeli artists as well as international artists that plan to perform in Israel. For BDS activists, any connection to the Jewish State is a reason valid enough for inciting to boycott.

The cultural boycott of Israel is maybe the most palpable example of anti-Israel bigotry. The main claim of BDS boycotters is that cooperating with Israel legitimizes Israel's policy toward the Palestinians. Besides the usual arguments against Israel, the significant point of cultural BDS campaigners is that they target Israelis or internationals not necessarily for their views, or for their acts, but for any loose connection with the Jewish State.

²⁵² "Jerusalem Court Orders BDS Activists Behind Lorde's Cancellation to Pay Fan \$12K," October 11, 2018, *Haaretz*, accessed at <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-jerusalem-court-orders-bds-activists-behind-lorde-s-cancellation-to-pay-fan-12k-1.6550235>.

²⁵³ Amy Spiro, "New Zealand Justice Minister: Lorde Ruling Is a 'Political Stunt'," October 16, 2018, *The Jerusalem Post*, accessed at <https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/New-Zealand-justice-minister-Lorde-ruling-is-a-political-stunt-569538>.

²⁵⁴ Amy Spiro, "New Zealand BDSers: We Won't Pay Israeli Court Fine," October 12, 2018, accessed at <https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/New-Zealand-BDSers-We-wont-pay-Israeli-court-fine-569269>.

²⁵⁵ Supreme Court case n. 7216/18, *Lara Alqasem v. Ministry of Interior*, October 17, 2018, pars. 13-15, 18 of Justice Handel's opinion and pars. 3,4 of Justice Baron's opinion.

Therefore, they prove to be motivated primarily by anti-Israel beliefs, rather than actually human rights grounds. More than a human rights campaign, as it pretends to be, the anti-Israel boycott seems to be yet another political advocacy against the “normalization” with Israel.

International artists such as the New Zealander Lorde, the Uruguayan Natalia Oreiro, the Russian Pussy Riots, the Brazilian Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso, the Colombian Shakira, the South African Die Antwoord are some examples of artists who were subject to BDS campaigns for planning to perform in Israel. It is unclear if all these cases are really due to boycott pressure; nonetheless, anti-Israeli activists capitalize on these decisions that they advertise as major success of the movement. However, in at least one case, the political motive was decisive in the decision to cancel the concert: the manager of Gilberto Gil issued a statement that ambiguously mentioned “Israel is going through a sensitive moment.”²⁵⁶ In other cases, artists may not be motivated by genuine anti-Israeli conviction, yet they yield in to political and social pressure created by such campaigns.

Given their fame and notoriety, artists are often used by campaigners for reaching out to a larger public. Similarly, BDS activists exploit artists’ prominence for promoting their agenda. In some cases, celebrities are subject to boycott campaigns for expressing views that are considered favorable to Israel. This is the case of the South African model Shashi Naidoo, who was subject to heavy pressure by anti-Israeli activists for posting opinions favourable to Israel on social network. The model was eventually denied entry to Israel while trying to enter the country as part of a BDS-sponsored trip.²⁵⁷ In another occasion, the South African singer DJ Black Coffee faced national opposition after performing in Israel, including the official reprimand of the ruling ANC party, which endorses the cultural boycott of Israel.²⁵⁸

Tellingly, anti-Israeli activists also target Arab Israelis, who are accused of “normalization,” namely of accepting sponsorship by Israel and, therefore, accepting its existence. This is the case of the Israeli director Shady Srour, who is himself not opposed to BDS. Srour’s participation in the London Israeli film festival “Seret” was deemed by BDS activists to cooperate with Israel and, consequently, to be boycotted.²⁵⁹

Cultural managers also play a significant role in promoting the BDS agenda. As directors, producers, and funders, they have prominent role in establishing the cultural policy of an institution or a group. Therefore, people in decision-making positions are targeted by BDS campaigners. The organizers of the Pop Kultur Festival in Germany, for instance, were pressurized by BDS activists for Israel’s sponsorship of the festival. In India, where the cinema industry plays a central role in the economic and cultural life, the boycott movement initiated a campaign to force Bollywood industry to divest

²⁵⁶ Ami Friedman, “Gilberto Gil Calls Off Israel Concert,” *Ynet News*, May 22, 2018.

²⁵⁷ “Israel Bars Entry to South African Model on BDS-Organized ‘Re-Education Trip’,” *Times of Israel*, July 25, 2018, accessed at <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israel-bars-entry-to-south-african-model-on-bds-organized-re-education-trip/>.

²⁵⁸ Amy Spiro, “S. Africa’s Ruling Party Re-Ups Call for Israel Boycott After ‘Black Coffee’ Show,” *Jerusalem Post*, April 4, 2018, accessed at <https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Culture/S-Africas-ruling-party-re-ups-call-for-Israel-boycott-after-Black-Coffee-show-547915>.

²⁵⁹ Eness Elias, “How an Israeli Arab Director Became a Target for BDS,” *Haaretz*, October 18, 2018, accessed at <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-how-an-arab-israeli-director-became-a-target-for-bds-1.6571042>.

from cooperation with Israel.²⁶⁰

At times, cultural managers endorse anti-Israel policies. For example, the Portuguese National Theatre director and playwright Tiago Rodrigues cancelled his scheduled participation in the Jerusalem Festival and endorsed the anti-Israel boycott campaign, comparing Israel to apartheid South Africa.²⁶¹

Major cultural or sport events are targeted by anti-Israeli campaigners for taking place in Israel. In 2018, a campaign against the Eurovision music competition began because it is scheduled to take place in Israel in May 2019. Similarly, BDS activists try to draw international attention to Italy's main cycling race, "Giro d'Italia," which in the year 2018 took off in Israel. While the anti-Eurovision campaign is ongoing when this document is drafted, one can say that in both cases, BDS activists failed their objectives.

Academia

Many of the events and activities on campus are promoted during the so-called Israeli Apartheid Week (IAW), which takes place around March and April, and was initiated 15 years ago. The IAW is an umbrella for different BDS-backing events, organized in facilities of academic institutions or outside campuses.

The campaign, as per its name, advances the comparison of Israel to South African apartheid, and uses a particularly virulent language to describe the Jewish State. Exploiting freedom of expression and academic freedom, anti-Israel activists organize on-campus events (such as conferences, seminars, and info-desks) as well as off-campus events (concerts, readings, public events), which are tailored to the students' audience primarily.

The anti-Israeli advocates use academic facilities in order to advance their agenda and narrative, which rehashes the usual anti-Zionist motifs. However, major concern arises from the increasing confrontational atmosphere of such events, during which Jewish students are targeted and pro-Israeli students feel uncomfortable to express their opinions. Often, anti-Israeli activists use disruptive tactics to obstruct events presenting another narrative about Israel or the conflict.

Each year has a general slogan. For 2018 it was "70 years resisting the ongoing Nakba."²⁶² Several NGOs cooperate with students' anti-Israeli groups in order to reach students and advance their agenda. Moreover, the concurrent events in different countries and universities have led to the creation of intra networks among groups and organizations that operate in different states.

²⁶⁰ Itamar Eichner, "Bollywood film to start production in Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Post*, November 22, 2018, accessed at <https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-5411847,00.html>.

²⁶¹ Maya Ahseri, "Portuguese Director Tiago Rodrigues Nixes Shows at Israel Festival, Announces He's Joining BDS," *Haaretz*, May 19, 2018, accessed at <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-portuguese-director-tiago-rodrigues-nixes-shows-in-israel-joins-bds-1.6098330>; and "Portuguese director drops out of Israel Festival over treatment of Palestinians," *Times of Israel*, 21 May 2018, accessed at <https://www.timesofisrael.com/portuguese-director-drops-out-of-israel-festival-over-treatment-of-palestinians/>.

²⁶² The term Nakba means catastrophe in Arabic, and it refers to the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 and the Arab defeat in the war Arab States waged against the fledgling state.

For its nature and culture, the English-speaking academic world is more vulnerable to anti-Israeli campaigns, including because of social activism and the role of students' organizations. Students' organizations such as the Canadian Federation of Students,²⁶³ the New York City University Students' government body,²⁶⁴ UK's National Union of Students,²⁶⁵ Ireland's Trinity College Dublin Students Union,²⁶⁶ have to different extents adopted pro-BDS positions and policies. At times, boycott initiatives are advanced by isolated faculty members.²⁶⁷

In other countries in continental Europe, academic boycott is also an affair promoted by students' organizations, often marginal, which cooperate with other groups and also international networks. Anti-Israeli activism on European campuses imitates initiatives advanced abroad, even though for the great part result in unsuccessful attempts to introduce BDS policies.

The response to anti-Israeli activities is increasingly well-organized. A number of pro-Israeli organizations are more visible on campuses, academic networks are more active in impeding BDS initiatives and students' groups are more vocal about the consequences in terms of antisemitic episodes and rhetoric. German Gutenberg University students' representative body passed a resolution against "the antisemitic boycott of Israel."²⁶⁸

Anti-Israeli activism among students' organizations raises concerns in terms of future academic leadership and the understanding of freedom of speech. On the one hand, it is an individual right to boycott any country on the basis of political beliefs and it is every student's right to refrain from visiting countries that are not compatible with her/his politics. On the other hand, one cannot maintain that promoting the boycott within academic premises is in any way protected by freedom of speech. The promotion of discrimination through the advancement of a hostile narrative is not what academic freedom should stand for.

263 Benjamin Kerstein, "Canadian Jewish Groups Launch Campaign Against National Student Federation's Endorsement of BDS" the *Algemeiner*, November 21, 2018, accessed at <https://www.algemeiner.com/2018/11/21/canadian-jewish-groups-launch-campaign-against-national-student-federations-endorsement-of-bds/>

264 Shiri Moshe, "NYU Students Pass Divestment Resolution Targeting Israel, but Administration Condemns Boycott," the *Algemeiner*, December 7, 2018 accessed at <https://www.algemeiner.com/2018/12/07/nyu-students-pass-divestment-resolution-targeting-israel-but-administration-condemns-boycott/>.

265 Shiri Moshe, "Leading UK Students' Union Endorses BDS, Fails to Consider Resolution on Hezbollah Ban," June 7, 2018, accessed at <https://www.algemeiner.com/2018/06/07/leading-uk-students-union-endorses-bds-fails-to-consider-resolution-on-hezbollah-ban/>.

266 Aisling Grace, "Students vote for BDS mandate for TCDSU," *Trinity News*, March 22, 2018, accessed at <http://trinitynews.ie/2018/03/students-vote-for-bds-mandate/>.

267 Such as the case of the faculty member at Michigan University refusing to write a recommendation letter to a student applying for a scholarship in Israel. See, Jason Silverstein, "University of Michigan professor refuses to write letter for student to study abroad in Israel," *CBS News*, September 18, 2018, accessed at <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/university-of-michigan-professor-john-cheney-lippold-refuses-to-write-letter-for-student-to-study-in-israel/>.

268 See, Benjamin Weinthal, "Students at Germany's Oldest University Reject 'antisemitic' BDS Campaign," *Jerusalem Post*, May 14, 2018 accessed at <https://www.jpost.com/International/Students-at-Germanys-oldest-university-reject-anti-Semitic-BDS-campaign-556324>.

Conclusion

Despite the prominence of anti-Israel boycotts, especially in certain media and surely in social networks and other digital platform, the assessment of the success rate of BDS campaigns to harm Israel is a hard task. Israel has a vibrant cultural, academic, economic life and international ties intensify.

However, the prominence of these campaigns and the tenacity of the BDS campaigners in pursuing their agenda may give the impression that their agenda increasingly gains supporters. In a number of cases, the decision of divesting from Israel may be motivated by simple will to avoid controversial positions and to placate the virulent language used by certain anti-Israeli activists.

The question remains of what will be in the future years, given the attractiveness of the BDS discourse. The misuse of human rights arguments, the abuse of the Holocaust, and the distortion of history continue to entice both those who are ardently opposed to Jewish statehood and Jewish nationhood, and those who are genuinely motivated by human-rights and misled into anti-Israel propaganda.

On a positive note, the anti-BDS camp is however growingly active and effective, mainly focused on American campuses, and diverse forms of anti-BDS initiatives find larger support among civil society.

Appendices



Appendix A

Working Definition of Antisemitism

As adopted by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance on 26 May 2016

In the spirit of the Stockholm Declaration that states: “With humanity still scarred by ... antisemitism and xenophobia the international community shares a solemn responsibility to fight those evils” the committee on Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial called the IHRA Plenary in Budapest 2015 to adopt the following working definition of antisemitism.

On 26 May 2016, the Plenary in Bucharest decided to adopt the following non-legally binding working definition of antisemitism:

“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 leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic. Antisemitism 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 antisemitism 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.
- 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 endeavor.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior 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.

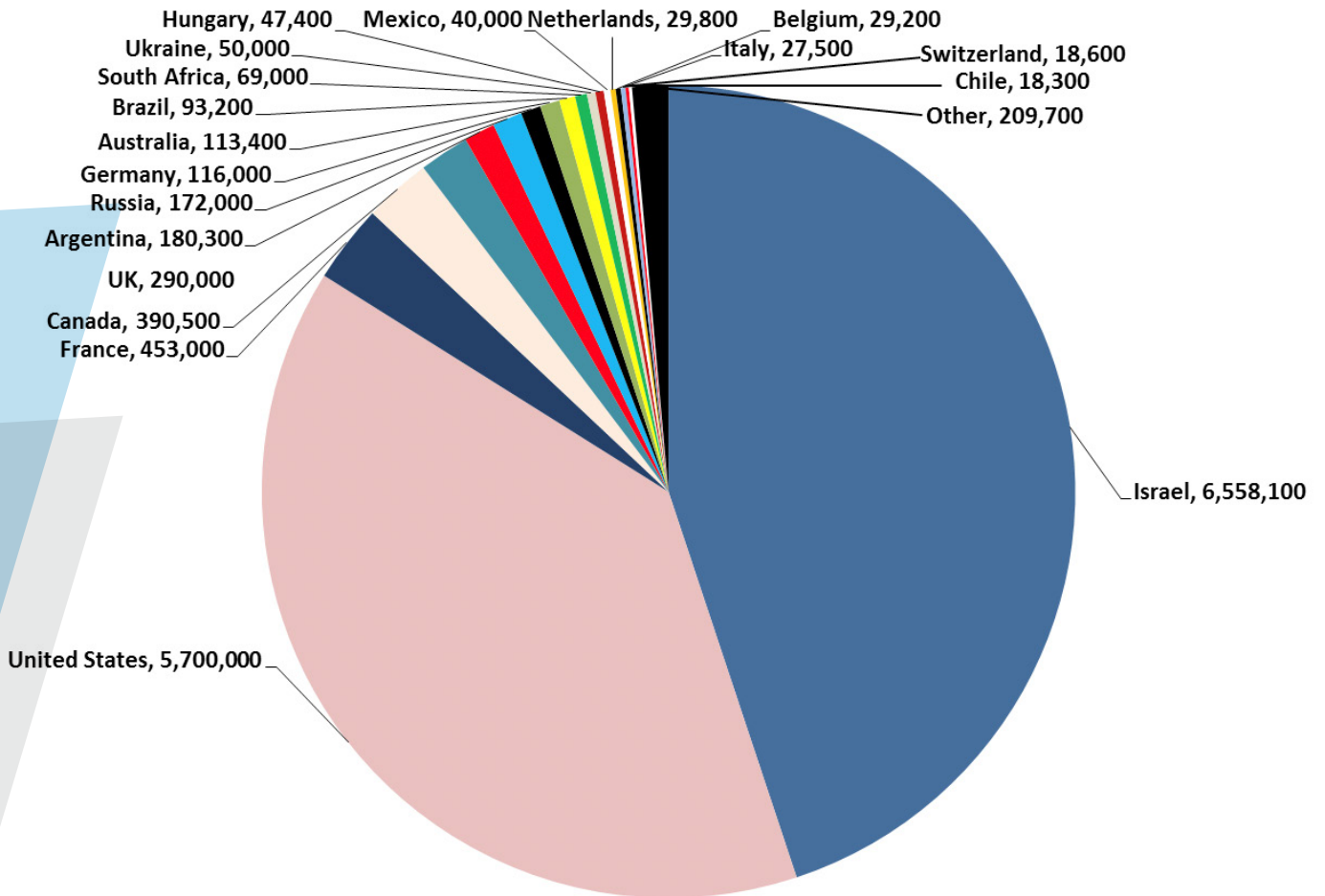
Antisemitic acts are criminal when they are so defined by law (for example, denial of the Holocaust or distribution of antisemitic materials in some countries).

Criminal acts are antisemitic when the targets of attacks, whether they are people or property – such as buildings, schools, places of worship and cemeteries – are selected because they are, or are perceived to be, Jewish or linked to Jews.

Antisemitic discrimination is the denial to Jews of opportunities or services available to others and is illegal in many countries.

Appendix B

Largest core Jewish populations, 2018²⁶⁹



²⁶⁹ Sergio DellaPergola, Chapter 8, World Jewish Population, in the 2018 American Jewish Year Book (Eds. Arnold Dashefsky and Ira Sheskin, Springer, 2018).

The Kantor Center Methodology

The report is based on the ongoing Kantor Center for the study of Contemporary European Jewry and the Moshe Kantor Database team's work, and on the various reports and data sent to us by organizations and contact persons in about 40 countries – a network we established during more than 25 years of activity. It should be noted that The Kantor Center and database is the only center, in Israel and abroad, that monitors and analyzes antisemitic manifestations worldwide, according to the same criteria, over such a long period of time that make a multi-year comparison possible. Nevertheless, we are aware of the possibility that not all the relevant data on antisemitic manifestations has reached us, because in many countries monitoring is not consistent or systematic; or because their databases are restricted to free public study because of States' rules; and because – as all monitoring agencies agree – not all manifestations are reported. Still, we do believe that information about the major manifestations has reached us.

The data and numbers presented herein on major violent antisemitic cases are the result of a specific monitoring and analysis system developed by the Kantor Center team, using specific criteria:

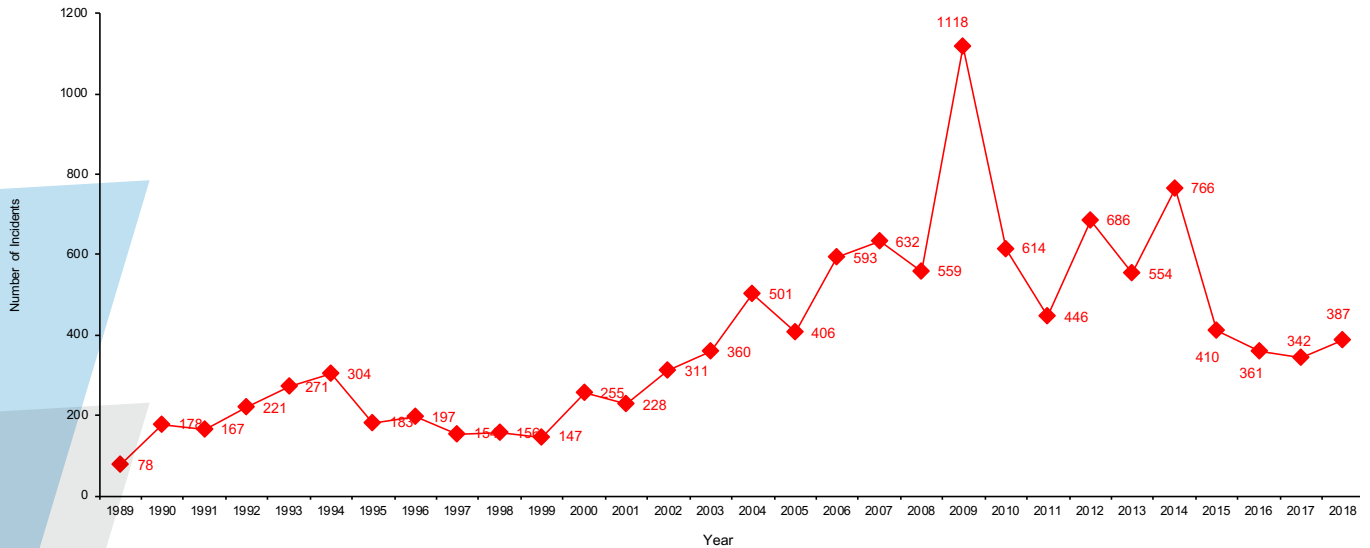
1. proven antisemitic motivation;
2. Counting a multi-event as one case
3. No exaggeration or diminishing the severity of the situation;
4. Distinguishing between violent cases and verbal and visual manifestations.

Differences might occur between our published data on the number of violent incidents and those released by other monitoring communities and institutes. Monitoring communities and agencies sometimes present numbers of all types of antisemitic manifestations put together, violent, verbal and visual.

We are aware of the necessity to analyze antisemitism in the broadest possible context. Therefore there can be no understanding of antisemitism without a solid background knowledge of the political, economic and social developments in any given country and in the international arena, and for this we are indebted to our contributors from the world at large.

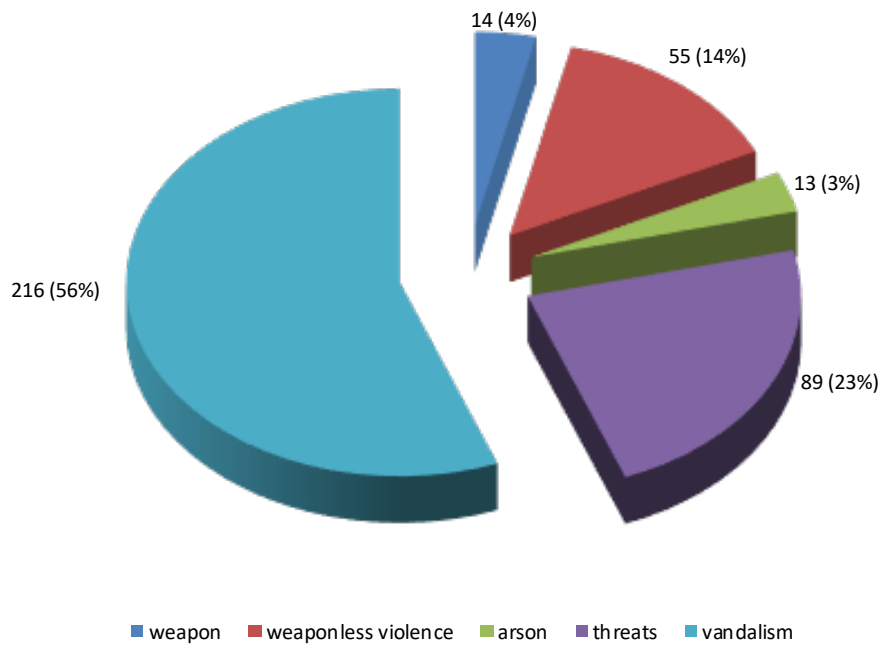
Appendix D

Major Violent Incidents Worldwide, 1989-2018²⁷⁰



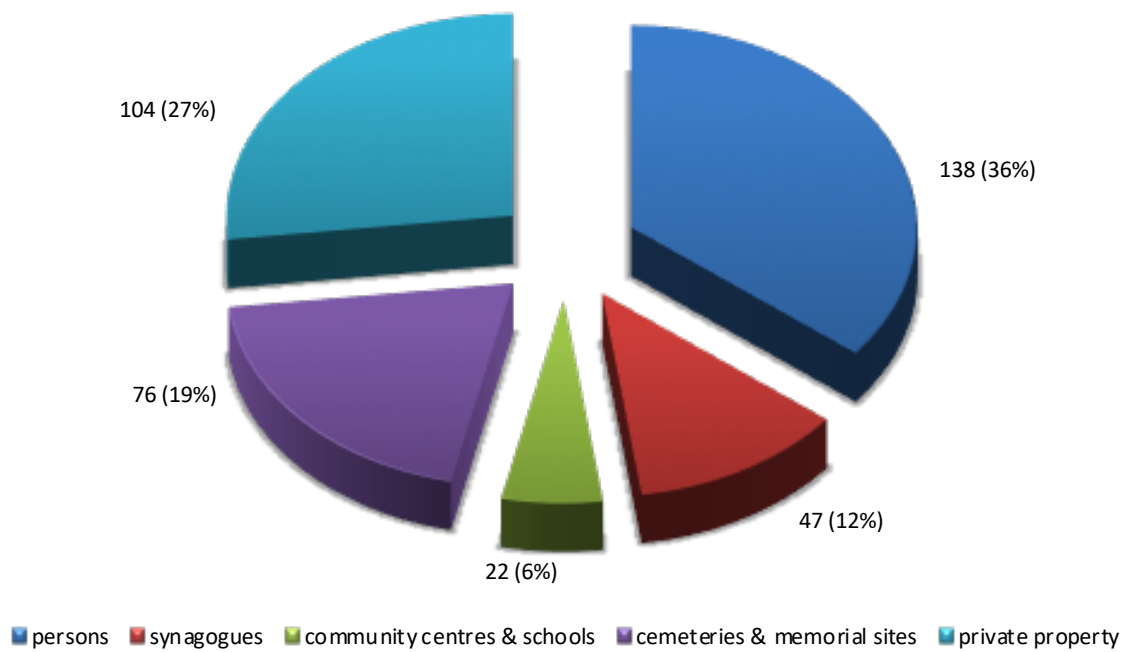
²⁷⁰ The graphs in this section refer to acts of violence and vandalism and desecration acts perpetrated directly against Jewish individuals, synagogues and community centers and against Jewish private property worldwide during 2017. The figures are based on the Kantor Database for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism (usually accumulated from open sources and contributor special reports) and reports of the Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism. It should be stressed that the graphs reflect only major violent incidents (such as arson, weapon attacks, weaponless attacks, serious threats, and vandalism or desecration).

Major violent incidents worldwide in 2018 – breakdown by modus operandi



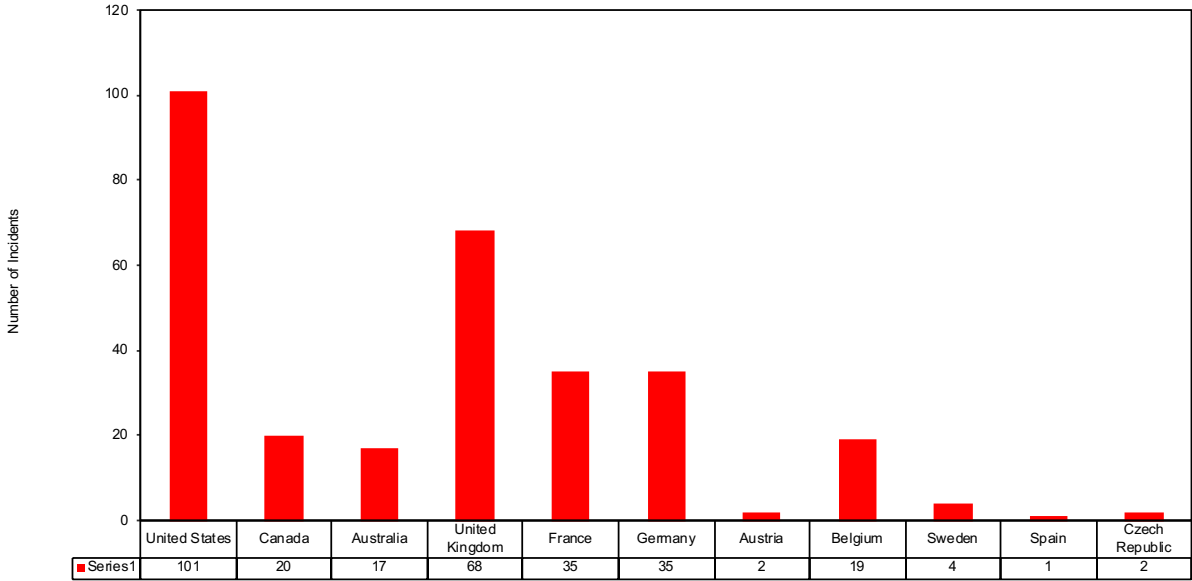
Appendix F

Major Violent Incidents Worldwide In 2018 Breakdown by Target



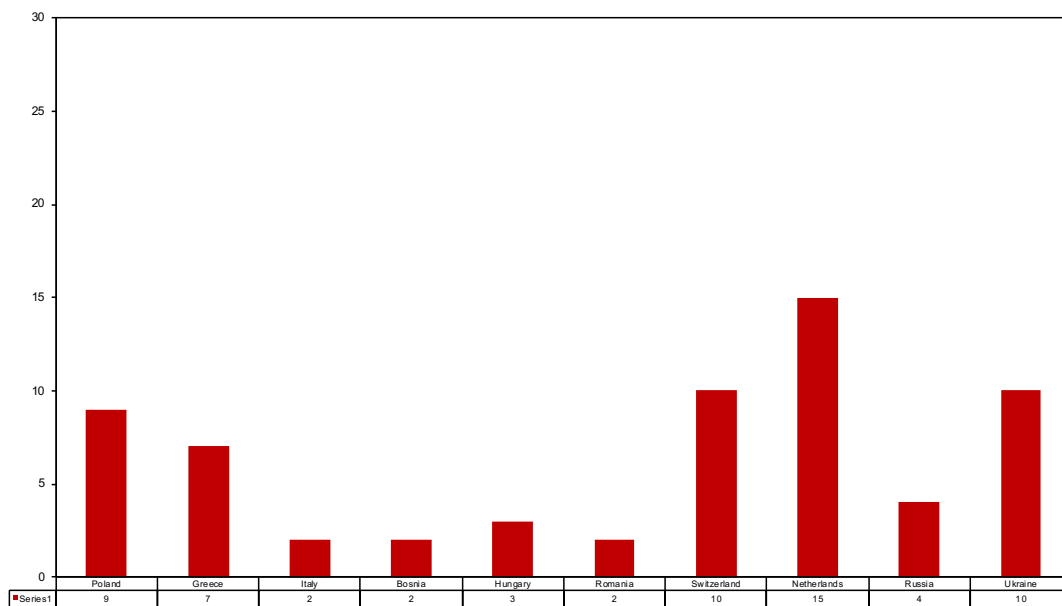
Appendix G

Violent Incidents In 2018 – Breakdown by Country (1)

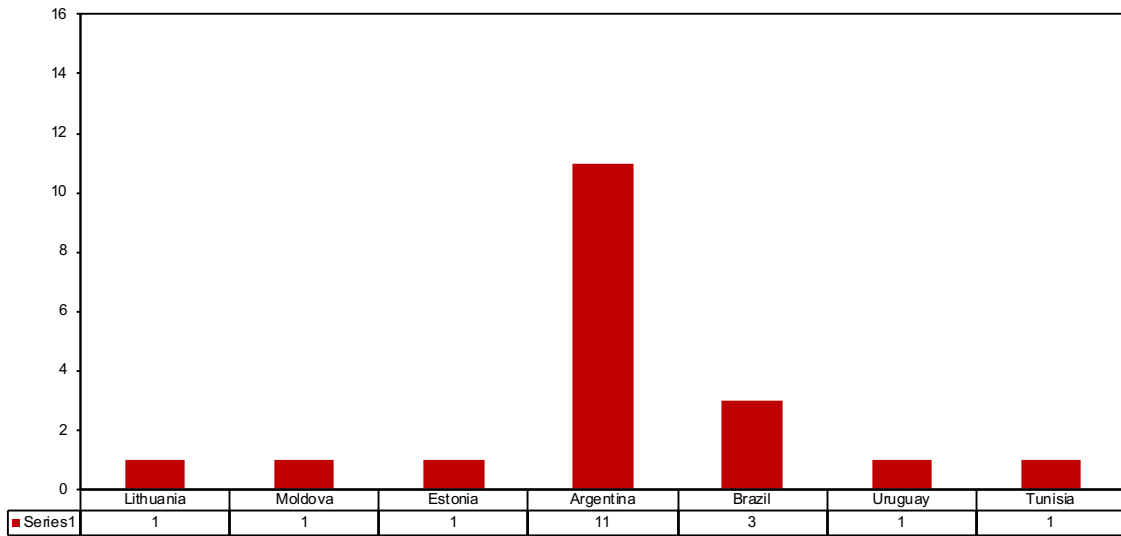


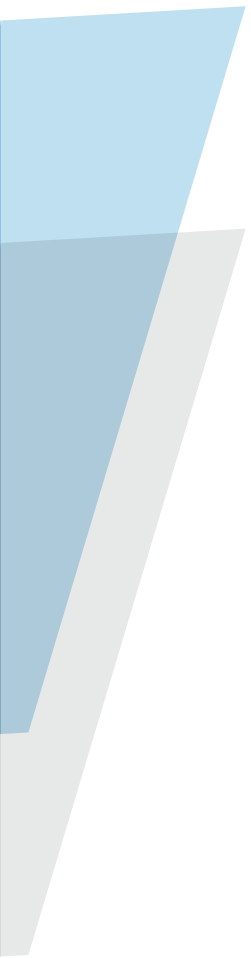
Appendix H

Violent Incidents In 2018 – Breakdown by Country (2)



Violent Incidents in 2018 – Breakdown by Country (3)





בכלי התקשורת, בבמות ציבוריות וברשתות החברתיות, שבהן האנונימיות מאפשרת תגובות מחוסרות רסן. הלשון והדימויים הנשמעים, לעתים גם מפי מנהיגים בתקופות בחירות למשל, נעשו לאחרונה בוטים יותר והם יוצרים אווירה שבה לשון וביטויים קיצוניים הופכים לנורמה.¹⁷

לסיום, צוות מרכז קנטור מציע לראות את התמונה בפרופורציה, לא להמעיט מחומרתה אך גם לא להגזים בה; לשתף פעולה עם קבוצות ומיעוטים אחרים; לזכור שקבוצות קיצוניות מטפחות שנאה כלפי כל מי שאינו נמנה עמהן, לאו דווקא כלפי יהודים; ושמספר פשעי השנאה כלפי ה"אחרים" גבוה בהרבה מאלה המופנים כלפי יהודים. לדוגמה, נוצרים הותקפו בשנה האחרונה במזרח התיכון, אלפים נרצחו בניגריה, ומאות כנסיות חוללו בצרפת.

הבה נושיט יד אל האחרים כמונו.

¹⁷ According to David Nirenberg to Patrick Kingsley, in "Antisemitism is Back, From the Left, Right and Islamist Extremes. Why?" *New York Times*, April 4, 2019.

כל אלה הם הסברים הנעוצים בעבר, אלא שהזירה הפוליטית הנוכחית גם היא מהווה קרקע פורייה לצמיחת אנטישמיות. משבר הדמוקרטיה, שהיו המעוז של זכויות הפרט והמיעוט, התחזק במהלך שנת 2018 ותחילתה של 2019: אי ביטחון כלכלי; שאלות של זהות לאומית; שיתוף פעולה לצורכי פעילות אנטישמית בין אידאולוגיות ותנועות שאין להן דבר אחר במשותף, כמו תנועת נשים שבאגף השמאלי של המפה הפוליטית עם קבוצה מוסלמית קיצונית שחורה – בחינתם של כל אלה הכרחית להבנתה של האנטישמיות בימינו.

תנועות ומפלגות ימניות חיזקו את כוחן הפוליטי וזכו לתמיכתם של בוחרים עקב משבר ההגירה. הן רואות ביהודי סוכן קוסמופוליטי זר המהווה איום לזהות הלאומית המקומית, וגורם המניע את הגעתם של המהגרים לאירופה ולצפון אמריקה. ממשלות מזרח אירופיות, כמו בפולין, הונגריה וליטא, ממשיכות בניסיונות להשליט בתקיפות סיפר (נרטיב) לאומי היסטורי, לפיו האוכלוסייה בהן לא שיתפה פעולה עם הגרמנים בימי המלחמה. נהפוך הוא: הם נפלו טרף לכיבוש גרמני אכזרי, והושיטו ליהודים, קורבן כמותם, יד עוזרת. האתוס הלאומי-לאומני הזה הוא מקור לסכסוך מתמיד עם הקהילות המקומיות, המנסות לשמר את זיכרון ההיסטוריה כפי שקרתה, והן מואשמות דווקא בכך שהן מעלות סיפר מעוות, ומנפחות את אחריותם של שכניהם לגורלם.

בארצות המערב, בהן הדמוקרטיה והקפיטליזם הם לאחרונה בבחינה מחודשת, רואה השמאל הרדיקלי ביהודים כוח עולמי האחראי לעלייתה ולנפילתה של הכלכלה הגלובלית. ולא זו בלבד, אלא שבשני צדיה של היבשת האירופית ובמקומות נוספים בעולם, נתפסים היהודים כמחוסנים בפני משברים כלכליים, שאינם משפיעים עליהם. הם נחשבים לבעלי כושר ארגון, ולעם היודע למשוך בחוטים הפוליטיים לתועלתו.

מספר התפתחויות פוליטיות משתלבות זו בזו, ויש להן השפעה מכרעת על עלייתה של האנטישמיות:

- הברקסיט המפלג את החברה הבריטית, והשפעותיו על מפלגת הלייבור, שמנהיגה משמיע דעות ועלבונות אנטישמיים, כביכול היו אנטי-ציונות. בפעם הראשונה בהיסטוריה ארוכת השנים שלהם, מרגישים יהודי בריטניה שאיבדו את הבית הפוליטי שלהם, והם מטילים ספק בעתידם שם.
- המשבר החברתי והכלכלי בצרפת, שבעקבותיו הוציאה המחאה החברתית לרחובות עשרות אלפי לובשי "אפודים צהובים", ואפשרה לחוגים אנטישמיים ואנרכיסטים להכתיב אלימות ולהשמיע סיסמאות בגנות היהודים; נוכחותה של מפלגת ימין קיצוני חזקה, בצד נוכחותם של כמה מיליוני מוסלמים, שחלקם לא התערה בחברה הסובבת, וזה בשעה שהיהודים מהווים מקור לקנאה – כל זה מערער את ביטחונה של הקהילה היהודית.
- הקרע המעמיק והולך בין שתי המפלגות הגדולות בארצות הברית כולל הגישה והיחס לישראל וליהודים; סטודנטים יהודים צריכים לבחור בין זהותם הלאומית ותמיכתם בישראל, לבין שאיפתם הטבעית להיות חלק מסביבתם, המוקיעה אותם בשל כך; ונוכחותן של קבוצות ימין קיצוניות, שחבריהן עומדים מאחורי מקרי רצח ואלימות, מהווים מקור לדאגה ולחששות בקרב יהודי ארצות הברית.
- ההתנגדות למדיניות קליטת המהגרים של אנגלה מרקל מערערת את היציבות, מחזקת את הימין הקיצוני הניזון מן הפחדים שמעוררת ההגירה, ומעלה את השאלה האם יש אנטישמיות בין המהגרים החדשים, והאם היא חיצונית אותה גם בקרב מי שהגיעו לפניהם.¹⁶

בהמשך לשאלת הסיבות, יש להדגיש שמאז קיץ 2014 לא התחולל עימות צבאי בין ישראל לשכנותיה, וקודם כל בינה לבין הפלסטינים. לפיכך, אנו מציעים לשקול מחדש את הקשר המסורתי בין עימות צבאי לבין עליית אנטישמיות, שיכולה לפרוח גם בלעדיו, מסיבות אחרות.

עוד לשאלת הלמה: אפילו בנושא כמו אנטישמיות, קיימות אופנות. תשומת הלב התקשורתית הניתנת להצתת בית כנסת, או לחילול בית קברות עתיק או למסע ירי, מביאה בעקבותיה חקיינים, היוזמים פעולות דומות. התפתחות משיקה היא תהליך ההקצנה והקייטוב שעובר השיח הפוליטי והחברתי הכללי, ללא קשר ליהודים דווקא, והוא משתקף

¹⁶ <https://www.thejc.com/comment/comment/does-muslim-immigration-into-europe-pose-a-threat-to-jewish-communities-pears-institute-survey-1.467385>; <https://www.france24.com/en/20190213-anti-semitism-hate-crime-jews-germany-afd>.

כנס רב משתתפים שנערך באוניברסיטת וינה בפברואר 2018, על ידי אוניברסיטאות וינה, ניו יורק ותל אביב, בתמיכתו של ד"ר משה קנטור, הביא לפרסומו של קטלוג אמצעים למאבק באנטישמיות, שהוצג בנובמבר בפני משתתפי כנס, רב משתתפים גם הוא, של האיחוד האירופי.⁹ לאחר מכן התחייב האיחוד, במה שהוגדר כהצהרה היסטורית, לפתח אסטרטגיות מקיפות (הוליסטיות) למאבק באנטישמיות, לאמץ את ההגדרה בארצות החברות בו, ולהבטיח את שלומן וביטחונן של הקהילות היהודיות.¹⁰ הנשיא טראמפ מינה לאחרונה שליח מיוחד לענייני אנטישמיות, משרה שלא אוישה מאז החלה כהונתו, וארצות נוספות, כמו בולגריה וגרמניה, מינו גם הן שליחים כאלה, העתידים להוות יחד קבוצת עבודה.

דווקא ההישגים המעודדים מעלים את השאלה, כיצד זה ממשיכה האנטישמיות לעלות, למרות המאמצים להגבילה? נראה שפעולותיהם המבורכות של ממשלות, מנהיגים וגופים אזרחיים אינן מגיעות אל הרחוב, אל הארגונים הקיצוניים ואל הרשתות החברתיות, שם פורחת האנטישמיות, והשאלה היא האם ומתי יגיעו, והאם יוכלו לבלום את התופעה.¹¹

המגמות בהתפתחותה של האנטישמיות ברורות, אך השאלה המרכזית היא למה – מדוע מתגברות תופעות אנטישמיות דווקא לאחרונה? אין צורך לומר שבכל ארץ ובכל אזור קיימים מאפיינים המיוחדים לכל אחד ואחת מהם, והם מתבטאים היטב בדו"חות על המדינות, המובאים להלן. בכל זאת ננסה להציע כמה תשובות, ולהצביע על סיבות כוללות אפשריות.

פחות מידע ופחות התחייבות: התפוצצות המידע, בכול תחומי החיים, בעיקר ברשתות החברתיות ובמיוחד בזמנים של אי יציבות פוליטית וכלכלית, מספקת לאנשים, ובפרט לצעירים, תשובות שטחיות מן המוכן. ההיסטוריה של העם היהודי ותרבותו; שכבות האנטישמיות הנערמות זו על גבי זו במשך מאות בשנים; מלחמת העולם השנייה, המשטר הנאצי והשואה; המצב המורכב במזרח התיכון; המציאות בישראל – כל אלה הם נושאים כבדי משקל שיש להשקיע זמן ומאמץ כדי להבינם. ב-2019, כמעט 75 שנה אחרי תום מלחמת העולם השנייה, מספר גדל והולך של בני הדור השלישי בעולם מרגישים משוחררים מן המחויבות לדעת, לזכור ולכפר על חטאי עבר.¹² הם מרגישים חופשיים מן הצל שגורל היהודים הטיל על דורות קודמים.

אלן דרשוביץ, פרופ' למשפטים בהרוורד, רואה קשר בין עליית האנטישמיות והאנטי-ציונות היום לבין רצח היהודים במלחמת העולם, שגרמניה אמנם יזמה והובילה אך רוב אומות אירופה או לפחות חלקים בתוכן היו שותפות לו. לטענתו, אותה שנאה לא-רציונלית שהתבטאה בשנות ה-30 וה-40 במאה שחלפה היא היום מקור לאנטישמיות חדשה, משום שנוכחות יהודית באירופה היום היא מזכרת עוון מתמדת לדור הנכדים של מבצעי הפשע.¹³ אזהרתו זו זכתה להדים נרחבים, אך כהיסטוריונים ברצוננו להדגיש שלכל תקופה המאפיינים שלה ואין להשוות את שנות ה-30 וה-40 לזמננו אנו.

דברים אלה מובילים לסיבה נוספת, מושרשת היטב, לנוכחותם של אנטישמיות קלאסית ושל סטריאוטיפים מוכרים: האנטי-יהודיות הקלאסית טבועה עמוק בתרבות האירופית והיא מתחזקת בימי משבר. ואכן, יהודים נחשבו לקורבן אולטימטיבי, למרטירים, ובמיוחד במשך עשרות בשנים לאחר השואה, אלא שעם התעצמותו של הסכסוך הישראלי-פלסטיני, והתחזקותה של ישראל כמדינה, הסטטוס של המרטיר הועבר לפלסטינים. הם נחשבים היום ליהודים החדשים, הסובלים כמו ישו בשעתו, והיהודים נחשבים לפיכך לאנטי-כריסט, ואת הישראלים משווים לרוע הקיצוני ביותר של זמננו, לנאצים, ובשנים האחרונות גם לדאע"ש. קריקטורות רבות מראות פלסטינים זבי דם נעוצים על צלבים וישראלים אכזריים, הנראים כאילו נלקחו מדפי דר שטירמר, מענים אותם.

דמות היהודי לאחר השואה מחזקת את המוטיבים של האנטישמיות הקלאסית: זוהי אותה דמות תאבת בצע וחמדנית (סוחטת כספי שילומים), זרה ובעלת נאמנות כפולה (תומכת בעצם בארץ אחרת), אגואיסטית ושבתית (דואגת קודם כול לאינטרסים שלה), שולטת על כל מוקדי הכוח והכסף (וזוממת תככים נגד העולם הלא יהודי). אין פלא שהמונח "יהודי" הפך בשנים האחרונות לכינוי גנאי בשפות רבות.¹⁴ אנטישמיות קלאסית פורחת בזמן שהגורם הדתי מניע סכסוכים, כולל כמה מאלה שמוסלמים מעורבים בהם,¹⁵ או כאשר הכנסייה מתאוששת במזרח אירופה אחרי עשרות שנות קומוניזם.

9 https://anendtoantisemitism.univie.ac.at/fileadmin/user_upload/p_anendtoantisemitism/PDF/Catalogue_FINAL

10 <http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-15213-2018-INIT/en/pdf>.

11 Dina Porat in the March 7, 2019 INSS conference in TAU.

12 see the CNN survey, on rampant ignorance regarding the Holocaust among European youngsters.

13 Dina Porat in lecture in Montreal, in a TAU gala dinner, August 26, 2018.

14 See for example, Esther Webman, "The 'Jew' as a Metaphor for Evil in Arab Public Discourse," *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, Vol. 6, issues 3-4 (2015), 275-292.

15 See for example, Esther Webman, "Rethinking the Role of Religion in Arab Antisemitic Discourses," to be published in forthcoming issue of *Religions*.

חדירתה של האנטישמיות לזרמים הפוליטיים והחברתיים שבמרכז, ולא בשוליה הקיצוניים של החברה, הביאה לנירמולה בחוגים ציבוריים, בוויכוחים ובדיונים בכל אמצעי התקשורת ובייחוד ברשתות החברתיות. אנטישמיות כבר אינה רק חלק מפעילותו של המשולש, המורכב מן הימין הקיצוני, השמאל הקנאי והאסלאם הרדיקלי: היא נמצאת במרכז, והפכה לחלק אינטגרלי של המציאות. "אנטישמיות בצרפת ב-2018 היא יומיומית [...] לא עובר יום בלי מעשה אנטישמי", קובע דו"ח שפרסם משרד הפנים הצרפתי יחד עם שרות הביטחון של הקהילה. לפי סקרים רחבי היקף (ראו בהמשך) רוב היהודים, כ-75%-80% מהם, אינם מדווחים על תקריות אנטישמיות שהם חווים, כי הן רבות ותכופות, וכי הסיכויים למצוא את מבצעהן קלוש, ופנייה למשטרה עלולה לעורר את זעמם.

גם השיח האנטי-ציוני נכנס למרכז הדיון הציבורי, ומשתקף בשימוש גובר במונחים אנטישמיים, ובעיונות חסרת פרופורציה המופנית כלפי המדינה היהודית, שמייחסים לה מאפיינים יהודיים קלאסיים. "כול הסטריאוטיפים של הפחד הקלאסי מפני יהודים (יודיאופוביה), מושלכים על המדינה היהודית [...] ושנאה לישראל הפכה לצורת אנטישמיות מקובלת ותקינה פוליטית".³ ישראל נדחית מפני שהיא מדינת לאום, ומפני שרגשות האשם הפוסט-קולוניאליים של אירופה הובילו, כטענתו של ההיסטוריון אלכסנדר יופה, לכיוון ההפוך מלאומיות – להלקאה עצמית ולהענשה עצמית, על ידי התרתה של הגירה מסיבית, מוסלמית בעיקרה, לאירופה.⁴ אך יש להוסיף על דבריו סיבות לא פחות כבדות משקל לפתיחת השערים, והן: השלכותיה של השואה, בפרט בגרמניה; שאלת זכויות המיעוט והפרט, שהיא בליבן של הדמוקרטיה המערבית; והבעיות הדמוגרפיות החמורות שאירופה נתונה בהן.

שורה של סקרים רחבי היקף שנערכו לאחרונה בארצות אירופה, מאששת ומעצימה את חששותיהם של יהודים באשר למצבה של האנטישמיות: ה-FRA, הסוכנות לזכויות הבסיסיות מטעמו של האיחוד האירופי, ערכה סקר ב-12 מארצות האיחוד, וראיינה 16,500 יהודים;⁵ סוכנות הידיעות CNN ראינה 7000 יהודים ולא יהודים;⁶ וסקר שכותרתו "יורוברומטר" הציג נתונים מ-23,640 ראיונות שנערכו פנים-אל-פנים ב-28 ארצות האיחוד, והשלים את סקר ה-FRA.⁷ הסקרים לא השאירו מקום לספק: יהודים ולא יהודים כאחד הצביעו על התחזקותה של האנטישמיות בכל היבט של חיי היומיום. 85% מנשאליו סקר ה-FRA ענו שזוהי הבעיה החמורה ביותר; 40% מנשאליו משאל ה-CNN ענו שיהודים מאוימים על ידי אלימות גזענית; ו-89% מנשאליו היורוברומטר ענו שהאנטישמיות גברה לאחרונה. הסקרים והדו"חות, שמומנו בנדיבות על ידי גופים ציבוריים ופרטיים, ותשומת הלב התקשורתית שהם עוררו, נותנים לאנטישמיות מעמד של בעיה שהכירו בקיומה, ויש לטפל בה במישור ציבורי, המקומי והרב-לאומי. שתי שאלות עולות בהקשר זה: הסקרים משקפים את המציאות, אך האם ייתכן שתשומת הלב שהם זוכים לה משפיעה מצידה גם היא על תפיסת המצב, שהרי הסקרים מציינים מצב חמור, ואולי מקבעים אותו. שנית, האם אין סכנה שהמאמץ והתקציבים המושקעים בסקרים יעוררו טינה כלפי יהודים: סקרים נעשים גם על מצבם של מיעוטים וקבוצות אחרות, אך הם אינם זוכים לאותה תשומת לב ציבורית, כאילו הם חשובים פחות.

כיוון שהאנטישמיות הוכרה כבעיה שיש לטפל בה בדחיפות, ויותר רשויות ממשלתיות הכירו באחריותן לרווחתם ולביטחונם של היהודים שבארצן, נערכה בשנה החולפת שורה של כנסים, סדנאות, מפגשים בין מנהיגים לבין ראשי הקהילות, אירועי תקשורת ועוד, ורובם הסתיימו בהצהרות ובהבטחות להעמיק את ההכרה במצב ולהיאבק בו.⁸ ואכן, כמה הישגים מעודדים הושגו ב-2018: הגדרת העבודה של האנטישמיות, שאומצה ב-2016 על ידי 31 המדינות החברות ב-IHRA, הברית הבינלאומית לזיכרון השואה, אומצה ב-2018 על ידי ארצות וגופים נוספים; וכיוון שהאיחוד האירופי התקבל כחבר ב-28, IHRA הארצות החברות בו מחויבות לאמץ את ההגדרה, כל אחת לחוד. ההגדרה (ראו הטקסט המלא שלה בנספחים לדו"ח זה) אינה מסמך משפטי מחייב, אך היא הפכה לכלי שימושי בהכשרת שוטרים ובדיונים בבתי משפט, וקבלתה הפכה לקנה מידה לערכים ולהתחייבות להתנהלות מעשית במאבק נגד אנטישמיות ואנטי-ציונות רדיקלית.

3 Monika Schwarz-Friesel, "The Persistence of European Antisemitism", 18.1.2019, BESA Center Perspective Paper No. 1067.

4 Alexander H. Joffe, "The West's New Antisemitism Crisis: Why Right Now? BESA Center, 23.9.2018.

5 "Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism - Second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU", available at <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2018/2nd-survey-discrimination-hate-crime-against-jews>.

6 <https://edition.cnn.com/interactive/2018/11/europe/antisemitism-poll-2018-intl/>.

7 http://data.europa.eu/euodp/en/data/dataset/S2220_90_4_484_ENG.

8 President Emmanuel Macron to members of the CRIF, accessed at <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/02/21/anti-zionism-new-form-anti-semitism-warns-emmanuel-macron/>.

מגמות והתפתחויות בגילויים האנטישמיים ב-2018

דינה פורת

Ça suffit!

מספיק ודי! קריאה זו מבטאת את התחושה השוררת בקרב יהודים, כיחידים, כקבוצות וכקהילות, שנחשפו במהלך 2018 ובתחילת 2019 לגילויים אנטישמיים, שנעשו תכופים יותר ומועצמים יותר. סייגים קודמים נחצו: "יהודים לגז!" ו"מוות לציונים!" הפכו לקריאות הנשמעות יותר מאשר בעבר, והן משקפות את התחושה שעצם קיומם של יהודים, קהילות יהודיות ומדינה יהודית מעורר עוינות.

בשנת 2018 נרצחו 13 יהודים, המספר הגבוה ביותר בהשוואה לשנים האחרונות, 11 מהם באירוע הרצח בבית הכנסת בפיטסבורג בארה"ב באוקטובר. במהלך השנה ובתחילת 2019 חלה עלייה כמעט בכול סוגי התקריות האנטישמיות, הן במרחב הציבורי ולאחרונה גם במרחב הפרטי. אפשר לומר שמתגברת תחושה של מצב חירום בין יהודים בכמה ערים וארצות, באשר לביטחונם האישי ולשאלת מקומם בחברה הסובבת.

- מספר התקריות האנטישמיות האלימות החמורות שנרשמו על ידי צוות מרכז קנטור עלה ב-13%, מ-342 ב-2017 ל-387.

- הארצות שבהן נרשם מספר האירועים הגבוה ביותר הן ארצות הברית (למעלה ממאה מקרים). האירוע בפיטסבורג נרשם כאירוע אחד), בריטניה (68), צרפת וגרמניה (35 כל אחת), קנדה (20), בלגיה (19), הולנד (15) וארגנטינה (11). יש לציין כי מזה כמה שנים מספר האירועים האלימים במזרח אירופה נמוך בהרבה מזה שבמערב, ועומד על מקרים ספורים בכל ארץ, פרט לאוקראינה שבה נרשמו השנה 12 אירועים אלימים.

- סוגי האירועים האלימים הנפוצים ביותר הם ונדליזם (216 מקרים, המהווים 56% מכלל האירועים), איומים (89, 23%), ואלימות ללא שימוש בנשק (55, 14%). מספרים אלה מראים שמספר המקרים שבהם נעשה שימוש בנשק ובהצתה הוא נמוך, בה בשעה שרוב ההתקפות הן נגד בני אדם ורכושם. אכן, לפחות 138 אנשים הותקפו (36%), ורכוש פרטי ניזוק (104 מקרים, 27%). הסיבה לכך היא שבני אדם ורכושם מוגנים פחות מאשר בתי כנסת (47 מקרים, 12%) ומרכזים קהילתיים (22, 6%). בתי קברות ואנדרטאות הם עדיין יעד מסורתי להתקפות (76 מקרים, 19%).

קהילות יהודיות וגופי מעקב ממשלתיים ואחרים משתמשים בקריטריונים משלהם להגדרת תקריות אנטישמיות, והם שונים מארץ לארץ, ולפיכך אי אפשר להשוות ביניהם. המספרים הכוללים שהם מפרסמים מתייחסים בדרך כלל לכל סוגי האירועים, החל באלימים, עבור בהצקות, עלבונות ואיומים וכלה בהכחשת שואה ובביוש (שיימינג) ברשתות החברתיות. יש להדגיש כי דווקא מצבור האירועים הכולל עלבונות, הצקות וביוש מכאיבים ופוגעים יותר מאשר האלימות לשמה, משום שהם הם היוצרים את האווירה ומכתיבים את הטון.

כמה דוגמאות: באיטליה נרשמו 197 אירועים מכול הסוגים, עלייה של 60%; בדרום-אפריקה – 62 אירועים, עלייה של 25%; בבריטניה – 1652 אירועים, עלייה של 16%; בצרפת – עלייה של 74%, מ-311 ב-2017 ל-541 מקרים; עלייה של 22% נרשמה בניו-יורק על-ידי משטרת העיר, ו-14% בברלין.

תחושת חרום? ההתפתחות המדאיגה ביותר, שממשיכה ומתעצמת מאז שנת 2016, היא שבכמה ארצות יהודים חשים שהם חיים במצב חרום, עקב התמשכות העלייה במספרי האירועים האנטישמיים, בייחוד במערב ומרכז אירופה ובצפון אמריקה.¹

התוצאה היא, שיהודים החלו להטיל ספק בהשתייכותם למקומות ולחברות שבהם הם חיים מזה זמן רב, ולעיתים מאות בשנים. יהודים בסקוטלנד, למשל, שוקלים לעזוב את ארצם.² המחשבה שהם הולכים והופכים לזרים מלווה בדאגה לביטחונם האישי, ובחרדה מפני הבאות, שהגיעה לשיאה בעקבות הרצח של 11 מתפללים בבית הכנסת עץ החיים – אור לשמחה בפיטסבורג שבפנסילבניה.

¹ The title of Katharina von Schnurbein's, E.U. Coordinator on Combatting Antisemitism, lecture in TAU, on 7 March, 2019 was: *Antisemitism Today – A State of Emergency?*

² <https://www.timesofisrael.com/scottish-lawmakers-pan-anti-semitism-as-many-jews-said-thinking-of-leaving/>



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מאגר המידע לחקר האנטישמיות והגזענות בימינו ע"ש משה קנטור

אנטישמיות בעולם
2018

התכנית לחקר יהדות ארצות ערב
המכון לחקר האנטישמיות והגזענות בימינו ע"ש סטפן רוט



הקונגרס היהודי האירופי