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Antisemitism and Racism

Antisemitism Worldwide 2011

General Analysis



European Jewish Congress

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OVERVIEW OF MAIN TRENDS

The year 2011 was marked by a worldwide continuation and even escalation of some serious antisemitic manifestations, and in particular, acts of harassment (including verbal threats, insults and abusive language and behavior), incitement and the dissemination of antisemitic messages, occasionally as part of extreme anti-Zionist and anti-Israel incitement. The level of major violent incidents (with or without the use of weapons, vandalism and direct threats) decreased, although not uniformly, most notably in some countries with relatively large Jewish communities, such as the UK, France and Canada. In other countries (Australia, Belgium, and Ukraine, for example) it remained almost the same, or even increased, such as in Belarus and Lithuania.

- In recent years acts of harassment have increased dramatically in various parts of the world. The most troubling phenomenon is in-your-face harassment, a daily occurrence especially in Western Europe, as well as in Canada and Australia, and directed mainly against visible Jews (wearing traditional dress or a skullcap, or carrying other identifying signs such as the Star of David), in the street, in public places and frequently near synagogues and other Jewish institutions. Many of the victims are children and youth studying outside the Jewish school system. It should also be noted that while in some countries such as France, the UK and Canada, reporting and monitoring systems have improved considerably, in many other countries such systems do not even exist and many incidents of harassment remain unreported; thus, the actual number might be much higher.
- In several countries with relatively large Jewish populations, and in particular, France, Britain and Canada, there was a decline, although not a uniform one, in the level of major violent incidents compared to 2010. The fall in these three countries, where 63 percent of all such incidents were registered (the UK 105; France 114 and Canada 68), had a considerable impact on the overall figure, which decreased in 2011 by 27 per cent compared to 2010 (446 and 614, respectively).¹

¹ The exact number will be published as soon as all the data from the U.S. becomes available.

- A number of factors may explain the decline in the level of major violent incidents: the absence of specific trigger events in 2011 – notably confrontations between Israelis and Palestinians, such as the Marmara flotilla events in 2010 and especially Operation Cast Lead in 2009 – which could have sparked extremist action against Jews. Other possible explanations are the concentration of much extreme right violence against Muslims, Roma and other migrant minorities; the “Arab Spring” which appeared to attract a considerable amount of attention among Muslim youth in Europe; the successful prosecution by a growing number of Jewish communities and individuals of perpetrators and inciters to antisemitism, as well as the filing of complaints either directly with the police or through monitoring agencies; and the intensification of the significant efforts made by governmental agencies and NGOs to promote legislation, both national and international, as well as educational tools, in order to counter xenophobia and racism, including antisemitism.
- Despite the fall in the level of major violent incidents, it should be noted that statistical data over recent years shows that physical violence against Jews remained at a considerably high level. Moreover, Jews in 2011 were victims of some extremely violent incidents, including a murder in Switzerland. In New York an attempt to perpetrate a terror attack against a synagogue was aborted. In France violent incidents were much more severe than in 2010 and led in some cases to the hospitalization of the victims. In Eastern Europe and the Baltic States there was a continuation and even escalation (in Lithuania, for example) in desecration of Jewish sites, especially memorial sites, as a consequence of extreme right activity, antisemitic incitement and the debate over Holocaust reparations to Jewish communities.
- Perpetrators of violent antisemitic incidents and acts of harassment can be categorized roughly into two ethnic and ideological groups: young Islamists, mostly from immigrant families, and racists from the extreme right. They are not necessarily members of any specific organization, although they frequently identify with the ideology and goals of one radical movement or another, be it Islamist or radical right, and are influenced by

antisemitic messages and by the extreme anti-Israel environment, in which the radical left as well as some individuals associated with the mainstream discourse also play a part.

- Cyberspace, with its websites, social networks, forums and blogs, has become the major conveyer of bigotry and racism in general, and antisemitism in particular. Antisemitic incitement and hatred toward Jews, Zionism and Israel have in many cases become interrelated issues. As in the past, in 2011, too, one of the most conspicuous motifs was the claim of global Jewish power, which was allegedly behind every world event and was unconditionally at the service of Israel, as well as conspiracies between the latter and the Jewish world. An additional motif, noticeable in 2011 particularly among East European antisemites but also in other parts of the globe, was the Jews' control of the world economy, and hence their alleged responsibility for the global economic crisis. Such messages were common to various and even conflicting ideological trends: the extreme right, Islamist groups and the anti-Zionist radical left. At the same time, they were sometimes integrated indirectly and more subtly into speeches and publications of those associated with the mainstream.
- The demonization of Israel in extremist anti-Israel propaganda, delegitimization of Israel's right to exist as a state for the Jewish people, its labeling as a racist entity, and attempts to boycott Israeli institutions and organizations – are all characterized by Jewish organizations and communities as antisemitic manifestations, and are defined as such in the EU working definition of antisemitism adopted in 2005. Consequently, there has been a rise in confrontations between Jewish activists and groups and individuals of the radical left, including the Jewish radical left, who reject the link between anti-Zionism or extreme anti-Israelism and antisemitism. The focal points of radicalization in this regard are the university or college campus, principally in North America and Western Europe, and the BDS (Boycott, Divestment and Sanction) campaign directed against associations, firms and businesses associated in one way or another with Israel. The BDS campaign is perceived by many Jewish leaders and activists, regardless of their ideological affiliation, as an attempt, particularly by the radical left, to turn the delegitimization of Israel into a

legitimate campaign and part of the mainstream discourse, and to label supporters of Israel accomplices of an evil entity.

- In Europe, in general, there has been a noticeable rise in the strength and activity of the far right, resulting from the economic crisis, the immigration issue, majority-minority relations, and the question of multiculturalism. Both in Western and Eastern Europe, extreme right and neo-Nazi groups were involved in serious hate crimes against immigrants, foreign workers and ethnic minorities. While extreme rightwing parties in Eastern Europe such as Jobbik (the third largest party in the Hungarian parliament), and Svoboda (which at the end of 2010 had great success in elections in Ukraine), openly incite to antisemitism, leaders of far right parties in Western Europe distance themselves from antisemitism and even declare their support for Israel. However, leading Jewish communities dissociate themselves from the racist discourse of these parties, and point to the dangers inherent in it, including the opposition to liberal ideas.
- Developments in the Arab world during the “Arab Spring” held neither signs of positive change nor a moderation of anti-Zionist incitement in the Middle East. Moreover, the antisemitic discourse appears to have become even more radical. The most conspicuous motif, replicated in all states by both supporters and opponents of the uprisings, was accusing Israel, Zionism and the Jews of conspiring against Arabs and Muslims and inflaming domestic and inter-ethnic tensions. Nevertheless, a number of courageous voices among journalists and young Egyptians, Jordanians and others condemned antisemitic phenomena, the incitement in mosques and the attitude of the new forces on the political scene – especially uncompromising Muslim circles and parties – toward minorities, including the Jews.

MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF ANTISEMITIC MANIFESTATIONS IN 2011

Antisemitic Incidents - Violence, Vandalism, Threats and Harassment

Our worldwide statistics relate to three categories of major violent incidents: assault, vandalism and direct threats (hereafter: major violent incidents). It is important to note that neither insults and harassment (verbal and abusive behavior) nor written incitement are included in this category. It is impossible to provide even an estimate of those antisemitic manifestations; nevertheless, they are taken into consideration in our analysis.

The reports on antisemitic incidents in various countries in 2011 show mixed and even conflicting trends. While in some countries, notably France, Britain and Canada, the number of major violent incidents decreased, in others (Australia and Ukraine, for instance) it remained almost the same, or even increased (Lithuania and Belarus, for example). Moreover, even in countries where the number of major violent incidents decreased, reports pointed to a continuation and even an escalation in acts of harassment, which in recent years has become the most widespread antisemitic phenomenon and a major disturbance to the security of Jewish communities and individuals.

An analysis of the overall data of major violent incidents points to a decrease of about 27 percent in 2011 compared to 2010 (446 and 614, respectively). This decline was influenced mainly by the fall in major violent incidents in France, Britain and Canada. As in recent years a large part of the violent incidents worldwide, 63 percent, were registered in the UK (105), France (114) and Canada (68). These three countries are home to relatively large Jewish communities, and to some very active, radical young Muslims and extreme right wingers, who are the main perpetrators of violent incidents worldwide.

The extent of the decline in the level of assault, vandalism and direct threats in the abovementioned three countries was not uniform. In France, where according to the SPCJ (Jewish Community Protection Service), there was a decrease of 16.5 percent in antisemitic acts of all kinds, the fall in the level of major violent incidents was more or less the same, 15 percent, according to our data and criteria. In the UK, on the other hand, where the decrease in the level of antisemitic acts overall was relatively mild, 9 percent, the fall in the level of major violent

incidents was more noticeable, 27 percent. In Canada, our records point to a decrease of 31 percent in major violent incidents compared to 2010.

One noticeable factor that might explain the decline in the level of major violent incidents is the absence of specific trigger events in 2011, notably confrontations between Israelis and Palestinians, which could have sparked extremist actions against Jewish citizens and sites. This was in contrast to 2009, a peak year in antisemitic manifestations worldwide, when the military confrontation, Operation Cast Lead, inflamed an unprecedented wave of major violent incidents, mostly at the beginning of the year, against Jews and Jewish targets. In spring 2010, too, the Marmara flotilla events provoked a rise in violent acts, although these were less severe than in 2009. Another possible explanation for the decrease in violent incidents is the fact that much violent extreme right activity was directed against Muslims, Roma, and other migrant minorities (see below). A third possibility is that the “Arab Spring” attracted a considerable amount of attention among Muslim youngsters in Europe. In addition, a growing number of Jewish communities and individuals sued perpetrators and inciters of antisemitism and filed complaints either directly to the police or in many cases through monitoring agencies, thus pinpointing the offenders. The intensive efforts of governmental agencies and NGOs to promote legislative and educational tools in order to counter xenophobia and racism, including antisemitism, have also appeared to have an effect.

As noted in our previous reports, external events, particularly outbreaks of violence in the Middle East, cannot be regarded as the prime reason for contemporary antisemitism but rather as a trigger that has the potential to exacerbate bigotry and hate. They cannot serve as an explanation for the levels of antisemitic incidents in the last decade, which have been significantly higher than those registered in the previous ones. In particular, they cannot serve as an explanation for the continuous escalation of harassment in years such as 2011, which were not marked by any dramatic confrontation between Israelis and Palestinians. Thus, the reason for continuous violence and harassment lies in the basic animosity of militant extremists, both on the right and among radical Muslim youth, toward Jews worldwide. Their hostility and willingness to attack Jews randomly, without any provocation, is influenced considerably by antisemitic and extreme anti-Israel incitement coming partly from the radical left, and which has recently become evident in the mainstream as well, reinforcing the negative stereotype of the Jew.

Moreover, problems of immigrant absorption and integration, on the one hand, and blaming the Jews for economic and political crises, on the other, add fuel to the fire.

Assaults

Despite the decrease in major violent incidents, Jews in 2011 were victims of numerous such incidents. According to the French SPCJ, violence in 2011 was much more severe than in the previous year, and led in some cases to the hospitalization of the victims. Thus, for example, in June, a rabbi was physically assaulted by two men in their twenties in the eleventh arrondissement in Paris. The perpetrators kicked and punched him in the head and body while shouting antisemitic abuse. The victim was hospitalized. In April a young Jew returning from the synagogue in Villeurbanne was assaulted by two youths who inquired first as to his identity. That same month, a young woman was violently attacked by a man on a bus in Caluire et Luire, Lyon. The assailant threw a bottle at the girl's head, pushed her against a window and punched her in the face, while hurling antisemitic insults, such as: "Big Jewish nose" and "Dirty Jewish bastard, the Arabs will kill you." Similarly, throughout the year in Britain, visibly Jewish individuals were attacked by passers-by in close proximity to synagogues, and Jewish children were attacked on their return from school. In July, a Jewish individual walking home through a park in London was identified by a group of white youths as Jewish and brutally attacked. In another incident in February a Jewish woman was crossing the forecourt at a gas station in Manchester in order to pay when a car containing two women reversed sharply into her, knocking her to the ground. The occupants (two white women) then got out of their car, shouted "Dirty Jew" and spat at the injured woman lying on the ground, before getting back into the car and driving away.

In Lausanne, Switzerland, an assistant rabbi was brutally attacked when he left the synagogue and abused with antisemitic insults. In addition, an Orthodox Jewish young man was stabbed in front of his family in the parking lot of the Natural History Museum in Geneva in late December. According to the CICAD (Intercommunity Coordination against Antisemitism and Racism), the number of antisemitic manifestations recorded in French-speaking Switzerland increased by 28 percent (mainly cyber hate) from the previous year. Moreover the level of incidents of violence, vandalism and insults was the highest since monitoring began in 2003.

In Belgium, a 13-year old Jewish girl was physically attacked by a group of five girls of Moroccan origin, in November in Brussels. After shouting insults at the girl, the group leader

said, “She’s only a dirty Jewess,” and all five began beating her on the head and the knees. The victim needed both medical and psychological treatment.

There were also incidents of physical violence in Buenos Aires, Argentina. For instance, the principal of an Orthodox Jewish school was beaten outside the premises in May. In September, an Orthodox Jew was attacked outside a synagogue in the neighborhood of Flores. The attacker pulled a skullcap from his backpack and made obscene gestures, declaring that the only solution was to burn the synagogues and the Jews.

Three matters that came to light in 2011 illustrate the danger to Jewish communities in the U.S. posed by white supremacists and Islamists. In October, a couple with a racist worldview from Oregon, who thought, erroneously, that they had murdered a Jew, admitted to interrogators that they had intended to kill more Jews. In May, New York police arrested two immigrants, an Algerian and a Moroccan, on suspicion of conspiring to attack a New York synagogue. This event may be added to the number of terrorist acts planned in recent years by Islamists in the U.S. against Jewish targets and which were aborted by early discovery of the organizations and plots. In addition, Emerson Begolly, an American citizen who was indicted in July 2011 for soliciting acts of terrorism and posting bomb-making materials online, exhibited rabid antisemitism in his extensive online activity. He called for the death of all Jews and encouraged others to target synagogues, Jewish schools and day care centers

Harassment

Although the overall number of major violent incidents decreased in 2011, reports, particularly, from Western Europe point to a continuation and even an escalation in acts of harassment, mostly perpetrated by young Muslims, including verbal threats, insults and abusive language and behavior. It should also be noted that while in some countries such as France, the UK and Canada, reporting and monitoring systems have improved considerably, in many other countries such systems do not even exist and many incidents of harassment remain unreported.

In recent years, acts of harassment directed against Jewish individuals have increased dramatically, constituting a serious disturbance to Jews in public places, such as synagogues and schools. In the UK, the CST (Community Security Trust) recorded 394 incidents within the category of abusive behavior, including verbal abuse, amounting to 66 percent of all antisemitic incidents. Based on data from the Dutch CIDI (Centre for Documentation and Information on

Israel), street harassment of Jews in the Netherlands rose sharply in 2011, to a level even higher than in 2009.

A report published by the Swedish National Institute for Public Health in January 2011 showed a rise in the number of Jews who have suffered antisemitic harassment. In 2010, 54 percent of Jews in Malmö answered that they had encountered antisemitism, 35 percent in Göteborg, and 26 percent in Stockholm. Ten years previously, the figures were 24 percent in Malmö, 29 percent in Göteborg and 24 percent in Stockholm.

In Malmö, the third largest city in Sweden and the home of a large Muslim population, harassment of Jews continued, although dozens of Jewish families reportedly left the city the previous year. In March, a family received a letter threatening to kill them after they had organized the visit of a delegation from the Simon Wiesenthal Center to Malmö. The letter read: “Hello and welcome to the final Holocaust. Now, we have mapped all the Jews in Sweden and especially in Malmö. You have been selected for annihilation.” In the first ten months of 2011 alone, 37 antisemitic incidents were reported in Malmö. Ten of the complaints came from the local Chabad rabbi Shneur Kesselman. In October, the Swedish paper *Expressen* published an article on “the street of hate” – Föreningsgatan, in Malmö – where the Malmö synagogue is located and most harassment occurs. According to Fredrik Sieradzki, spokesman of the Jewish community in the city, the so-called Dialogue Forum, established in 2010 to act as a bridge between Jews and Muslims, has not been fruitful.

According to a survey carried out in June for the city of Oslo, Norway, 33 percent of Jewish pupils polled answered that they had been harassed in school as often as two to three times per month due to their Jewishness. This compares to 5.3 percent of Muslim students who claimed they had been harassed. More than half of the students, 52 percent, felt the word *jøde* (Jew) was used as an insult. Forty-one percent confirmed having heard jokes about Jews at school and 35 percent had noticed negative commentaries on Jews. Five percent had heard other students deny the Holocaust.

Vandalism

Cemeteries and community and private property, as well as Holocaust memorials, also constitute targets for antisemitic attacks. One of the most serious acts against a synagogue took place in Corfu where in April the synagogue was set alight and prayer books were damaged. It should be

noted that in recent years there have been numerous incidents of synagogue arson and desecration of cemeteries in Greece, perpetrated, according to the evidence, by members of extreme right groups.

In Stockholm, too, members of extreme right groups were behind vandalism incidents at Jewish cemeteries and of a memorial to Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat who saved Jews during the Holocaust.

In Italy, inscriptions condemning International Holocaust Remembrance Day and antisemitic graffiti against the president of the Jewish community in Rome, Riccardo Pacifici, were spray-painted on walls of Rome on January 26, 2011. The slogan, “27/1 – “No Memory!” appeared in via Leonina. Graffiti in via Cavour read: “Israel does not exist” and “No memory for lies.”

In Russia, acts of vandalism, desecration of cemeteries and memorials, antisemitic graffiti and smashing of windows of Jewish institutions are the most common expression of antisemitism perpetrated by extreme nationalists. In January, for instance, swastikas and the slogans “Death to the Yids” and “Beat the Yids,” together with the signature NSWP (National Socialism White Power), were painted on the Jewish community center in St. Petersburg. In April, a swastika and “Yids are burning in hell” appeared on the fence of a Jewish cemetery in Penza. In July, a memorial to Holocaust victims at the Jewish cemetery of Petrozavodsk was damaged. In 2011, the link between xenophobia, violence against minorities and antisemitism was evidenced in another of the most serious acts against Jewish sites perpetrated worldwide – a Molotov cocktail attack on the Darchei Shalom synagogue in Moscow in July, which was apparently a response to the conviction of members of a Russian neo-Nazi group, the National Socialist Association, who were responsible for racist murders in the country.

Similarly, in Ukraine, vandalism against Jewish property and desecration of cemeteries and Jewish memorials continued to be the main expression of antisemitism. For example, twice, in February and in August, the monument to the Yiddish writer Shalom Aleichem in Kiev was sprayed with paint. In March, “Death to the Yids” and a swastika were painted on a Holocaust memorial in Velikii Mosty. In April, a memorial plaque in Kiev in honor of the late Israeli prime minister Golda Meir was covered with paint. On May (Victory Day) tombstones were broken at the Jewish cemetery of Pavlograd and a swastika was smeared on the Holocaust memorial at the Gagarin Park in Dnepropetrovsk, near the spot where about 11,000 Jews were murdered in

October 1941. In mid-June a mass Jewish grave in Ostrog was opened and the bones were scattered. They were re-buried by the Jewish community. In September paint was sprayed on the memorial in Babi Yar, Kiev, and “Death to the Jews, you belong in Babi Yar” was scrawled on a fence of the synagogue of Kremenchug.

Remembrance sites and memorials to Jews who perished during the Holocaust were also targeted in other countries of Eastern Europe and the Baltic States, as part of the campaign to distort the memory of the Holocaust, in general, and of widespread collaboration in the murder of Jews, in particular. In Poland, the site in Jedwabne commemorating the massacre of Jews in summer 1941 by their Christian neighbors was desecrated. Slogans such as “They burned easily” (many of the Jews were burned to death in a barn in the village) were scrawled on the memorial stone.

At the beginning of the year, a new book was published by the historian Jan Gross, who among other studies on the Holocaust brought to light the massacre in Jedwabne. The book, *The Gold Harvest*, which Gross wrote with Irena Grudzińska (his ex-wife), deals with the ways the Poles looted Jewish property and enriched themselves at the expense of the Jewish tragedy. Among other details, the authors describe the postwar Polish “invasion” of sites where Jews were murdered in order to scavenge for jewelry and other objects of value. The book aroused a furor in Poland. The publishers received many angry messages and abusive graffiti was spray-painted on the wall of their offices in Krakow.

It should be noted that a study published by the Polish organization Never Again on racism in Polish and Ukrainian football stadiums stressed the use made of antisemitic slogans accompanied by the waving of placards with images of Jewish stereotypes during matches. The organization also noted that antisemitic expressions had become a central element in the youth sub-culture of Poland and Eastern Europe.

Several memorial sites were damaged in Lithuania, and a smaller amount in Latvia. As noted above, in these countries the debate about collaboration of their citizens – mainly those considered by parts of the population as patriotic fighters against the Soviets – with the Germans in the murder of Jews has not abated. The escalation in attacks on memorial sites was apparently influenced by parliamentary decisions in Lithuania and Latvia to approve financial reparations to their Jewish communities. In mid-March, for example, the slogan *Juden Raus* (Jews out) was painted on the synagogue in Vilnius. In April swastikas appeared on the walls of the Fort IX

memorial complex in Kaunas, where tens of thousands of Jews were murdered during the Holocaust.

In the United States a number of serious incidents of vandalism of community and private property, apparently perpetrated by racist neo-Nazis, were registered in 2011. In Queens and Brooklyn the cars of Jewish residents were set alight in November, and antisemitic graffiti made the motive clear. In New Jersey and other states, synagogues were desecrated and sprayed with racist and antisemitic slogans.

During the anti-government riots and demonstrations in Tunisia in late January-February 2011, arsonists set the synagogue alight in the southern region of Tunisia, burning the Torah scrolls. While Jewish community leader Trabelsi Perez condemned the incident, the president of the Tunisian Jewish community, Roger Bismuth, told the *Jerusalem Post* that the fire was probably an act of vandalism and should not be considered an act of antisemitism or “an attack on the Jewish community.” A few days later, Islamist activists held an anti-Jewish protest outside the main synagogue in central Tunisia. A group of about 40 men, some dressed in black, gathered in front of the synagogue carrying banners with verses from the Qur’an and chanting antisemitic slogans. The demonstrators called on Jews to wait for the Army of Muhammad to return, and promised to re-enact the battle of Khaybar (during which Muhammad defeated the Jews in 629).

In Argentina, the most common form of antisemitic expression in 2011 was graffiti. In January, for example, antisemitic inscriptions and a swastika were painted on the gate and sidewalk in front of a synagogue in the city of Bahia Blanca. In November, on the anniversary of Kristallnacht, antisemitic graffiti was sprayed on the wall of the Jewish community building and the display window of the shop of the president of the local Jewish community in Rio Negro. In December, Nazi symbols were painted on three buildings connected to the Jewish community in the city of Coronel Suarez, including the community center and the clinics of two Jewish doctors. The incidents took place a month after the inauguration in Coronel Suarez of a monument to victims of the Holocaust. Two swastikas were painted on the gate to the Jewish cemetery in Concepción del Uruguay (Entre Ríos) during the weekend of December 16-17.

The Perpetrators

On the basis of eye witness reports and other evidence accumulated in recent years, perpetrators of antisemitic violence can be categorized roughly into two ethnic and ideological groups: young Islamists, and racists from the extreme right. They are not necessarily members of any specific organization, although they frequently identify with the ideology and goals of one or more extremist movements. They act alone or together with a few others. Many violent acts, and street violence, in particular, are carried out randomly, frequently without a weapon, against visible Jews (wearing traditional dress or a skullcap, for example). Both Islamism and rightwing extremism and racial hatred also serve also as breeding grounds for terrorism, as demonstrated in July 2011 by the mass murder in Norway perpetrated by the rightwing extremist Andreas Breivik and the murderous attack on the Jewish school Ozar Hatorah in Toulouse in March 2012 by the Islamist Mohammed Merah. A report published in July by the CST London focused on the linkage between antisemitism and terror. According to the report which covered a period of 42 years, there were 96 terror attacks against Jewish community buildings, organizations and events, 88 against synagogues and 16 against Jewish schools. The countries with the highest number of attacks were France (51), the United States (34), Italy (33), Argentina and Germany (29 each), and the United Kingdom (28).

In the decade since the outbreak of the second intifada, violent events, and in particular, harassment of Jews by young Muslims, mainly in Western Europe, have become common phenomena. Thus, for example, at the beginning of April, a young man in Innsbruck, Austria, identifiable as a Jew by the Magen David around his neck, was beaten by two Muslim youths while they yelled abuse such as “Hitler should have finished off all the Jews” and “Israelis are child murderers.”

Reports and studies published during the last decade have reiterated that young Muslims from immigrant families have adopted antisemitic stereotypes. A comprehensive study published in 2011 in Belgium found that 50 percent of Muslim high school students in Brussels (20% of Brussels’ citizens originate in Muslim countries) hold antisemitic views.

Nevertheless, the significant involvement of the extreme right in anti-Jewish violence worldwide should not be overlooked. This fact was highlighted, for instance, in a comprehensive study on antisemitism initiated by the Federal German government and published in November 2011. In 2009, the CST reached a similar conclusion regarding antisemitic incidents recorded in

Britain over a period of 5 years, and particularly in those years when no dramatic event occurred in the Middle East. Another example is Greece, where extreme right perpetrators were behind a series of vandalistic attacks on Jewish sites.

The discourse in Europe on the question of multiculturalism and attitudes toward immigrants and minorities has intensified considerably in recent years and become a prominent issue in political campaigns across the continent. Not unexpectedly, extremist messages and the fiery public debate over the destructive role of certain ethnic groups have unleashed racial hatred and incited more violent groups and individuals to take action. Thus, for example, in mid-December rightwing extremist, Gianluca Casseri shot three Senegalese street vendors in Florence, Italy. That same month, a story of sexual abuse by two Rom fabricated by a sixteen-year-old girl in Turin, caused the eruption of an entire neighborhood: a procession organized by relatives of the alleged victim and other residents of the neighborhood turned into a violent raid on a nomad camp.

In Denmark, the Danish paper *Politiken* published documents revealing a secret network called ORG, which seeks to “cleanse” Denmark of immigrants and to confront “traitors” who have made immigration possible. The group has been active in infiltrating political and rightwing organizations. It was reported that some members held leading positions in the Danish People’s Party, or were candidates for the party. Several ORG members said they were willing to use violence against immigrants,

In a related development, the Danish Secret Police, PET, published a report on November 17, 2011, assessing the situation of various rightwing elements in Denmark. According to PET, a small number of Danish extreme rightwing activists “are involved in registering political adversaries and are trying, among other things, to acquire skills in weapons use and martial arts,” in order to prepare for a future race war that will involve the use of violence.

In Germany, the National Socialist Underground (NSU), a neo-Nazi terrorist group, uncovered in 2011, was allegedly responsible for at least ten murders (nine immigrants and a German policewoman) and 14 bank robberies. Antisemitism seemed to play a central role in their ideology. To finance their activities, members of the NSU sold an antisemitic version of the game Monopoly, called “Pogromy.” Instead of train stations there were concentration camps on sale, complete with burning Israeli flags. The game also included gasworks and depictions of Hitler and evil-looking Jews. Members of the NSU are also suspected of murdering Israeli rabbi

Abraham Grünbaum in June 2001 in Zurich. Grünbaum (70) was on his way to synagogue when he was shot to death at close range by an unknown culprit.

In the postcommunist countries, violence is one of the main characteristics of the extreme right, and is directed mainly against minorities. In countries such as Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic, the main targets are Roma, and in Russia and Ukraine, foreign workers, mostly from Central Asia, the Caucasus and Africa. Antisemitism is central to the ideology of all these neo-Nazi and far right groups and parties. Jobbik (the third largest party in the Hungarian parliament), and Svoboda (which at the end of 2010 had great success in municipal elections in central cities in western Ukraine), openly incite to antisemitism.

In Latin America, and in Brazil, especially, skinheads and neo-Nazis are considered a growing problem in some areas. For example, according to the police chief in charge of combating neo-Nazis in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, the number of neo-Nazis is growing. They consist mostly of young people from diverse social classes who hate Jews, gays, blacks and northerners (*Nordestinos* – poor migrants from the north of the country). According to the Institute of Racial Crimes and Offenses of Intolerance (DECRADI), there are 25 neo-Nazi gangs in São Paulo. The institute has a register of some 3,000 photos of members of the gangs. Thirty-five neo-Nazis were arrested in December 2010, in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, although some succeeded in escaping. The police found homemade bombs which they planned to place in synagogues. The Argentinean federal police announced the arrest of 12 members of a neo-Nazi band called “Alba Thulle,” which recruited 15-17 year old youths through the internet. One of those arrested was a member of the Buenos Aires metropolitan police.

Incitement and Antisemitic Propaganda

The Internet as the Major Conveyor of Racial Hatred and Antisemitism

For hundreds of years antisemitic messages were communicated during religious ceremonies and assemblies by preachers, popular leaders and politicians. Antisemitic tracts and pamphlets were circulated and antisemitic books written. While antisemitic messages are still disseminated by these traditional means, cyberspace with its websites, social networks, forums and blogs has become the major conveyor of bigotry and racism, in general, and antisemitism, in particular. While since World War II and the Holocaust the Western media have openly rejected antisemitic messages and they therefore reached a relatively limited public, the internet has developed into a

free-for-all tool, with the potential to reach a wide audience and to recruit new supporters to a cause. Thus, cyberspace has become the main arena for the ongoing struggle between disseminators of antisemitic hatred and those who try to warn against its proliferation and its potential threat to the well being and safety of Jews and non-Jews worldwide.

In Sweden, for example, the Forum for Living History, the authority tasked with combating antisemitism, racism and intolerance, published a report stating that the number of racist sites in Sweden has almost doubled in two years: today there are some 15,000 xenophobic sites compared to 8,000 in 2009. The Swedish findings correlate with the overall EU-wide trend, indicating that extremist groups and individuals use the internet to spread hate propaganda.

In Italy, the Italian Postal and Communication Service (in charge of investigating and preventing cyber crime) reported “a boom in antisemitic websites that spread a vast array of antisemitic theories, ranging from Jewish conspiracies to dominate the world to aberrant and violent forms of anti-Israelism.” In 2011, blacklists of Italian Jewish figures were posted on the Internet. Italian internet blogger Dagoberto Husayn Bellucci, a neo-fascist who converted to Islam, for instance, published a blacklist of 162 Jewish professors, public figures, judges and businesses in Rome. He called on readers to boycott and “remove” them. Bellucci’s list was based on a previous antisemitic blacklist, titled “Get out of university, Jewish scum,” published in 2008 and expanded.

In response to the proliferation of hatred, an Internet Hate Speech Task Force was formed at the end of 2011 by the Inter-Parliamentary Coalition for Combating Antisemitism (ICCA). It is tasked with looking into the nature and scope of internet hatred, including racism, religious hate speech, misogyny and homophobia. The team will seek to highlight the potential impact of internet hatred, including its role in fostering hate crime, and will gather testimony from experts and witnesses.

A successful campaign against the dissemination of antisemitic hate on the Internet took place in 2011 in Argentina. There has been a steep rise in the number of antisemitic internet sites operated by Argentines. Following a legal battle waged by the DAIA, the umbrella organization for Jewish communities and organizations in Argentina, the court ordered Google to cease directing search engine users to antisemitic sites since in Argentina there is a law banning the dissemination of hatred, racism and antisemitism on the internet. Moreover, Google was

ordered to remove offensive “automatic word/phrase endings,” such as denial, which appeared automatically after the word “Holocaust.”

Main Motifs in Incitement, and Antisemitic Propaganda

a) The claim of excessive Jewish power in the world, used to advance Jewish interests in general and those of Israel in particular, continued to constitute a central motif in anti-Jewish incitement in 2011. Part of this claim is the classic accusation that Jews are loyal to their own people and to the state of Israel, first and foremost, even if this means that they turn their backs on basic human, moral or national obligations. Such messages are common to various and even conflicting ideologies: the extreme right, Islamist groups and the radical anti-Zionist left. They are presented crudely and often in a simplistic way on many internet sites, including social networks. Sometimes they are integrated indirectly and more subtly into speeches and publications of those associated with the mainstream discourse. Accusations against Jews for their allegedly unconditional and uncritical loyalty to Israel were raised in particular during Boycotts Divestment and Sanctions Campaign (BDS) campaigns. Thus, for example, in Australia, leading members of the Greens, who are at the forefront of the boycott of firms and businesses associated in one way or another with Israel, and in particular, Israeli-owned businesses, criticized Jewish liberals for not supporting their campaign against Israel. Monash University professor Phillip Mendes, who has written a number of papers on the left and antisemitism in recent years, published an article in May 2011 on the Australian BDS movement, claiming “there is the extension of the denunciation of all Jewish Israelis to all Jews – Zionist or otherwise – who are supportive of Israel’s existence. These Jews are collectively denounced via group libel as accomplices of racism and genocide whatever their actual ideological and political position, on solutions to the conflict.”

The depiction of Israel as an omnipotent force that dictates the conduct of elected American officials is a central motif in the ideology of extremist anti-Israel groups in the U.S. Such claims were expressed during the Egyptian Revolution that began in January 2011. In an interview with Press TV following the outbreak of the revolution, Alison Weir, a virulently anti-Israel activist and leader of two significant anti-Israel groups operating in the U.S., claimed that the “Israeli lobby... largely controls elected officials,” and that the U.S. had supported Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak because he “helped Israel imprison the people of Gaza.” Weir later

commented on her Facebook page that the Obama Administration had not taken a stronger stand in support of the Egyptian protesters because of “the power of the Israel Lobby.”

b) The charge of demonization, and especially the allegation that Israel uses Nazi tactics in its suppression of the Palestinians, also creates a direct link between attacks on Israel and attacks on the Jewish world. Thus, for example, an anti-Zionist demonstration organized by leftwing extremist groups in Milan (Italy), in June, brought together thousands of participants, including pro-Palestinian protesters and members of the anti-globalization front. The demonstration was directed against a pro-Israel event held jointly by the Israeli embassy and the Italian government. Protestors burned the Israeli flag and held up anti-Israel signs with slogans such as: “Zionism = Nazism,” and “No to the Israeli Occupation of Milan.”

The demonization of Israel and its equation with Nazi Germany is used not only by the extreme left but also by far right groups and movements that attack Zionism and Israel as part of their antisemitic ideology. The most conspicuous example is Jobbik in Hungary. In an interview with the *Jewish Chronicle* in February, the party’s deputy leader and foreign affairs spokesman Marton Gyongyosi doubted that the Holocaust took place and questioned the deportation of 400,000 Jews from Hungary in 1944. He also branded Israeli policies towards the Palestinians a “Nazi system.”

Occasionally, the comparison between Israel and Nazi Germany is made by mainstream politicians, revealing their antisemitic views. A conspicuous example was a letter sent by the vice chairman of the conservative ÖVP (Austria’s People Party) in St. Veit, Rudi Popodi, to the editor of the Austrian weekly *Kärntner Woche*. He criticized the decision of the government to establish a fund via the Austrian Jewish community to help preserve the Auschwitz memorial site (in fact, it was a direct contribution to a Polish fund), adding that while Austrian money was being spent on commemorating the Holocaust, “for a long time Israeli Jews have been a people of warmongers and oppressors who do not hesitate to kill children.”

As in previous years, demonization of Israel and its portrayal as a Nazi state were conspicuous in the press and in other media in Venezuela associated with president Hugo Chavez. In May, the higher education ministry in Venezuela organized an exhibition on the theme of “Zionism and the Extermination of the Palestinian People.” In regard to the efforts of the Palestinian Authority to gain recognition as a state, Chavez himself wrote to the UN secretary

general that the Zionists use the memory of the Shoah and accusations of antisemitism against their enemies in order to extort and achieve their objectives, and that the Jews who themselves had suffered genocidal acts had become the “executioners of the Palestinian people.”

Antisemitic incitement makes a clear link between demonization of Israel and Jewish-Israeli power and conspiracy. It is claimed that if it were not for the support of world Jewry, Israel would have met much greater opposition in all that pertains to its allegedly satanic behavior toward the Palestinians. Demonization is linked directly to delegitimization of Israel and to the boycott of its institutions and products. In this connection, the call to Jews to dissociate themselves from Israel should also be mentioned. These notions appear mainly in extreme anti-Israel propaganda of the radical left. A conspicuous example is the Left (Die Linke) movement in Germany, within which an intense discussion has been going on for years regarding the line between antisemitism, and anti-Zionism and demonization of Israel. A study conducted by social scientists Samuel Salzborn and Sebastian Voigt and published in 2011, found that antisemitic motifs are part of the anti-Israel discourse of leading Die Linke activists. However, radical left activists tend to deny that demonization of Israel, and as a consequence, delegitimization and boycotting, are antisemitic expressions. And as demonstrated, for example in 2011, the UK University and College Union (UCU) rejects the **Working Definition of Antisemitism** adopted in 2005 by the Vienna-based EUMC (1998-2007, the European racism and xenophobia monitoring body whose work since then has been carried on by the FRA – European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights), which considers denial of Israel’s right to exist and its comparison with Nazi Germany antisemitic expressions.

Demonization of Israel, negation of its right to exist, and the call for an academic and economic boycott are the principal themes at anti-Israel rallies and demonstrations, such as those conducted during Al-Quds (Jerusalem) Day and Apartheid Week in cities and campuses around the globe, initiated mainly by radical left and pro-Palestinian Muslim students.

In addition, attempts to equate Israel with Nazi Germany are particularly common at anti-Israel rallies and demonstrations. During the annual Al-Quds Day rally in Houston, Texas, for example, one protester waved a sign reading, “Children are buried alive, Holocaust is revived.” A mock “apartheid wall” showcased at Boston University during Israeli Apartheid Week (whose official aim is to educate people about the nature of Israel as an apartheid system and to build BDS campaigns) in March featured a graffiti-type slogan reading, “Gaza similar to Warsaw

Ghetto.” In the U.S., the most significant instance of the charge that Israel uses Nazi tactics in its suppression of the Palestinians came in the form of a tour by several American anti-Israel activists, including two Holocaust survivors, called “Never Again for Anyone.” Promoted as an effort to reject the notion that the “Never Again” label is only applicable to the Holocaust, the speakers described Israeli policy as “Nazi tactics,” claimed that the victims of the Holocaust are the “new” oppressors in the form of the state of Israel, and accused Israel of turning Gaza into a “concentration camp.” The tour visited several large universities, including campuses with significant Jewish populations like Rutgers University, the University of Maryland and Barnard College/Columbia University.

A comprehensive survey conducted among students in the U.S. in December by the Institute for Jewish & Community Research (IJCR) found that the majority of non-Jewish students were neutral or uninterested in Israel and the Middle East conflict. Nevertheless, more than 40 percent of Jewish students reported incidents of antisemitism in their academic institutions. The trend is taken for granted and many incidents are not even reported. Jewish students spoke of a sense of affront and helplessness in the face of phenomena such as demonization of Israel on the part of teachers in discussions and lectures. Forty-one percent of Jewish students reported hearing anti-Israel remarks by lecturers. Still, it should be noted that a greater proportion of Muslim students – 49 percent – reported occurrences of Islamophobia on American campuses. According to a survey published in Britain in November by Jewish Policy Institute, 42 percent of Jewish students stated they were victims of or had witnessed antisemitic incidents between October 2010 and March 2011.

In Belgium, Prof. Jacques Brotchi, from the Open University in Brussels (ULB), a leading figure in the Jewish community and a deputy in the Belgian Senate, announced his resignation from the board of the university because the academic authorities refrained from responding decisively to antisemitic incidents that took place on campus. In his letter to the rector, he severely criticized events on the campus and at other universities where the anti-Zionist campaign and boycotts of Israel have taken on an unequivocally antisemitic hue. Among the incidents reported by the Union of Jewish Students of Belgium (UEJB) were the invitation of antisemitic French comic Dieudonne in September to a student discussion on freedom of expression and the absence of a response to his antisemitic comments. In another incident, antisemitic pamphlets titled: “Israel - the Bowel Cancer” or “Israel – the Colonist Cancer”

(“Israël : cancer du colon”) were distributed at a lecture given by a French concentration camp survivor at ULB. The antisemitic insults included: “Jewish people, a nation of calves” and “You who knew National Socialism, here comes National Judaism.”

c) Jews control the world economy and affluent Jewish capitalists continue to exploit national resources and the common people – these motifs are used in Eastern Europe, in particular, by activists of the extreme right such as Jobbik in Hungary. The impact of the world economic crisis, which hit the former communist countries severely in the second half of 2008 and during 2009 and is still felt in various forms in the region, caused the intensification of antisemitic sentiments and the scapegoating of the Jews. Thus, for example, Hungary’s main rightwing extremist website Kuruc.info (which targets both Jews and Roma), reported in June: “Thanks to the Jews – a decline in the European birthrate in the wake of the economic crisis.”

As noted, in Ukraine, the strengthening of nationalist trends was well illustrated in the impressive success of the antisemitic nationalist party Svoboda in the municipal elections held in 2011 in several cities in western Ukraine. An example of the dissemination of the notion of Jewish economic control and the danger the Jews pose to the Ukrainian nation was the threat that appeared on the site of the nationalist group Trizub, which warned that it would carry out terrorist acts if the Jews were not removed from key positions in the state. According to the group, the Jews control the economy and industry in Ukraine and, together with Diaspora Jews, undermine the interests of the Ukrainian people. Another example is the book *The World Jewish-Moscovite Problem and Liberated Nationalism*, published in Tarnopol in May and sold at shops in Kiev. Among other claims, it is alleged that while Ukrainians were getting poorer, the Jews were getting richer, taking over the media and infiltrating all the executive arms of the state.

Kyrgyzstan is another postcommunist state where numerous antisemitic publications centering on alleged Jewish plots to take over and exploit the state’s economy – in some versions in collaboration with Russians – were disseminated in 2011. These publications were a continuation of the use made of antisemitic motifs in propaganda disseminated by the opposition during the violent coup against president Kurmanbek Bakiev in April 2010. Anti-Jewish motifs were used as a propaganda tool by various political elements in the state, including the ruling party and the new opposition, in order to undermine each other and thus divert public criticism of the depressed socio-economic situation to the Jews. Antisemitic allegations also appeared in

mainstream papers. In January, the article “Genocide,” accusing the Jews of using the “ancient scientific method of genocide” against the Kyrgyz people was published in *El Sozur*. After they succeeded in destroying other nations, like the Americans, they have “become the owners of their land and property.” The headline of another article in *Uchur*, published in February, read “The Yids Are Ruling Kyrgyzstan?” Other media topics included alleged Jewish plots to control the banks, to take over Kyrgyzstan’s natural resources, and to generate inter-Kyrgyz conflict. In an attempt to stem the proliferation of antisemitic materials, the prosecutor’s office issued a general warning in April against the publication of newspaper articles that incited to ethnic hatred. This did not stop the flow but their number decreased.

Similar messages concerning Jewish control of the banks and the economy, as well as blaming the Jews for the world economic crisis, were also disseminated, albeit less noticeably, by antisemites during the huge demonstrations for social justice that took place in the U.S., under the banner Occupy Wall Street (OWS). As demonstrations expanded from New York to other cities around the country and abroad, several videos and images showing individuals holding antisemitic signs or voicing antisemitic conspiracy theories at the OWS rallies circulated online. There was no evidence however that these incidents were widespread or representative of the larger movement.

Jewish greed is a central theme in the propaganda of extremist antisemitic black movements in the U.S., notably the Nation of Islam (NOI). In a keynote address at the NOI’s 2011 Saviours’ Day convention in Rosemont, Illinois, in February, the speech of its leader Louis Farrakhan featured many of the antisemitic themes that have defined the organization’s efforts for many years, including antisemitic charges of deicide and accusations of Jewish control. Farrakhan accused the Jews of killing Jesus and called for greater public awareness of Jewish involvement in black suffering. The NOI published an “Instruction Course” much of whose content attempts to demonstrate that Jewish teachings, along with Jews’ deep-rooted racism and greed, shaped the blacks’ negative experience. The guide claims that Jews, eager to improve their economic status, tolerated mistreatment of blacks. “Jews quickly rose to the heights of economic security by reaping the profits of slavery. They had no interest in assisting the Black man out of his degraded condition and sought no alliance, friendship or cooperation,” it states.

Similar ideas were spread in 2011 by the New Black Panther Party (NBPP), the largest organized antisemitic and racist black militant group in America. A national action organized by

the NBPP, in April 2011 proved largely unsuccessful. In advance of the April 23 event, dubbed a “National & International Day of Action & Unity,” the NBPP had released promotional materials highlighting “Zionism” as one of the “pressing issues” the event aimed to address. “It's good to expose the manipulation... the abuses of the Zionists and the Jews on how they have manipulated our community and sucking our resources [*sic*].”

In Italy, allegations of Jewish economic power, usury and exploitation were made by activists on the far right. In Milan, for example, a demonstration in October “against banks and usury” was organized by the extreme right Forza Nuova party. A FN militant told an interviewer that “the banks are a Zionist power,” while the Lombardy coordinator of FN said that “there is certainly a Jewish-Masonic plot of the multinationals.”

The alleged Jewish role in the economic crisis was the main theme in a speech delivered in November by the Italian Holocaust denier Claudio Moffa, professor of political science at the University of Teramo, during the first convention of the new Party – for Action and Development (PAS), founded by well-known lawyer and ex-member of the European Parliament for Forza Italia, Alfonso Luigi Marra.

Two other examples of blatant antisemitic defamation relating to the old negative Jewish stereotype regarding money and exploitation and its control were an insult made by Luigi Tuccio, the urban planning commissioner for the City of Reggio di Calabria, citizen coordinator of the PdL (People of Freedom Party) against the well-known actor and director Roberto Benigni, and an interview given by the president of the football club Palermo Calcio, Maurizio Zamparini. Tuccio’s attack on Benigni was in response to the latter’s criticism of Berlusconi. On his Facebook page Tuccio called Benigni (who is not Jewish) a “Jewish communist billionaire,” adding: “I have no problem calling anyone a Jew who has billions and makes a pretense of humility and frugality.” Zamparini, who was commenting on an alleged act of extortion against him by the agent of a former Palermo soccer player, stated in a interview with Sport Mediaset: “Something similar in a different context happens in America where there are lawyers who are for the most part of Jewish extraction and lay in wait for prospective clients outside of courtrooms and hospitals promising free consulting services, which then turn out to have sky-high commissions, as high as 50%.”

In an article published in the Swedish neo-Nazi Party *Nationell Nu* in June, the Jews were blamed for the world financial crisis. According to the writer, the Jews, led by Alan Greenspan

and the Lehman brothers, plotted and triggered the 2008 financial crisis. Furthermore, the writer blames the Jews for Greece's current financial crisis and claims that former IMF head Dominique Strauss-Kahn, who is also Jewish, was also involved in planning the financial crisis in order to introduce his scheme for a "world currency."

In November, a study of the German *Expertenkreis Antisemitismus* (Group of Experts on Antisemitism), presented to the cabinet on November 2, showed that 20 percent of Germans manifested latent antisemitic attitudes. According to the report, growing criticism of international financial systems has led to a dangerous re-emergence of old antisemitic stereotypes of "greedy Jews" and "Jewish conspiracies." This substantiated a 2009 study conducted by Bielefeld University, which found that one in five people felt that Jewish people have too much influence in the financial world. Some 40 percent of respondents also believed that Jews today were still seeking to benefit from Germany's Nazi past.

d) Conspiracy theories. Jewish and Israeli plots are among the most popular myths on sites and blogs dedicated to conspiracy theories. Further, schemes allegedly concocted by Israelis, in league with their Jewish brethren around the world, are probably the most prevalent fabrication on sites devoted to anti-Jewish and anti-Israel hatred. In recent years the most common expression of the Jewish conspiracy motif has been the notion that Israel, backed by Jewish organization and groups, has been carrying out secret operations designed to mislead decision makers and the public with "false flags" in order to serve their own objectives. Thus, Israel itself supposedly conducts terrorist operations and succeeds in persuading decision makers and public opinion to adopt a false perception of various events through sophisticated brainwashing propaganda enabled by Jewish control of the media, especially in the U.S. Common examples found on internet sites, social networks and blogs are the 9/11 attacks (which the Mossad was supposedly behind), and Iraq (Bush's Jewish advisors pushed him into the war), as well as other significant terror events linked to radical Islam, such as the 2005 attack in Bali – all concocted in order to launch an all-out war against Islam,

In the U.S., the most popular promoters of theories claiming that Israelis and Jewish members of the Bush Administration planned the 9/11 attacks as a false flag operation to provoke a war against Israel's enemies are Gordon Duff, who runs the antisemitic website Veterans Today; Alan Sabrosky, a former U.S. Army War College instructor who writes for

Veterans Today; and Kevin Barrett, who runs the Truth Jihad Web site and internet radio show. In an April 2011 interview on Intifada-Palestine, an anti-Israel website featuring the works of several conspiratorial anti-Israel and antisemitic writers,” Barrett declared: “I know, not just believe, that 9/11 was a false-flag attack, that many individuals at or near the top of the US Executive Branch, military, and intelligence apparatus were complicit in the attack, and that the state of Israel and its American agents were heavily involved.” In a July 2011 interview between Barrett and Alan Sabrosky on “Truth Jihad Radio,” the two repeatedly referred to Israel's alleged role in the 9/11 attacks and to Zionist control of the government and media

A new myth was added to the Israeli-Jewish conspiracy in 2011 – the allegation that the extreme right Norwegian murderer Andreas Breivik was a Mossad operator. On July 22, Breivik detonated bombs in the government quarter of central Oslo, and then drove to the island of Utøya, 38 km from the capital, where he proceeded to shoot members of the Labor Party Youth Movement who were gathered there for a summer camp. All in all, 77 people, mostly youngsters, were killed. Breivik was motivated by his extremist political views. He felt that the Labor Party, which was in power in Norway in 2011 (as it has been for a large part of Norway's postwar history), has sold out the country, allowing it to be swamped by mass immigration, especially from Muslim countries, thus threatening Norway's future.

The fact that Breivik also voiced extreme anti-immigrant, and particularly anti-Muslim, opinions, opposition to the notion of multiculturalism and support for Israel, incited the imagination of extreme anti-Israel and antisemitic adherents of conspiracy theories, who ignored the fact that Breivik had expressed antisemitic opinions in the past. One of the first to raise the theory that Israel was behind the massacre in order to “punish” Norway, was Prof. Ola Tunander, from the Institute for Peace Research in Oslo, in an article he wrote for the reputed academic journal *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*. Tunander even suggested that Mossad agents had infiltrated al-Qa`ida as provocateurs in order to encourage the group to commit terrorist acts that would increase Western hostility to Islam. Tunander’s ideas were criticized in Norway’s leading newspaper *Aftenposten* and by Norwegian politicians. As a result, Tunander claimed to have been misunderstood, stating that the fact he had explored the possibility of Israeli involvement did not mean that he stood behind that “theory.” In the past, Tunander had alleged that neocons in the US were behind the 9/11 attacks. The allegations against Israel received much attention in Scandinavian neo-Nazi circles, as well as among Islamists. It was suggested that Breivik acted

not only on behalf of Israel but also of Jewish organizations. The self-proclaimed radical Islamist Mohamed Omar, Sweden's most outspoken supporter of Islamist movements and the Iranian and Syrian regimes, characterized the attacks as "Zionist terror."

The myth of the Mossad's involvement in the massacre spread quickly in the electronic media and internet sites, among others in al-Jazeera, which provided a platform for Gilad Atzmon, an Israeli saxophonist living in London who disseminates virulently anti-Israel and antisemitic views. Atzmon labeled Breivik "a Sabbath goy," who committed crimes for the Jewish state.

The alleged involvement of Israel and the Jews in the attacks in Norway appeared in various states and on numerous internet sites. Thus, for instance, the article by Atzmon was published by the strongest and most established racist organization in Australia, the Australian League of Rights. A comprehensive report on antisemitism in Australia published by the AIJAC (Australian & Jewish Affairs Council) stressed that the claim of excessive power of the Jews in politics and the economy was a central motif in Australian antisemitic propaganda.

The expression "Sabbath goy" in the Breivik context found its way, too, into the propaganda of extreme anti-Zionists, inspired by president Hugo Chavez, in Venezuela. Antisemitic columnist Basem Tajeldine, an enthusiastic Chavez supporter, a member of the Communist Party of Venezuela, and a rabid antisemite, wrote that the "Sabbath goy" was inspired by Islamophobia, xenophobia, and anti-communism, all part of Zionist strategy. Tajeldine is among those who continue to disseminate the organs traffic blood libel. In a program aired on Venezuelan National Radio, he claimed that Zionists are involved in the killing and theft of organs from African children. In addition, he claimed that not only was Israel responsible for poisoning Yasser Arafat, but it was behind the illnesses of "progressive" Latin American leaders such as Dilma Rousseff, Fernando Lugo, Néstor Kirchner, Hugo Chávez and Luiz Inácio "Lula" Da Silva. (This claim was repeated by Chavez himself, though he stressed he had no proof).

The candidature of the governor of the state of Miranda, Capriles Radonsky, a Catholic of Jewish descent, for the office of president of Venezuela, also triggered antisemitic slurs and conspiracy theories. In October the semi-official, pro-Chavez Venezuelan website Aporrea posted an article by Yoel Pérez Marcano, claiming that Radonsky's candidacy was part of a counter-revolutionary plot of Venezuelan Zionism, "the 5th column of the Israeli Zionist entity

and international Zionism,” to deceive the Venezuelan people and defeat Chavez and the Bolivarian revolution. Radonsky was also accused of having links to the Israeli Mossad.

In Chile, too, the Jewish origins of interior minister Rodrigo Hinzpeter generated antisemitic slurs. Criticizing the ban on a high school student march on August 4, Jaime Gajardo, president of the Chilean teachers’ association, said it reminded him of “Zionist and apartheid methods” and asked whether Hinzpeter had learned such methods in Israel. Gajardo later apologized. In December, Hugo Gutiérrez, a Communist Party member of parliament, attacked Hinzpeter for criticizing his party’s message of condolence on the death of North Korean leader Kim Jong Il, claiming Hinzpeter “has the abused child syndrome. A Jew who acts as a Nazi! He criticizes the PC for condolences... [but] is silent for murdered Palestinians.”

The strength of the Jewish conspiracy theory in the Christian tradition, in general, and in Latin America, in particular, was manifested in Chile, in December 2011, when a young Israeli tourist, Rotem Singer, was accused of causing a fire at the Torres del Paine Park, which destroyed hundreds of houses and thousands of acres of land. Following Singer’s arrest, there was an upsurge in antisemitic manifestations in the country. Angry citizens shouted “filthy Jew” at Singer and conspiracy theories began circulating on Chilean websites blaming Jews and the State of Israel for conspiring to set off the conflagration. A nineteenth century antisemitic conspiracy theory known as the “Andinia Plan” was revived, suggesting that Jews wanted to gain control of land in the Patagonia region by destroying the ecological preserve. Congressman Fuad Chahin, a member of the Christian Democratic Party, posted a Tweet, questioning whether the alleged perpetrator was indeed a tourist and suggesting that he was sent by the State of Israel after “killing Palestinian children.” The presidents of the Party for Democracy and the Christian Democratic Party distanced themselves from the antisemitic and anti-Israel statements made by parliamentarians from their parties.

The Jewish conspiracy theory is a leading motif in antisemitic propaganda in Russia and in the postcommunist states, mostly among extreme nationalist circles. It should be noted in this context that antisemitic literature is sold unrestrictedly in Russia, both in public places and on the internet. The legal struggle in Russia against the dissemination of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* failed. The prosecutor’s office in Moscow refused to identify the book as extremist material inciting to ethnic hatred, and to add it to the federal list of banned publications. Interestingly, opposition to banning the book came from a leading human rights activist. Although Alexander

The annual international book fair that takes place in Moscow in September has become a regular forum for the dissemination of literature of this nature. Repeated appeals over the years by Jewish community leaders to the organizers of the fair not to permit the exhibition of antisemitic literature have gone unanswered. Moreover, antisemitic literature was included in 2011 in the list of publications recommended for distribution at Russian diplomatic missions around the world.

As in recent years, the Communist Party (KPRF) continued to be at the forefront of antisemitic agitation. In September, for example Vladimir Maslov, a KPRF candidate in the parliamentary elections, was fined 150 thousand rubles (~\$4600) for antisemitic comments he made on several websites. In October, Sergei Igomonov, a KPRF candidate for the Samara District Council, uploaded to his blog the following text: “It has been a month since all the Yids of Samara prayed to their God, pleading with him to help them revoke the candidacy of Sergei Igomonov... But the holy prayers in the Russian Pravoslav temples have had the upper hand over the Jewish whisperers.” Following a complaint by human rights activists to the prosecutor's office, Igomonov erased the text.

In Hungary, the Jewish conspiracy theory is the main motif in the antisemitic worldview of the nationalist Jobbik party, as noted by Péter Krekó, a leading scholar of the extreme right in Hungary. Among others claims, key party activists blame the Jews for the economic crisis. In addition, they allege that the Gypsies are being used by the Jews to destroy Hungarian society and that the Jews and Israel are deliberately inflaming tensions between Gypsies and Hungarians in order to undermine Hungary's stability and to enable a rapid takeover. In an article published in the *Budapest Times* in May, Krekó explained the increasing tendency in Hungary to believe conspiracy theories in general and those linked to the Jews in particular as a result of the economic crisis and a lack of faith in the political system.

e) World War II memory, and the question of collaboration with the Nazi machinery of destruction, in particular, has continued to play a significant role in the public discourse of the postcommunist countries of Eastern and Central Europe. One of the main issues of the controversy is the attitude toward leading nationalist activists who murdered or helped to murder Jews, and are considered heroes by many in their countries, mainly because of their part in the struggle against communism and the Soviet Union. As part of this debate, the memory of the Holocaust has been distorted and Nazi atrocities have been equated with Soviet deeds. Various dates represent divisive issues related to historical and national memory. These include March 1939, marking the foundation of the Tiso Nazi German puppet state in Slovakia, and February 1945, marking attempts by Hungarian fascist Arrow Cross members and Nazi forces to break out of Soviet-besieged Budapest. Both dates are commemorated annually with demonstrations and other events.

In Ukraine a parade took place in March in Ivano-Frankovsk to commemorate the 61st anniversary of the death of Roman Shukhevich, leader of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army who collaborated with the Nazis during World War II. The torch-bearing participants shouted “Shukhevich – hero of Ukraine,” “Ukraine before everything” and “Death to the enemies.” The parade was organized by the Svoboda party and the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists.

In Latvia, a legally sanctioned march of about 1000 Waffen SS veterans and supporters was held in Riga in March to commemorate 140,000 Latvians who collaborated with Nazi Germany. Against the background of this event, a discussion was held on the program *Bez tsenzury* (Without censorship) on TV5 in Latvia on the subject “Latvian legionnaires – Latvia's pride or shame?” Uldis Freymanis, a nephew of a Latvian Waffen SS legionnaire, said that those who opposed the march were provocateurs and should be shot. His statements were spiced with antisemitic insults. In a letter addressed to the Latvian president Valdis Dombrovskis, ADL head Abraham Foxman demanded that Freymanis be prosecuted for his statements. In September the Latvian security services announced that they had found nothing criminal in them.

In mid-February the Office of the President of Estonia announced that 99 people would be awarded medals on the occasion of Independence Day. Among the names released were those known for having served in the SS during World War II and would be decorated as “Fighters for Liberty.” Although they collaborated with the Nazis mainly to regain their independence from the Soviets, many of them also participated in the murder of Jews.

The decision of the Lithuanian and Latvian parliaments to compensate Jewish communities for property confiscated during the Soviet and Nazi eras aroused much protest, especially in light of the depressed economic situation in those countries. In June the RAIT company, which surveyed public opinion in Lithuania, released a poll according to which 58 percent of respondents opposed any kind of compensation to the Jews.

On the positive side, in September Lithuanian president Dalia Grybauskaitė awarded the Life Saving Cross to 55 Lithuanian citizens (most of them posthumously) who saved Jews during World War II. During the ceremony she said that “in those days of horror and injustice they did not give in to the policy of hate and brutality... and did not hesitate to resist it. They all deserve the greatest respect and gratitude. In the face of death, they were ready to sacrifice themselves to save others.”

That same month the Estonian culture ministry ordered the Historical Museum of Estonia in Tallinn to remove from its exposition materials about the National Socialist Party ideologist Alfred Rosenberg. The decision came in response to a complaint by leaders of the local Jewish community in July 2011. The exhibits described Rosenberg as a “well-known inhabitant of Tallinn” without mentioning his activity during World War II.

f) Antisemitic manifestations and expressions against the background of the Arab Spring.

The year 2011 was one of revolutionary political changes in many Middle East countries. Popular demonstrations succeeded in toppling the old regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen, while in Syria Bashar al-Asad's regime is still struggling to survive. These developments, which came to be known as the “Arab Spring,” not only affect the stability of the entire region but have an impact on Arab perceptions of Israel and on the level of antisemitism. At the beginning of the events there were a few rays of hope that the obsessive preoccupation with Israel and the Arab-Israeli conflict would diminish and give way to concern over the substantial internal problems of Arab societies. Indeed, anger was directed initially against the authoritarian regimes in Egypt and Tunisia, and the liberal youngsters who appeared to be leading the demonstrations declared their wish for liberalization, democratization and peace. Subsequently, it became clear that they were only small minority, who did not represent the sentiments of the majority of the public.

On February 18, about a million people gathered in al-Tahrir Square in Cairo to attend the Friday sermon delivered by Shaykh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, considered the leading spiritual cleric of the Muslim Brothers today. Al-Qaradawi expressed his unconditional support for the revolution against “the totalitarian Pharaoh,” and called upon the Egyptian army to open the Rafah crossing (between Egypt and the Gaza Strip). To tumultuous cheering, he looked forward to the day he would lead the Friday prayers at al-Aqsa Mosque, following the Muslim reoccupation of Jerusalem. Israel was thus incorporated into the most symbolic moment of the Muslim Brotherhood's display of assertiveness – its transformation from a persecuted organization into the most powerful force on the Egyptian political scene.

This was not the only time Israel was mentioned, alone or in relation to Zionism and the Jews, from the outbreak of the revolutions in Egypt and elsewhere. Antisemitic imagery has appeared in placards borne by Egyptian demonstrators against Mubarak's regime since January 25, 2011. During those demonstrations, American CBS journalist Lara Logan was beaten and sexually assaulted by protesters, who shouted “Jew, Jew!” Moreover, she and her crew were accused by Egyptian soldiers of being Israeli spies. Several American and Western journalists pointed out that the majority of the Western media ignored the antisemitic nature of the attack.

Caricatures relating to Jewish power and Jewish conspiracy were published in several Arab newspapers. The major theme was the accusation that Israel and the Jews were encouraging strife, conflict and riots, and were behind the protests and demonstrations. A caricature in the Qatari daily *al-Raya* on February 15, for example, depicted a stereotypical Orthodox Jew surveying the region and then gaining control over it, while groups of Arabs fought each other. Similarly, the UAE daily *al-Bayan* published on January 27 a caricature showing a big fat Jew holding a sign announcing “the new middle evil.” Yemeni columnist, ‘Ali ‘Abdallah Tahir invoked *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in an article in the Yemeni daily *October 14* on August 25 when accusing the Jews of inciting the Arab Spring.

There was tacit agreement between the revolutionaries and the old regimes over Israel, Zionism, the Jews and Judaism, which were used by both camps to bash their adversaries. A Star of David was drawn on the forehead of Mubarak in signs carried by Egyptian demonstrators. Zionism and the Jews were accused of conspiring against Muslims and Arabs, instigating ethnic strife and destabilizing the Middle East in order to facilitate their control over it. The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt accused supporters of the old regime, the National Democratic Party

(NDP), the security forces and their “Zionist allies” of sending thugs and spies to al-Tahrir Square in July in order to provoke chaos and divert the revolution from its right path. At the other end of the spectrum, in the wake of the deadly clashes between Coptic demonstrators and military forces in October, Yihya al-Gamal, post-revolution deputy prime minister and a staunch opponent of the Islamists, declared that Israel and the U.S. had instigated sectarian conflict in Egypt.

The events in Egypt gave rise to another phenomenon – the establishment of an Egyptian Nazi party in May by a group of Egyptians, who had reportedly been active clandestinely for two years. According to the secretary Muhyi al-Din, its agenda is based on the Folk Theory, which seeks supremacy for Egypt and Egyptian Arabs. It is unclear whether the party has made any impact on the Egyptian public. However, its spokesmen emphasized that it has nothing to do with the antisemitic German Nazi worldview (*Al-Masri al-Yawm*, May 25, al-Badil.com, May 25, 28, *al-Bayan*, May 26).

In Sinai, the natural-gas pipe line to Israel and Jordan was bombed nine times from February till the end of the year. The terrorist attack near the border town of Eilat on August 18, which resulted in the death of eight Israelis and three Egyptian soldiers, developed into a diplomatic crisis with the new Egyptian leadership and led to an outburst of anti-Israel sentiments, expressed also in antisemitic manifestations. On September 10, angry demonstrators stormed the Israeli embassy in Cairo. Protesters carried Egyptian flags with swastikas instead of the eagle, and banners with the inscription “One Nation for New Holocaust.” Another slogan asserted that “We will not export Gas, We will burn you with gas[oline].” (FrontPage, August 22, 2011) According to Samuel Tadros, an Egyptian researcher affiliated with the Hudson Institute and a member of the Egyptian Union of Liberal Youth, incited Ultras were at the forefront of the demonstrators, supported by Nasserists, anarchists and leftists who consider themselves liberals. In another rally organized by the Muslim Brothers on November 25, banners vowed to “kill all the Jews.”

In Syria, Asad's regime blamed the “Free Syrian Army” of being an “army of donkeys in the service of the Mossad.” The revolutionaries, on the other hand, branded Asad and his cronies “Alawi Jews,” and accused the former of embarking on a bloodbath of his people to provide the Jews with blood for Passover matzos. Similarly, protesting rappers in Libya claimed that Colonel

Qaddafi's mother was a Jewess, hence the source of his cruelty, whereas the Libyan leader accused Zionists of being behind the rebels.

During the month of Ramadan in August, Syrian TV broadcast a series, titled “al-Hasan wal-Husayn,” which deals with the early encounter between Jews in the Arab Peninsula and Islam. Referring to the Jew Ibn Saba, an authentic historical figure, the series attributed to him a threat to do everything within his power to harm Muslims, and he was said to have devised a meticulous plan for that purpose in the spirit of the Protocols (Memri, Aug. 1).

Even Christian communities, whose situation deteriorated in the wake of the Islamist ascendancy, intensified their attacks on Israel and the Jews. Christian clerics – Egyptian Copts, Greek Orthodox, and other Eastern churches in Syria, Lebanon and Iraq – accused “international Zionism” of sectarian tensions in their respective countries, as well as the burning of a Coptic church in Alexandria on the eve of the New Year 2011, and of a church in Baghdad in June. Although, traditionally, the Eastern churches have never sympathized with Israel or the Jews, their attacks appear to be the result of their fear of the Islamists' rage, and are an attempt to appease them and to demonstrate their patriotism and loyalty.

Although it is difficult to quantify antisemitism in Arab countries, the climate of opinion is easily detectable. Newspapers articles, sermons, caricatures, talkbacks, and protesters' placards comparing Zionism with Nazism, calling “Death to Israel” and “The gas chambers are ready” testify to the continuing role of conspiracy theories and antisemitism, including Holocaust denial, in Arab and Muslim societies.

Antisemitic preaching continued unabated on television channels, particularly those identified with Islamists, such as al-Rahma and al-Hikma in Egypt, al-Manar in Lebanon (Hizballah) and al-Aqsa (Hamas). They contended that the signing of agreements with “the descendants of pigs and apes” is forbidden and that the elimination of Israel is a pre-requisite for a free world. The effort to destroy Israel is worthwhile “even if 10 million Egyptians die,” proclaimed Egyptian journalist Muhammad ‘Abbas in an interview aired on al-Hikma TV on September 4. Reinforcing his claim, he referred to the Judgment Day *hadith* (oral tradition) which calls for an all-out war between Muslims and Jews, when the stone and the tree will call on Muslims to come and kill the Jew hiding behind them. In an interview to Egyptian al-Rahma TV on July 16, Muhammad Gala’ Idris, head of the Hebrew Studies Department at Tanta University, claimed that *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* are authentic, and that the Jews have

an ancient secret plan to take over the world and as part of it the Zionists have hatched a conspiracy to destroy all Christian and Islamic countries A similar opinion was voiced by the Egyptian Fara'in TV owner and presidential candidate Tawfiq Ukasha (Memri, Jul 22, Nov. 29, special dispatch nos. 4018, 4321)

On May 11, Hamas al-Aqsa TV broadcast an interview with Hamas MP and cleric Yunis al-Astal, who argued that the “evil Jews” were brought to Israel so that the Palestinians would “have the honor of annihilating” them, and relieve humanity of their evil. He urged the Palestinians to reject all settlement and normalization plans until Palestine is liberated and turned into the capital of the Islamic Caliphate (Memri, May 16, dispatch no. 3840). In an article titled “The Jews... Monopolizing Wealth and Corrupting Values,” Mukhlis Barzaq argued on the Hamas official website Palestine-Info on May 20 that the Jews were seeking to gain a monopoly over every source of gold or fortune in order to take over the world economy and its positions of power. Barzaq also depicted Jewish moral values as corrupted and devious (Palestine-Info, May 20).

In Saudi Arabia and Jordan, too, such manifestations were not rare. In the former, for example, textbooks containing antisemitic motifs are still used in schools, according to a study published by the Hudson Institute's Center for Religious Freedom in New York in September. Anti-Israel rhetoric in the Jordanian media has escalated due to the stalemate in the peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians and the rise of Islamist assertiveness across the Middle East. The editor of *al-Dustur* daily, Muhammad Hasan al-Tal, claimed on September 22, that Jordanians, as well as all Arabs and Muslims, consider the “Zionist entity a cancerous growth in the heart of the nation that must be eradicated.” Writing in response to an Israeli article published a few days earlier on the online news site YNET by Haim Misgav, regarding the notion of Jordan as a Palestinian state, he labeled Israeli leaders “a gang of highway robbers and murderers,” who arrived in Palestine as part of a global conspiracy. Another article in the same paper, by Rashid Hasan published on September 27, called Israel “an exact replica of its Nazi counterpart [*sic*].” Discussing the possibility of recognition of a Palestinian state, on May 8 Diya al-Fahum evoked *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in order to assert that Zionist greed has no limits and would use all means to impose Zionism on the world. The Muslim Brotherhood website Albosala.net, posted an article on September 22 by Salim al-Khatib, reiterating the vow that Muslims would wipe out Israel.

In a three-part article published by the official PA daily *al-Hayat al-Jadida* on May 13, 15 and June 3, Shaykh Ishaq Falayfil, who teaches religion, reiterated that the struggle between the Palestinians and the Israelis is not one over land and borders, but a lengthy existential conflict between Judaism and Islam. Labeling Israel a malignant cancerous growth that seeks destruction, Falayfil explained that the Jewish religion is a distorted, corrupted and falsified faith hostile to Muslims. In the same vein, Samir ‘Amru, another publicist from the paper, wrote on May 15 that Zionism is an extremist religious ideology whose aim is attaining hegemony in Palestine as a basis for its eternal rule over the world.

Book fairs from Morocco in the west to Tehran in the east continued to display volumes containing antisemitic themes, conspiracy theories and equations between Israel and the Nazi regime, with the purpose of demonizing and de-humanizing Israel, Zionism and the Jews. In March, the SWC published a list of Syrian, Egyptian and Lebanese participants at the Moroccan book fair, the Salon International du Livre et de l’Edition 2011 (SIEL) in Casablanca, which published books inciting against Israel (SWC, March 3). Similarly, Project Aladdin (an initiative aimed at translating materials into Farsi and Arabic, and recently Turkish, and disseminating knowledge about the Holocaust in the Arab and Muslim worlds) published in June a list of 204 antisemitic books displayed at the 24th Tehran International Book Fair between 4 and 14 May. Among them were new editions of *Mein Kampf* and *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. During the fair, a conference was held to launch a new book in Persian: “The Holocaust and Revisionism,” a compilation of writings of 37 Holocaust deniers from Europe, the United States, Australia and Japan, edited by Amir Ghassemzadeh and published by the Tehran-based Institute for Policy Research. Participants in the conference denied the Holocaust, labeling it a “myth” and a “lie” fabricated and propagated by the Zionists for political purposes (<http://primage.tau.ac.il/asm/000229747.pdf>).

It should be noted that in Turkey, too, radicalized anti-Israel rhetoric in the spirit of the Islamist ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) and political tensions with Israel particularly since the flotilla incident in May 2010, was increasingly intertwined with antisemitic motifs. Head of the IHH (Humanity Relief Foundation), which was behind the flotilla, Bulent Yelderim, for instance, defined Zionism as a virus that spread and contaminated all humanity. In Iran, where president Mahmud Ahmadinejad frequently refers to Israel, Zionism and the Holocaust, antisemitism has become part of governmental indoctrination with the aim not only of

delegitimizing and annihilating Israel but of challenging the Holocaust as a historical fact. As part of these efforts, a new booklet “The Holocaust – The Biggest Lie of the Jews” was posted on the internet.

According to a Pew Poll released in July 2011, Muslims in Arab and Muslim countries hold remarkably and consistently negative views of Jews. The favorability ratings of Jews in the Arab world (Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and the PA), as well as Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, range between 1 and 4 percent. Only in Indonesia did it rise to 9 percent. Between 77 and 97 percent also believe that Judaism is a violent religion. “The exaggerated attention given to Israel, particularly in the form of conspiracy theories, remains the clearest evidence of antisemitism,” the report concluded. Western and Israeli journalists who visited Egypt during the year could not ignore the antisemitic manifestations and the deep-seated antagonism toward Israel and the Jews, despite their usual tendency to overlook this phenomenon. Harvard *Crimson* writer Eric T. Justin who spent the summer in Egypt and Jordan wrote on October 3, that he heard and overheard “countless antisemitic remarks.” “Arguments about politics almost inevitably turned to ‘those Jews,’ and conspiracy theories,” he said, concluding that “one cannot understand mass politics in the Arab world without admitting the role of antisemitism” (<http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2011/10/3/arab-world-antisemitism-jews/>). Richard Cohen from the *Washington Post* wrote on September 12 that “the Arab world has been drenched by a steady drizzle of government-approved or -tolerated antisemitism.”

An analysis written by Samuel Tadros and his colleague Amr Bargisi, a young Egyptian liberal, for the internet magazine *Tablet* claimed that antisemitism in Egypt, and most probably in all the Middle East, “is not simply a form of bigotry: It is the glue binding the otherwise incoherent ideological blend, the common denominator among disparate parties.” The Zionist conspiracy theory, they assert, “was not merely a diversion applied by the Mubarak regime, as some suggest. It is a well-established social belief in Egypt, even among self-proclaimed liberals.” (<http://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/85746/after-the-fall/>).

Efforts to combat Holocaust denial and antisemitism in the Arab world by the State Department and various Jewish and international organizations continue, and in some cases have even borne fruit. Project Aladdin organized in January a visit to Auschwitz by a group of Muslim leaders (*al-Quds*, February 2), and in September a conference on the Holocaust was held in Morocco (*New York Times*, September 23). Also in Morocco, the screening in Rabat of the

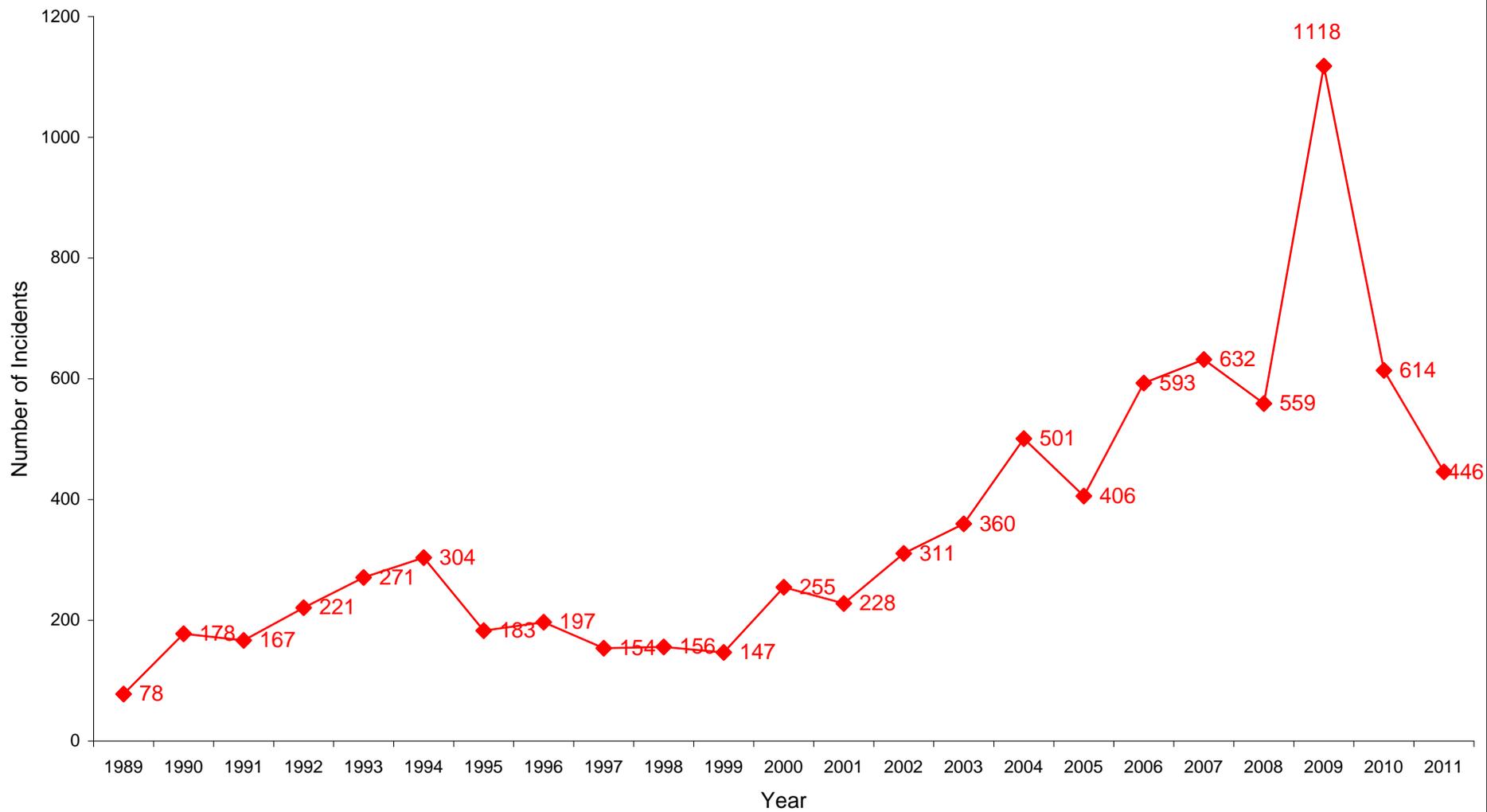
Turkish film *Wolf Valley*, which includes antisemitic allusions, was cancelled in June, according to the Moroccan paper *al-Tajdid*, June 20, and in December UNESCO ceased its financial support of the Palestinian youth monthly *Zafzafuna*, after it published materials exalting Hitler (*al-Wafd*, December 23).

Despite the rise of popular animosity toward Israel, a few brave voices in Egypt and elsewhere condemn antisemitism and antisemitic preaching in mosques in newspapers, talkbacks and blogs. The Egyptian Union of Liberal Youth (established in 2009) designed a platform of legal, economic, and social programs that tackles all aspects of life in Egypt, from taxes to antisemitism. Rashid al-Ghannushi, the leader of the Tunisian Islamist party al-Nahda, reassured the Jews that they have nothing to worry about, and the head of the new transition council in Libya, Mustafa ‘Abd al-Jalil, invited David Gerbi, an Italian Jew who planned to reconstruct a destroyed synagogue in Tripoli and was almost lynched by a group of Islamists, to a meeting of reconciliation. On October 5, Jordanian journalist Hazim Mubaydin called in *al-Ra’y* on the new Libyan regime to restore the rights of Libyan Jews who fled the country because of the Arab-Israeli conflict in order to prove its belief in pluralism, tolerance, democracy and human rights.

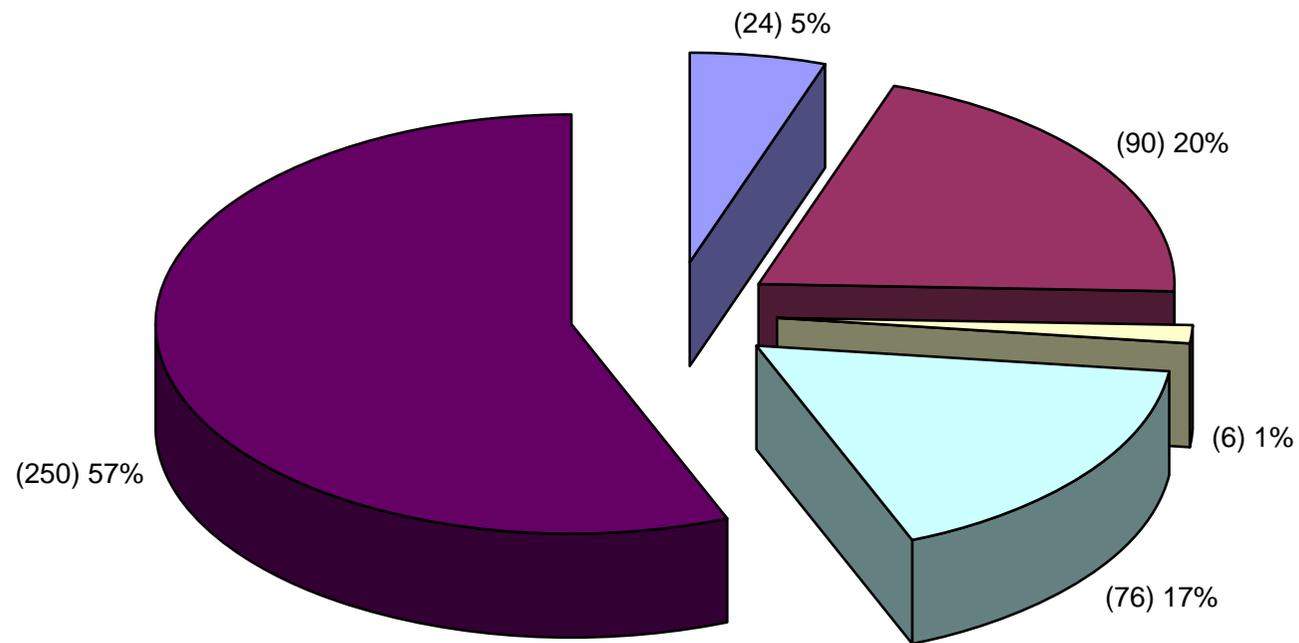
APPENDICES

The graphs in this section refer to acts of violence and vandalism perpetrated against Jewish individuals and Jewish private and community property worldwide during 2011. The figures are based on the database of the Moshe Kantor Program for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism. It should be stressed that the graphs reflect only major violent incidents (such as arson, weapon attacks, weaponless attacks, serious harassment, and vandalism or desecration).

Antisemitism - Major Violent Incidents Worldwide 1989-2011

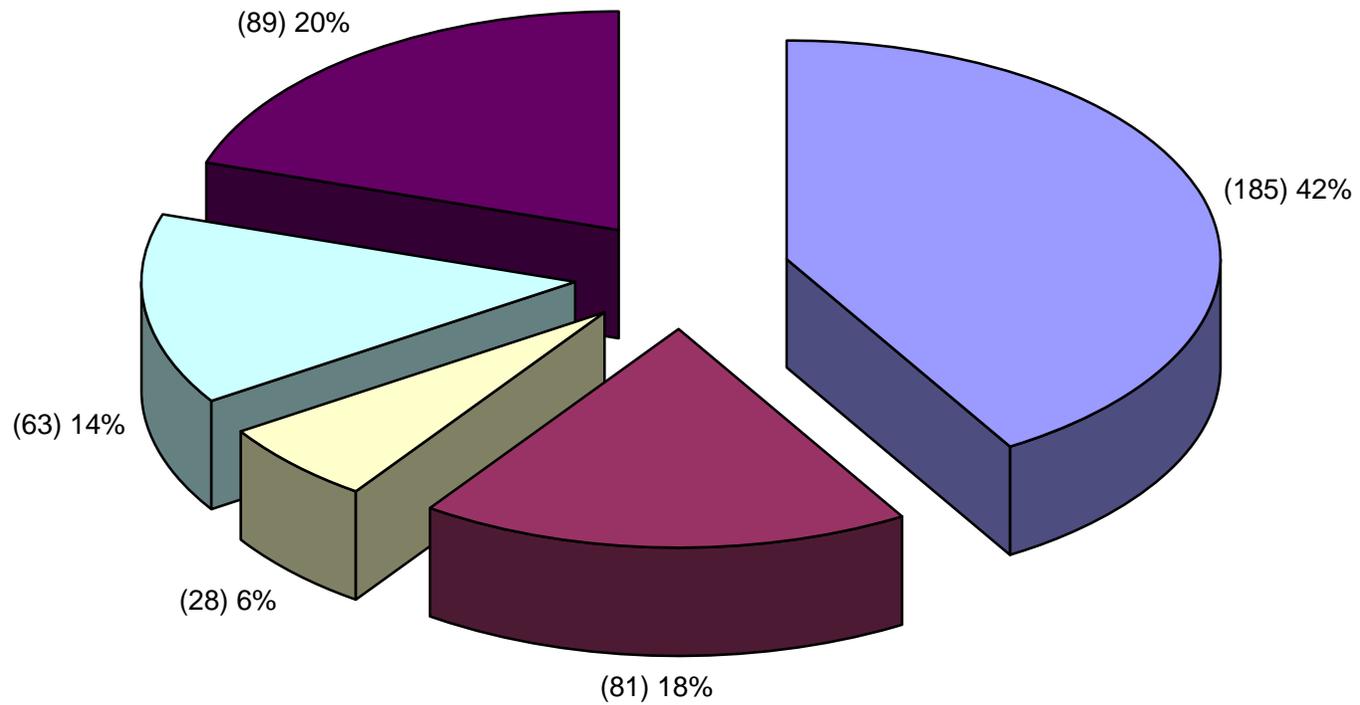


Major Violent Incidents Worldwide in 2011 - Breakdown by Modus Operandi



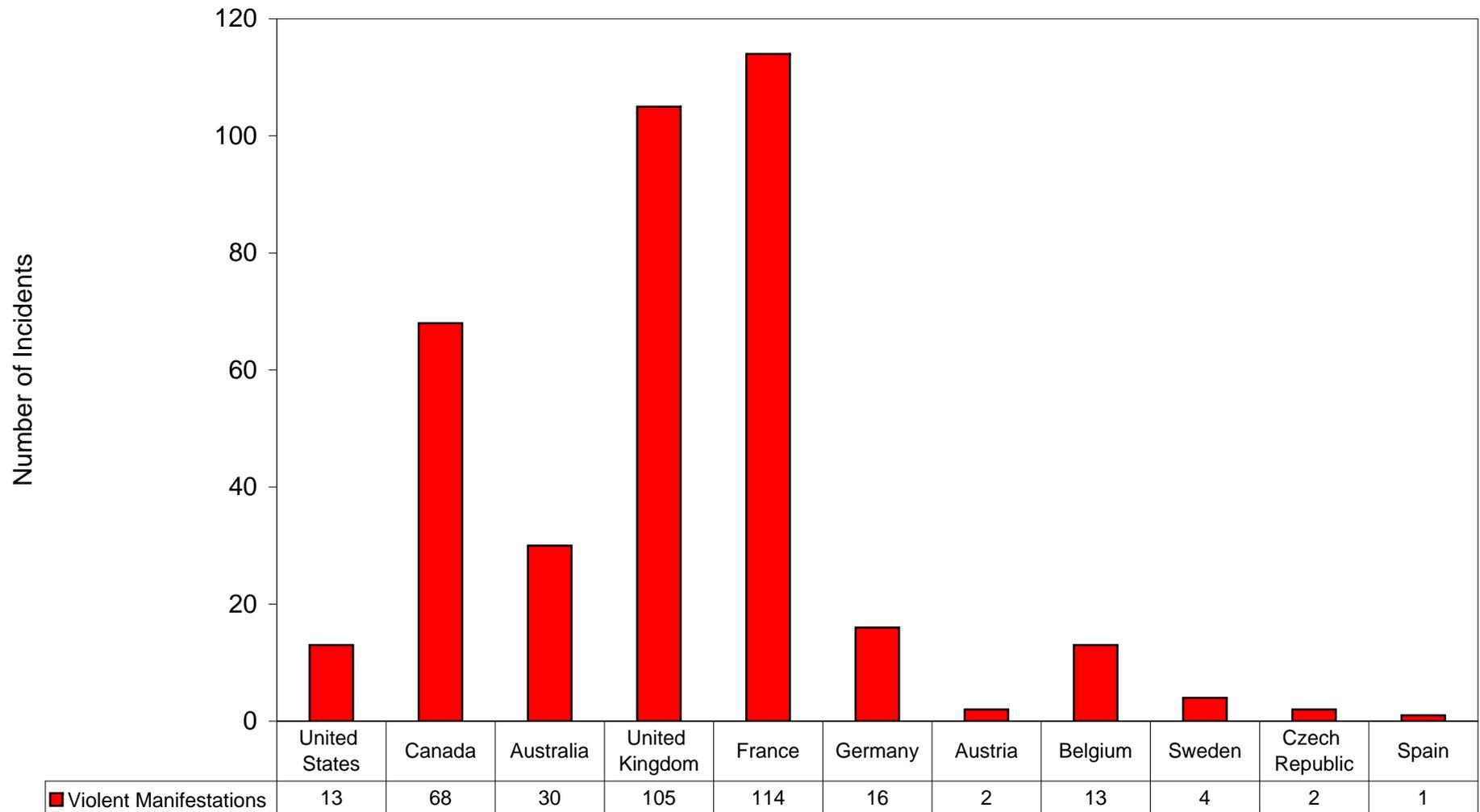
■ Weapons ■ Weaponless Violence ■ Arson ■ Threats ■ Vandalism

Major Violent Incidents Worldwide in 2011 - Breakdown by Target

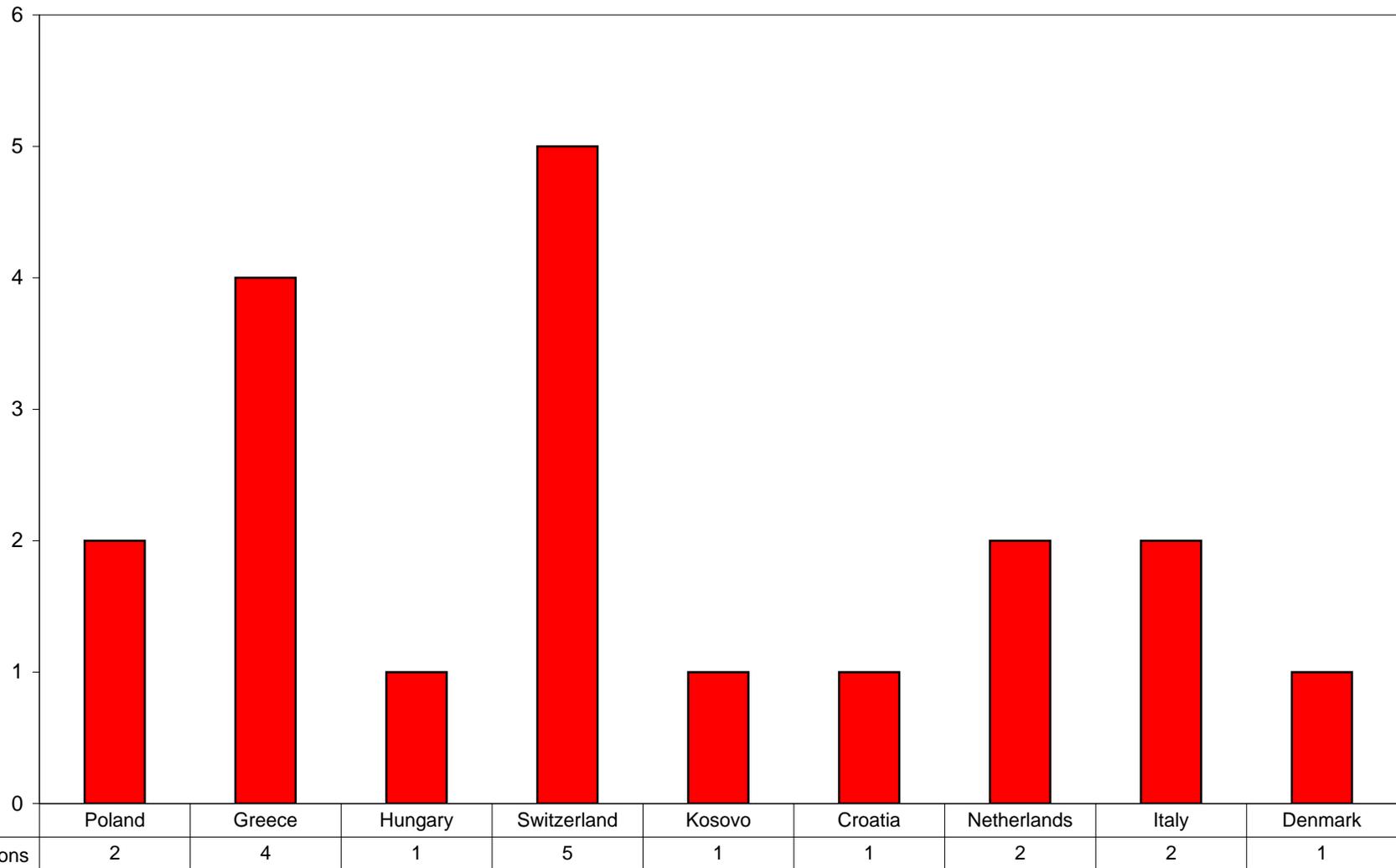


■ Persons ■ Synagogues ■ Schools & Community Centers ■ Cemeteries & Memorials ■ Private Property

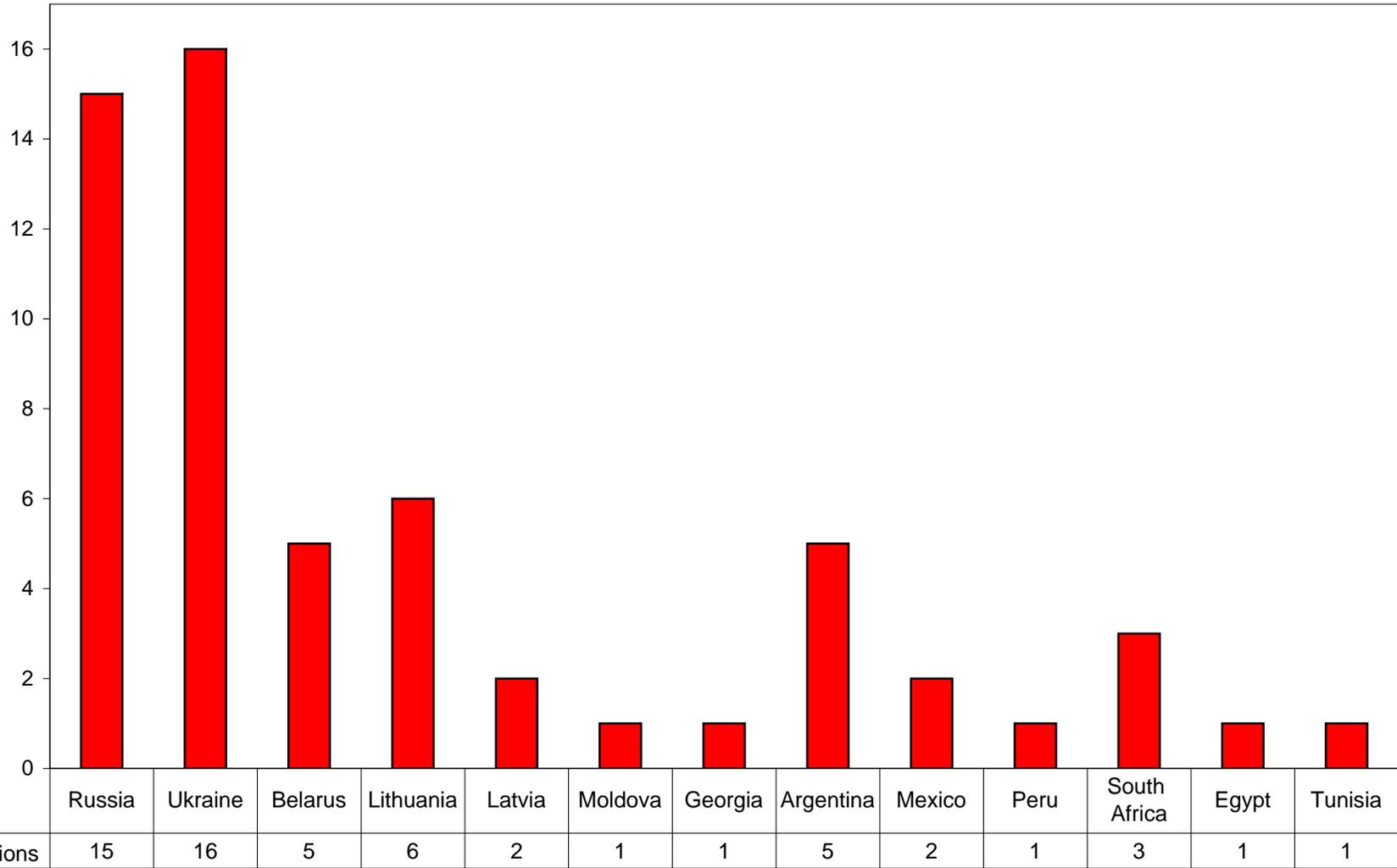
Major Violent Incidents in 2011 - Breakdown by Country (1)



Major Violent Incidents in 2011 - Breakdown by Country (2)



Major Violent Incidents in 2011 - Breakdown by Country (3)



סקירת המגמות העיקריות בשנת 2011

בשנת 2011 נמשכו ואף התגברו כמה מן מביטוייה העיקריים של האנטישמיות בימינו, ובייחוד הטרדות והסתה, הכוללות איומים מילוליים, עלבונות, והתנהגות פוגעת, כמו גם ההפצה של מסרים אנטישמיים, לעתים כחלק מהסתה אנטי-ציונית ואנטי-ישראלית. לעומת זאת, מספר המקרים האלימים – הכוללים תקיפה עם נשק ובלעדיו, ונדלזים ואיומים ישירים – ירד, אם כי לא בכל מקום באותה המידה, בעיקר בכמה ארצות שבהן מתגוררות קהילות יהודיות גדולות, כמו בריטניה, צרפת וקנדה. בארצות אחרות נשאר מספר המקרים האלימים כמעט זהה, ובאחרות עלה מספרם.

- בשנים האחרונות התחזקה באופן דרמטי תופעת הטרדות וההצקות כלפי יהודים בחלקים שונים של העולם. זו מתרחשת יום-יום בייחוד במערב אירופה, ברחוב, במקומות ציבוריים ולעתים קרובות ליד בתי ספר ומוסדות קהילתיים יהודיים. היא מופנית בעיקר כלפי מי שנראים יהודים מבחינת לבושם, הכיפה שעל ראשם וסימנים מזהים אחרים, כמו מגן דוד. רבים מהנפגעים הם ילדים ובני נוער הלומדים בבתי ספר יהודים וכלליים. יש לציין שבכמה ארצות כמו צרפת, אנגליה וקנדה השתפרו מאד שיטות המעקב והדיווח, בעוד שבארצות אחרות מערכות כאלה אינן קיימות כלל או שאינן יעילות דיין, ולפיכך ניתן להניח שרבים ממקרי הטרדה וההצקה אינם מדווחים, ושהמספר הממשי שלהם גבוה יותר.

- בכמה ארצות שבהן מתגוררות קהילות יהודיות גדולות יחסית, כמו בצרפת, אנגליה וקנדה, הייתה בשנת 2011 ירידה אם כי לא באופן אחיד, במספר התקיפות האלימות בהשוואה ל-2010. לירידה במספרן בשלוש ארצות אלה, שבהן נרשמו 63% מכלל התקיפות האלימות בעולם ב-2011 (105 באנגליה, 114 בצרפת, ו-68 בקנדה) הייתה השפעה ברורה על הסטטיסטיקה של המקרים האלימים בעולם כולו, ובסך הכול הם ירדו ב-2011 ב-27% בהשוואה ל-2010 (446 לעומת 614, אין עדיין נתונים מלאים של מספרי האירועים האלימים בארה"ב).

אפשר להצביע על כמה גורמים אפשריים לירידה באלימות: האחד הוא העדרו של עימות אלים בין ישראל לפלשתינאים, הגורם בדרך כלל להחרפה ניכרת באירועי אלימות נגד יהודים בעולם, כמו בזמן משט המרמרה ב-2010 ובעיקר בעת אירועי מבצע "עופרת יצוקה" ב-2009 הסבר אפשרי נוסף הוא שחלק ניכר מן הפעילות האלימה של הימין הקיצוני הופנה בשנה החולפת כלפי מוסלמים, צוענים וקבוצות מהגרים ומיעוטים אחרות. ייתכן גם שאירועי "האביב הערבי" והשלכותיו העסיקו את הצעירים המוסלמים באירופה. עוד יש לומר שמספר גדל והולך של יהודים, כיחידים ובמסגרת הקהילות, הצליחו להביא לדין תוקפים ומסיתים, והגישו תלונות ישירות למשטרות המקומיות או באמצעות גופי מעקב וזכויות אדם. בנוסף, גופים ממשלתיים ואזרחיים הגבירו מאד את מאמציהם לקדם חקיקה לאומית, אזורית ובינלאומית, ולפתח תכניות חינוכיות וכלים ציבוריים כדי להיאבק בקסנופוביה ובגזענות, ובאנטישמיות בכלל זה.

למרות הירידה במספר האירועים האנטישמיים האלימים, יש לציין שהנתונים הסטטיסטיים שנאספו בשנים האחרונות מראים שרמת האלימות נגד יהודים נשארה גבוהה. יתרה מזו, יהודים נפלו קורבן למקרים שרמת האלימות בהם החמירה, כמו רצח שאירע בשוויץ, או ניסיון – שנמנע – של התקפת טרור על בית כנסת בניו-יורק. בצרפת במיוחד עלתה חומרת האלימות בהשוואה ל-2010, ובכמה מקרים נזקקו הנתקפים לאשפוז. במזרח אירופה ובארצות הבלטיות, כמו ליטא, למשל, נמשכו ואף התגברו מקרים של חילול בתי קברות ובייחוד של אתרי זיכרון. אלה נבעו מפעילותו של הימין הקיצוני, מהסתה אנטישמית ומן הוויכוח על תשלום פיצויים לקהילות היהודיות על הרכוש שנגזל בשואה.

ניתן לחלק את מבצעייהן של התקיפות האלימות ושל ההטרדות למיניהן באופן כללי לשתי קבוצות אתניות ואידיאולוגיות: מוסלמים צעירים, לרוב ממשפחות מהגרים, וגזענים מן הימין הקיצוני. הם אינם בהכרח חברים בארגונים מסוימים, למרות שלרוב הם מזדהים עם האידיאולוגיה והמטרות של קבוצות רדיקליות, כמו תנועות אסלאמיסטיות או ימניות קיצוניות. הם גם מושפעים ממסרים אנטישמיים ומאווירה אנטי-ישראלית קשה שיוצרים חוגי שמאל רדיקלי וגם אישים המזוהים עם השיח המרכזי בחברה.

המרחב הקיברנטי, על שלל האתרים, הרשתות החברתיות והבלוגים שבו, נעשה למוליך המרכזי של גזענות ושנאת זרים בכלל ושל אנטישמיות בפרט. הסתה אנטישמית, שנאה כלפי יהודים, ישראל והציונות מתמזגים במקרים רבים במרחב זה למסר אחיד. ב-2011, כמו בשנים שקדמו לה, בלטה ההאשמה שכוח יהודי עולמי עומד כביכול מאחורי כל אירוע משמעותי בעולם, הוא עומד לשרותה של ישראל ללא תנאי, והיא מצדה קושרת קשרים וזוממת מהלכים יחד עם הקהילות היהודיות בעולם. האשמה נוספת, שרווחה ב-2011 בעיקר בין אנטישמים במזרח אירופה וגם באזורים אחרים בעולם, היא שהיהודים שולטים בכלכלה העולמית ולפיכך הם האחראים כביכול למשבר הכלכלי העולמי. האשמות אלה הועלו על ידי גורמים אידיאולוגיים שונים, לעתים גם מנוגדים זה לזה: הימין הקיצוני, קבוצות איסלאמיסטיות ושמאל רדיקלי אנטי-ציוני. במקביל הן נשזרות, בצורה עקיפה ומתוחכמת יותר בנאומים, התבטאויות ופרסומים המזוהים עם הזרם המרכזי.

הדמוניזציה של ישראל בתעמולה האנטי-ישראלית הקיצונית, הדה-לגיטימציה של זכותה להתקיים כמדינתו של העם היהודי, הוקעתה כישות גזענית, והניסיונות להחרים את מוסדותיה וארגוניה – כל אלה נחשבים לביטויים אנטישמיים, לא רק בעיני קהילות וארגונים יהודיים, אלא גם מוגדרים כך בהגדרת העבודה הבינלאומית של האנטישמיות שהתקבלה ב-2005 על ידי האיחוד האירופי. התוצאה היא עלייה בעימותים שבין פעילים יהודים לבין יחידים וקבוצות הנמנים על השמאל הרדיקלי, בהם גם יהודים בעלי השקפת עולם רדיקלית, הדוחים מצדם את

באירופה בכללה ניכרה ב-2011 התחזקות משמעותית ועלייה בפעילותו של הימין הקיצוני, על רקע המשבר הכלכלי, שאלת ההגירה, יחסי רוב ומיעוט, ומשבר הרב-תרבותיות. במזרח אירופה ובמערבה ניכרה מעורבותן של קבוצות נאו-נאציות וימניות קיצוניות בפשעי שנאה חמורים כלפי מהגרים, עובדים זרים ומיעוטים אתניים. במזרח אירופה מפלגות ימניות קיצוניות כמו יוביק בהונגריה – היום המפלגה השלישית בגודלה בפרלמנט, וסבבודה, שזכתה להצלחה ניכרת בעיקר באוקראינה, מסיתות באופן גלוי לאנטישמיות, ואילו במערבה מנהיגים של מפלגות כאלה נזהרים שלא להיות מזוהים עם ביטויים ומעשים אנטישמיים, וגם מצהירים על תמיכתם בישראל. הקהילות היהודיות המובילות מרחיקות את עצמן בעקביות מכל קשר עם השיח הגזעני של המפלגות האלה, ומצביעות על הסכנות הטמונות בו ובהתנגדותו לערכים הליברליים.

ההתפתחויות סביב "האביב הערבי" לא הניבו שום סימנים לשינוי חיובי או התמתנות בהסתה האנטי-ציונית במזרח התיכון. נהפוך הוא – השיח האנטישמי נעשה אף יותר קיצוני מאשר בעבר. המוטיב הבולט ביותר, שחזר על עצמו בכל המדינות מפי תומכי ההפיכות ומתנגדיהן כאחד היה האשמת ישראל, היהודים והציונות בקשירת קשר נגד הערבים והמוסלמים, וליבוי מתחים בין הקבוצות הפוליטיות והאתניות. למרות זאת נשמעו כמה קולות אמיצים של עיתונאים ושל צעירים מצרים וירדנים ואחרים שגיננו את תופעת האנטישמיות, את ההסתה במסגדים ואת יחסם של הכוחות העולים בזירה הפוליטית הערבית, בייחוד אלה שהדת במרכז עולמם, כלפי מיעוטים, ויהודים בכלל זה.

הפקולטה למדעי הרוח ע"ש לסטר וסאלי אנטיין

מרכז קנטור לחקר יהדות אירופה בימינו
המאגר לחקר האנטישמיות והגזענות בימינו ע"ש משה קנטור

אנטישמיות בעולם

2011

נתונים והערכות

הקונגרס היהודי האירופי



היחידה לחקר סובלנות ואי סובלנות במזרח התיכון ע"ש זאב ורד, המכון לחקר
האנטישמיות והגזענות בימינו ע"ש סטפן רוט