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Moshe Kantor Database for the Study of Contemporary
Antisemitism and Racism

Antisemitism Worldwide 2016

General Analysis
Draft



European Jewish Congress

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Hebrew Summary

These country reports and others will be available at the Kantor Center's website:
<http://kantorcenter.tau.ac.il/>.

Worldwide Tendencies and Developments in Antisemitism, 2016

The report is based on the ongoing Kantor Center for the study of Contemporary European Jewry and the Moshe Kantor Database team's work, and on the various reports and data sent to us by contact persons in about 40 countries – a network we established during more than 20 years of activity. It should be noted that The Kantor Center and database is the only center, in Israel and abroad, that monitors and analyzes the events and expressions worldwide, according to the same criteria, over such a long period of time that make a multi-year comparison possible. Despite the work of the team and the network we cannot say that all the relevant data on antisemitic manifestations has reached us, because in many countries monitoring is not consistent or systematic, and because – as all monitoring agencies agree – only a fraction of all manifestations is reported to authorities.

The data and numbers presented herein on violent antisemitic cases are the result of a specific monitoring and analysis system developed by the Kantor Center team, using specific criteria: proven antisemitic motivation; counting a multi-event as one case; and no exaggeration or diminishing the severity of the situation. As a result, differences might occur between our numbers and those released by other monitoring communities and institutes. Most of the other various monitoring communities and agencies present numbers of all types of antisemitic manifestations put together, violent, verbal and visual.

We are aware of the necessity to exercise proportion: antisemitism cannot be separated from the general picture. In the U.K. for instance, tens of thousands incidences of hate speech and hate crime cases were monitored, as compared to a few hundred against the Jewish community: the extremist anti-minorities groups target all those considered by them as "outsiders", not each of them separately, a phenomenon termed by researchers as "Group-based Hostility". Therefore there is no understanding of antisemitism without a solid background knowledge of the political, economic and social developments in any given country and in the international arena.

The following are a number of main tendencies and developments:

- Antisemitic Incidents and Manifestations.
- Immigration and the Extreme Right.
- Reactions of Jewish Communities.

Achievements in the Struggle against Antisemitism:

- The Working Definition of Antisemitism
- BDS movements.
- Declarations of leaders and their impact.

- 1) Antisemitic incidents and manifestations in 2016 reflect two parallel yet contradicting trends: one is the continuance of a notable decrease in the number of incidents, especially the violent ones, in most countries, mainly in several central ones, in which a large Jewish population resides. The other trend is the continuation of the widespread increase, sometimes dramatic, in verbal and visual antisemitism on social media and during demonstrations, in insults, harassments and threats hurled at people, that cannot be quantified: the internet constitutes originally a virtual reality, but has become today's reality and the main platform for the distribution of bigotry and hate, in abusive unleashed language.

Therefore, even if the number of violent cases decreased, the prevalent feeling among Jews - individuals as well as communities - is an ominous one, and constitutes the most worrisome finding.

In the year 2016 the numbers of antisemitic violence dropped by 12%, from 410 in 2015 to 361, according to the data and criteria of the Kantor Center.

The decrease in the number of antisemitic incidents of all types put together, violent and non-violent alike, as monitored and published by communities and governmental agencies, is mostly evident in France, where the minister of the interior, Bernard Cazeneuve, recently announced a decrease in all form of antisemitism of 61%, and of 52% of anti-Muslim incidents. The CNCDH (the National consultative Commission of Human Rights) in France found that despite the fear of Islamist terrorism, there is an improvement in the attitudes to Moslems, and hence the decrease in cases against Moslems; in Belgium a decrease of 60% of all forms of antisemitic manifestations was registered; in the U.K. an increase of 11% in general was noted, yet it included a 13% decrease of the violent cases, and 11% decrease in vandalism.; in Germany official sources pointed to a decrease from 740 cases in 2015 to 644 in 2016, yet a non-governmental monitoring agency reached higher numbers, especially in Berlin, where a rise of 16% was monitored. In the Ukraine the numbers were the lowest in a long while, and in most other countries worldwide the numbers vary from 1 to 10. The only exception is Australia, with a 10% general rise, which includes 36% rise in vandalism and 33% of ace-to-face attacks. The campuses across the U.S. continued to be a hotbed for antisemitism: 45% increase in antisemitism of all forms, especially harassments and insults.

Among the reasons for the decrease in the number of violent cases, one should first mention the improved security measures to protect the population in general, and the heavy presence of soldiers and police. In France, a total of 10,000 soldiers are surveying the streets, mostly in Paris, and 800 Jewish installations are under permanent protection. Also, there is a change in the *modus operandi* of the intelligence services, that increased the level of their surveillance of extremist groups and at border crossings, are trying harder to limit the freedom of preaching violence, and strengthened the international cooperation among them. This *modus operandi* has become more central following the Brexit, the U.K.'s decision to leave the EU, and the closer inspection it exercises in its borders. Substantial budgets are allocated specifically for the security of the Jewish communities (1.3 million pounds in the UK, for instance). In addition, more and more Jews avoid appearing in public spaces with identifying attributes such as Yarmulke, Star of David, etc. It is possible that as a result of all these measures, the decrease is evident in the following numbers, analyzed by the Kantor Center team: the use of weapons (10 cases in 2016, 24 in 2015) and arson (1, and 10 in 2015), attacks on Jewish private and public property decreased, while cemeteries and memorials, that do not enjoy such security, continue to be targets: close to 100 cemeteries and memorial sites were attacked, same as in 2015, in comparison to 27 community centers and schools (34 in 2015). There were 107 attacks on Jewish individuals, still a disturbingly high number (though 157 in 2015, 306 in 2014). Despite all the efforts and measures, Lone Wolf sporadic knifing, hiring of trucks and the production of homemade Molotov cocktails is almost unpredictable, and hence cannot be prevented.

In addition, the wave of more than a million and a quarter of refugees that reached Europe in 2015, most of whom are Muslims from the Middle East, Africa and Afghanistan, diverted the attention of the extreme-right from the Jewish communities to this, in their opinion, dangerous wave, both in reality and on the social networks. In 2016 the number of the

newcomers was just a bit lower than in 2015 – and so altogether, according to the European Union, more than two and a half million refugees entered Europe during 2015-2016, most of whom, a 1.7 million landed in Germany, and the fear of the impact of the newcomers is still lingering, and the term "Immigration Resistance" caught ground.

Another possible reason for the decrease is the growing fear in Europe of terror cells originating in extremist Islamist circles that have been present - active or dormant - in Europe before the current immigrants' wave, or of those trained by ISIS and sent back to their countries of origin, or are inspired by it. Among those who resort to terrorist means are second and third generation of immigrants, who were already born in Europe and are well integrated, yet wish to avenge the wrong done, as they feel, to the first generation. Improved surveillance of radical groups and movement has also contributed to the decrease in violence against Jews.

2016, similarly to 2015, was also a year that witnessed a sharp decrease in the number of violent incidents; there was no military confrontation between Israel and her neighbors from the north and south. Still, it should be strongly emphasized that more and more anti-Zionist manifestations, slanders and accusations are being expressed in abusive antisemitic motifs and tones. A Bielefeld university survey concluded that about a quarter of the German population express their criticism of Israel in antisemitic language.

This fear that more terror is impending opened perhaps an opportunity to sympathize with, or at least express sympathy for the Jewish communities and for Israel, and, one can perhaps hope for a different attitude to terror experienced by Jews and Israelis during the last decades. Indeed it seems that during the last two years the relations between Jews and Christians have strengthened on both the communal-social level and the religious-theological level, and that the number of related encounters and activities has grown. The relations between Muslims and Christians are now at center stage, and there were already many cases of attacks on Muslims, centers for immigrants were set on fire and cemeteries and even mosques were desecrated.

Another survey found that the number of attacks on Muslim sites in Germany has grown three fold, about 3000 compared to a 1000 last year, and an increase in the number of such cases has been monitored in other countries as well. A comprehensive Pew survey that analyzed 11,500 questionnaires in 10 European countries in the summer of 2016, found that negative attitudes towards Roma and Muslims amount to around an average of 50%, compared to a median of 16% towards Jews, and concluded: "Negative attitudes towards Jews are much less common". Of course, there are differences: in Hungary, Poland and especially in Greece, attitudes towards Jews are worse, while in the UK, France and Germany – less than 10% of the population hold negative views.

To summarize this point: in 2016, while there was no case of murder motivated by antisemitism, and Jews were killed together with non-Jewish victims, in multi-cases such as in the French theatre Bataclan or the trucks that stormed into the festive audience in Nice and Berlin. Recently violent incidents have decreased significantly yet they became more brutal, killing and injuring many, especially those defined as terrorist attacks, as was witnessed in Paris, Brussels, Copenhagen, Nice and Berlin. Cruelty and violence have always had a certain appeal, as they offer a taste of danger and anti-establishment activity, which the social networks foster and disseminate. Even though the networks are, as said, but a tool and a virtual reality, they have become the major means for an easy and swift transfer of messages and an actual reality, first and foremost for youngsters. Indeed, some of the perpetrators caught by the authorities on the ground turn out to be hooligan teenagers, inspired by the nets,

void of any ideology or direction and deeply bored. A survey of Europol found a high percentage of such teenagers with criminal background, imbued with the feeling they are marginalized and discriminated against.

The discourse on the internet has become more and more threatening, cruel and violent; it escalates the real situation on the ground and inflates it a hundred times in no time at all. Consequently, a growing part of the monitoring work is conducted in the networks that reflect hate towards Jews as well as other minorities, and the importance of this difficult work is increasing; moreover, there is no contradiction between the Pew survey and the harsh findings on the internet: the Pew survey was conducted among the ideologically non-identified population at large, while the nets reflect the activists, from the extreme right and left and the radical Muslims, and from individual extremists, of every hue. A World Jewish Congress research found that an antisemitic message was posted every 83 seconds in the world at large in 2016, most of the in Twitter. The messages were defined according to the Working Definition of Antisemitism as adopted by the IHRA, the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, in May 2016.

2) The immigration waves and the strengthening of the extreme right.

It seems that the new immigrants have not increased the level of antisemitism by acts they initiated, even if they came from countries in which intensive anti-Jewish propaganda could have become part of their worldview. The new immigrants are busy surviving, finding ways to make a living, acquiring languages and orientation in a new environment and culture. The perpetrators continue to be the radical circles of the previous Muslim immigrants as well as the extreme right. The increase of 16% in antisemitic manifestations in Berlin, for instance, was not attributed to the newcomers, despite the fact that most of the physical attacks of Jews are perpetrated by Muslims, and the desecrations of cemeteries and monuments are most probably done by the far right and hooligans. Violence perpetrated by the extreme left remained low. However, the presence of the immigrants has an indirect influence: the strengthening of the extreme right is not necessarily accompanied by stronger public antisemitic statements, yet they are part of the generally growing atmosphere of xenophobia and populism, which has a constant potential of becoming antisemitic. The concern expressed in liberal circles is that such an atmosphere is endangering democratic values in Europe, alongside concern about the strengthening of extreme right-wing parties (that tend to cooperate when antisemitism is at stake.) The more the refugee crisis mounts, or at least continues, the more violent the discourse towards the immigrants becomes as well as the actual damage to them, and to other minority groups in general.

Important political changes, such as the Brexit and the election of Donald Trump as the President of the U.S., are also not connected directly to antisemitism, yet they publicly exposed former groups and individuals with nationalistic, separatist and xenophobic views, who were waiting for the opportunity. Still, it is not yet clear what their actual impact will be, and analysts assume that the very fear of Brexit and the "Trump effect" may bring about a certain mitigation in the public support of the extreme right.

Can it be said that Europe is moving to the right? Is the fear of globalization and of losing economic advantages the main reason for voting for the right-wing populist parties, or is it the personal attitude towards immigration and the distrust of existing administrations? In Germany, the spokesperson of a monitoring organization clarified that the immigrants are not responsible for the increase in public antisemitism in the country, but rather the right-wing

movements, such as Pegida. The leaders of these movements, even while being more engaged in issues concerning the refugees, continue to make antisemitic statements, including claims that the Jews caused the increase in the growing number of immigrants and that they control the economy and media and use them for their own purposes. The Alternative for Germany (AfD) party gained a quarter of the votes in the general elections immediately after its establishment just a few years ago, and a number of scholars who surveyed contemporary antisemitism in Germany concluded that antisemitism had been deeply rooted, well before these movements came into being, not only in the margins of society, but among large segments of the middle classes.

In France (National Front), in the Netherlands (the Freedom Party), in Greece (the Golden Dawn), in Hungary (Jobbik), the Swedish democrats, the Freedom Party in Austria (even though it lost in the presidential elections), the Slovak People's Party (anti-Rome), and Poland's Law and Justice Party (the largest party in the parliament) – all strengthened their influence recently and are striving to gain power and political achievements in their countries. Representatives of rightist movements from Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Finland, Ireland, Switzerland and the U.K. established what they call Fortress Europe Coalition, a nationalist net that opposes both Islam and the current administrations. Some of the leaders, such as Marine Le Pen, are trying to renounce antisemitic statements or to distinguish between the attitude towards Israel and those towards the Jewish citizens, and see Israel as a potential ally against a common enemy – Islam – but are not really concerned about the wellbeing of Jews or of Israel: there are declarations of leaders on the one hand, and on the other there is intensive antisemitic activity, popular among these parties' supporters.

3) The Reaction of the Jewish Communities.

The decrease in the number of violent incidents is not reflected by a feeling of security among the Jewish communities. On the contrary: the presence of the police and soldiers and the strengthening of various means of protection is of course welcome as an urgent necessity, and as an essential means against terror in general, however it also contributes to the prevailing anxiety: if those measures are necessary then there is a reason to worry.

Even though the wave of immigrants, most of whom come from countries with traditional antisemitic and anti-Israeli ideology is not the source (at least for now) of an increase in antisemitism, it does bring the Jews, both individuals and communities, to rethink the possibility of Jewish existence in the continent, that is turning gradually into a stormy environment. In addition, the decrease in the number of violent incidents does not compensate for the ongoing increase in verbal and visual antisemitism and the hostile atmosphere. In parallel, as descendants of a nation that knows what it is to be a refugee, the Jewish communities feel they must reach out to them. And so the Jewish communities found themselves between the hammer and the anvil.

4) Achievements in the Struggle against Antisemitism.

Despite the generally bleak picture, of abuses, threats and insults within social media, and disseminated by extremist groups, progress is being made, and a number of achievements during 2016 might be a source for hope.

The Working Definition of Antisemitism

The WDA, a joint effort of scholars and organizations initiated by the EUMC (European Union Monitoring Center) and adopted in 2005, as a practical tool for identifying antisemitism and antisemitism disguised as anti-Zionism, was included in the FRA's website (Fundamental Rights Agency, that replaced the EUMC) and deleted abruptly in 2013. Since then, individuals and institutes have done their best to reinstate it, and this year a number of achievements changed the situation. In May 2016, the IHRA, the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, an independent organization encompassing 31 states, adopted the WDA unanimously. Prof. Dina Porat actively participated in the deliberations in Bucharest, and in the final wording. Since then the adoption of the WDA was recommended in a UNESCO conference in Paris, in November; was debated a week later in the OSCE and was almost adopted – 56 state members were in favor, yet Russia objected, and the necessary consensus was not reached; it was adopted publicly in December by Ms. Theresa May, the UK prime minister, as a national measure against antisemitism and it already became a platform for action: a number of universities cancelled the Apartheid Week, claiming it contradicts the WDA. The US senate approved the "Antisemitism Awareness Act", as a tool against the rampant antisemitism on campuses, based on a WDA adopted earlier by the State Department. The Senate's decision started a heated controversy, since the WDA has always been non-legally binding, and turning it into a legislation would arguably violate the freedom of speech. The Israeli government adopted the WDA in its special session on International Holocaust Memorial Day this January.

The BDS movements faced a number of setbacks, that already began in 2015: In Germany, Angela Merkel's party declared it antisemitic; in Spain, half of the almost 50 municipalities that supported the BDS reversed their decision; in the US, 14 states passed laws against BDS; in Italy, universities cancelled Israel Apartheid Week claiming it contradicts laws against discrimination, and financing for BDS activities was cancelled in Switzerland, France and Germany. Still, in campuses across the U.S. and Canada the BDS movements, coupled by human-rights NGOs and committed pro-Palestinian activists, have a destructive potential.

The efforts to regulate and limit hate speech on social media, via the central internet intermediaries - Google, Twitter, Youtube, Microsoft and Facebook, have begun to bear fruit. Katharina von Schnurbein, the EC coordinator on combating antisemitism, reached a number of agreements with internet intermediaries regarding the means to identify antisemitic expressions and take them off the internet as swiftly as possible, within 24 hours. The EU commissioner Vera Jourova went a step further and managed to have the main internet intermediaries agree on a "Community Code of Conduct", according to which they are committed to indeed identify and delete hateful messages as soon as possible. So far, few of them have managed to carry out half of this mission, and there is still a long way to go.

The Kantor Center issued two brochures, written by Adv. Talia Naamat and Elena Pesina, one that pin points the present legal measures against the BDS, and the other that explores the means to limit and regulate online hate speech, and both became a tool in these fields. And finally, a number of major world leaders, from the Pope to Angela Merkel, from Theresa May to Antonio Guterres, made unequivocal statements regarding the need to eradicate antisemitism, fully understanding that antisemitism is a reflection of social and political problems, and that bigotry and xenophobia are not even the other side of the same coin.

Prof. Dina Porat, and the Kantor Center team

The Post-Soviet Region / Irena Cantorovich

As in previous years, 2016 was a very tense year in the post-Soviet region. The ongoing political conflict between Russia and the West around the conduct of the former in its conflict with Ukraine continued to affect the entire region in all possible aspects.

There is a decrease in the number of incidents, but it must be noted that the number of incidents in the post-Soviet region does not reflect the real situation, because many incidents are not being reported at all. In contrast to the West, the region continued to be characterized by a relatively low number of physical assaults against Jews. Nevertheless, Jewish institutions and facilities continued to be major targets. In addition, we can point out a difference between antisemitism in Russia and Ukraine: while Russia is characterized by verbal-propagandist antisemitism, Ukraine is characterized by attacks on Jewish facilities without any adequate response from the authorities and law enforcement agencies, use of antisemitic content for political interests and "indirect antisemitism" by glorifying WWII nationalist underground movements and leaders.

Russia

In Russia, antisemitic propaganda continued to be the most common type of antisemitism. There were of course several violent incidents, but most of the antisemitism came from the media and public figures. "Old" antisemitic propaganda is very common: blaming the Jews for all of Russia's misfortunes and crises, the communist revolution in 1917, the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, etc. In addition, there is a tendency to depict organizations that are known for their antisemitic views, such as the Black Hundreds, as acting for the benefit of the public, without mentioning their antisemitic activity.

The activity of the pro-Western opposition was described as foreign to the national Russian spirit, and the alleged Jewish origin of its leaders was mentioned frequently. On 28 April, during an event of human rights organizations in Moscow, a picket was held under the slogan "let's save the Jewish children from the liberalism danger". On 12 June, a St. Petersburg opposition activist was attacked and the attackers shouted antisemitic insults at him.

Another issue with an antisemitic connection is the situation in Ukraine. Russian media is constantly dealing with the character of the new leaders of Ukraine. On the one hand, they are depicted as Jewish, while on the other hand, the idea that fascists and antisemites govern Ukraine is being repeated again and again.

The written and electronic media play a central role in the incitement of antisemitism in Russia. The most circulated newspaper, *Komsolokskaya Pravda*, the RT News Network (and especially its TV channel in English) continued to be a main stage for virulent antisemitic and anti-Israeli propaganda. For example, after the Saron terror attack in Tel Aviv on 9 June, the RT website quickly published an article titled "Orthodox Jews committed mass murder in central Tel Aviv". The title was later changed. On 27 June, RT blamed Israel for blocking Palestinian water sources following a request by Rabbis. RT ignored the fact that a few days earlier the Palestinian authorities themselves denied such rumors.

In the field of combating antisemitism there was no change in Russia. While the judicial system continued to give suspended sentences or fines to distributors of antisemitic materials on the Internet (especially in social networks), more serious antisemitic incidents (physical and verbal violence) got almost no response at all.

Ukraine

In Ukraine, we can point to three main antisemitic phenomena in 2016: desecration of Jewish facilities, using antisemitism for political needs, and praising WWII nationalist underground while ignoring its role in the murder of Jews in Ukraine as well as in other places.

Several Jewish facilities are a constant target for desecration in the last years and the authorities do not do anything to prevent or stop this: the Babi Yar memorial site in Kiev, the Mourning Mother site in Poltava, mass graves in Vladimir Volynskii, places of burial of Rabbis in Kolomyia and in Shpola. The recurrent desecrations in Kolomyia may be connected to the public and local authorities' objection to the request of the Jewish community to receive possession over the ancient Jewish cemetery, which was converted by the authorities to a public park.

Another trend is using antisemitism for political goals. Pro-Russian activists describe the country's leaders as Jews to whom the best interests of Ukraine are foreign and they think only about how to satisfy their own greediness. The President, former PM and current PM (who is a Jew and does not conceal this fact), Parliament speaker, party leaders – all were blamed for concealing their Jewish origin. Events in February 2016 on the second anniversary of the 2004 revolution contained antisemitic shouting, including incitement for violence against Jews.

Several physical attacks on Jews took place during 2016. However, we must stress that it is not clear whether those incidents were proper antisemitic or they were criminal incidents that got an antisemitic twist during the incident itself after the perpetrators understood that their victim is Jewish.

Another very disturbing trend in Ukraine is "indirect antisemitism": glorification of the Ukrainian nationalist movement that operated both in Ukraine and in other places during the Nazi occupation, and among other things, its members took part in the Nazi antisemitic propaganda and actual murder of Jews. This trend is part of the struggle against the Soviet legacy and the attempt to dismiss the Russian influence in the country, as well as a result of the approval by the Ukrainian Parliament in 2015 of a series of laws in effect comparing the period of Communist rule with the Nazi occupation. One of the peaks of this trend is seen around the events of the 75th anniversary of the murder in Babi Yar, when Ukrainian State agencies, especially the National Institute of Historical Memory, demanded and placed memorial plaques to Ukrainian nationalists who were shot by the Germans there. Of course, there was no mentioning of the participation of those nationalists in distribution of the Nazi antisemitic propaganda and the atrocities against Jews. In addition, we cannot ignore the Ukrainian's angry reaction after Israeli President Reuven Rivlin mentioned in his speech at the Ukrainian parliament the role of the Ukrainians in the murder of Jews.

In the other countries of the region, several incidents were recorded, similar to previous years: a small number of violent incidents, a few antisemitic statements and a discourse about the Holocaust and the role of the locals in the atrocities against the Jews, especially in the Baltic States and Moldova.

Like every year, the tension between Israel and the Palestinians triggered anti-Israeli and antisemitic statements, mostly in Russia, by the same people as in previous years: Maxim Shevchenko, Alexander Prokhanov, Geydar Dzhemal and Israel Shamir.

Latin America / Lidia Lerner

Argentina

According to the Center for Social Studies of the DAIA (the political representation of Argentina's Jewish community), antisemitism in Argentina during the year 2016 was more or less similar to the year before. Out of the approximately 360 complaints filed during the year, more than 60% took place online. Every time the Jewish community appears in the media, an increase of antisemitic comments is generated online. There also special dates and months in which antisemitic events go up, such as the anniversary of the AMIA bomb attack; Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur; and whenever news arises concerning the Jewish community. Some examples of antisemitic posts:

"Jews are the number one racists and discriminators, who in order to distract, victimize themselves all the time with so-called antisemitism. The Jews marry among themselves and raise their children in such a closed way ...".

"I am Nazi of soul and heart. I regret the death of the Fuehrer. I wish I had known him, I would give anything for his moustache, his clothes, his hat, his personality and a Nazi sign, long life Nazis and Adolf Hitler."

A subject which aroused concern among Jewish and other civil organizations is the rise of interest in the "Nazi footprint" in Argentina. This interest is expressed in various forms, such as tours to places where Nazi leaders are believed to have taken refuge after WW II, sale of books on Nazi subjects including Mein Kampf, sale of Nazi objects, etc. There were recurring cases of graffiti depicting swastikas and other Nazi symbols

A serious incident took place in August in the resort town of Bariloche, when a fight broke out between students from a German school in Buenos Aires, who attended a party wearing swastikas and Hitler moustaches, and a group of Jewish students. The Ministry of Education and other officials intervened and prepared an educational agenda. During the same month antisemitic graffiti was discovered in a secondary school in the city of Santa Fe. There were also several reports of antisemitic verbal abuse of hospitalized patients by the health care staff.

This year, like its predecessor, was also marked by the murder of Special Prosecutor Alberto Nisman and accusations against former President Cristina Kirchner and her ties with Iran. The case sharpened the level of antisemitic remarks every time it was cited in the media.

There is no high level of antisemitic violence in Argentina compared to the situation in some European countries.

Brazil¹

Although the level of antisemitism in Brazil is not high, several incidents were recorded in 2016.

The diplomatic row between the Israel and Brazil over Israel's appointment of former settler leader Dani Dayan as ambassador to Brasilia gave rise to anti-Israeli and antisemitic discourse. In January, Janio de Freitas, a senior editor for the influential Brazilian newspaper Folha de S. Paulo, claimed that "the cordial coexistence granted here to the Jewish community is threatened" if Brazilian Jews express opinions about disagreements between Brazil and Israel.

There were cases of antisemitic graffiti. Three swastikas were painted on the walls of Copacabana, the most populated area of Rio, with the largest number of Jewish institutions, in May, weeks before the opening of the Olympics. An anonymous antisemitic poster without any identification, was nailed to a post on Rua Augusta in São Paulo. The poster features the Nazi-style caricature of a "Jew" with a wad of cash in hand and the caption: "With Jews you lose."

In July, the Brazilian ABC Federal University, in the Sao Paulo metro area, released a public notice saying it is seeking a teacher of "racial-ethnic relations" who must include in the curricula the subject "connections of whiteness and racist regimes: apartheid, Nazism, Zionism." In a meeting with the president of the Brazilian Israelite Confederation, the minister of education, Mendonca Filho, said he was "surprised and upset" by the ABC Federal notice, adding that the case was "absurd". The rector, Klaus Kapelle, personally apologized to the President of Jewish Organizations in Brazil.

The Rio Jewish federation filed a criminal suit against Vermelho, a far-left news portal, for publishing an article blaming Jews for the suspension of President Dilma Rousseff. The article, posted in May 2016, alleged that Israel, through its proxies, controls the country's three most important sectors: defense, intelligence and the central bank, and was involved in her suspension.

In Niterói (RJ), a group inspired by the American organization Klu Klux Klan spread posters with threats to "communists, gays, Jews, Muslims, antifascists, anarchists, blacks. The group, which calls itself "Imperial Klans of America Brazil," says it will "keep an eye" and will respond with violence against "any act of aggression on Brazilian soil."

There are over 300 cells on the Internet that advocate Nazism and encourage adherence to the ideals of Adolf Hitler and his followers. The cells are distributed throughout the country, predominantly in the States of the South Region. Brazilian neo-Nazis and antsemites proliferate on Facebook, which censors erotic posts but does not censor Nazi propaganda. An example: Ari Meneghini, 1,257 friends, defender of Hitler and the "white European race" threatened by "Jews, Communists and immigrants".

¹ Partly based on a report by Luiz Nazario, Brazil.

Mexico / Renée Dayan Shabot

Although antisemitism is not a constant trend in Mexico, as a result of national and international dynamics and influences, it is present in Mexican society. As in previous years, the dynamic of the Israeli-Arab conflict has had a major impact on the mass media and social networks.

	Total
Incidents	
Graffiti (swastikas, flags, flyers, etc.)	25
Verbal aggressions or threats	1
Total	26
Incidents on Radio and TV	
Radio	1
TV	1
Total	2
Incidents on Internet and Social Network	
Facebook	
Negative posts	1
Posts that generated negative comments	2
Twitter	
Cases that generated antisemitic tweets	4
Tweets that generated antisemitic comments	4
Offensive tweets	3
Trending topics	1
Blogs, web pages	
Blogs	2
Web pages	1
Articles that generated negative comments	15
Videos	
YouTube	2
Videos	2
Total	37
Support for the Palestinian cause	
Events (conferences, seminars, etc).	8
Concentrations (demonstrations, rallies, etc)	1
Others	2
Total	11

TOTAL	76
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Recently, two incidents related to the relationship between Mexico and Israel triggered a significant amount of antisemitic and anti-Zionist remarks.

On 13 October 2016 Mexico voted in favor of the UNESCO resolution “Occupied Palestine”. The leadership of the Jewish community expressed its disappointment and a few days later Mexico announced it was changing its vote retroactively to an abstention. Andres Roemer, Mexico’s ambassador to UNESCO and member of the Jewish community was removed because of the way he handled the situation, not because of his Jewish origins.

Articles in different newspapers regarding this issue generated antisemitic remarks on their blogs and electronic pages:

- **Colleen:** The problem with the Jews is that they respond to the interest of the Jewish State, not of the country where they live and make their money. They are not good citizens; they only care about their money and Israel.
- **Ricardo Franco Samaniego:** Once again, submission to the Jews. We are fed up of this arrogant people
- **Eduardo Riviello:** Besides being a traitor, this Jew was also corrupt.

On January 28th, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu used Twitter to praise Trump’s executive order authorizing construction of a wall between Mexico and USA. His tweet prompted an outraged response from the Mexican government and a statement by the Jewish community rejecting this position. Government authorities and media leaders, acknowledged the community’s response. At the same time the tweet triggered a wave of antisemitic remarks on social media.

It’s worth noting that in Mexico anti-Israeli positions are frequently mixed with demonization and anti-Americanism.





Hidalgo Diabetes Tips MALDITOS JUDIOS HERRANTES, VIVIDORES INMIGRANTES QUE ESTAN REGADOS COMO CUCARACHAS POR TODO EL MUNDO, LARGUENSE DE MÉXICO MALDITOS MUERTOS DE HAMBRE, HAN VENIDO A MEXICO A LLENARSE LA PANZA Y TODAVIA PATEAN EL PECEBRE, QUE BUENO QUE HITLER ESTUVO A PUNTO DE EXTERMINARLOS, PERO SE HAN REPRODUCIDO COMO RATAS CONTAMINANDO TODO, HABIAN DE ESTAR AGRADECIDOS CON MÉXICO, CERDOS ASQUEROSOS.

Me gusta · Responder · 21 h

Missael Carrillo Guzmán

Ese pinche "país" ni existe, llegaron a plantarse a tierras palestinas solo por una pinche profecía que pudo haber escrito cualquiera, territorio que les fue otorgado para lavar culpas del holocausto, puras pinches mamadas.

Me gusta · 👍 67 · Responder · Reportar · domingo a las 0:14

Tania Rodríguez respondió · 2 respuestas

Octavio Aguilar

Que se puede esperar de Israel con su genocidio a Palestina..
Poca memoria! Están haciéndole a los palestinos lo que los alemanes les hicieron a ellos, y se les olvidó que México los recibió cuando venían huyendo de Hitler!
Hay que tomar las cosas de quién vienen..

Me gusta · 👍 68 · Responder · Reportar · domingo a las 0:53

Omar U Phst respondió · 24 respuestas

Incidents on Social Media

On January 2016, the blog “México-Palestina” with pro-Palestian and anti-Zionist content was detected, (<http://mexicopalestina.blogspot.mx/>). A few days later the web page “Jewish Alert” (<https://alertajudiada.com/>), was also found. Its mission is to “Expose the criminal Jewish organization that promotes and imposes only the love for money”

- In May 2016 the hashtag #OdioJudíosComoEIPAN (# HateJewsasEIPan, referring to the Partido Accion Nacional) became a trending topic and generated many offensive tweets.

2:09 a.m. 92%

Buscar

Javier Ruiz Zafon
Pinches judios de mierda, controlan al mundo con sus bancos, a hollywood y la industria de la musica, propagan la mierda en el mundo y luego se quejan, hojala resucite Hitler y los mate a todos.
Ayer a las 8:37 p.m. · Me gusta · 1 · Responder

Hiram Rodriguez Mora
Hitler debió de exterminarlos. El mundo no ve o se hace pendejo como están matando A los palestinos en contubernio con EU y los otras potencias
Ayer a las 10:03 p.m. · Me gusta · 1 · Responder

Luis Stein Tussie respondió · 1 respuesta

Alberto Alejandro Ramirez Orozco
Ya me cayó bien ese panista. Los judíos bien protegidos pero ela mierda esa que esta al frente de INE cuando discrimino a los indigenas nadie le hizo nada...
Hace 17 minutos · Editado · Me gusta · Responder

Ramon De
Ni que fuera para tanto!!! Los pinchen negros no se ofenden tanto; y eso que parecen simios...jajaja
Ayer a las 7:54 p.m. · Me gusta · Responder

Escribe un comentario... Publicar

Noticias Solicitudes Messenger Notificaciones Más

11:18 a.m. 94%

Tweet

Tlahuiztecatl
@Huiiztecatl

Se demuestra que @conapred y @COPRED_CDMX son entidades controladas por el sionismo y al servicio de @tribuna_ISR NO DE MEXICANOS

08/05/16 12:34 a.m.

← ↻ ❤️ ✉️ ⋮

2:12 a.m. 91%

Buscar

Romeo Ives
Jajajaja pinches judíos, no se les puede tocar ni con el pétalo de una rosa
Hace 3 horas · Me gusta · Responder

Gilberto Ramos
Putos judios de mierda k se largen a su puto desierto.... Es una raza maloliente , hipócrita y mezquina...Hitler lo visualizo antes ellos han madiado este mundo... !!!
Hace dos horas · Me gusta · Responder

Jose Ra Arteaga
Pasenlos al horno, cómo empresarios y patrones son una vil escoria de wc !
Ayer a las 7:22 p.m. · Me gusta · Responder

Francisco Rodriguez
a nadie la caen bien los j.u.d.i.os. de todos modos :v
Ayer a las 4:47 p.m. · Me gusta · 7 · Responder

Luis Hister
Pinches judíos no se como el fhürer no les dio en la madre
Ayer a las 8:23 p.m. · Me gusta · Responder

Arnulfo Zaldivar

Escribe un comentario... Publicar

Noticias Solicitudes Messenger Notificaciones Más

21:05

judios

Arneo @artniu 3m
¿Sabías qué el jabón Rosa Venus esta hecho con los más baratos ingredientes del mercado?
JUDÍOS
Información que cura
#OdioJudíosComoEIPan

Desconocido * @BangDesconoci... 3m
#OdioJudíosComoEIPan me vuelvo elfo de cualquier mujerzuela solitaria por dos judíos digo panes (pésimo tweet) .

Ramos D Felipe @PipeDLH 17m
Pero mira ese tercer lugar papá!! Tres judíos al horno para celebrar
#OdioJudíosComoEIPan

2. #AlSalirDelTrabajoSiempre
Es tendencia desde hace 3 horas

Professor Claudio Lomnitz gave a seminar on antisemitism in May. The promotion of this event on Facebook triggered antisemitic remarks (<https://www.facebook.com/events/1611698332424039/>).

- - **Jaime Zaldivar Marquez:** During the seminar they talk about what Jews are doing to Palestinians in their own land?
 - **Itz Mapache:** Being victims is very profitable for them.
 - **Gabriel Espejo:** Jews create ghettos in Polanco, Santa Fe and Bosques. (Neighborhoods in Mexico City).

- On 26 May, the website Aristeguinoticias.com posted an article regarding a project financed by a member of the Jewish Community, former head of the National Water Commission (<http://aristeguinoticias.com/2605/mexico/con-recursos-de-conagua-korenfeld-financio-organizacion-que-ahora-preside/>). Readers reacted with antisemitic remarks in the page as well as in twitter.
 - **Adolfo Osorio:** Hitler why didn't you finish your work?
 - **Rene Landin:** Fucking Jew
 - **Betto Sánchez García:** That is why I am an antisemite
 - **Argenta Solis:** Do business with a Jew and lose your money.
 - **Joaquin Vazquez:** They should make him soap.

- On August the blog: “Conspiración descubierta” was created to expose “conspiracies against Mexico”. It has antisemitic and anti-Zionist entries, such as: (<http://www.conspiraciondescubierta.com/>)
 - Lista de empresas Sionistas que debemos boicotear 17.8
(<http://www.conspiraciondescubierta.com/2016/08/lista-de-empresas-sionistas-que-debemos.html>)
 - Donald Trump: judío y sionista 1.9
(<http://www.conspiraciondescubierta.com/2016/09/donald-trump-judio-y-sionista.html>)
 - Los judíos que controlan y controlaron la izquierda mundial 5.9
(<http://www.conspiraciondescubierta.com/2016/09/los-judios-que-controlan-y-controlaron.html>)
 - ¿Quiénes son los verdaderos judíos? 7.9
(<http://www.conspiraciondescubierta.com/2016/09/quienes-son-los-verdaderos-judios.html>)
 - ¿Qué piensan los judíos de los no-judíos? 19.9
(<http://www.conspiraciondescubierta.com/2016/09/que-piensan-los-judios-sobre-los-no.html>)

- Vladimir Putin un judío más de la elite 23.9
(<http://www.conspiraciondescubierta.com/2016/09/vladimir-putin-un-judio-mas-de-la-elite.html#more>)
- Judíos importantes de México: ¿Criminales o no? 27.9
(<http://www.conspiraciondescubierta.com/2016/09/judios-importantes-de-mexico-criminales.html>)
- El Talmud y las enseñanzas de odio judías contra el goyim 11.10
(<http://www.conspiraciondescubierta.com/2016/10/talmud-odio-judio-contra-el-goyim.html>)

Uruguay

In 2016, a serious incident took place in Uruguay, a country where violent antisemitic incidents are rare. On 8 March, 2016, a Jewish businessman, representative of the local Jewish community, David Fremd, was stabbed to death and his son seriously wounded by a Muslim in the city of Paysandu, located in western Uruguay near the Argentinian border. The attacker, who reportedly shouted “Allahu Akbar” before the stabbing, admitted under questioning that his intention was to attack the Jewish community. The incident made waves in, and was condemned by, all elements of Uruguayan society, including President Tabaré Vázquez, political parties and leaders, the Archbishop of Montevideo and more. The Colorado Party, one of the most important political forces in Uruguay, held an event called "Reflexion on Antisemitism". The conference was held just over a month after the murder of Fremd and was attended by former Uruguayan president Julio María Sanguinetti, who stressed that Fremd "was not just any dead" because this was the first case in Uruguay in which "someone is killed because of their religion."

Venezuela²

Since Hugo Chavez's rise to power, and even more so during President Nicholas Maduro's term, antisemitism in Venezuela is characterized mainly by the demonization of Israel. In 2016, over 99% of antisemitic events in Venezuela were directed against Israel and Zionism which were used as alibis by the government and its sympathizers in order to attack Judaism in a "politically correct" way. Government officials challenge the Jewish community to prove allegations of antisemitism and point out that their criticisms are valid in order to reveal the hostile policies of the State of Israel. However, in several cases, the line between antisemitism and criticism of Israel was very diffuse.

Israel is accused of all ills, not only towards the Palestinians but towards the entire world. For example, Israel was accused of creating ISIS in order to split the Arab states, and thus dominate the entire Middle East; there were accusations of an Israeli/Jewish collusion for world domination; allegations of Israeli and Mossad intervention in Venezuela, accusations against Israel and/or Jews for the financial and social crisis in Venezuela; allegations of ethnic cleaning, including organ trafficking; etc. Israel was also accused of the murder of Hugo Chavez and planning the murder of Maduro. Members of the opposition to Maduro's

² Based on a report by Beatriz Rittigstein, CAIV.

government are accused of being Zionist pawns, including *David Smolansky*, mayor of the municipality of El Hatillo, who is repeatedly accused of being a "Zionist project".

Venezuela's membership in the UN security Council served as an opportunity for its representative - Rafael Ramirez - to discuss Israeli crimes against the Palestinians and accuse Israel of attempting a "final solution" against the Palestinian people. The social networks are utilized by government officials to disseminate the antisemitic opinions of some Venezuelan officials, such as Foreign Minister Delcy Rodriguez, ambassador to the UN Rafael Ramirez, Ambassador Roy Chadertone , etc., usually under the guise of anti-Zionism.

One of the most prolific antisemites is Javier del Valle Monagas Maita, who publishes in his blog virulent and blatant antisemitic posts accusing Israel and the Jews of every perversion, including creating a "false Holocaust", "a demonic tale generated to justify the terror and bleeding of the world today, the role of Zionism and its servile little men, in shaping the imposition of a Jewish fascist state, that is in fact the creator of the hatred, the wars and pain that humanity suffers".

Other Countries

On 8 August 2016, The Palestinian Federation of Chile published in its webpage an antisemitic caricature depicting a stereotypic Jew wearing a hat with a Star of David, smoking a cigar in the form a missile, lying on a big Star of David with a sharpened point stabbing a (blond) baby with a Palestinian flag on his sleeve. The baby is lying on a pool of blood.

In May 2016, demonstrators in Guatemala used antisemitic language to protest against the country's most important energy company, Energuate, which is owned by an Israeli group. A huge poster contained the legend: "The Jews killed me on the cross. Now the Jews of Energuate are killing my people in Guatemala with light." "Jewish Energuate out of Guatemala...". There was also an image of a crucified Jesus and a New Testament passage: "Woe to you hypocrite Jews who violate justice and the rights of the poor".

BDS

As elsewhere, the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS movement) gained momentum in Latin America during 2016 and there were several cases of adherence:

In January 2016, a letter circulated on the net calling for an academic boycott of Israeli institutions by Brazilian intellectuals. The letter got 200 signatures within three days from various universities in the country.

In April, the University of Chile's Law Faculty Student Union voted to approve a BDS resolution against Israel. The resolution prohibited any academic interaction with the State of Israel or its citizens. The Law Faculty rejected the student boycott and called for dialogue between academics and students.

In May, the Uruguayan Federation of Trade and Services Employees (FUECYS) joined the BDS movement and called for the boycott of Israeli products. The human rights secretary of the union, Raul Ferrando, claimed the move was not aimed "against the Jewish people, but against Zionism". The central national Uruguayan trade union (PIT-CNT) disassociated itself from the decision.

In April, following a BDS campaign led by various civil society organizations and trade unions, the Brazilian state of Bahia ended its agreement with the Israeli water company Mekorot.

On 25 February 2016 it was announced that the popular Colombian chain Crepes & Waffles, will be ending their contract with the security company G4S Security “which is involved in Israeli human rights abuses against Palestinians”. The announcement came after a one year BDS campaign by civil society organizations.

However, the movement suffered a defeat in March when parliamentarians from 13 Latin American and Caribbean nations signed a resolution in support of Israel and against the BDS movement.

Scandinavia / Mikael Shainkman

There are not yet any official statistics regarding antisemitism in Scandinavia during 2016. However, the official 2015 figures show a steady rise in hate crimes. On 3 October 2016, the Swedish Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) published its annual report on hate crimes 2015. According to the report, 6,980 hate crimes were reported to Swedish police in 2015. This is the highest number of hate crimes ever recorded in the country, up 11% from 2014. 68% of the incidents were racist, 9% homophobic, 8% Islamophobic, 6% anti-Christian, 5% other anti-religious, 4% antisemitic, 1% trans-phobic. Sort of crime: 43% threats, 15% vandalism/graffiti, 13% insults, 12% violent crimes, 11% incitement, 4% other, 2% discrimination. Whether this trend continued in 2016 is still too early to tell, since no official statistics are available as of yet.

Antisemitism

There have, however, been few violent antisemitic incidents in Scandinavia in 2016. The few that did occur include reports on antisemitic harassment of Jewish pupils in an Oslo school in January and a bomb scare against the Oslo synagogue in May. That being said, at least one potentially serious antisemitic attack was avoided when Danish police arrested a teenage girl on 13 January 2016. She was arrested for possession of explosives and the suspicion of planning a terror attack. The girl was a recent convert to Islam and self-proclaimed member of the radical Islamic group Hizbut-Tahrir -- a group striving to establish a global Islamic state. She, and a 24-year-old man are suspected of planning to bomb the Jewish school in Copenhagen among other targets.

In Sweden, housing minister Mehmet Kaplan from the Green Party was forced to resign on 18 April. Kaplan's resignation came after the publication of photos of him dining with Islamists and Turkish nationalist extremists, including the leader of the Swedish branch of the Grey Wolves, a Turkish extreme rightwing nationalist organization. An interview on local TV from 2009 was also re-aired, in which Kaplan compared Israel's treatment of the Palestinians with Nazi Germany's treatment of the Jews in the 1930s. Kaplan, who is a religious Muslim of Turkish descent, refused to apologize for anything or admit any wrongdoing.

The Green Party was criticized by the liberal and conservative opposition for its reluctance to deal with Kaplan. Several commentators put this in a larger perspective, opining that the left

(Social-Democrats, Socialists and Greens) have a blind spot for non-European, non-white racism and prejudices—including antisemitism.

But not everyone was critical of Kaplan. On 21 April, three days after housing minister Memhet Kaplan had to resign for his connections with Turkish fascists, the chairman of the Muslim Association in Ljungby (southern Sweden), Abdelhak Lahouaichri, defended the former minister in an interview. Lahouaichri claimed that Kaplan had been right in comparing Israel with Nazi Germany, saying that Israel is the "biggest terrorist in the world". He added that "the Swedes are afraid of Israel" and that "the Jews control the world and Sweden". The following day, 22 April, Lahouaichri himself had to resign because of his statements. He claimed it was because of threats to his life. In a further comment, the former chairman said: "Israel is a holy land that cannot be criticized here in Sweden", adding "if you want to live well in Sweden you have to convert to Judaism". A complaint about hate speech has been lodged with the local police in Ljungby.

The Refugee Crisis and the Rising Extreme Right

The great numbers of refugees coming to Scandinavia (especially Norway and Sweden) may have a destabilizing effect in coming years. One way this can occur is if groups of immigrants fail to integrate into Scandinavian society, they form a hotbed of radicalization and regular crime. The Swedish and Danish secret services (SAPO and PST) already warn that Gothenburg, in Sweden, especially is a hotbed for ISIS recruitment and dozens, maybe even hundreds, of inhabitants from that city have traveled to Syria to fight for ISIS. The Swedish government has been slow in reacting to this development.

Another destabilizing factor connected to immigration is that the extreme right, be it the populist or the neo-Nazi variety, knows how to use the worry about demographic, social and economic changes that the immigration has brought with it and to exploit it to gain popularity. The great influx of refugees has strengthened the populist extreme right in Scandinavia, represented by the Progress Party in Norway, the Danish People's Party, the Sweden Democrats and the True Finns. The latter are now even represented in the Finnish government. These parties have been on the rise for the past decade or so, but the refugee crisis has given them an extra boost. The populist extreme right is rising in all polls, and their growing strength has a destabilizing effect.

From a Jewish perspective, the rise of the populist extreme right is worrisome, even when the parties officially profess a zero-tolerance against antisemitism. These parties usually support Israel, but are quick to restrict the religious and minority rights of local Scandinavian Jewish communities by supporting legislation banning kosher butchering, brit milah etc. Arousing concern on a regular basis are the politicians belonging to the populist extreme right who also display antisemitic opinions and views officially banned within the parties. This includes blaming the Jews for the large number of immigrants, or the economic situation in the world or claiming that the Jews control the media or the financial markets. The Sweden Democrats, a party with roots in the Swedish racist and neo-Nazi milieu in the 1990s, have had several examples of high-profile members, both on the regional and national level, who have had to resign after making antisemitic statements during 2016. For instance, a local Sweden Democrat politician on Alvesta City Council was caught denying the Holocaust, and SD MP Anna Hagwall was forced to leave all positions in the party after she petitioned parliament to pass a law forbidding "ethnic groups" from owning more than 5% of the media. This, she explained, was intended to curb Jewish influence over Swedish media.

The populist extreme right's support of Israel is also based on their faulty understanding of Israel as an enemy of Islam and their ally against the rising tide of Islam and is not borne of any real concern for the wellbeing of Israel.

Scandinavian Neo-Nazi Activities

At the same time as the populist extreme right is rising dramatically, the ideological extreme right, i.e. the neo-Nazi movement, is losing electoral strength. They are, however, increasingly active on the streets organizing demonstrations and other manifestations. On January 23, for instance, neo-Nazis from The Swedish Resistance Movement (SMR) arranged an illegal demonstration in the afternoon in central Stockholm, Sweden. When police tried to disperse the demonstration, the neo-Nazis attacked them. 38 neo-Nazis were arrested for rioting, violence against policemen and racist hate speech.

In connection to International Holocaust Remembrance Day on 27 January, incidents in which the neo-Nazi group The Nordic Resistance Movement demonstrated against "Jewish power" or spread leaflets or other propaganda denying the Holocaust were recorded in three different towns in Sweden. The incidents were most likely coordinated on a national level. (A similar attack, including even more towns, was carried out on 27 January 2017.)

One of the most obvious examples of extreme rightwing organization in the last years in Scandinavia is the Soldiers of Odin, named after the warrior king of the Old Norse gods. The organization started in Finland, but has now spread also to Sweden and Norway. The local chapters of the organization have connections and cooperate to a certain degree. Members of the organization patrol the streets of Scandinavian cities and towns, "protecting" the population from violence and crimes carried out by immigrants and foreigners. Repeated studies have showed that leading members of Soldiers of Odin have connections to neo-Nazi groups and have been convicted for various crimes, mostly including violence, arms and/or drugs.

The Arab and Muslim World / Esther Webman

The antisemitic discourse in the Arab media and social networks in 2016 continued to manifest the same motifs as in previous years, since there was no particular major event to trigger harsher reactions. Most antisemitic manifestations were in response to current events, such as the ongoing international war against the "Islamic State" (ISIS), the election of Donald Trump as President of the United States, and to events related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The discussion of the Holocaust and antisemitism continued to be part of the public discourse, especially following controversies on these issues in Israel and in Europe, such as the comments made by the Israeli Deputy Chief of Staff, Yair Golan in May, which drew parallels between contemporary Israeli society and Nazi Germany during the 1930s, and the outrage sparked in Great Britain by the antisemitic remarks made by some British Labor Party members in April and July. Nonetheless, a significant amount of the antisemitic articles and manifestations appeared regardless of any triggering event. Several articles however did condemn antisemitism within the Arab world and criticized the ills of Arab society. As in previous years, the antisemitic discourse in the Arab world was mainly comprised of defamation of the Jews and Judaism, extensively using the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and accusing Israel and the Jews for causing all the troubles of the Arab world. Other major motifs were the usage of Nazi similes, Holocaust denial, and comparisons of the Jews with the Nazis or accusations of collaboration between the Jews and the Nazis. Another common feature in the Arab media was the use of the word "Jew" as a derogatory term, often applied to mark internal rivals in the Arab world as "Jews" - a tendency which had significantly intensified since the eruption of the "Arab Spring" events in 2011.

The International War against "ISIS"

Accusations against Israel and the Jews as collaborators with the notorious "Islamic State" (ISIS) and as the conspirators behind the numerous terror attacks attributed to ISIS, remained a central theme in the Arab discourse, as was the case following the 9/11 terror attacks in the United States. Muwaffaq Matar, for example, contended on March 24 in the Palestinian *al-Hayat al-Jadida* daily, that the attacks in Brussels on March 22 which claimed the lives of 34 people, were motivated by Israel. According to Matar, Israel sought revenge against the European Union for its sympathy towards the Palestinian cause and especially for its decision to mark goods imported from Israeli settlements in the West Bank and for the BDS movement, which has gained momentum in Europe.

Other reactions to attacks attributed to ISIS came following the June 12 shooting in the LGBT "Pulse" night club in Orlando, Florida, perpetrated by Umar Matin, a son of immigrants from Afghanistan, after pledging allegiance to ISIS. On June 17, Ahmad Nawfal, a professor at Jordan University, expressed his support for the attack during a live interview on the satellite TV channel, al-Yarmuk, while accusing "International Zionism" of spreading homosexuality across the globe.

As in previous years, Israel and the Jews were linked or compared to ISIS movement, in articles, comments and caricatures. On June 11, for instance, the Iraqi Shaykh, Ahmad al-Kubaysi claimed during a televised interview in the Iraqi al-Samariyya TV, that ISIS is an organization "remote-controlled" by Israel, as it receives direct orders from Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu. Similar depictions appeared in caricatures published on June 19 and July 12 on the Palestinian Fatah movement's Information and Culture Commission website (www.fatehmedia.ps). One caricature depicted Israeli Defense Minister, Avigdor Liberman, as the notorious ISIS militant, "Jihadi John", while the second showed an Israeli soldier with a Star of David on his helmet, fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with an ISIS fighter. The site also posted a caricature on July 28, accusing the Jews of fomenting the Sunni-Shi'i rift. The caricature depicted an orthodox Jew with a hooked nose, wearing an Israeli flag armband, who is igniting a large bomb, comprised of two smaller bombs being ignited by figures of a Sunni and a Shiite Muslim. On October 10 and November 5, Hasan As'ad Salman al-Fifi, a reader commenting on the Saudi *al-Riyadh* daily website, claimed that the head of ISIS Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi is in fact a Mossad agent named Shimon Elliot, a claim raised previously by the Iranians. Israel and the Jews were also accused in the Arab media of causing the Sunni-Shi'ite rift.

Tensions over the Temple-Mount, Incitement and the UNESCO resolution

Tensions between Israel and the Palestinians over the Temple Mount compound and al-Aqsa mosque were often exploited for incitement purposes and had triggered violence and terror attacks against Jews, perpetrated by young Palestinians, mostly unaffiliated with any Palestinian terrorist organization. These tensions reached their peak following the UNESCO resolution passed on October 13, which defined the Temple Mount and the Western Wall as "Islamic Holy sites", and referred to them solely by their Islamic names – *Haram al-Sharif* (the Temple Mount), *al-Buraq Plaza* (Western Wall compound) and *al-Aqsa Mosque*. The resolution also denounced Israel for restricting access of Muslim worshipers to the sites.

Columnists and thinkers in the Arab World were keen to express their support of the UNESCO resolution and used the opportunity to besmirch Israel and to deny any connection

between Judaism and Jerusalem's holy sites. On October 19, 'Abd al-Husayn Sha'ban published an opinion article in the UAE-based *al-Khalij* daily, praising the resolution and describing it as decisive victory for the Palestinians, particularly, he claimed, considering Israel's failed attempts to corroborate any Jewish ties to the Temple Mount and Jerusalem, despite years of excavations conducted by Israel. On the same day, Ahmad Fu'ad published an opinion article in the Egyptian *al-Ahram* daily, claiming that the connection between Israel and the Holy sites of Jerusalem is "*based upon a distortion of the truth, history, and archaeological findings*". An editorial published in *al-Khalij* on October 15, also rejected any ties between Judaism and the Temple Mount, and contended that such a connection was merely another "*Zionist myth, in a series of Zionist myths, such as the Holocaust*". On October 27, Fatah's Information and Cultural Commission posted a caricature on its website, depicting a stereotypical religious Jew, who is exposed naked under an open lid reading "UNESCO", thus implying that UNESCO had publicly exposed the "naked truth" about Jews and their lies. Israel's claims that UNESCO's resolution was motivated by antisemitism, was fiercely rejected by Nahla al-Shahal on November 2, in the Lebanese *al-Safir* daily, where she attacked Israel for denouncing any international resolution against it as antisemitic.

Donald Trump as President of the United States

The election of Donald J. Trump as President of the United States on November 9, his support of Israel, his Jewish daughter and the accusations of racism and antisemitism against him triggered several antisemitic responses. On November 9, for example, the Jordanian-Palestinian author, As'ad al-'Azuni wrote a column in the online portal al-Hiwar al-Mutamaddin, accusing the Jews for Hillary Clinton's defeat to Trump, despite "a bribe" of over 30 billion dollars Jews purportedly received from the Obama administration to secure their vote for Clinton. Al-'Azuni claimed that the Jews dominate the United States to the extent of controlling the dreams of U.S. presidents and accused them of President John F. Kennedy's assassination. On the same day, the Gaza-based Shihab News Agency posted in its website a caricature of President Trump wearing a Star of David badge on his clothes, accompanied by a caption blaming the Zionist lobby for Trump's election by exerting [Zionist] influence on the American public.

The Holocaust in the Arab Public Discourse

Two main events during the year spurred the Arab discourse on the Holocaust: a speech delivered by Israeli Deputy Chief of Staff, Yair Golan, on Holocaust Remembrance day in Israel on May 4, and the public outrage in Great Britain which erupted following a series of antisemitic remarks made by Labor Party members in April and July.

In his speech, Maj. Gen. Golan expressed his concern regarding the nationalist radicalization process of Israeli society, comparing it with the "*horrifying developments which occurred in Europe in general, and Germany in particular*" during the 1930s. Golan's comments sparked a widespread discussion in the Arab media on the Holocaust and were exploited as tools to besmirch Israel and compare it to the Nazi regime and even to claim that the Zionist movement had actually founded Nazism. One such example was an editorial in the Palestinian *al-Quds* daily on May 8, which claimed that Israel's actions against the Palestinians clearly indicate that Israel is taking the same course of action which the Nazis took during World War II, only now the Palestinians serve as the victims, instead of the Jews. In another response written the same day, 'Umar Hilmi al-Ghawl used Golan's remark in *al-Hayat al-Jadida* to accuse Israel of perpetrating a "far more despicable and barbaric" Holocaust against the

Palestinians than the Holocaust which was perpetrated by the Nazis against the Jews. On May 9, Yunus al-Sayyid claimed in the UAE daily, *al-Khalij*, that the Zionist movement was in fact responsible for planting the seeds of Nazism in Europe and ultimately for its rise to power. Al-Sayyid based his claims on the fact that the Zionist movement had existed long before the rise of Nazism.

The Arab media gave wide coverage to the uproar in Britain as a result of antisemitic comments made by some of the British Labor Party members [see section on Great Britain], ranging from expressing support of the Labor MPs involved, to accusations against the Zionist movement of collaboration with the Nazis.

On May 3, Manal Lutfi published in the Egyptian *al-Ahram* an op-ed defending former London Mayor, Ken Livingstone, who claimed that Hitler had supported the Zionist movement. Basing her arguments on Edwin Black's book *The Transfer Agreement* (1984), Lutfi concluded that the Zionist movement had in fact collaborated with the Nazis during the 1930s, in an attempt to organize a mass-transfer of German Jews to British-controlled Palestine. Lutfi claimed that the Zionist movement had actually benefited from the rise of antisemitism in Europe long before Hitler's seizure of power, and that Herzl's greatest supporters were in fact Antisemites. Jihad al-Khazin, a well-known columnist in the London-based *al-Hayat*, also defended the Labor Party's MPs accused of antisemitism, in a series of articles published. On May 7-8, al-Khazin claimed that the public outrage was merely a futile attempt to divert attention from Israel's crimes against the Palestinians, adding that the current re-emergence of classical antisemitism in Europe was a direct consequence of the crimes committed by the Israeli "government of terror". On July 5, al-Khazin posted another article defending the Labor Party leader, Jeremy Corbyn, for his comparison of the Israeli government and ISIS on June 30, stressing that there was nothing antisemitic about Corbyn's speech and claimed that equating Netanyahu's "Neo-Nazi government" and its actions against the Palestinians with ISIS were perfectly legitimate.

In Iran, the Holocaust continued to serve as an important propaganda tool for the Iranian regime. On International Holocaust Remembrance Day, January 27, the Iranian Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamene'i, posted a short video on his official website denying the Holocaust. Khamene'i attacked the "sinful" European states that are endlessly dealing with a "questionable" event while persecuting anyone who casts doubt on its occurrence. Khamene'i mocked Europe's "quasi-democratic" values, particularly freedom of speech.

In May 2016, Tehran sponsored its third international Holocaust Cartoon Contest which included artworks dealing with the Holocaust, Israel and the Jews. The organizer of the contest, Shajal Tabataba'i, stressed on May 15, that the contest was also organized in response to the 2015 terror attack on the *Charlie Hebdo* weekly in Paris, which came in retaliation to the offensive caricatures of Prophet Muhammad published by the French weekly. The contest received widespread coverage in the Arab and Iranian Media, especially TV channels that presented several of the exhibition's caricatures. On May 15, the Iranian TV channel in the Arabic language, *al-'Alam*, presented a cartoon depicting a cash register, shaped like the gates of Auschwitz death camp, registering the number "6,000,000", accompanied by a caption referring to the so-called exaggeration of the total number of Holocaust victims. In another caricature, Adolf Hitler is seen emerging from the brain of Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu. Another caricature depicted the Temple Mount with the gates of Auschwitz in the background, along with the sign "*Arbeits Macht Frei*" and an Israeli soldier standing on the side. A report broadcast on June 1, on the Lebanese Palestine Today TV channel, showed a

caricature depicting a cattle train named "Palestine Express" entering the gates of Auschwitz death camp. During the various televised reports and interviews on the contest, the organizers repeatedly declared that the Holocaust Cartoon Contest was in no way related to antisemitism and that its sole purpose was to expose Israel's crimes against the Palestinians.

General Manifestations of Antisemitism Unrelated to Current Events

Antisemitic expressions recorded in 2016 were not solely triggered by major current events and often appeared regardless of any external developments. These antisemitic expressions were diverse and consisted mainly of attacks against Jews and Judaism, using classical Islamic antisemitic motifs intertwined with motifs drawn from modern European antisemitism. One such example was a series of five antisemitic articles published between May 5 and June 2 in *al-Ahram*, entitled "The Talmudic Jewish Plots" by 'Ali Jadd, who argued that the Jews and Israel are secretly plotting to take over the world. Basing his arguments on the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and quoting passages from it, Jadd drew several conclusions: Israel is exploiting the volatile situation in Syria and Lebanon in order to promote the Jews' plan to take over the world; The Jews invented Communism and atheism in order to wreak havoc on other religions; The Jews control the world economy, ignite world wars, while making financial profits. On July 27 and August 20, the Egyptian daily *al-Badil* posted a series of four articles by Mahir al-Shayyal entitled "Lies invented by Zionism".

Shayyal used classical Islamic antisemitic motifs, denouncing Judaism as a religion, alongside denial of the Holocaust. Quoting Holocaust deniers such as Ernst Zündel, Roger Garaudy, Fred Leuchter, al-Shayyal questioned the narrative of six-million Holocaust victims and denied the existence of gas chambers in Nazi extermination camps, claiming that they were not capable of mass killing six-million Jews, and concluding that the Holocaust was but another lie in a series of many lies invented by Zionism, only to justify its ideology. Another article published on November 20, on the online Egyptian portal, al-Mujaz, written by Hisham Lashin, discussed the authenticity of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Lashin argued that a brief glance at the Protocols documents contrasted with worldwide events such as the "Arab Spring" of 2011 would suffice to determine that the document in question is indeed authentic. Lashin explained that "the Jews' final goal is to wage wars and revolutions in order to seize control the world" and thus concluded his article asserting that "a secret council exists, and its sole purpose is to control and rule the world, and it is controlled by an unknown Zionist, whom we will never know."

Voices against Antisemitism

The year 2016, unlike previous years, witnessed a rise in comments and articles condemning antisemitic manifestations in the Arab discourse, especially as a part of a broader tendency to criticize the ills of Arab and Muslim societies. One striking statement was made by Kuwaiti author and Journalist 'Abdullah al-Hadlaq, who published on January 28 an article in the Kuwaiti *al-Watan*, titled "Lies Exposing the Truth." Al-Hadlaq referred to Israeli Eddy Cohen's research on PA president and PLO Chairman Mahmud 'Abbas' (Abu Mazin) PhD thesis at Bar Ilan University, which exposed Abu Mazin's arguments as ludicrous, distorting the truth and historic facts. On February 15, British politician of Egyptian descent, Wafiq Mustafa spoke out against the BDS movement in an interview aired on the London-based al-'Arabi TV channel, claiming that its campaign is unbeneficial as it ferments antisemitism.

Finally, the Jordanian poet of Palestinian origin, Anwar al-Waridi was quoted on July 14 in the Palestinian newspaper *Dunya al-Watan*, mocking Muslim clerics who continue to describe Jews through classical Islamic antisemitic motifs, such as "the sons of apes and pigs". Al-Waridi argued that such perceptions of Jews were unfounded and only highlighted the backward nature of the collective Arab mentality, which tends to underestimate its enemies. Nevertheless, despite the increasing number of condemnations of antisemitism documented in 2016, these were but "a drop in the ocean" in comparison to the antisemitic manifestations witnessed in the public discourse in the Arab world.

Germany / Sarah Rembiszewski

Notwithstanding the official statistics published by the German government, which show a certain decline, antisemitism is still perceived as a major threat by many members of the Jewish communities in Germany. Germany has at least 250,000 Jews living within its borders, but there are estimates that the number could be closer to 500,000. In 2016 the Pew Research Center found that in Germany perception of Jews changed in a positive direction. In 1991, 53 % of Germans had favorable views of Jews. In spring 2016, that number increased to 88 %.³

However, the overall atmosphere of uncertainty as perceived by the Jewish citizens is far from decreasing, and "public opinion polls show that a third of the population sees Jews as being 'different,' a fact which may not constitute an aggressive form of antisemitism but it creates a certain atmosphere of not "really belonging".⁴ Reacting to their concern, German Chancellor Angela Merkel announced on 23 January 2016 a determined fight against antisemitism, as hatred against Jews is "unfortunately more widespread in Germany than we thought." In the fight against anti-Jewish sentiments, Merkel also highlighted the importance of combating online hate speech, for instance on Facebook. In this context it must be mentioned that Munich prosecutors confirmed on 7 November 2016 that they have started investigations against Facebook for tolerating hate speech and incitement on the social network. The investigation targets Facebook founder and chief executive Mark Zuckerberg and nine other managers. Facebook denies having acted against German laws, bringing up the question of whether Facebook, located in the United States, can be held responsible by German authorities.

As monitoring criteria differ, so do the numbers. While numbers covering the overall incidents of antisemitic criminal offences as recorded by official sources have been decreasing from 740 in 2015 to 644 in 2016 (regarding violent incidents, 2015 recorded 18 while the number for 2016 decreased by 3 =20%), the numbers reported to the monitoring office in Berlin, RIAS (Research and Information center for Antisemitism), were definitely on the rise. The difference in trends also lies in the method of monitoring, differences of criteria and the increasing number of antisemitic hate crime victims who became accustomed to report to RIAS. That is why it is difficult to draw conclusions regarding a general trend covering all of Germany, as the reasons for the rising number in Berlin may be technical ones. Benjamin Steinitz from RIAS further explained that there has been a rise in open antisemitism, not because of the migrant wave of the last years, but rather because of growing extreme right-

³ <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-countries/articles/2016-08-04/antisemitism-wanes-in-parts-of-europe>.

⁴ <https://www.i24news.tv/en/news/international/europe/133894-161230-antisemitism-on-the-rise-in-germany-but-no-anti-semites-to-be-found>.

wing and populist movements like Pegida and AfD (see below). In 2016 RIAS recorded 470 antisemitic incidents in Berlin only, which means a 16% rise compared to 2015 (405 incidents). There was a threefold increase of desecration of Holocaust memorials (2016:42; 2015: 15), including “stumbling stones”, recorded in the German capital. During the night of 2 February 2015 for example, 35 Stolpersteine (Stumbling Stones) were defaced in Berlin.

Although Islamophobic acts constitute definitely the majority of hate crimes in Germany today⁵, and almost 10 violent anti-Muslim incidents are recorded daily, antisemitism is still high, and is perceived by the Jewish community as a threat that they try to handle at least from a security-wise point of view, meaning reinforced security measures for Jewish sites and homes.

As to antisemitic verbal incitement on social media, it may not always be illegal (and as such does not appear on the statistics for "criminal" activities) but undoubtedly creates a threatening climate of discomfort (to say the least), influencing the quality of life of the Berlin Jews for example, and not only them.

And again, as in the previous year, politicians of all major parties, aware of the danger for the Jewish population that accompanies the wave of hatred, xenophobia and racism - have been publicly criticizing antisemitism in Germany as a dangerous trend concerning the whole society.

BDS

As in previous years, in 2016 too, the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement - which aims to delegitimize the Jewish state by drawing parallels to apartheid South Africa and urging individuals, academia, companies and governments to stop their contacts with Israel and Israelis - continued their efforts. But a parallel trend can be observed recently, namely the fact that latent or even manifest antisemitism is repeatedly dominating BDS activities and is becoming more and more evident, and many measures are being taken against them. At Germany's Christian Democratic Party (CDU) party convention in Essen in December 2016, Merkel's party adopted a resolution condemning the BDS movement as antisemitic. According to the statement, calling for a boycott of all Israeli products BDS is no different from boycotts of Jewish enterprises during the Nazi regime.

On 2 August 2016, the student council of Leipzig University passed a bill rejecting the international anti-Israel BDS movement as antisemitic. The initiative was started in June when the "Alliance against Anti-zionism and Antisemitism" protested the book presentation of Lori Allen at the Leipzig university. After the event was held at the Global and European Studies Institute of the Leipzig University, student groups filed an application against BDS. The bill was passed by the Student Council and condemns calls for a boycott of Israel as a remake of the Nazi slogan "Do not buy from the Jews. “

Also, on 21 September 2016 the Munich cultural commission revoked the authorization for an event entitled 'Antisemitism today', consisting of a lecture by Abraham Melzer, a publisher who describes himself as 'Anti-zionist'. Amongst other things, his lecture should have dealt with 'excessive antisemitism accusations in Germany'. The event, organized by the Salam Shalom Arbeitskreis Palästina-Israel e.V., supporter of the BDS campaign, was to have taken place on Friday, 23 September 2016 at the 'Eine Welt Haus' in Munich. Responding to the

⁵ Germany recorded more than 3,500 attacks against refugees and asylum shelters in 2016, according to new interior ministry figures, amounting to an average of nearly 10 acts of anti-migrant violence a day.

cancellation, Munich's cultural Mayor, Josef Schmid (CDU) said that "Criticizing the State of Israel is legitimate; agitations against its right of existence however have to be stopped immediately". The Salam Shalom initiative called the cancellation "curtailing the freedom of speech", whereas Hans-Georg Küppers (SPD), chief of Munich's cultural commission defended the municipality's decision, stating that "the event crosses the border between criticism of the State of Israel and Antisemitism."

However, parallel to these trends, BDS is still very much alive and active. The Simon Wiesenthal Center accused city officials and politicians in Bremen on 1 September 2016 of complicity in boycotts against Israel. In a letter to Carsten Sieling, the Social Democratic mayor of Bremen, Dr. Shimon Samuels, director of International Relations for the Los Angeles-based Simon Wiesenthal Center, wrote:

"Our members are most concerned by the inaction of your municipality against a reportedly, increasingly violent antisemitic campaign, otherwise known as BDS (Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions), reminiscent of the 1930s 'Kauf nicht bei Juden' ("Do Not Buy From Jews") assaults in Nazi Germany."

Bremen city-funded and owned facilities have provided space for years to BDS advocates to attack the Jewish state, according to critics. Samuels wrote, "Apparently, the German BDS movement operates from Villa Ichon, owned by the City of Bremen and seat of the 'Bremen Peace Forum,' ostensibly leased as a place to meet for associations, especially for cultural and social life." The Bremen Peace Forum calls for a boycott of Israeli goods, and has staged protests in front of supermarkets urging customers not to buy Israeli fruit.

Holocaust attitudes

On 2 September 2016, 87-year-old Ursula Haverbeck, a prominent German neo-Nazi, was again convicted of Holocaust denial and sentenced to eight months in prison. The Detmold state court said that Haverbeck plans to appeal the decision. In February Haverbeck wrote a letter to the mayor of Detmold when a former Auschwitz guard was going on trial there, claiming the notorious Nazi death camp was only a labor camp, and called survivors "alleged witnesses." Haverbeck had most recently been convicted of Holocaust denial in 2015 for a similar statement in an interview outside the trial of another former Auschwitz guard in Lueneburg. She was sentenced to 10 months imprisonment in that case, but remains free as her appeal is heard. Both guards were convicted of multiple counts of accessory to murder and are appealing.

A "scandalous" acquittal announced on 4 August 2016 by an appeals court, was sharply criticized, which, overruled a judgment against a former mayor who wrote blogs questioning Nazi Germany's attempt to exterminate Europe's Jews. Hans Püschel (67, member of the NPD) was forced to resign in 2013 as mayor of Krauschwitz, Germany, for statements on the internet that minimized or denied Nazi crimes. In his writings, he belittled historical accounts of the death toll at the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp in occupied Poland as "lies" and claimed that it resembled a sports ground equipped with a modern hospital and "60 doctors" for inmates. Josef Schuster, president of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, said that the case was alarming, given the political climate in which rightist forces are on the rise in Germany and the rest of Europe. He said "attempts to rewrite German history and mock the victims of National Socialism are an unacceptable trivialization of the crimes of the Nazis."

Right-wing extremism

A survey conducted by YouGov in September 2016 amongst 12 European countries found that Germans are most immune to right-wing populism, with 18% of the population drawn to populist ideas compared to about half of the population in favour of populist ideas in other European countries (e.g. France 68%, Poland 78).

The Alternative for Germany (AfD), founded four years ago as a protest movement against the Euro won 25% of the vote in the state elections in March and in September reached second place in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. The party continues to attract voters who are anti-establishment, anti-European and anti-immigrants. The party is said to be becoming more and more radicalized.

However, while still optimistic in view of election results as well as popular support that seemed to be rising, the AfD (see previous report) finally seems to be losing ground. In February 2017, the far-right AfD saw the worst poll results since 2015. The poll by the Institute Allensbach and newspaper Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung asked participants who they would vote for if an election were held the next Sunday.

The AfD received just 8.5 percent of the theoretical vote - the first time they have dropped below double digits in the Allensbach poll since July 2016 and the worst level of support since December 2015, when they fell to 8 percent, Focus magazine observed. Another poll by Forsa research group, RTL and Stern magazine also showed the AfD's support to be waning, with the party receiving just 8 % support.

This was a drop from 12 % within just four weeks. "Currently the AfD can barely gain any points with their strategy to capture voters through the refugee crisis.

According to a survey, published in November 2016 by the 'Friedrich Ebert Stiftung' on right-wing and extremist attitudes in the German middle class, German society is deeply split, especially on the issues of immigration and Islam. While the right-wing populist AfD party voters seem to become more radical (especially in East Germany) right-wing populist ideas seem to become more mainstream in German society.

Nazi Jargon

Media reports from 13 October 2016 announced that there has been a rise in the usage of Nazi jargon in Germany. German language experts picked the word 'Volksverräter' ('Traitor of the people') as the worst word in 2016. The word, a term that was mainly used in the Third Reich and has a direct link to the Nazi era, appeared again in political discourses of 2016. It first appeared in the environment of the right-wing Party AfD (Alternative for Germany) and its supporters. Critics of the government called Chancellor Angela Merkel a 'traitor of the people' several times.

Germany's far-right is expanding and becoming more radical, according to the latest report by the Office of the Defense of the Constitution (Verfassungsschutz) North-Rhine Westphalia, published in July 2016. "There is a new type of perpetrator who is radicalizing more quickly, and jumping over the threshold from ideology to attack without any transitional stages," the state's Interior Minister Ralf Jäger said. "It is particularly difficult to recognize this turbo-radicalization."

On 28 October 2016 the German police reported the discovery of a weapon cache containing over 30 weapons. A passerby had previously discovered the weapons on 24 October 2016 near a forest between Rednitzhembach and Schwanstetten. The cache is believed to belong to Wolfgang P., a member of the far-right 'Reichsbürger' (Reichs Citizens) movement, who wounded several and shot a police officer on 19 October 2016 in Georgensgmünd, Bavaria. The 'Reichsbürger' movement negates the legitimacy of the German government, denies its authorities and seeks the reestablishment of a German state with its borders and constitution from before 1945.

A very disturbing post with the caption "Juden unter uns!" (Jews in our midst), appeared on 9 November 2016, the 78th anniversary of the the November pogroms in 1938 ("crystal night") in Germany, on the facebook page of a Berlin based Neo- nazi group, said to be linked to the neo-nazi "Nationaler Widerstand" (National resistance) movement. The post included a picture listing a map pointing out locations of almost 70 synagogues, Jewish kindergartens, schools, memorials, businesses, restaurants and cemeteries in Berlin.

As to Germany's traditional far right-wing parties, Germany's Federal Constitutional Court began hearing arguments on 1 March 2016 with regard to banning the far-right National Democratic Party (NPD) On 17 January 2017, the court ruled that the right-wing extremist party may continue to exist in Germany, despite its racist and antisemitic agenda. The decision of the German court to allow the NPD is strongly criticized by the International Auschwitz Committee as "This reality-blind and untimely decision sends a disastrous signal to Europe, where far-right and right-wing populists have found new partnerships and are now trying to transform the fear and insecurity of the population into hatred and aggression".

Academia

The University of Applied Sciences and Arts (HAWK), Hildesheim has been organizing a Palestine-seminar for ten years, with subjects ranging from "Victims of torture in Israeli jails" to "Our sons were robbed of their organs". Only after criticism from newspapers and scientists in July 2016, the university decided to cancel this year's workshop. The lecturer, Ibtissam Köhler, who is responsible for the seminar, still teaches at the academy. An ethical committee was set up by the university to deal with the criticism – it backs the disputed lecturer and sees no indications that "antisemitic content was disseminated in an incorrect (sic!) way."

Violent incidents

On 1 January (New Year), 2016, in Berlin's Friedrichstrasse underground station, a visibly Jewish man was assaulted by a group of 7 men with antisemitic insults like "Fuck the Jews" and "Fuck Israel". When the victim asked them to stop, he was beaten up.

On 5 February 2016 swastikas appeared on the walls of the Jewish old-age home in Frankfurt-Bornheim. The police are investigating.

On 3 March 2016 an antisemitic attack occurred on the platform of the subway station Walther-Schreiber-Platz, Berlin when a 75-year-old man was attacked by a 27-year-old offenders who insulted the victim, showed the Hitler salute and struck him on the head with a glass bottle. Police arrested the perpetrator. It is not known whether the victim was Jewish.

On 15 March 2016 in Zwickau, Germany, a 49-year old man insulted a social worker as "shitty Jew". He yelled that " Hitler did not do his job properly" and threatened with the murder of her family. According to the "Morning Post" the first name of the employee was the

cause for his antisemitic tirade was. The man received a prison sentence of one year. He had been sentenced before for an arson attack on a refugee shelter.

On 21 June 2016, Oliver Geffers of Bonn, who wears a kippah, was slightly injured when attacked by three attackers who appeared to be Arabic. They commented on his yarmulke and insulted him with antisemitic comments. One of them then beat and kicked him, Geffer said, before all the men fled. In March, the Berlin-based Department for Research and Information on Antisemitism reported that there were 34 percent more antisemitic incidents reported in 2015 than in the previous year in Berlin. In all, the organization reported 401 incidents in 2015 in Berlin, less than half of which were included in official police statistics. Of the 401 cases, 151 involved threats, bullying and attacks; 31 individuals were injured, most of whom were openly identifiable as Jewish by wearing religious clothing or articles. A source who had seen photos of the victim said there were open wounds in his leg, which suggested the attack had been brutal.

On 2 August 2016, the police discovered smearings on the Holocaust memorial in the Grosse Hamburger Street, Berlin. The memorial, a sculpture "Jewish Victims of Fascism", by Will Lammert is situated on the site of the Old Jewish Cemetery and since 1985 recalls the deportation of 55,000 Berlin Jews during the Nazi era. The sculpture had previously been the target of antisemitic attacks.

On 29 October 2016, in a restaurant at Heinrichplatz, Berlin-Kreuzberg, an Israeli citizen was punched in the face after revealing his nationality. A girl accompanying the Israeli tried to calm down the attacker, who wanted to incite a fight. After alerting other visitors, staff and restaurant guests were able to save the victim from more attacks. The police was called to the site.

Antisemitic graffiti have appeared in Frankfurt on the 8 and 9 November 2016. On 9 November 2016, the anniversary of the Progom night (Reichskristallnacht) of 1938, antisemitic graffiti "Criminal Jews" was sprayed on a memorial monument of a synagogue in Frankfurt. Just one day before a similar slogan was sprayed on a bridge in the city, saying that "jews are criminals", right next to an Israeli flag.

Desecration of Cemeteries, Memorials

For the third time since November 2014 the Jewish cemetery in Hanover was desecrated in January 2016. Several tombstones were knocked down and windows smashed. The police are asking citizens for any relevant information

On January 27, 2016 persons unknown desecrated the Jewish cemetery in Kröpelin, overthrowing gravestones.

On 15 March 2016, a bucket of feces was placed on the wall of the Jewish cemetery in Köthen (Anhalt-Bitterfeld district) Germany. The police are investigating.

In the beginning of February, 2016, persons unknown smeared more than 40 gravestones of the central cemetery of Konstanz with antisemitic insults like "Jews to the gas".

Greece / Michal Navoth

Throughout 2016, antisemitism in Greece was expressed in the form of graffiti vandalism (although in comparison to 2015 there were fewer cases perpetrated against Jewish sites and no severe property damage was caused), social media post, the use of the internet and mainstream press and the usage of The PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION. Antisemitic expressions were also part of some politicians' discourse, including their speeches in the Hellenic Parliament, the parliament in Greece.

On 4 May 2016, a swastika was engraved (with a knife or other metallic object) on the iron door of the Synagogue of Ioannina, the capital and largest city of an administrative region in north-western Greece.⁶

On 15 June 2016, supporters of Paok F.C., a football team based in the Thessaloniki, sprayed on a wall in Thessaloniki a graffiti calling the supporters of Aris F.C., local rival football team, "Sons of a bitch" and "Jews".⁷

On 12 September 2016 swastikas desecrated the external surrounding wall of the synagogue of Ioannina.⁸

On 15 September 2016 a graffiti picturing the Euro symbol equalized with the Star of David was reported to be on a column in front of the National Bank of Greece in Athens downtown. The slogan in the graffiti read: "No to Europe of Barbarity" (although spelled differently, the Greek word "Evropi" for "Europe" and the Greek word "Evraios" for "Jew" sound similarly). The graffiti implies the connection between Jews, money and the banks. Following a letter addressed from the Board of The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS) to the director of the Bank, the graffiti was removed on November 2016.⁹

On September 2016 Graffiti which read: "[o]nly we Greeks can f..ck the curse of the earth (the Jews)" was scrawled on a building at a central square, next to the Town Hall, of the city of Chalkis (chief town of the Greek island Euboea, situated on the Euripus Strait at its narrowest point).¹⁰

Social media was used to trivialize the Western Wall (known also as the Wailing Wall) and the Jewish faith. On 4 January 2016 an internet community called "Paratiritirio" (Observatory) posted a cartoon on its Facebook account mocking Greek PM Alexis Tsipras' decision to erect a monument, a "sacred wall", dedicated to the executed activists of the Left during Greece's civil war. The comment accompanying the cartoon, which refers to the Greek left wing political party led by Tsipras, Syriza, trivializes the Western Wall by pointing out that this monument will be "Syriza's Wailing Wall", for tears of penitence to be spread

⁶ Based on information the author has obtained from The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS). The information is part of KIS forthcoming report on antisemitism in Greece in 2016.

⁷ *Antisemitic football graffiti in Thessaloniki*, 15 June 2016, <https://enantiastonantisemitismo.wordpress.com/2016/06/15/antisemitic-football-graffiti-in-thessaloniki/>

⁸ Based on information the author has obtained from The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS). The information is part of KIS forthcoming report on antisemitism in Greece in 2016.

⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰ *Id.*

over unfulfilled promises. The inscription on the wall reads: “Wailing Wall of Syriza – Weep to be absolved of your sins”.¹¹

On 4 December 2016 the Imam Erkan Azizoglou of Xanthi (northern Greece) posted on his facebook account shameful comments wishing that the fires that blazed throughout Israel at the end of November 2016 would not be extinguished. When confronted by a facebook friend and asked not to draw parallels between the State and its people, the Imam claimed that “they are all the same. They are all as a monster that is fed [by] blood”.¹²

In November and December 2016 the Rubicon agency, an entertainment company located in the northern Athens suburb of Galatsi, advertised the Auschwitz “escape room” on social media. Escape room games feature a space, often with a dramatic theme, where the players are locked in until they find a way out based on a series of clues and riddles. In Galatsi the theme of the room was around the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp. A promotional text for the game read:

“[t]ake on the role of a prisoner still looking for signs of life from loved ones, dare to stay in the shadow of the historic crematorium, discover the big secret and escape before you, too, turn into ashes.”¹³

Following a complaint by Jews and non-Jews that it was disrespectful to Holocaust victims, Rubicon closed the “escape room” by the end of December 2016.¹⁴

The internet was used for antisemitic blogs. On 14 January 2016, shortly after the Greek Parliament voted to approve same-sex couple's civil union, extreme right wing blogs attacked the decision. One of these attacks was posted on the blog *Antipliroforisi*. That blog claimed that the Jews were behind the new legislation and suggested that the Greeks should “get rid of” all those who voted in favor of it.¹⁵ Particularly it targeted Aristeidis Paraskakis, LGBT rights activist who also stands against antisemitism, accusing him of being “a Jew” serving foreign interests. In the past, the blog denied the Holocaust.¹⁶

¹¹ For more details and KIS response see *Announcement on a Cartoon Trivializing the Western Wall*, 8 January 2016, http://www.kis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=614:announcement-cartoon-trivializing-the-western-wall&catid=51:2009-05-26-11-05-45&Itemid=87

¹² On 7 January 2017 the Imam posted that he erased his apology which read: “[t]he legitimate condemnation of the Israeli policy towards the Palestinians should not include elements that offend the majority of the population of the country based on its ethnic and religious identity”. *Announcement for the Statements of the Imam of Glafki*, 9 January 2017, http://www.kis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=687:announcement-for-the-statements-of-the-imam-of-glafki-apology-of-the-imam&catid=12:2009&Itemid=41

¹³ *Greek game firm closes Auschwitz “escape room” following complaints*, 30 December 2016, <http://www.jta.org/2016/12/30/news-opinion/world/greek-game-firm-closes-auschwitz-escape-room-following-complaints#.WGagkPJDhVs.twitter>

¹⁴ See also “*Escape room*” invited players to escape Auschwitz “before being turned into ash”, 30 December 2016, <https://enantiastonantisemitismo.wordpress.com/>

¹⁵ Irena Cantorovich (ed.), *KANTOR CENTER & DATABASE BULLETIN JANUARY – FEBRUARY – MARCH 2016*, <http://kantorcenter.tau.ac.il/previous-editions-kantor-center-and-database-bulletin>. It should be noted that in the vote that took place on 22 December 2015, the two right wing parties, the Independent Greeks (known by its Greek acronym ANEL), and the Golden Dawn, were among the parliamentary minority of 56 MPs who voted against the new law. Anastassios Adamopoulos, *Greek Parliament Ratifies Civil Union Agreement for Same, GREEKREPORTER*, 22 December 2015, <http://greece.greekreporter.com/2015/12/22/greek-parliament-ratifies-cohabitation-agreement-for-same-sex-couples/>.

¹⁶ Irena Cantorovich (ed.), *KANTOR CENTER & DATABASE BULLETIN JANUARY – FEBRUARY – MARCH 2016*, <http://kantorcenter.tau.ac.il/previous-editions-kantor-center-and-database-bulletin>

While referring to the context of the web, it is noteworthy to mention an article published on 11 June 2016 in ELEFTHERI ORA, a hard core antisemitic daily that publishes regularly slanderous anti-Jewish stereotypes, like those implying their alleged world domination and their relations to conspiracy theories and the economic crisis. Apart of its printed edition (though of a very low circulation), it is also available on the web. In an article entitled “Israel seeks world censorship”, ELEFTHERI ORA criticized statements of Israeli Public Security Minister Gilad Erdan, according to which Israel is aiming to build an international coalition to force the world's leading social media giants to prevent their platforms from being abused to incitement to terrorism.¹⁷

The mainstream press deals, inter alia, with the issue of the Holocaust either by its trivialization or by its relativization.

On 31 January 2016 a cartoon published in EFIMERIDA TON SYNDAKTON trivialized the Holocaust by depicting a gate similar to that of Auschwitz with the inscription “Ophthalmologic clinic”, indicating how Greeks see the EU.¹⁸

On 19 March 2016 the mainstream weekly paper PARAPOLITICA published a preaching that had been delivered by a self-proclaimed Mufti of Xanthi, Ahmet Mete (not recognized by the Greek State) on August 2014 and related to the Gaza conflict in summer 2014. It took place at the small village of Glafki in Western Thrace in Northern Greece, an area populated by a large Muslim minority, where the religious leader cursed Israel and justified Hitler.¹⁹ On 28 March 2016 KIS issued an announcement condemning that attitude.²⁰

On 4 April 2016 following publicity of the issue, the self-proclaimed Mufti issued an announcement stating that his aim was to “criticize the abuses and persecution committed by Israel” and admitted he was wrong to include the whole Jewish community in his critic.²¹

¹⁷ Based on information the author has obtained from The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS). The information is part of KIS forthcoming report on antisemitism in Greece in 2016. For more details of Minister Erdan's move and the correlation between instances of antisemitic and anti-Israel content posted by Palestinians and the level of violence by Palestinians against Israelis see David Shamah, *Israel eyes world coalition to force social media platforms to block incitement*, THE TIMES OF ISRAEL, 19 January 2016, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/israel-eyes-world-coalition-to-force-social-media-platforms-to-block-incitement/> With reference to the issue of terror, it should be noted that while terror attacks against Israeli citizens receive little if any attention in the Greek media, a mainstream newspaper, the top centrist daily *Ta Nea* published an anti Israeli one-sided article on 15 February 2016. With the title: “*Five Palestinians killed by Israeli fire, two of them were minors*”, *Ta Nea* highlighted the fate of perpetrators. However, a careful reading of the article reveals that all five Palestinians were assailants using knives, automatic weapons and probably an M-16 assault rifle. See: *Ta Nea headline on terror attacks in Jerusalem and the West Bank highlights fate of perpetrators*, 16 February 2016, <https://enantiastantonantisemitismo.wordpress.com/2016/02/16/ta-nea-headline-on-terror-attacks-highlights-fate-of-perpetrators/>.

This all the more evident from an article entitled: *Israel says its forces shot dead five Palestinian assailants*, which was published two days earlier, on 14 February 2016 by Reuters, see <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-palestinians-idUSKCN0VN0L9>.

Thus, an item published by Reuters was uncritically reproduced by *Ta Nea*.

¹⁸ Based on information the author has obtained from The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS). The information is part of KIS forthcoming report on antisemitism in Greece in 2016.

¹⁹ *Id.*

²⁰ *Announcement for the rhetoric of hate launched by a religious representative in Xanthi*, 29 March 2016, http://www.kis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=634:announcement-for-the-rhetoric-of-hate-launched-by-a-religious-representative-in-xanthi&catid=12:2009&Itemid=41.

²¹ Based on information the author has obtained from The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS). The information is part of KIS forthcoming report on antisemitism in Greece in 2016.

Despite that announcement, a local lawyer of Xanthi filed a report to the local prosecutor, who initiated a preliminary investigation, which can lead him to press charges against the self-proclaimed Mufti for his attitude. As of the end of December 2016 the investigation still continues.²²

On 4 August 2016 the daily paper of Ioannina PROINOS LOGOS published an article by K. Kaltsis entitled: *What is the purpose of the persistence of the Jews ... that we honour them all the time?* The author asks why so many Holocaust remembrance events occur each year and why the Jews need to be singled out of the other Nazi victims?²³ Such a question is an example of relativization.

The author concludes by saying: “[w]e believe that the persistence of the Jews serves a purpose: that we recognize the uniqueness of the Jews, their contribution to the world, their influence over the evolving process of the world and our country. Yet, the fact that Israel has exterminated thousands of Palestinians –up to the point that some speak of genocide- should not be discussed! This is considered to be ...necessary of the peace in the Middle East and beyond!”²⁴

The Jewish Community of Ioannina and the Board of KIS sent letters of protest to the paper. Following the journalist continued antisemitic attack in his website, the President of the Jewish Community of Ioannina responded as well as 11 university professors, who co signed a letter against the slur and the antisemitic language.²⁵

The PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION are not only quoted to convey the antisemitic forgery of the Jews' satanic plan for world domination²⁶, but are also on sale in books bazaars. On January 2016 the protocols were on sale in centrally located book bazaar in Ioannina.²⁷ In addition, the PROTOCOLS were sold in a bazaar organized by the Greek Union of Editors in Athens from 20 January 2016 to 7 February 2016.²⁸

Before giving some examples of antisemitic speeches given at the Parliament, it should be pointed out that on 20 April 2016 Speaker of the Hellenic Parliament, Nikos Voutsis, unveiled in the Parliament a white marble tablet engraved with the names of eight Greek Jewish lawmakers who were killed by the Nazis during the Second World War. Six of them were murdered in Auschwitz, while two others were killed fighting with the Greek resistance.²⁹ Although Voutsis apologized for the decades-long delay in commemorating the Jewish parliament members, there were also another response. On 25 April 2016 ELEFTHERI ORA

²² *Id.*

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ *Id.*

²⁵ *Id.*

²⁶ An article published on 18 January 2016 in ELEFTHERI ORA focused on the 7th protocol of the protocols and its implementation in today's society. Based on information the author has obtained from The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS). The information is part of KIS forthcoming report on antisemitism in Greece in 2016.

²⁷ See also a protest post in the blog Against Antisemitism: "Book bazaar in Northern Greece sells antisemitic publication", 11 January 2016. <https://enantiastonantisemitismo.wordpress.com/2016/01/11/book-bazaar-in-northern-greece-sells-antisemitic-publication/>

²⁸ Based on information the author has obtained from The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS). The information is part of KIS forthcoming report on antisemitism in Greece in 2016.

²⁹ JTA, Greek parliament unveils monument to lawmakers killed in Holocaust, THE JERUSALEM POST, 22 April 2016, <http://www.jpost.com/Breaking-News/Greek-parliament-unveils-monument-to-lawmakers-killed-in-Holocaust-452060>.

criticized the monument. Its front page headline read: "The Parliament is a Jewish Synagogue."³⁰

On 30 May 2016 during a debate in Greek Parliament the deputy of Golden Dawn leader, MP Christos Pappas, described Israel as an "eternal enemy of Greece and Orthodoxy" and referred to Israel as a "regional troublemaker".³¹ Defense Minister and Independent Greeks' leader, Panos Kammenos, called on the Justice Ministry to take action against MP Pappas.³²

On 15 September 2016, on the occasion of Commemoration Day of the genocide of the Greeks of Asia Minor by the Turkish state (1914-1923), then Deputy Education Minister, Theodosios Pelegrinis, made antisemitic references to the Holocaust during his speech at the Greek Parliament. The then Deputy Minister stated that

"the Jewish people appropriated the Holocaust in order to earn the sympathy of the civilized world and be justified."³³ Following a large wave of reactions condemning his reference, including a demand from the political parties of the Opposition to resign, Pelegrinis made a clarifying statement arguing that the term "appropriation" was misconstrued by the media.³⁴

A letter co-written by KIS President, David Saltiel and its Secretary General, Moses Elisaf, and addressed to the Deputy Minister said: "[t]he Holocaust is the unique in the history of mankind crime of the genocide of the Jews during WWII by the German Nazis and their collaborators ... *Your reference that the Jews "appropriated" (meaning that they 'made it their own') the generic term of the Holocaust for political purposes and for earning the sympathy of the civilized people in order to be vindicated, -even though you corrected it afterwards, leaves the imprint of an antisemitic stereotype*

...

*On the occasion of the Remembrance Day of the Catastrophe of the Hellenism of Asia Minor we would have expected your reference to be focused on the common pain of the people that have suffered persecution and not on drawing parallels that risk to lead to dangerous misinterpretations".*³⁵ [emphasis in the original – M.N.]

³⁰ Based on information the author has obtained from The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS). The information is part of KIS forthcoming report on antisemitism in Greece in 2016.

³¹ JTA, *Far-right Golden Dawn MP calls Israel "eternal enemy" of Greeks*, THE TIMES OF ISRAEL, 1 June 2016, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/golden-dawn-mp-calls-israel-eternal-enemy-of-greeks/>. That was not the first time MP Pappas got involved in an antisemitic behavior in the national legislature. Three years earlier, in mid May 2013, Pappas re-affirmed his admiration for Hitler and national socialism during a session of the Greek Parliament. See Michal Navoth, "Greece", in Tel Aviv University, Kantor Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry, *Antisemitism Worldwide 2013 General Analysis Draft* 41, http://www.kantorcenter.tau.ac.il/sites/default/files/Doch_2013.pdf.

³² Panos Kammenos promotes a solidarity profile with the Jewish world following his party's position as a junior partner in the coalition government of both January and September 2015. For a change in his position, see The Central Board of the Jewish Communities in Greece, *2015 Antisemitism in Greece*, December 2015, p. 5.

³³ KIS, *Announcement for the Reference of the Deputy Education Minister to the Holocaust*, 20 September 2016, http://www.kis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=664:announcement-for-the-reference-of-the-deputy-education-minister-to-the-holocaust-&catid=12:2009&Itemid=41.

³⁴ *Id.* For the criticism of the **political parties of the opposition**, New Democracy, Pasok and Potami see Marry Harris, *Greek Deputy Under Fire for Antisemitic References to Jewish Holocaust*, GREEKREPORTER, 19 September 2016, <http://greece.greekreporter.com/2016/09/19/greek-deputy-under-fire-for-antisemitic-references-to-jewish-holocaust/#sthash.NQdxBk4l.dpuf>.

³⁵ KIS, *Announcement for the Reference of the Deputy Education Minister to the Holocaust*, 20 September 2016, http://www.kis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=664:announcement-for-the-reference-of-the-deputy-education-minister-to-the-holocaust-&catid=12:2009&Itemid=41

In response, Pelegrinis addressed a letter to KIS, expressing his resentment that his speech was misunderstood. The deputy concluded his letter saying: "[o]n the contrary, I referred to the Holocaust as an example that we Greeks must keep in mind".³⁶

On December 2016 former Justice Minister, Nikos Paraskevopoulos, made remarks regarding Golden Dawn and the political system. On 11 December in the Sunday edition of the VRADYNI newspaper Paraskevopoulos said that the extreme-right party must be supported by democratic parties if it decides to embrace the rule of democracy. He also defended his position on Vima FM radio.³⁷

The trial of the Golden Dawn, a neo Nazi party, which commenced on April 2015, continued in 2016. Yet, despite the crackdown and the unprecedented legal actions taken against it, Golden Dawn steadily remains the third largest party. It is the only party with an increase in its percentage in the election in autumn 2015, where many of the lawmakers were re-elected, including the party leader, Nikolaos Michaloliakos and other seniors.

For the first time in the modern democratic Greece, an entire party and its leadership has faced trial. As in 2015³⁸, the party's newspaper, CHRYSSI AVGHI weekly, continues to claim that the trial of Golden Dawn was the outcome of a "conspiracy" directly "ordered by American Jewish organizations" (issue of 24 August), and the "Zionists" (issue of 14 September).³⁹ The CHRYSSI AVGHI also criticizes Jewish figures either in relation to the latter's response to the growth of Neo Nazi parties in Europe or to the alleged claim that they are oppressing the Golden Dawn.

At the beginning of March 2016 European Jewish Congress President Dr. Moshe Kantor expressed deep concern and alarm after a neo-Nazi party, Our Slovakia made gains in Slovakia national parliamentary election. "This is an extremely worrying trend and something that all moderate parties and politicians from the Left and Right should work against" he said.⁴⁰ With reference to Dr. Kantor's response CHRYSSI AVGHI came on 16 March 2017 with the following headline: "Acting in panic, they will even ban elections."⁴¹

On 23 March 2017 CHRYSSI AVGHI published an article entitled: "Harris back in Athens again". The article refers to David Harris, American Jewish Committee (AJC)'s CEO as the man who orchestrated the conspiracy against Golden Dawn.⁴²

³⁶*Id.*

³⁷ *FORMER JUSTICE MINISTER UNDER FIRE FOR GD REMARKS*, 12 DECEMBER 2016, [HTTP://WWW.EKATHIMERINI.COM/214513/ARTICLE/EKATHIMERINI/NEWS/FORMER-JUSTICE-MINISTER-UNDER-FIRE-FOR-GD-REMARKS](http://www.ekathimerini.com/214513/article/ekathimerini/news/former-justice-minister-under-fire-for-gd-remarks).

³⁸ See Michal Navoth, "Greece", in Tel Aviv University, Kantor Center for the Study of Cotemporary European Jewry, Antisemitism Worldwide 2015 General Analysis Draft 45. <http://kantorcenter.tau.ac.il/sites/default/files/Report2015-080516.pdf>.

³⁹ Based on information the author has obtained from The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS). The information is part of KIS forthcoming report on antisemitism in Greece in 2016.

⁴⁰ *EJC expresses deep concern about growth of neo-Nazi parties in Europe after 'Our Slovakia' makes gains in parliamentary elections*, 7 March 2016, <http://www.eurojewcong.org/ejc-in-action/14758-ejc-expresses-deep-concern-about-growth-of-neo-nazi-parties-in-europe-after-%E2%80%98our-slovakia-makes-gains-in-parliamentary-elections.html>.

⁴¹ Based on information the author has obtained from The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (KIS). The information is part of KIS forthcoming report on antisemitism in Greece in 2016.

⁴² *Id.*

In the issue of 14 September 2016, CHRYSSI AVGHI wrote that the visit in Athens of Robert Singer, World Jewish Congress (WJC) CEO (referred to as “the Arch-Zionist”) was intended to secure that “Greek political leadership would continue the illegal political prosecution of Golden Dawn.”⁴³

CHRYSSI AVGHI also links general international issues with Zionism. In its issue of 7 September 2016 it published an article entitled: “Wall Street overthrew the president of Brazil.” Brazil is depicted as a “fraud orchestrated by the Zionist economic-banking system of loan sharks”. The word “Zionists” is repeated ten times in the article.

The use of the word “Zionists” characterizes not only the language of CHRYSSI AVGHI, but it also the new rhetoric the party has adopted since its prosecution and the preparation of the trial. Unlike the past, when its leadership openly espoused antisemitism, Golden Dawn has transformed its rhetoric by referring to “Zionism” and “Zionist interests.” The reason for this camouflage stems from the fact that antisemitism is a form of racism and as such can be prosecuted under the anti-racism law, Law 4285/2014. Anti-Zionism is not considered to be within the bounds of the law and cannot be considered a criminal offence.⁴⁴

Hungary, Romania and Slovakia / Raphael Vago

Hungary

As in 2015 the most complex and contradictory developments in Europe during 2016 took place in Hungary which continued to reflect the deep divisions in Hungarian political life between the center-right FIDESZ, the extremist right-wing Jobbik and the liberal-left, concerning Hungary facing its past on the fate of its almost 600,000 Jews who perished in the Holocaust, the evaluation of the inter-war and war time Horthy regime. 2016, as in the previous years also saw the intensification of debates and differences of opinion with the events commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Holocaust in Hungary during 2014. In fact 2016 like 2014-2014, became a test case for the delicate balance and relationship between various parts of Hungarian society, the media and the political spectrum. As the year 2014 was designated by the Hungarian government and the Jewish community for a series of events and activities in Hungary and abroad which became the focal point of strong differences of opinion not only concerning the politics of memory in today's Hungary but also focusing on the rise of anti-Semitism, and the government's handling those issues. In the context of widening gulf in the public and political discourse, yet another front was opened with the deep differences between the Jewish community leadership and the government, which were growingly healed in 2016. Several forums of high level dialogues took place and their format continued in 2016. The trend in 2016 was one of working out and reaching a more suitable cooperation between the Jewish community and the government. Such steps were essential as Hungary served in the chair of IHRA- the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance between March 2015 - March 2016, during which, and not only linked to this position, there were numerous events and projects in which leading Hungarian personalities, including the Ambassador to Israel, Dr. Andor Nagy, expressed Hungary's responsibility for the Holocaust of Hungarian Jewry, and commitment for the memory, and the teaching of the topic. Such

⁴³ *Id.*

⁴⁴ See Michal Navoth, “Greece”, in Tel Aviv University, Kantor Center for the Study of Cotemporary European Jewry, Antisemitism Worldwide 2015 General Analysis Draft 45. <http://kantorcenter.tau.ac.il/sites/default/files/Report2015-080516.pdf>.

attitudes were expressed by the Hungarian Ambassador to Israel in several public and academic events.

While the number of incidents is not on the rise, the main danger in Hungary is the attempt to "whitewash " the anti-Semitic past, rehabilitate aspects of the Horthy era, emphasize Hungary's alleged loss of sovereignty in March 1944, with the German occupation, thus as attempt to relativize Hungary's role in the destruction of its Jewry.

The nationalist wave riding high on the effects of the economic crisis, criticism leveled by factors in the US, EU against the Fidesz government, and at the same time a feeling by the Hungarian government that Hungary is unjustly being criticized, has also affected and strained relations between the Hungarian government and the major Jewish organization in Hungary, MAZSIHISZ, and between world Jewish organizations abroad, which as noted has been somewhat toned down in 2016 compared to the two previous years before.

The political polarization in Hungary is being reflected in the major issues related to the past and present of Hungarian anti-Semitism and Hungary's role in the destruction of its Jewry. There is no doubt that the Hungarian government is and should be sensitive to the rise of anti-Semitism, noted by factors inside and outside Hungary.

In the past few years criticism has been leveled against Hungary that often the government speaks in two voices – one at home, not blocking, even promoting historical revisionism, while acting abroad with a continuing commitment to take responsibility for Hungary's role in the Holocaust of its Jewry.

The extreme right, represented by Jobbik, continues to be very active. However, an interesting trend could be observed since the end of 2014, that continued in 2015 – 2016 , namely a slow process of internal divisions and new voices within Jobbik, as the Party leader, Gabor Vona, struck up a more moderate tone, even of showing understanding towards the pain of all victims of suffering. This change of tone, too early to evaluate whether it's tactical or of a more strategic nature, reflects Vona's view that by reducing the anti-Semitic and anti-Roma racist attitudes, Jobbik can penetrate deeper into further segments of Hungarian society.

In an interesting development which brought about a lively debate within the Jewish community was the Hanukkah greetings by the leader of Jobbik, which was among others, rejected by Andras Heissler, the President of the Federation of Hungarian-Jewish communities. Heissler did not negate the possibility of the gradual transformation of Jobbik, now the second largest political party in Hungary, into a more moderate right wing force on the long run, but rejected that "10 years of racist incitement" can be corrected by "Hanukkah greetings". At the same time, Heissler called on Vona to assume his party's responsibility for their racist attitude towards the Roma. (see, MAZSIHISZ.hu. 6 January 2017.

Jobbik's site, Jobbik.hu deals less with Jewish subjects , and focuses more on the movement's internal affairs, and especially the migrants' crisis, leaving the anti-Semitic propaganda to the more extremist and known net sites as Kuruc.info.

This site for example is busy analyzing the "gaining of cultural ground by the Jewish cesspit ", about which already Richard Wagner has warned in 1850 (see Kurucinfo, April 22, 2016)

In fact, Hungary was very much preoccupied since autumn 2015 by the erupting migrants' crisis, as Hungary became in the autumn of the year the major point of crisis with dozens of thousands stranded inside Hungary and on its borders. The rift with the EU over the country's policies, and the grave humanitarian crisis, brought about expressions of nationalism and xenophobia, as some sites and social networks found a good opportunity to blame the Jews for supporting the migrants, as yet another way to "destabilize" Hungary. Members of the civil groups aiding the refugees at the Budapest railway station, among whom there were Jewish activists, were accused of sabotaging Hungarian national interests. It is not known how many nationalist Hungarians bought the argument that the Jews are helping Muslims invade Hungary.

No doubt that Hungary remains high on the map of anti-Semitic alerts among European countries. Much of the present trends in anti-Semitism are directly related to the on-going process of trying to establish a national narrative on Hungary's past in the inter-War and during the Second World War and its role in the Hungarian Holocaust.

As to local assessments in Hungary on the level of anti-Semitism in late 2016, Andras Heissler in a lecture said that Jobbik has indeed lowered its racist tone, and he defended the Hungarian government's commitment towards the memory of the Holocaust, and that "there is a decrease in the level of political anti-Semitism", which is encouraging, but dangerous trends continue to exist in Hungarian society. (see, Uj Elet, 15 December 2016)

Romania

In the parliamentary elections in Romania held in November 2016 several small extremist movements did not reach the electoral threshold, thus, unlike the trend in several European states, including in the former communist countries, currently there is no extremist, antisemitic, xenophobic, nationalist representation.

However, extremist views are increasingly clouding the public sphere and discourse, as also manifested in the social media, even though such views did not gain political representation. According to one analysis in early 2016 " Neo-Nazism and neo-legionnairism (meaning adherents of the fascist Iron Guard between the two wars) are present and represent an extreme danger for the future of the country " (see, DC News, 3 April 2016) According to this analysis, the present trends in Europe are being increasingly reflected in Romania and may break out in more evident forms in the future.

At the same time, more populist and nationalist voices are entering some of the mainstream expressions, mostly generated by the on-going discussions and debates on the refugee crisis and acts of terror in Europe, a crisis that has outflanked Romania, as it is not situated, (some observers may feel that not yet), on the major routes of entry toward the West. The nationalist and populist voices, very often more present in talks-backs in the media and forums of the social media, are less preoccupied with Jewish aspects, although raising the level of "national values", "national history" may ultimately bring closer to the surface more blunt antisemitic views. Very often the media and especially the public reactions are almost obsessed with items about Israeli/Jewish influence, presence in various forms. When it was published that two Israeli strategic counselors worked on the party campaign of the victorious center-left, PDS party, a characteristic reaction in the talkbacks was that " it is the typical Itzhik and Shtrul (two typical Jewish anecdotal persons in Jewish humor and antisemitic lore) situation now , as

it was in 1947 when communism by brought by Jews on Soviet tanks". (see, ziare.com, 18 November 2016)

The main features of antisemitism in Romania are characterized by relatively few violent incidents, sporadic cases of vandalism against Jewish targets as cemeteries, synagogues, with a continuing trend of justifying Romania's war time regime of Antonescu, revival of groups, movements spreading the ideas of the pro-Nazi Iron Guard, and various forms of Holocaust denial. "Neo-legionnaire" expressions seem to enter into the mainstream discourse, stressing nationalist, xenophobic attitudes with antisemitic undertones.

Official Romanian attitudes, such as those expressed during the visit of President Klaus Werner Iohannis in Israel in early March 2016 (see JTA reports 7-11 March 2016), and in numerous public appearances by Romania's Ambassador to Israel, Andrea Pastarnac, recognize Romania's responsibility for the Holocaust and the country's determination to combat antisemitism, Holocaust denial, all forms of xenophobia and racism. Romania emphasizes the need for Holocaust education and remembrance, a major topic that is being pursued as Romania took over the chair of the IHRA – the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance for 2016.

The visit of Romania's President in Israel, his declarations, visit to Yad Vashem, was strongly attacked by extremist internet sites, such as nationalisti.ro, which on 17 April 2016 under the headline "Why Iohannis wants to push the Holocaust into us", which not only denies that there was a Holocaust in Romania, but if the Germans did at all of what they have been accused of, it was done by Iohannis' Germans (the Romanian President is an ethnic German).

The Romanian President signed a decree awarding Aurel Vainer, the President of the Federation of Jewish Communities a high national decoration, the "Star of Romania with the rank of Commander". In the decree Vainer's special "involvement in fighting antisemitism, xenophobia, Holocaust denial" were mentioned.

On the commemoration of Holocaust Day in Romania in October 2016, leaders of the Jewish community and Romania's leadership stressed Romania's recognition of the Holocaust and the need to educate about the legacy of Holocaust and to combat antisemitism. (see, [Agerpres](http://agerpres.ro), 9 October 2016) Such expressions are characteristic of the public statements on the national and local level, during numerous events of commemorating the Holocaust. Likewise, numerous local events linked to the past of Jewish communities are well covered by the local and national media outlets.

The effectiveness of rapid and strong responses to antisemitic events was proved by the protests of MCA Romania,(The Center for Monitoring and Combating Antisemitism) a major monitoring and activist organization, the leadership of the Federation of the Jewish Communities led by Dr. Aurel Vainer who frequently raises issues on antisemitism and historical revisionism in the Romanian Parliament where he is a member, and by the Elie Wiesel Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania which is also very active in responding and acting against any forms of racism, antisemitism and Holocaust denial. The contribution of elements of civil society is very essential in mobilizing public opinion.

Two major cases in early 2016 indicated the continuing revisionist presence in the Romanian public sphere, including the spirit of the Iron Guard in various forms and Holocaust denial.

One was the appointment of a journalist, Oana Stanciulescu to the Board of the Romanian Public TV, who has expressed reverence for pro-Nazi and Iron Guard Romanian intellectuals. (See JTA, 1 April 2016) While she has rejected any antisemitic views, she stood by defense of war time pro-fascist intellectuals. Public reaction was very strong, it included a letter of protest signed by numerous leading academics, intellectuals, and protests by the Elie Wiesel Institute, which in turn was criticized by the pro-appointment groups. (See for example, Adevarul , 27 March 2016) In what was described as an "unusual move", Israel's Embassy in Bucharest protested the appointment, as it "views with concern her appointment" in the light of "her expressions of antisemitic sympathies for the Legionary Movement". (See, Israel slams Romanian journalist's appointment to state television board", JTA, 1 April 2016)

The second widely publicized case was the mayoral candidacy of Bucharest of Marian Munteanu of the National Liberal Party, Romania's second largest party, in April 2016; it was debated in Romanian society, the media and political factors. Munteanu signed a petition in 1994 in which it was claimed that Jews were lying about their losses in the Holocaust to "obtain illicit money from Romanian people through disinformation and manipulation of public opinion..." Through rapid intervention of numerous influential factors, of civil society, leading members of the academic community and the Elie Wiesel Institute, the candidacy of Munteanu was withdrawn. The Institute warned that "Munteanu presents a concern not only because of his "nationalist rhetoric "and "statements minimizing or denying the Holocaust" but also for "misrepresenting" reality today. (See JTA, 18 April 2016, The Romania Journal, 14 April 2016) The public reaction, in the media, social networks, the political storm that the case generated also in political circles, indicated the severity of the case – not a unique one in the last years, in which active political and public figures are implicated in antisemitic and Holocaust denial attitudes. Munteanu's defense on major and quite popular sites as ziaristionline.ro clearly show the cleavages in Romanian society and the prevalence of right-wing, xenophobic attitudes.

These two major developments – the public and media debates, indicate that historical revisionism, antisemitism, the Holocaust and Romania's role in the destruction of large parts of its Jewry under the Antonescu regime are still very evident in today's Romania, just as reactions of civil society are well heard and taken into account.

The keen efforts of the Romanian government, especially as Romania took over the chairmanship of IHRA (the International Holocaust and Remembrance Alliance) for a year in May 2016, were evident in the numerous activities held in Romania and outside. Romania hosted the IHRA Plenary in Iasi between 7-10 November 2016.

Slovakia

The activities and impact of extremist groups or persons often must be seen in a broader perspective which would enable to evaluate on-going trends on a longer time framework. Such an approach should be applied in evaluating the fluctuations in the influence and presence of extremism in Slovakia.

As it was noted in Anti-Semitism Worldwide 2013, the most significant development in 2013 in Slovakia was the election in November of Marian Kotleba, the former head of a banned neo-Nazi Party, Slovak Togetherness, currently the leader of the People's Party – Our Slovakia, as Governor of the Banska Bystrica region, (see, Martin Ehl, The Triumph of

Extremism in Slovakia, Transitions Online, 26 November 2013) Extremist sites celebrated the event, hailing it as a "monumental victory for the European people as a whole, and Slovakia in particular...the hardcore nationalist Marian Kotleba won 55.5% of the votes".(Daily Stormer, November 24, 2013) This electoral victory was significant as in the last two parliamentary elections the Peoples' Party-Our Slovakia gained only marginal number of votes, while the increase in regional support raised the alarm among civil society in Slovakia. While direct antisemitic remarks were few, Kotleba's movement openly praises the war-time regime of Tiso, and challenges the idea that Tiso's regime bore responsibility for the country's crimes against Jews during the Holocaust. Observers have noted the increased influence in the movement of some elements from the Catholic Church. (Transitions Online, November 25,2013) The movement is openly racist against the Roma- a major social and political issue in Slovakia, as in Hungary. The party platform refers to the "need to ensure safety in the surroundings of Roma settlements and to fight "unfair favoritism of Gypsy parasites".(Open Society Foundations, December 4, 2013) The major significance of the regional victory in the Banska Bystrica region was the possibility of a growing impact of right-wing extremism in Slovak mainstream politics, by electing an extremist politician as regional governor, impact on regional politics, that along the Hungarian Jobbik, there are signs of growing extremism among Slovak voters, and on the EU level – yet another indication of the strengthening of extremist parties and movements, not on the fringes of political life, but enjoying wider support from frustrated elements in society.

Indeed, the apprehensions voiced in late 2013, became a reality in the general elections of March 2016, when Kotleba's party, The People's Party-Our Slovakia received some 8% of the votes, and entered Parliament for the first time becoming a significant player in national politics, although outside the newly formed coalition – similar to the position of Jobbik in Hungary. The BBC correctly noted (6 March 2016) that "The term 'neo-Nazi' is often bandied about, at times, foolishly, to describe anyone with views slightly to the right of Marine Le-Pen. But Marian Kotleba is different – he was once, literally a neo-Nazi". Tom Nicholson, a veteran British-Canadian journalist living for years in Slovakia, summed up for the BBC, that "this is a moment of great shame for Slovakia. Mr Kotleba's party is not like the French National Front, which is far-right. These are Nazis."

The Western media characterized Kotleba's party as "neo-Nazi" (See for example "neo-Nazi party makes an electoral breakthrough in Slovakia" (The Guardian, March 7, 2016)

The messages of the People's Party-Our Slovakia are clear : more than "flirting" in the past with Holocaust denial, using rhetoric, uniforms – as Kotleba has done in the past, symbols of the fascist Tiso era, the party rides high on the wave of the immigration crisis, calls for the banning of the entry of Muslims in the country, thus competing with more moderate elements of the Slovak political scene, including those forming the ruling coalition, clearly anti-Roma, referred to as "Gypsy parasites". Kotleba's party is strongly anti EU – thus fits well into the post-communist countries' anti-immigration attitudes of Hungary, the Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia.

The fact that some 23% of the first time young voters gave their vote for a party that it is seen as Neo-Nazi should worry Slovak society, as the simple explanations of "social discontent" may not provide a comprehensive answer. The continuing reviving of war time living ghosts of the fascist past is a continuing threat to the future of Slovak society. While Kotleba was elected in 2013 as the governor of an region seen as under-developed, and its voters fed up

with mainstream parties, the success in the general elections, bringing in 14 members, and 8% of the votes is indeed a breakthrough. (see , Financial Times, 7 March 2016)

Slovak sources have reported an increased number of extremist criminal acts during 2016, (see, Slovak Spectator. 12 May 2016) , and one may wonder if such an increase was already a reflection of the electoral victory of Kotleba's party. As the Times of Israel noted, 18 November 2016, "Slovakia comes to terms with proudly neo-Nazi party". Party members celebrated the 125th anniversary of Tiso's birth. Thus automatically the party assumes the legacy of the antisemitic war-time fascist regime.

Recent surveys indicate that up to 25% of respondents would support a dictatorship, and some 35% would support leaving the EU – and the numbers seemed to grow during 2016. (see, The Slovak Spectator, 21 December 2016)

The response of Slovak civil society was displayed in rallies held in Bratislava and Banska Bystrica in protest against Kotleba. (see, The Slovak Spectator, 8 March 2016) Marching with crossed swastikas, lit candles and anti-Fascist slogans the demonstrators expressed their dismay at the rise of Kotleba's party.

As, Peter Weisenbacher from Bratislava's Human Rights Institute expressed it, "Racism, xenophobia, Holocaust denials and other such things have no place in democracy." (The Times of Israel, 16 November 2016)

The attempts to rehabilitate Tiso and his war-time regime are a constant feature of Slovak antisemitism and historical revisionism as noted in the past researches of Pavol Mestan, the Director of the Museum of Jewish Culture in Bratislava (see Antisemitism Worldwide of the past two decades). Kotleba's People Party- Our Slovakia is the main torch bearer of Tiso's fascist and clerical legacy, now representing those ideas in the Slovak National Assembly.

A yearly test for the impact of revisionist ideas is the yearly march in Bratislava commemorating the March 1939 foundation of the war-time Nazi allied puppet state led by Jozef Tiso. A march by neo-Nazis took place in March 2015 commemorating the 76th anniversary of the "independent" Slovak State was, as usual countered by a demonstration organized by the "Bratislava without Nazis Initiative". The 2016 events were of low key, due to the protest demonstrations held a week earlier in the wake of the general elections. However, it seems that Slovak extremists have new opportunities to express their revisionist views, since the 2016 elections. On the other hand, it is the right time for the defenders of human rights and the memory of the Holocaust to express their opposition to the expansion of the extreme right, as two Slovak MPs have shown by wearing yellow stars of David in the National Assembly. (AFP, 23 March 2016)

It should be emphasized that relations between Slovakia and Israel are very good, and Ambassador Peter Hulenyi sees great potential in expanding relations. (see The Jerusalem Post, 10 September 2016) Slovakia commemorates every year Holocaust Day on 9 September, and there are numerous projects of renewal of Jewish sites in Slovakia, as synagogues and cemeteries. The ruling SMER party, almost ten years in power often expresses its determination to fight against racism, xenophobia and antisemitism.

Australia / Jeremy Jones

Introduction

Australia is an essentially immigrant society with a strong ethos of religious tolerance and acceptance of multiculturalism as not just a result of history but something which is but valued. It has no history of institutional antisemitism, and philosemitism is a genuine phenomenon which, historically, has been on par with, or more important than, anti-Jewish hostility.

The Jewish community was established as part of the first European colonial settlement and has never had its legitimacy questioned. The first two Australian-born Governors General (representatives of the Monarch in Australia) were both Jewish, as were prominent military, cultural and civic figures. At present, there are six Jewish federal parliamentarians, while by demographics alone there would be only one.

In National and State elections, voting is compulsory for all citizens of the age of 18 and above, which militates against dramatic changes to political representation, and the presence of extremist political movements, in parliament.

Nevertheless, antisemitism is present in Australia. It has a number of sources and numerous manifestations, presenting a range of challenges to the Jewish community. Globalism has enhanced Australian individuals and groups ability to articulate right-wing, left-wing Islamist or Christian-based antisemitism. On-line, Australians are keyed into a fully international network. Domestically, a series of issues have provided antisemites of a number of types with pretexts and opportunities to engage in public debate.

In terms of physical manifestations of antisemitism, such as assault, vandalism, harassment, threats and intimidation, the data indicates that fewer members of the Jewish community are reporting that they have been subjected to incidents than the average over 26 years, although a slight increase in reports of threatening emails in 2016 as against 2015 has been reported, somewhat questionably, as representing a deteriorating situation in Australia.

It cannot be overemphasised that globalisation of communications has a direct effect on the prevalence of antisemitism in countries, such as Australia, in which anti-Jewish prejudice has historically played a minor role in the lives of members of the Jewish community. When Facebook and twitter, for example, serve as platforms for antisemites, when international media outlets broadcast anti-Jewish material or when YouTube channels promote voices hostile to Jews, they can have a direct influence on the quality of life of Jewish Australians. In an era where consumers of information can select from a global menu of sources, there is also a reduced ability for those promoting understanding and respect to reach individuals and communities who are accessing stereotypes, caricatures and defamatory depictions of Jews.

Antisemitism in Public Life

Although there are no overtly anti-Jewish political parties represented in Australian parliaments, there are legitimate concerns at sections of the far-right and far-left of politics, and with some relatively insignificant figures from the political mainstream.

At the Federal Election held in July 2016, four members of the populist, nativist One Nation Party were elected to parliament, on a platform of xenophobia and anti-Muslim prejudice and in a party with past hostility to both Asian migrants and programmes to address Indigenous disadvantage. While the formal platform makes no reference to Jews or Judaism, parliamentarians and branches have been associated in the past with antisemitism and, since the election, party supporters have voiced antisemitic triumphalism. On the left wing, the Greens, which include an active core of extreme anti-Israel supporters whose attitudes to Zionism and Jewish self-determination have overlapped with antisemitism, continue to be represented in federal and state parliaments.

During the pre-election period, one Labor Party candidate lost his endorsement due to expressing anti-Jewish views (in the context of addressing Australia's Middle East policy) and a second was disendorsed due to an alleged relationship with *Hizb ut-Tahrir*. In local politics, at the municipal level, individuals (in areas with substantial Jewish populations) expressing anti-Jewish views were exposed in the media, and subsequently politically defeated.

One political issue in which public debate included antisemitic references to an alleged Jewish lobby with disproportionate power was a discussion of the form (or even necessity) of laws designed to give victims of racism some legal recourse. While the main advocates of repeal of the protections were not in any way antisemitic, some mainstream media commentary - and a good deal of online discussion - claimed that the laws were imposed for, or even by, Jews, and were against Australia's interests. Also, given that a series of successful complaints under the law have been launched against Holocaust deniers and other purveyors of anti-Jewish myths, the far-right were vigorous in arguing for the laws to be abolished.

Far-Right Wing Antisemitism

In the year in review, elements on the far-right of the political spectrum were active on-line, in electoral politics and, in areas of public debate. Although there are dozens of small groupings of neo-Nazis and overt antisemites, these exist on the margins even of the xenophobic and populated, nationalist movements. While most far-right wing groups took public positions opposed to all or some of non-European immigration, religious freedom for Muslims or programmes designed to assist Indigenous or other disadvantaged groups within Australia, antisemitism was not generally on their agendas. This is not to say that those with racist mindsets and views of Australia as a monocultural, Christian nation did not harbor anti-Jewish views (and evidence that this was present within their support base abounds on-line), public posturing was neutral in questions relating to Australian Jewry, with some groups articulating the view that Jews and Israel were under threat from Arabs and Muslims and as such, on "the same side" as them.

The groups farthest on the racist extreme which openly promote Holocaust denial (e.g. The Adelaide Institute), or Nazi-type anti-Jewish views (e.g. Whitelaw Towers, Bible Believers) represent individuals or very small numbers of active members.

Far-Left Antisemitism

The antisemitism from elements in the far-left was more pernicious, aggressive and dishonest. Generally expressed as contributions to debate on Australia's (generally firm) support of Israel and opposition to Islamist terrorism, it found apologists and tacit support from elements close to the Australian mainstream. It was manifest in depictions of an overtly influential and

socially regressive "Jewish lobby" (sometimes rendered as "Zionist lobby") , with the employment of different standards for assessing the justice of Jewish national self-determination from all other forms of national self-determination and in bullying and harassment of Jewish students (and others) on campus on proscriptionally-determined, political grounds. A significant number of antisemitic comments were given a platform, and faced no censure, by groups claiming to represent progressive values. The context was often, but not exclusively, matters relating to Israel and Zionism.

Christian Antisemitism

Australia's population is majority Christian, with significant Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox Churches representing more than 70% of the population (with another 15% or more culturally Christian but not affiliated religiously). By and large, the main denominations are progressive in their attitudes to Jews and a number are sensitive to issues relating to supersessionism, Israel and historic and theological Jewish/Christian relations. However, pockets of antisemitism, given expression in the language of pre-Shoah anti-Jewish churches, have come to the attention of the Jewish community in recent times, mainly from Protestant denominations.

There is some overlap with these Christians, who have been fed a diet of anti-Israel (and often, by extremism or overtly) anti-Jewish ideas by the World Council of Churches, the Middle East Council of Churches and individual anti-Jewish opinion leaders based outside Australia.

At the peak-body level, Churches often take leadership positions against antisemitism, with the Catholic Church most prominent in this regard, but this is in the context of a serious contest for allegiance and understanding.

Muslim Antisemitism

Australia's Muslim community, which is conservatively estimated to be five times larger than the Jewish community, is internally very diverse ethnically, religiously and culturally. In most respects, there has been a positive or neutral relationship between the Muslim and Jewish communities, with active cooperation and dialogue commencing in the 1980s, accelerating in the 1990s and becoming formalised in the early years of the twenty first century. There has been cooperation on issues such as combating xenophobia, developing religious freedom, labelling of food products to assist those who observe Kosher and Hallal diets, advocacy for government support for educational institutions and on broad social issues. There is a spectrum of projects aimed at developing understanding and respect at the community, university and school levels, particularly in the State of New South Wales, home to the bulk of the Muslim community.

Within the Muslim community, nevertheless, there are active promoters of anti-Jewish hostility, generally sourced religiously, but also related to the contest of ideas regarding Israel and broader international politics. Hizb ut-Tahrir, which is overtly antisemitic, has a visible and occasionally vocal presence in Australia. Speakers invited by different national communities to tour and lecture include some who have been involved in promoting antisemitic ideas. Bookshops serving the Muslim community have been found to be selling anti-Jewish books - including *The Protocols of Zion*, but predominantly texts which are framed in language and ideas designed to appeal specifically to Muslim communities. The two

candidates for the Labor Party who were disendorsed prior to the 2016 Federal Election were both linked to groups promoting antisemitism.

The Executive Council of Australian Jewry has documented hundreds of anti-Jewish comments, annually, on online discussion groups emanating from self-identified Islamic sources.

Media

The mainstream media in Australia does not include any newspapers, magazines or television or radio stations which are antisemitic, although there are, rare, individual contributors who may cross the line from acceptable debate to racist commentary. The most notable offender in the mainstream media was Adelaide radio broadcaster and columnist Peter Goers, whose comments on Israel have included overt anti-Jewish language.

A serious problem, and relatively recent development, is the proliferation of anti-Jewish postings on websites, facebook pages and other on-line platforms which are integrated with, and hosted by, mainstream media. Particularly on platforms associated with programmes on the Government-run Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) and Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), a diverse group of anti-Jewish individuals seize on any opportunity to defame, vilify and insult Jews.

Amongst the subjects that provided pretexts for antisemitic submissions, published on moderated sites, were the debate over racial discrimination legislation, Israel, former Foreign Minister Bob Carr's arguments on Australia's foreign policy, immigration, Holocaust commemoration, Jewish life, the federal election processes and matters related to economics. Although ABC and SBS were the worst offenders in this area, various newspaper titles from the two major publishers, News Limited and Fairfax, have also, been frequently allowed antisemitic submission to slip through moderators.

Politics and Public Debate

The 2016 Federal Election produced two phenomena of interest - the highest ever number of openly-identifying Jewish MPs and the largest number of representatives of a party to the right, politically, of the main centre right-conservative bloc. The six Jewish MPs came from three different states and three different parties with only one, the longest serving of them - Michael Danby of the Labor Party - representing a constituency with a sizeable Jewish population. There was very little reference, in any negative sense, to the Jewishness of them in the election period, but on at least one occasion a Jewish candidate had his office daubed with anti-Jewish graffiti. . The One Nation Party, (see above in discussion of far right wing) was successful in Senate bids in three states, with Queensland delivering two Senate places. The second Queensland Senator from One Nation, Malcolm Roberts, has been identified by researchers as a conspiracy theorist who has based economic analyses on the works of the notorious US-antisemite Eustace Mullins. Since his election he has distanced himself from specific, overt antisemitism, but some of his racist vocal supporters have used the platform provided by his election to make open antisemitic claims.

At the local council level, one Councillor in Victoria was exposed after a judicial process, as making antisemitic comments (he was not re-elected in the 2016 council ballot) and in another council, in New South Wales, a debate over the construction of an eruv produced antisemitic

arguments from those who, after a long and protracted process, failed in their bid to block its construction.

Education and culture

In two instances in the year in review, academics were linked to the promotion of antisemitism, one in Western Australia and one in New South Wales. In both circumstances, the educational institutions publicly condemned antisemitism and the issues were dealt with using internal procedures. Additionally, the Vice-Chancellors of a number of universities issued strong statements outlining the unacceptability of antisemitism on their campuses.

Controversy over the use of language identified with the Shoah, such as “Holocaust” or “Nazi-like” in general political and social discussions was ongoing. In Australia in the year in review, its main manifestations were in the course of debate over the policies of Australian political parties and governments towards asylum seekers and others who attempted to come to Australia outside the humanitarian, refugee and other formal immigration programmes. However, there is little to suggest that the intention was to denigrate the experiences of those who experienced Nazism, although that was the effect.

Some anti-Israel propagandists employed language taken from the Shoah period, and in these cases the intent was more likely to be to attempt to distort and minimise understanding of Jewish suffering. There was also, in this area of public discourse, considerable invocation of language aimed at demonising and delegitimising Israel and, explicitly or implicitly, Jews. In other cases, there was an element of ambiguity as whether motivation, intent or effect was anti-Semitic, when double standards were employed in commentary concerning Israel

Physical incidents

Statistics on antisemitic attitudes and threats, have been recorded diligently by the Executive Council of Australian Jewry since 1989.

Across all categories, which include violence and vandalism, face to face harassment, graffiti, hate mail, telephone threats, emails and miscellaneous incidents, the 2016 total was under 60 percent of the average of the previous 26 years.

When one excludes emails, which have proven difficult to tally in a consistent manner and which have distortions for a number of reasons, the total is 180 incidents, compared with an annual average of 237, or 32 percent below average, and the figure was identical with that of the previous year, which was the lowest tally in 11 years, and the fourth lowest since the database was established

However, the two categories which were above average were those of the most serious incidents, with assaults and vandalism 36 percent above average and face-to-face abuse, also 33 percent higher. In this tally were some serious incidents of assault, property vandalism and ongoing intimidation and harassment. Even here, though, the data does not indicate a new negative trend, as the total for "attacks" (as distinct from threats) was 20 percent below the average of the previous ten years.

One important factor which needs to be taken into account in evaluating this information is that the Jewish community devotes considerable resources, in time, expertise and finances, to

making communal institutions and events secure. For good reason, threats of violence, which can come from far right, far left, Islamist and political extremists, are taken seriously. Also, there are a great many incidents which may be antisemitic but are not included in these tallies as there is insufficient evidence as to the motivation and intent of abuse, threats, vandalism or assault.

Conclusion

It is not easy to measure and assess antisemitism in Australia, but it is a real issue with manifestations across a broad range of areas of public life and should be treated a genuine, serious problem by policy makers.

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Canada / Amanda Hohman (B'nai Brith)

The year 2016 was one steeped in social tension, international unrest and political uncertainty – particularly for members of the global Jewish community. In Canada, we witnessed continuing antisemitism and the ongoing persecution of Jews, who remain the single most victimized group for religiously motivated hate crimes in this country.

The past year was marked by a dramatic shift in White Nationalist and Neo-Nazi activity in Canada. The trend towards increasing cooperation by traditionally disparate and unconnected groups - as previously discussed in 2015's report - continues. At the time of this writing, final numbers were not compiled, but thematically, this is the predominant finding that will be explored more fully in our 2016 report.

Holocaust Denial

In connection with the rising cooperation between previously unrelated antisemitic factions, there were a number of high-profile examples of Holocaust denial in 2016.

Anthony Hall, a professor of 'Globalization Studies' at a university in Northern Alberta, was suspended without pay for his role in the promotion of Holocaust denial and antisemitic conspiracy theories.

Monika Schaefer, a former Green Party candidate, was the centre of a scandal after she released a video created in conjunction with her brother Alfred, in which she denies the Holocaust and apologizes to her German parents for ever having believed the 'lie' of the Holocaust. Alfred Schaefer, a German citizen, had his house raided and his computer equipment confiscated for his role in the production of the video.

In Western Canada, Arthur Topham, accused of promoting hatred against Jews, was found guilty on one count, with sentencing set to take place in March of 2017. This is an important

victory in the fight against hate speech and antisemitism in Canada, as it is very rare for a conviction to be levied on these charges.

Campus Antisemitism

In the past year, we have also witnessed a growth in campus antisemitism, at both public schools and post-secondary institutions. In July, a police investigation was launched into the actions of a public-school educator after she made remarks at a public rally, glorifying terrorism, and referring to the murder of Israeli citizens as 'resistance'.

Toronto's York University continues to be a hotbed of antisemitic activity. Early in 2016, there was sustained controversy over the administration's decision not to remove a violent, anti-Israel mural in the student centre. In September, a York University lab technician was fired for antisemitic postings on Facebook. In late October, it was reported that the antisemitic Nazi-affiliated 'Your Ward News' magazine was being distributed on campus.

Finally, in November, at a meeting of the Student Union at Toronto's Ryerson University, a group of student leaders walked out of the General Meeting in protest, when a motion was brought forward to support Holocaust Education Week on campus. Their walk-out caused the meeting to lose quorum, and the motion to fail. At that same meeting, Jewish students were intimidated, shouted down and were the targets of insults. There are reports that some Jewish students were locked in the bathrooms to keep them from attending the vote.

This rising tide of antisemitism on campus motivated the launch of B'nai Brith on Campus this past September. This initiative is a student-led advocacy arm with a presence on 13 university campuses, in a direct response to the growing BDS presence at post-secondary institutions. Since its inception, B'nai Brith on Campus has been instrumental in helping to overturn BDS motions at multiple schools, and in assisting students who have been the victims of antisemitism to continue their objectives with pride and fight back.

France / Jean Yves Camus

As usual, we shall have the official statistics for 2016 in March 2017, so the only accurate and official data, for now, is a statement by former Minister of the Interior, Bernard Cazeneuve that antisemitic events, as of October, had decreased by 61%, while anti-Muslim incidents had decreased by 52%. This is in comparison to 808 antisemitic incidents and 425 anti-Muslim incidents in 2015. It should be recalled that 800 Jewish buildings, from synagogues to schools and institutions, are under permanent protection by the Army since the January 2016 attacks. A total of 10,000 soldiers are now on duty to enforce the state of emergency, which is in force until at least July 2017.

The peak in antisemitic incidents seems to be in May and July 2016 (approximately 30).

The most serious incidents were:

- A man wearing a skullcap was assaulted by a Muslim who has a record of outspoken antisemitism and violence against Jews (Strasbourg, 19 August 2016)
- An Orthodox Jewish teacher was stabbed by a 16 years-old Kurd in Marseille who claimed allegiance to ISIS, 11 January 2016 (this is not to be mistaken for the same incident which was reported in Marseille, November 2015, and later on was proven to be invented by the victim, who has since been convicted).

Although there were Jewish victims in the 14 July ISIS attack in Nice, this was not an antisemitic attack per se. (Personal note, please do not publish: having had access to the official list of victims of the Bataclan attack, including those who were lightly wounded or shocked, I guess there were many more Jewish victims than reported, although this is only a guess from the peoples' names).

Apart from those general trends, one must mention the very efficient work of the Délégation interministérielle à la lutte contre le racisme et l'antisémitisme (DILCRA), headed by Gilles Clavreul, in fighting cybernate and exposing the misuse of the islamophobia concept by militant left-wing and/or Muslim groups. DILCRA specifically targets the high-profiled Comité contre l'islamophobie (CCIF), whose spokesperson Marwan Muhammad is a frequent speaker on mainstream media. CCIF wrongfully equates any criticism of political Islam, and Islam as a religion, with racism.

Another interesting trend is the loss of influence of the Dieudonné/Alain Soral duo, both because of legal actions and internal infighting on money-related issues within the conspiracy-theory milieu. New faces are emerging on this scene (Daniel Conversano, Florian Rouanet, Scipion de Salm), who have a smaller following but are less tainted by the accusation of making big money out of their fan base. All of them belong to the Neo-Nazi movement. A new face in the small world of Muslim conspirationists and "anti-Zionists" is the Moroccan Youssef Hindi, who often speaks at extreme-right venues.

Holocaust denial is definitely marginal, as the Faurisson generation is getting older and the only exponent of any significance, Vincent Reynouard, is on the run in London. Two rabid anti-Semites have been sentenced in court recently: Jerome Bourbon, publisher of the Extreme-Right weekly Rivarol (December 2016) and Hervé Lalin, aka Ryssen (self-published author and contributor to Rivarol), also in December.

United Kingdom / Mike Whine (CST)

557 antisemitic incidents were recorded across the UK in the first six months of 2016, an 11 per cent increase on the first half of 2015. This was the second highest total ever recorded for the January to June period.

The increase was most pronounced during April, May and June, which showed unusually high monthly totals during a period when antisemitism, racism and extremism were all prominently discussed in the media, though there was no single cause for this.

In addition a further 364 potential incidents were recorded which, on investigation, appeared not to show evidence of antisemitic motivation, and are therefore not included in the overall total of 557. Most of them involved potential hostile reconnaissance or suspicious behaviour near to Jewish locations, or crimes that did not involve antisemitic language, imagery or targeting but which nevertheless affected Jewish property or people.

Social media has become a primary means to abuse or harass Jews and Jewish public figures and 133 incidents were recorded on social media comprising 24 per cent of the total 557 incidents.

41 violent incidents were recorded, constituting 7 percent of the overall total but none of them serious enough to be classified as Extreme Violence, which would have constituted a threat to the victim's lives.

There were 32 incidents of Damage and Desecration to Jewish property, a decrease of 11 per cent from the first six months of 2015. The largest category was that of Abusive Behaviour for which 431 incidents were recorded, an increase of 16 per cent over the 373 incidents recorded during the first six months of 2015. This category includes a wide range of antisemitic incident types, including antisemitic graffiti on non-Jewish property, one-off hate mail, antisemitic verbal abuse and those social media incidents that do not involve direct threats. One hundred and twenty seven of the 431 incidents recorded in this category took place on social media while 196 involved verbal abuse.

Ten incidents of mass-produced or mass-emailed antisemitic Literature were recorded, double the number recorded in the first half of 2015.

https://cst.org.uk/data/file/4/f/Incidents_Report_-_Jan-June_2016.1470133952.pdf

Antisemitism became a major matter of public discussion in the UK during 2016, fuelled by several public inquiries and the publication of their reports.

The first was the report into Allegations of Antisemitism at Oxford University Labour Club, chaired by Baroness Jan Royall, a prominent Labour Party member and former Government Minister in May 2016. Her inquiry was occasioned by allegations of growing antisemitism within the Club by the non-Jewish Chairman, and his resignation, and was commissioned by National Executive Committee of the Labour Party. Her report found that there had been no institutional antisemitism within the Club but that it had failed to ensure a safe environment for debate. She made eleven recommendations on how allegations of antisemitism be dealt with, but her full report was not published and her recommendations were ignored. A second inquiry into antisemitism within the Labour Party itself, chaired by Shami Chakrabarti, former director of the human rights advocacy group, Liberty. Her report, published in June, noted that an occasional toxic atmosphere prevailed within the Party, criticised the handling of complaints of antisemitism and recommended changes to procedural rules. Her elevation to the Peerage and appointment as Shadow Attorney General soon after the report was published drew widespread criticism that she had sought to absolve Jeremy Corbyn MP and the Party leadership of responsibility for the growth of anti-Zionism and antisemitism within the Party.

<http://www.labour.org.uk/page/-/party-documents/ChakrabartiInquiry.pdf>

A third report into racist harassment on campuses was published in October by Universities UK, the umbrella group representing university heads. It recommended that they work closer with Jewish community leaders in order to better understand antisemitism. Jewish representatives had reported that Jewish students generally enjoyed positive experiences on campus but that there were episodes of hostility.

At an official level, the first report was Action Against Hate, the government plan for tackling hate crime published in July. This was the third iteration of the cross-government strategy into which the Community Security Trust fed. The report analysed the nature of hate crime, providing historical and contemporary data, including on antisemitism, but focussed on improving the recording of hate crime and the response by the criminal justice agencies.

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/543679/Action_Against_Hate_-_UK_Government_s_Plan_to_Tackle_Hate_Crime_2016.pdf

The second was the Home Affairs Committee report on Antisemitism in the UK, published in October. This noted the rise in antisemitic incidents during the first half of 2016, the legal definition of hate crime based on the recommendations by the 1999 Macpherson Inquiry into the death of black teenager Stephen Lawrence, but that the Working Definition of Antisemitism adopted by the 31 Member States of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance in 2015, and based on the former EUMC Definition, be modified and formally adopted by the Government as a non-legally binding guideline for law enforcement agencies. It noted that the Definition is already published in the national police strategy for dealing with antisemitism. The report voiced concern over continued antisemitism on university campuses, which the National Union of Students fail to tackle, and the visceral nature of online antisemitism targeting Jewish members of parliament and others, although it welcomed the revised guidelines on prosecuting online racial and religious incitement and the determined response by the Crown Prosecution Service to prosecute offenders. It also criticised the main social networks, Twitter in particular, for their limited response to the growth of online antisemitism. Finally, it noted also that the Chakrabarti inquiry had compromised itself by its failure to deliver a comprehensive set of recommendations or to suggest effective ways of dealing with antisemitism. (<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmhaff/136/136.pdf>)

Public concern about antisemitism was reflected in parliamentary proceedings. The Home Affairs Committee report was debated in both houses of Parliament in October, and contemporary antisemitism was the focus of debates in January on occasion of Holocaust Memorial Day and again in March and October.

Following the plenary of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance in Bucharest in May, the government published a statement by the UK member of IHRA, Sir Eric Pickles MP, supporting the Working Definition of Antisemitism as a guide to understanding contemporary antisemitism, particularly for the criminal justice agencies.

(www.gov.uk/government/speeches/a-definition-of-antisemitism)

In December 2015, Joshua Bonehill-Paine was found guilty of inciting racial hatred after he published antisemitic material online. He had organised a demonstration in referred to as ‘an anti-Jewification event to liberate Golders Green’ (a suburb of north London with a visible and substantial Jewish population) in July 2015, and posted grossly antisemitic images on his website. Following protests by the Jewish and other faith communities, the demonstration was moved to central London but was attended by very few sympathisers. He was sentenced to three years and four months imprisonment at Southwark Crown Court in London.

In January, Thomas Flynn and Michael Haydon were convicted of religiously aggravated public order offences for shouting antisemitic abuse and giving Hitler salutes at a football match between Southampton Football Club and Tottenham Hotspur Football Club (Spurs) at Southampton. They were banned from attending football matches for three years and given 12 week community orders and ordered to pay court costs.

In February, Darren Mark Lumb was convicted of mounting a verbal antisemitic attack against John Trickett, his local Member of Parliament who is of part Jewish origin. Lumb, who has a history of involvement in British far right groups, was sentenced to 6 months imprisonment suspended for 12 months.

In March, two West Ham Football Club fans, Richard Prendiville and Richard Peacock, were convicted of racially aggravated harassment for singing antisemitic songs while travelling

back from a match. They were fined at Northampton Magistrates Court and also ordered to pay victim surcharges and court costs.

Also in March, Rashal Miah was convicted at Snaresbrook Crown Court of using threatening, abusive and insulting words when he shouted that he would “kill all the Jews” at an Orthodox driver of a school bus in the north London suburb of Stamford Hill. He was given a 28 week sentence suspended for a year, ordered to undergo anger management therapy and pay court costs.

In June, Geoffrey Ingram was sentenced to 16 weeks in prison, half on licence, and ordered to pay costs and compensation after he sought to intimidate an orthodox Jew with whom he was involved in a minor traffic incident in London’s Regent Street.

In July, John Nimmo was convicted of sending antisemitic messages to Jewish Member of Parliament, Luciana Berger. He had threatened to kill her and had sent her a photograph of a large kitchen knife. In August, he was convicted at Newcastle Crown Court but has not yet been sentenced pending reports.

Also in July, a 14 year old boy was sentenced by Hackney Youth Offender Panel to a one year referral order and to pay compensation after he had put lit fireworks into the pockets of Jewish pedestrians as they passed him in the street.

In October, Stuart Birnie was convicted of racially and religiously aggravated harassment after he threatened to kill an Orthodox resident of the north London suburb of Stamford Hill who was waiting at a bus stop outside a local kosher butcher. He was sentenced to six months in prison.

In November, Herminio Martinez was convicted of shouting antisemitic messages in public at a Jewish property developer outside a north London civic centre in February. He was given a conditional discharge and ordered to pay the costs of the prosecution.

Again in November, Fabian Richardson, a Chelsea football club supporter, was convicted of giving Hitler salutes at a match against Spurs, a club with a historic Jewish support base. He was fined and ordered to pay court costs.

Following a dispute with his neighbour, Geoffrey Alan Bracey sent a series of antisemitic text messages to Nicholas Radestock and in November he was convicted at North Wiltshire Magistrates Court of sending improper messages contrary to the Communications Act 2003 and was sentenced to a 12 month Community Order, an uplift of 6 months on a 6 month sentence due to the racial and religious aggravated nature of the offence.

Among others, the government banned American Matthew Heimbach from visiting the UK for an international neo Nazi meeting in November.

At the end of October, the Office of the Independent Adjudicator for Higher Education, ruled that Sheffield Hallam University had to compensate a disabled Jewish student for failing to properly consider his complaint about antisemitic social media posts by the University’s Palestine Society. The ruling is significant because it recognised that anti-Zionist behaviour on campus can harass Jewish students and because it endorsed the use of the Working Definition of Antisemitism as a guide to determining when anti-Zionist behaviour crosses the line into antisemitism. The student had filed his complaint in May 2015, but the University took nine months to consider his complaint that the Palestine Society’s posts contributed to “an

intimidating atmosphere” and that he was afraid to wear his kippah or to mention Israel while on campus.

In November, practicing barrister Ian Millard was disbarred by the Bar Standing Committee after an independent disciplinary tribunal found him guilty of publishing seriously offensive antisemitic comments on social media.

In July, the Crown Prosecution Service published revised guidelines on prosecuting cases involving communications sent via social media which set out the approach prosecutors should take when considering alleged communication offences. Among those considered are communications targeting specific individuals, harassment or stalking, and hate messages. The new guidelines were published, in part, over the increasing quantity of antisemitic messages on the internet as well as misogynistic and sexual messages. The Community Security Trust was closely involved in the discussions that led to the guidelines, particularly around antisemitic online threats to Jewish members of parliament, and several of the cases cited in the document involved antisemitism.

www.cps.gov.uk/legal/a_to_c/communications_sent_via_social_media

Despite the foregoing, the Jewish community is flourishing with an unprecedented level of religious and cultural activity which continues to develop involving greater numbers of community members. Successive recent governments have taken an interest in the community’s well-being and security, and during 2016 took many opportunities to publicly demonstrate support and friendship.

United States / Oren Segal (ADL)

Online Anti-Semitism

In October, ADL’s Task Force on Harassment and Journalism released a report detailing a troubling, year-long rise in anti-Semitic hate targeting journalists on Twitter with data showing that the harassment has been driven by rhetoric in the 2016 presidential campaign and identifying some of the groups and individuals responsible.

ADL formed the Task Force in June 2016 in response to a disturbing upswing in online, anti-Semitic abuse of reporters. The report, the first of its kind, presents findings based on a broad set of keywords (and keyword combinations) designed by ADL to capture anti-Semitic language on social media. Using this metric, a total of 2.6 million tweets containing language frequently found in anti-Semitic speech were posted across Twitter between August 2015 and July 2016. Those tweets had an estimated 10 billion impressions (reach), which ADL believes contributed to reinforcing and normalizing anti-Semitic language – particularly racial slurs and anti-Israel statements -- on a massive scale.

There was a significant uptick in anti-Semitic tweets from January 2016 to July 2016 as coverage of the presidential campaign intensified.

Of the 2.6 million total tweets, ADL focused its analysis on tweets directed at 50,000

journalists in the United States. A total of 19,253 anti-Semitic tweets were directed at those journalists, but the total number of anti-Semitic tweets directed at journalists overall could be much higher for a variety of factors noted in the report.

The report also shows that more than two-thirds (68 percent) of the anti-Semitic tweets directed at those journalists were sent by 1,600 Twitter accounts (out of 313 million existing Twitter accounts). These aggressors are disproportionately likely to self-identify as Donald Trump supporters, conservatives, or part of the “alt-right,” a loosely connected group of extremists, some of whom are white supremacists. The words that appear most frequently in the 1,600 Twitter attackers’ bios are “Trump,” “nationalist,” “conservative,” and “white.” To be clear: this does not imply that the Trump campaign supported or endorsed the anti-Semitic tweets, only that certain self-styled supporters sent these ugly messages. The data also illustrates the connectedness of the attackers: waves of anti-Semitic tweets tend to emerge from closely connected online “communities.”

The ADL Task Force study shows that a small cohort of journalists bore the brunt of the online abuse. The Task Force identified that some 19,253 overtly anti-Semitic tweets were sent to at least 800 journalists in the U.S. during the 12 month study.

ADL has been able to identify individuals and websites in the white supremacist world that have played a role in encouraging these attacks. While much of the online harassment of journalists was at the hands of anonymous trolls, ADL has identified two of the neo-Nazis responsible for some of the attacks. They are Andrew Anglin, founder of the popular white supremacist web site “The Daily Stormer” and Lee Rogers of Infostormer (formerly “The Daily Slave”). While both are banned from Twitter, they have encouraged their followers to tweet anti-Semitic language and memes at Jewish journalists.

Alt Right & Richard Spencer

One of the extremist-related “buzz words” popularized in 2016 is “Alt Right.” The term “Alt Right” originated with extremists but increasingly has found its way into the mainstream media. Alt Right is short for “alternative right.” This vague term actually encompasses a range of people on the extreme right who reject mainstream conservatism in favor of forms of conservatism that embrace implicit or explicit racism, anti-Semitism or white supremacy.

People who identify with the “Alt Right” regard mainstream or traditional conservatives as weak and impotent, largely because they do not sufficiently support racism and anti-Semitism. Though not every person who identifies with the “Alt Right” is a white supremacist, most are and “white identity” is central to people in this milieu. In fact, Alt Righters reject modern conservatism explicitly because they believe that mainstream conservatives are not advocating for the interests of white people as a group.

The racism and anti-Semitism of the “Alt Right” mad national headlines in Washington when its members gathered to celebrate Donald Trump's victory. A video of the event showed audience members apparently giving the Nazi salute.

It should be noted that “Alt Right” did not come into existence in the last year. Richard Spencer, one of the leaders of the “Alt Right” coined the term in 2008. Spencer was using alternative right to refer to people on the right who distinguished themselves from traditional conservatives by opposing, among other things, egalitarianism, multiculturalism and open immigration. Spencer went on in 2010 to create an online publication called Alternative Right,

where he explicitly promoted white nationalism. Spencer was by that point an open white supremacist.

Andrew Anglin

Andrew Anglin, the neo-Nazi who runs The Daily Stormer, a blatantly racist and anti-Semitic website, has ratcheted up his campaign of harassment against the Jewish community, in particular in and around Whitefish, Montana.

Whitefish is the part-time home of Richard Spencer and his parents. Spencer's mother claimed that she was being harassed to sell her property in the town because of her son's views. As evidence, she made public emails between herself and a realtor, who happens to be Jewish, though Spencer's mother did not point this out.

On December 16, Anglin reacted to the article by encouraging his "troll army" of neo-Nazis and other white supremacists to contact Jews in the small town and oppose their "Jew agenda." Moreover, Anglin posted photos to his website of a number of Jewish residents of Whitefish, including a child, and superimposed a yellow Jewish star with the word "Jude" on the pictures.

Since the release of the emails, the realtor and her family have reportedly received numerous threats, as have other Jews in the town. On December 21, Anglin wrote an article for his site in which he threatened to post a list of business associates for the realtor and her family, as well as others associated with an anti-hate group in town. He encouraged his followers to demand that these associates cut their business ties with the realtor and those associated with the anti-hate group.

Anglin also encouraged his supporters to troll a Jewish journalist who wrote an article about the situation and a Jewish rabbi who encouraged people to send notes of sympathy to the harassment victims in Whitefish. The rabbi asked people to put a menorah in their window to show solidarity with the Jews of Whitefish.

In response, Anglin told his followers to put Nazi flags in their windows and to put the Nazi swastika on their cars, homes and businesses, though he has no real base of support in Whitefish. He also encouraged followers everywhere to send hateful messages to two anti-hate organizations targeted by Anglin's campaign.

On December 23, Anglin made good on his threat from two days earlier, posting names and contact information for a number of different businesses and organizations, labeling them "terror groups" and "terror-supporting businesses." Describing his harassment campaign as a "revolution," Anglin wrote that "when we win this, every single one of these Jews will think twice before coming after us and our families."

In this posting, he also declared that he was planning an "armed protest" in Whitefish in January, claiming that he would personally lead such a protest and would even be "busing in skinheads from the Bay Area." The protest never took place.

Not only is Anglin harassing the Jewish community of Whitefish, he is at the same time exploiting the situation there to promote anti-Semitic conspiracy theories about Jewish power and control. He alleges that Jews have targeted white supremacists and anti-Semites but now he is somehow turning the tables on them.

Anglin has carried out anti-Semitic harassment campaigns before. In the spring of 2016, he encouraged people to troll Jewish journalists who were critical of Donald Trump during the Republican primary campaign. He also launched a harassment campaign in October 2014

against Jewish politician Luciana Berger, a British MP, after a white supremacist was arrested for harassing her.

Anti-Semitic Incidents

In the week following Donald Trump's election, there has been a sharp spike in reports of racist and anti-Semitic graffiti and vandalism, including widespread use of swastikas and other Nazi imagery. For examples of anti-Semitic hate incidents, see #ExposeHate on Twitter.

In addition to acts of vandalism, some groups, as well as anonymous individuals, have posted racist fliers on campuses across the county promoting white identity and heritage. The fliers try to appeal to white college students by focusing on alleged dangers facing white Americans, including demographic changes and "white guilt." Two white supremacist groups, Identity Evropa and American Vanguard, as well as individuals connected to a white supremacist blog called The Right Stuff (TRS), are behind many of the flier incidents.

Austria / Julia Edthofer & Carina Klammer *

1. Monitoring of Anti-Semitism – Current Trends and Methodological Challenges

In Austria data collection regarding anti-Semitism is mainly conducted by NGOs and other non-state actors. The *Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution* publishes an annual report ("Verfassungsschutzbericht") on right-wing, left-wing and religious extremism that includes some information about anti-Semitism; this data, however, is not based on systematic monitoring, but on official police reports. Hence, the main sources for the documentation of anti-Semitism are non-state stakeholders. There are basically three institutions collecting and publishing data on anti-Semitic and racist incidents: the NGOs *Forum against Anti-Semitism* (FGA), which provides the most comprehensive report, and *Civil Courage and Anti-Racism Work* (ZARA), which monitors anti-Semitism as a sub-category of racist or (extreme) right-wing incidents. The third institution is the foundation *Documentation Center of Austrian Resistance* (DÖW), which monitors current activities of the extreme right as well as anti-Semitism in all its manifestations, including islamised and left-wing Israel-related anti-Semitism. Furthermore, it keeps records of the media coverage of the extreme right and its ideological background. DÖW publishes periodical press reviews and compiles a documentation of anti-Semitic incidents, focusing on mainstream media and political discourse.

The NGOs FGA and ZARA collect "service-based data" by providing the possibility for victims and/or witnesses of anti-Semitism and racism to report harassments and other acts of discrimination they experienced and/or observed. The documented cases are compiled into annual reports including statistical data, whereby both categorize the incidents according to the different social contexts, in which they occurred. The FGA differentiates between verbal harassment in public space, vandalism and anti-Semitic daubs/smearings in public space, physical assaults in public space, threatening phone calls and letters, internet and social media harassment, and the category "other incidents" (i.e. anti-Semitic car banners, Nazi salutes at demonstrations, etc.). In addition, the FGA conducts media monitoring as well as a monitoring of the Austrian justice system (verdicts, acquittals, etc.) and recently also lists Islamist terror

attacks in Europe. ZARA differentiates between assaults and harassment in public space (parks, streets, public transport, etc.), internet-based incidents (Blogs, Webpages, etc.), political and media discourse, vandalism and anti-Semitic/racist daubs/smearings in public space, police harassment, harassment by public authorities, work place harassment, and discrimination regarding the access to public services.

As the annual reports of FGA and ZARA consist of service-based data, they do not reflect the *prevalence* of anti-Semitism. Available data is confined to the experiences of people who actually can and want to report—a fact, which constitutes a general bias-problem regarding service-based data collection. This structural bias concerns any sort of *quantitative information* (report statistics, ratio of differing incidents, etc.) compiled by victim-protection institutions; and it is mainly due to a *lack of information* about reporting possibilities and a *lack of access* to the respective institutions. As all three relevant reporting-institutions are based in Vienna for instance, data tends to blank out incidents in Austrian federal states. Such information can only get included, if the incident is considered “important” enough to be reported by the media. Furthermore, the structural bias regards a systematic underreporting of groups that are more difficult to reach (f.i. newly immigrated communities lacking the relevant information and/or knowledge of German, people with low socio-economic status, etc.). As a consequence, a quantification of the incidents and thus an estimation of the actual prevalence of anti-Semitism are not possible, but the data surely allows for an estimation of trends.

Trend-review of the past years: Anti-Semitism on the rise

The prevailing trend of the last years points to a rise of anti-Semitism. The FGA reported a significant rise of anti-Semitic acts following the Gaza conflict in summer 2014: whereas the reported incidents summed up to 255 in the year 2014, they rocketed up to 465 reported cases in the following year. Data from 2016 underpins this tendency with a total of 477 reported cases. On the one hand, this trend is to be explained by a further reach-out into the community, which had the effect that more people reported incidents. On the other hand, however, the worrying increase indeed reflects a rise of the anti-Semitic resentment, which is to be explained by current political changes and challenges. Already in 2015, the FGA reported an increase of anti-Semitism with special focus on islamised anti-Semitism in the wake of the Gaza conflict in 2014 (cf. FGA 2016: 7f). Contemporaneously, the right-wing and extreme right-wing political spectrum is currently on the rise—a development peaking in the year 2016, when the *Austrian Freedom Party* (FPÖ) reached a new level of 30-35% in voting polls. The Austrian presidential election 2016 revealed the present success of the right-wing and extreme right-wing camp: in the first voting ballot in April 2016, FPÖ-candidate Norbert Hofer clearly won the election by receiving 35% of the votes and overtaking the second place, *Green Party*-candidate Alexander van der Bellen (21,3%), by almost 14%. Although Hofer was defeated in the second ballot, he still received 46, 2% of the votes, which constitutes the FPÖ’s best voting result ever. In the wake of these events, extreme right-wing violence and incidents peaked. In the weeks prior to and after the second ballot, anti-Semitic, racist and anti-Left violence rose significantly and resulted—amongst other incidents—in the smearing of swastikas on the Jewish part of Vienna’s Central Cemetery.

2. Reported Anti-Semitic Incidents in the Year 2016

In 2016 the FGA documented 477 anti-Semitic incidents, which points to the already mentioned worrying trend. Since the begin of the data collection in 2007, when a total of 62 anti-Semitic incidents was documented, the number has been constantly increasing with a peak following the last Gaza conflict in summer 2014: Whereas in 2014 a total of 255 incidents have been documented, the number nearly doubled in the following year to 465 reported cases in 2015. The data collected in the year 2016 underpins this trend and points to the fact that the sudden increase of incidents has not been temporary or some sort of statistical outlier.

In detail, the report for the year 2016 points out 24 cases of verbal abuse and threat, 153 cases of hate speech in the internet and social media, 198 anti-Semitic letters and calls, 68 acts of vandalism, 7 physical assaults and 27 cases categorized as “other” forms of anti-Semitism. The only category that has not increased in comparison to 2015 is internet/social media. As there is no national prevalence study on anti-Semitism, the reasons for this rise are open to speculation. Increasing awareness about hate speech in the internet as well as several publicly known convictions regarding the “Incitement of the People (“Volksverhetzung”) might be crucial influencing factors concerning the disposition to report incidents. Furthermore, the authors of the FGA-report point out that especially physical assaults and harassment in schools – such as the mobbing of Jewish classmates – have become more frequent.

Almost two thirds (59%) of the reported incidents cannot be associated with a specific political or ideological spectrum. From the approximately 40% of the cases that can be linked to a specific political group, about 68% are associated with the right-wing and extreme right-wing political spectrum, 22% occurred within the context of Islamic believes, and 10% of the reported incidents are to be classified as Israel-related, Left-wing anti-Semitism. The anti-racist NGO ZARA focuses on incidents within the context of the Austrian extreme-right and documented 47 incidents throughout the year 2016. Most of them occurred in the public space (17 incidents) and in the internet (18 incidents). The data of the *Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution* for 2016 have not been published yet; but the available information on prosecutions regarding “Incitement of the People” and prosecutions according to the “Prohibition Statute” (“Verbotsgesetz”) shows that both have increased significantly.⁴⁵ From January to August 2016, 118 cases of “Re-Engagement in National Socialist Activities” (“Wiederbetätigung) have been brought to prosecution – this is almost the same number as in the year 2014 in total.⁴⁶ Furthermore, there have been alarming incidents related to the legal system and a number of cases related to the “Prohibition Statute” have either not been legally prosecuted or ended with an acquittal (for examples see next chapter).

In addition to the monitoring of incidents, a current analysis of left-wing, Israel-related anti-Semitism illustrates major debates regarding the blurring of anti-Zionism and anti-Semitic frames (Sanders 2016). The author points to the structurally anti-Semitic discursive function of the Israeli state as signifier for neo-/colonialism and lists several incidents that sparked inner-left criticism and debates. The list includes f.i. protest against the “*Israeli Apartheid Week*”, which is organised by the Austrian branch of the international boycott-movement *Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions* (BDS); furthermore it hints to debates regarding the yearly *Al-Quds* demonstration, which is organised by the parts of the Iranian community that are loyal to the regime—and ideologically backed up by Trotskyist and other anti-imperialist splinter groups.

45 <http://www.stopptierechten.at/2016/11/05/drastische-zuwachse-bei-hass-und-verbotsdelikten/> (08.03.2017).

46 <http://derstandard.at/2000045027796/Starker-Anstieg-bei-Neonazi-Anklagen> (08.03.2017).

3. Types of anti-Semitic Incidents and ambivalent Media Coverage

In the following, we list selected anti-Semitic incidents, which became issue of public debate and the media. We describe the most significant cases in detail and aim to illustrate the ambivalent Austrian media discourse, which oscillates between a scandalisation of islamised / Muslim anti-Semitism while contemporaneously reproducing an anti-Israeli bias in reports about the Middle East Conflict.

January 2016:

Repeated vandalism of “stumbling blocks“ (“Stolpersteine“) – reminders of the former places of residents of Jewish Nazi- Victims in the City of Wiener Neustadt, the offenders cannot be identified and prosecuted.

February 2016:

The Vienna-based NGO *MENA-Watch* criticises a series of biased media coverage regarding the ongoing knife and car attacks in Israel pointing out that the *Austrian Broadcasting Corporation* (ORF) dismisses the fact that Israeli civilians get attacked or frames the attacks as somehow understandable “resistance against the occupation”.⁴⁷

April 2016:

Chairman Heinz-Christian Strache and other politicians of the FPÖ visit Israel and claim that they had been officially invited by the Likud party. Upon request, leading figures of the Likud clarify that there was no such official invitation. This is not the FPÖ’s first attempt to demonstrate a pro-Israeli orientation within the past years and as party deeply shaped by anti-Semitic ideology, it walks a fine line by doing so. In addition to the not-so-new view of Israel as a „bulwark against Islam“, the FPÖ tries to improve its relationship with Israel as part of a strategy to increase the acceptance of the FPÖ by other member states of the European Union to prepare for the possibility that Strache indeed gets elected as the next Austrian chancellor.

September 2016:

The FPÖ-related magazine “Aula” denominates prisoners of concentration camps as a “rural plague” (“Landplage”) and survivors of the concentration camp Mauthausen initiate legal actions on grounds of defamation and libel. The public prosecutor's office of Graz terminates the proceeding against the magazine, arguing that it would be “understandable” (“nachvollziehbar) that the release of thousands of people from a concentration camp had been a “nuisance” (“Belästigung”) for the affected Austrian areas. Furthermore it would be proven that some of the prisoners of the concentration camp were criminals (“Rechtsbrecher”).⁴⁸

October 2016:

During a Neo-Nazi trial the defence lawyer denies the existence of gas chambers in the concentration camp Mauthausen and should thus get prosecuted, but a *Council of the Ministry of Justice* (“Weisungsrat”) rejects further law enforcement. The council argues that it is the duty of a defence lawyer to argue biased for her or his client. Furthermore, it emphasises that the lawyer had not denied the existence of gas

47 <http://www.mena-watch.com/palaestinensische-attentaeter-als-opfer/> (09.03.2017).

48 <http://steiermark.orf.at/news/stories/2756564/> (09.03.2017).

chambers in general. Legal experts express deep concern about such blurring of the Austrian Prohibition Statute (“Verbotsgesetz”).⁴⁹

November 2016:

Swastikas are smeared on the walls of the Jewish part of Vienna’s Central Cemetery.⁵⁰ Once again the FPÖ uses the incident to frame itself as central stakeholder in the fight against anti-Semitism and calls for a special surveillance of the Jewish Cemetery.⁵¹ Similar events can be observed in the wake of the remembrance ceremonies for the November pogroms 1938, when FPÖ organises a symposium on islamised / Muslim anti-Semitism and invites two members of the Israeli *Likud Party*. Among others, activists pertaining to Vienna’s Jewish Community protest against the event, pointing out the party’s hypocrisy, as it they neither dealt with its anti-Semitic past nor present and only a few days prior to the symposium anti-Semitic postings had been documented on the Facebook page of presidential candidate Norbert Hofer. Hence, the critics gather to raise awareness of the right-wing instrumentalisation of anti-Semitism for anti-Muslim purposes.⁵²

4. Conclusions

Data collected in the year 2016 clearly indicates that the anti-Semitic resentment is on the rise again. The majority of the reported cases are associated with the right-wing and extreme right-wing political spectrum. As this spectrum is currently gaining ground in Austria, anti-Semitic incidents are obviously fuelled by the political developments. On the other hand, islamised Anti-Semitism continues to be a threat that has to be tackled. However, the ambivalent media discourse indicates that Anti-Semitism and anti-Muslim racism interact in a new way in the last years, as (pseudo-)criticism of the anti-Semitic resentment within Muslim communities is instrumentalised by right-wing and extreme right-wing actors. In the light of such new challenges regarding adequate political and pedagogical interventions, an in-depth prevalence study on contemporary anti-Semitism is needed. Such analysis could provide a more comprehensive insight into the relation of anti-Semitism within different migrant communities with special focus on the islamization of the resentment, and within Austrian dominant society.

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49 <http://derstandard.at/2000047635364/Experten-warnen-vor-laxem-Umgang-mit-Verbotsgesetz> (09.03.2017).

50 <http://derstandard.at/2000048442115/Juedischer-Friedhof-mit-Hakenkreuzen-beschmiert> (09.03. 2017).

51 <https://kurier.at/chronik/wien/gudenus-fordert-videokameras-fuer-juedischen-friedhof/250.506.530> (10.03.2017).

52 <http://derstandard.at/2000047086224/Antisemitische-Postings-auf-Facebook-Seite-von-Norbert-Hofer> (09.03.2017).

ZARA (2017): Racism Report 2016, Vienna (*Unpublished Statistics*).

Belgium / Joël Kotek

Like in France and Germany, anti-Semitic attitudes dropped again significantly during 2016. *In 2016, 28 antisemitic reports were registered in Belgium according 'antisémitisme.be'. These figures show a decrease of 60% compared to 2015 (70), and 75% compared to 2014 (109 incidents), a record year in terms of antisemitic acts. Of course, these figures are merely indicative, the tip of the iceberg, because many victims do not report.*

However, the incidents reported by 'antisémitisme.be' shows clearly that negative feelings about Jews remained at a constant level. Few examples, most of them related to the Holocaust:

- January 1st : an article titled "Terror Scenes at Tel Aviv Terraces" reported an attack in the Israeli city, killing two people. Through his Facebook account, a surfer from Mons, Sedhamed H., left this comment: *"Let them crash these fucking Jews, long live Hitler"*, immediately disputed by other Internet users.
- July 22nd : At a club tournament in Antwerp, a Belgian tennis player shouted to his opponent, an Antwerp Jewish-born: *"They should have all gassed you."* This follows a disagreement on the exit of a ball and after the Antwerp player has appealed to the referee to decide. The player was disqualified and a report was made to the Flemish Tennis Federation.
- May 6th: In a comment on Facebook, Saïd Naji a socialist councilor of Verviers (Wallonia) published "And yes Israel = Daesh = Hate = Inhuman". Saïd Naji has since erased these remarks and deactivated his Facebook account.
- AUGUST 19th, 2016 Following an article published on the Facebook page of the Flemish daily "De Morgen" and titled "Israel bekritisieren is niet hetzelfde als jodenhaat" ("The criticism of Israel is not the same as anti-Semitism" , Internet users posted the following comments:
 - Oriana P Roerkraeyer: "Elke dag moeten ze het hoofd bieden aan verschrikkelijke terror" ... hahaha..ze zijn zelf of terror, idiot ... en goede zionist is een dode Zionist "(" (...) a good Zionist is a dead Zionist ").
 - Myriamenbert Beeusaert: "Tis waar het is niet te vergelijken, als we kijken wat Israel doet dan is in vergelijking daarmee Auschwitz een te verwaarlozen detail. Maar we mogen niet vergelijken, Fascism in Zionism hebben dezelfde verwerpelijke ideology "(It is true, it is not comparable, when we see what Israel does, Auschwitz is in comparison a negligible detail. Fascism and Zionism have the same contemptible ideology "). The comment has been deleted by the page manager.

From now on, in Belgium, in both French and Flemish communities, the anti-Jewish speech is being totally released. Nonetheless, the year 2016 is far below the average of the last 5 years (74 incidents). Definitively, *2016 cannot be compared 2014 and 2009. As a reminder, 109 incidents were reported in 2014 (a record year due to three phenomena: the coming in*

Belgium of the pseudo-humorist “Dieudonné” (January-March 2014), the attack of the Brussels Jewish Museum (May-June 2014) and the operation "Pillar of defense" (July-August 2014). The 2014 equalized another "record year" 2009 when ‘Antisemitisme.be’ recorded 109 incidents due mainly to imports of the conflict in the Middle East with "operation Cast Lead".

	2016
Extreme violence	0
Violence with physical assault	2
Threats (verbal insults, letters, etc.)	5
Vandalism of Jewish property, including cocktail molotov	0
Abusive behavior in public sphere, including tags, articles, cartoon in press or web side, graffiti	7
Abusive behavior in private sphere, including reader mails, email or comments in website	14
Total	28

The cities most affected are Brussels (8) then Antwerp (3). For the first time, this year in *the regional level, the French speaking community concentrates the majority of reports, 75% of incidents against 25% in Flanders. The year 2016 confirmed the impact of Holocaust in today so-called antizionism (criticism of Israel is a way of diluting collaboration) and the prevalence of antisemitism among the Belgian of Moslem origin.*

Czech Republic / Zbynek Tarant

Despite several verbal incidents and increased activity of the extremist movements within the electronic domain, the Czech Republic remains a safe country for the Jews. The degree of social distance vis-à-vis the Jews remained unchanged in the last year. Czech attitudes towards the Jews are neutral to slightly positive and Jews were placed within the best ranked category, together with Americans, British, French and Slovaks.⁵³ The Czech Ministry of Interior recorded 146 hate-crime cases during the period between January and September 2016, the majority of which are verbal crimes (speech, website etc.) or vandalism (grafitti with racist content). About 50 cases have been already succesfully investigated.⁵⁴ This represents a certain increase, although antisemitic acts are expected to constitute individual cases, as most of the hate-crimes target Romanies or immigrants. A great deal of hate-speech was directed towards Muslims, where it seems that discriminatory rhetoric has entered the mainstream. Offensive language vis-à-vis Islam and Muslims can be heard from the highest political ranks, including the President Miloš Zeman. There have been isolated cases of misuse of the anti-Muslim rhetoric for injection of antisemitism by the far-right parties, however, these attempts have failed and came under criticism even among a considerable portion of the far-right. Part

53 <https://www.stem.cz/jaky-je-vztah-obcanu-cr-k-ruznym-narodum-a-etnikum/>

54 See the quarterly reports of the Czech Ministry of Interior.

of the Czech far-right, while anti-Zionist, tends to avoid the Jewish issues as it sees antisemitism as „irrelevant“ or harmful for its image.

Political parties and movements

The Czech antisemitic scene is highly competitive and particularist. Attempts to unite the scene under a common banner have failed. The scene was unable to find a new topic with which to replace the refugee crisis of 2015. Neither the Brexit nor the American presidential elections have managed to arouse emotions of comparable intensity. Particularism and personal animosities have nearly paralyzed the Czech antisemitic scene during the most important moments of the refugee crisis and the topic of immigration was taken over by less radical and non-antisemitic, right-wing populist movements, such as *Strana přímé demokracie* (*Direct Democracy Party, SPD*) or *Strana práv občanů* (*Citizen Rights Party, SPO*). Support for both of the leading antisemitic political parties in the Czech Republic, i.e.: the neo-Nazi *Workers' Party* and the conspiracist, fascist *National Democracy* has seen a certain decline. Both the parties have suffered bitter losses in the regional council elections in October 2016, where they received around 0,5% each. Both of the parties have based their strategy on anti-immigration rhetoric, however the panic caused by the migration crisis has faded away to some extent during the 2016s.

Leader of the *National Democracy*, Adam Bartoš is currently under probation for his attempts to revive the Hilsner blood-libel in Polná. Bartoš faces multiple additional charges for his past antisemitic speeches and publication activities, which forced him to abstain from public speaking. On 30 October 2016 the *National Democracy* split into two factions. The *Workers' Party* has seen no significant changes and the movement seems to be experiencing certain stagnation. There have been additional small groups, which may transcend into the antisemitic scene. Examples would include *Spolek za naši svobodu a bezpečnou zemi* (*Society for our Freedom and Safe Country*), *Aliance národních sil* (*Alliance of National Powers*), or *Národní domobrana* (*National Militia*), *Přátelé Ruska v České Republice* (*Friends of Russia in the Czech Republic*). The membership base of these groups consists of dozens of individuals and most of their activity takes place on Facebook, where they are involved in fabrication of conspiracy theories.

Last, but not least, there is an increasing trend of cooperation between the far-left (especially the neo-Stalinist one) and the far-right. Representatives of the Communist party or its sympathetic movements, such as the *Czech Borderlands Club* attend each other's rallies, especially those where anti-Americanism or support for the Russian policies are presented.

The "hoax industry" of conspiracist websites

The Czech Secret Services,⁵⁵ the Ministry of Interior,⁵⁶ as well as the scholars on extremism have pointed out the growing issue of Russian propagandist websites reposting extremist and antisemitic content. The main issue is that antisemitism comes within the same package with support from the conspiracist scene. This phenomenon is especially troublesome when some of the leading Czech politicians, such as the ex-president Václav Klaus or the president Miloš Zeman use the fake news or rhetorical support from these websites, without realizing that the

55 See the annual reports of the Czech Security Information Service (BIS): <https://www.bis.cz/vyrocnni-zpravaEN890a.html?ArticleID=1104>

56 <http://www.mvcr.cz/soubor/souhrnna-situacni-zprava-za-2-ctvrtleti-roku-2016-pdf.aspx>

groups behind the websites use the personalities of the Czech presidents to increase their legitimacy and in effect the legitimacy of their antisemitism. There have been such websites since before the outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian war. Examples would include the *Curious Fellow* (Zvědavec, established in 1999)⁵⁷ or the New Age influenced *Fate* (Osud).⁵⁸ In the last three years however, the numbers of these websites have grown: *Aeronet*,⁵⁹ *AC24*,⁶⁰ *OutsiderMedia*,⁶¹ *Czech Free Press*,⁶² *Orgo-net*,⁶³ *New World Order Opposition*,⁶⁴ *Svobodné Noviny*,⁶⁵ *Leva-Net*,⁶⁶ *Free Transmitter*⁶⁷ etc. The degree of antisemitism on these websites is highly variable. Sites like *AC24*, for example, are very careful about antisemitic content, while *Aeronet*, *LevaNet*, *New World Order Opposition*, *Czech Free Press*, *OutsiderMedia* or *Free Transmitter* are explicitly antisemitic. *Aeronet*, *New World Order Opposition* or *OutsiderMedia* hold a regular weekly broadcast of “Questions and Answers” hosted by the Russian neo-Nazi Valeryi V. Pyakin.⁶⁸ At a rally in Letná plain in Prague on 17 November 2016, the representative of the *Free Transmitter*, Jaroslav Vencel, gave what might be the most explicit public antisemitic speech in the last 10 years.

The anti-Western and anti-European propaganda harms the Jews and other minorities in their attempt to present these minorities as the causes for contemporary domestic and international issues. In order to deal with the increasing trend of “hoax industry”, the Czech civic society has deployed multiple counter-measures, coming from both above and from below as grass-roots initiatives. Investigative journalists attempt to uncover the personal and financial background of the pro-Russian conspiracist websites systematically,⁶⁹ despite death threats and cyber-bullying they can be subjected to for such their efforts.⁷⁰ The Security Information Service makes it clear that it takes the issue with full seriousness.⁷¹ NGOs and private investigators collect and monitor the activities of these websites and systematically debunk the hoaxes.⁷² The mainstream media openly talk about the issue of propaganda and attempt to educate their readers, how to recognize a hoax.⁷³ NGOs, such as *Man in Need*, *Open Society Foundation* or the *European Values* have launched educational programs,⁷⁴ and scholarship on antisemitism can no doubt contribute to these efforts. These activities are extremely

57 *Zvědavec*, available at: <http://www.zvedavec.org/index.htm> [cit. 15-3-2016].

58 *Osud.cz*, available at: <http://www.osud.cz> [cit. 15-3-2016].

59 *Aeronet*, available at: <http://aeronet.cz/news/> [cit. 15-3-2016].

60 *AC24.cz*, available at: <http://ac24.cz> [cit. 15-3-2016].

61 *OutsiderMedia*, available at: <http://outsidermedia.cz> [cit. 15-3-2016].

62 *Czech Free Press*, available at: <http://www.czechfreepress.cz> [cit. 15-3-2016].

63 *OrgoNet*, available at: <http://orgo-net.blogspot.cz> [cit. 15-3-2016].

64 *New World Order Opposition*, available at: www.nwoo.org [cit. 15-3-2016].

65 *Svobodné noviny*, available at: <http://svobodnenoviny.eu> [cit. 15-3-2016].

66 *Levanet*, available at: <http://leva-net.webnode.cz> [cit. 15-3-2016].

67 *Svobodný vysílač*, available at: <http://www.svobodny-vysilac.cz> [cit. 15-3-2016].

68 Otázky a odpovědi V. V. Pjagina. *OutsiderMedia*, available at:

http://outsidermedia.cz/search_gcse/?q=pjakin [cit. 15-3-2016].

69 See, for example: Ruská stopa. *Neolivni.cz*, available at: <http://neolivni.cz/category/ruska-stop/> [cit. 15-3-2016].

70 Kundra, Ondřej: *Putinovi agenti*. Prague: BizBooks, p. 158-179.

71 See the annual public reports of the Czech Security Information Service (BIS): Výroční zprávy. *Bezpečnostní informační služba*, available at: <https://www.bis.cz/vyrocnizpravy.html> [cit. 15-3-2016].

72 See the projects such as: *Manipulátoři.cz*, available at: <http://manipulatori.cz> [cit. 15-3-2016].

73 Válka, která zatemňuje mozek. A v níž jsou slova zbraň. Speciál Aktuálně.cz o ruské propagandě. A v níž jsou slova zbraň. *Aktuálně.cz*, available at: <https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/zahranici/grafika-ruska-propaganda/r~0e7e2d6a9cc111e586750025900fea04/> [cit. 15-3-2016].

74 See, for example: Ruská propaganda v Česku. *Jeden svět na školách*, available at: https://www.jsns.cz/cz/lessons/4/3_ruska_propaganda_v_cesku.html?lessonID=175&lesson=one [cit. 15-3-2016].

important and should always play a leading role. Any attempts to use legal prosecution against the conspiracism, could achieve only mixed results, while harming the democracy and free speech in the process. Judging from the amount of energy devoted by the conspiracist scene to smearing the NGOs and the mainstream media, it seems that the strategy of the civic society is seen as a threat by the conspiracists.

Growing self-confidence of the scene

Incidents of public antisemitic expressions could point to the growing self-confidence of the antisemitic movements. The trend of growing self-confidence has been visible for some time. Antisemitic websites were originally hosted on American servers to avoid the Czech jurisdiction in the 2000s, but since 2011, there has been a growing number of these websites hosted on Czech servers from within the Czech jurisdiction. Today, about 2/3 of antisemitic websites in the Czech language are run from within the Czech Republic. A similar trend can be seen in the printed literature. In the 1990s and early 2000s, publishing an antisemitic book would be seen and criticized as a serious incident. Today, there are three active publishing houses (Bodyartpress, Guidemedia etc, Adam Benjamin Bartoš) specializing in antisemitic and holocaust-denial literature. 14 antisemitic books were published in 2014 and an additional 15 were published in 2015. In 2016, seven antisemitic books were published, mainly by the publishing companies Guidemedia etc and Adam Benjamin Bartoš. These books included Protocols of the Elders of Zion (published by Adam Benjamin Bartoš) and Mein Kampf (published by Guidemedia etc.).

Italy / Stefano Gatti and Betty Guetta

In 2016 we did not register any cases of violence. There are about 130-140 episodes of antisemitism, most of them various forms of online antisemitism : antisemitic web sites or – especially - antisemitism via Facebook .

Two paradigmatic examples:

<http://www.osservatorioantisemitismo.it/episodi-di-antisemitismo-in-italia/sito-web-antisemita/>

<http://www.osservatorioantisemitismo.it/episodi-di-antisemitismo-in-italia/nicoletta-v-profilo-facebook-antisemita/>

There are about 280 antisemitic web sites (Italian sites or foreign sites with Italian pages), “Osservatorio antisemitismo” divides them into four main categories: Neo-Nazism/Catholic Traditionalism (approximately 120 sites), Conspiracy Theories (approximately 80), Anti-Zionism (approximately 60), Holocaust denial (approximately 20).

The classic example of online antisemitism is a post: caricature/cartoon/photomontage or news with antisemitic comments. Example:

<http://www.osservatorioantisemitismo.it/episodi-di-antisemitismo-in-italia/post-facebook-che-accusa-gli-ebrei-di-essere-i-principali-responsabili-della-tratta-degli-schiavi/>

In 2016 we have one case of threat via Facebook:

<http://www.osservatorioantisemitismo.it/episodi-di-antisemitismo-in-italia/minacce-via-facebook/>

An interesting episode of antisemitism via mass media is a 24 episode series dedicated to spreading the ideas contained in the antisemitic forgery "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion", which was broadcast on Radio in Rome "Radio Kaos Italy".

<http://www.osservatorioantisemitismo.it/episodi-di-antisemitismo-in-italia/radio-privata-trasmette-una-serie-di-trasmissioni-che-propagandano-le-tesi-contenute-nel-falso-antisemita-protocolli-dei-savi-di-sion/>

"Radio Kaos Italy" is a general radio station, not an extremist one.

We registered three cases of hacking: two against Jewish web sites: the first in March, against the website of the "Renato Maestro" Jewish library in Padua

<http://www.osservatorioantisemitismo.it/episodi-di-antisemitismo-in-italia/attacco-hacker-jihadista-al-sito-web-della-biblioteca-della-comunita-ebraica/>

and the second in October, against the web site of Quest, the English magazine of Jewish history of CDEC Foundation (see **3 jpeg in attachment**).

Two cases of vandalism against Jewish graves:

<http://www.osservatorioantisemitismo.it/episodi-di-antisemitismo-in-italia/atti-vandalici-al-cimitero-ebraico-di-musocco-mi/>

<http://www.osservatorioantisemitismo.it/episodi-di-antisemitismo-in-italia/vandalismo-a-casteggio/>

but the perpetrators are unknown.

In 2016, antisemitic publishing houses published 41 books with antisemitic elements, 21 books are new and 20 are classics (es. Adolf Hitler, Joseph Goebbels, Léon Degrelle, etc.).

Poland / Rafal Pankowski

Kukiz'15 Movement is a populist political movement created and led by Pawel Kukiz, a former rock singer who became a politician in 2015. In October 2015, the Kukiz'15 Movement received 8.81 % of the national vote and it won 42 seats in the Polish parliament. Since its creation in 2015, the Kukiz movement has been moving in a radical right direction. For example, in a December 2015 radio broadcast Pawel Kukiz alleged the mass demonstrations in defense of democracy were "sponsored from the pocket of a Jewish banker". The Union of Jewish Religious Communities in Poland said the remark by Pawel Kukiz was antisemitic and demanded a "firm reaction" from President Andrzej Duda and Prime Minister Beata Szydło (which did not materialize).

National-Radical Camp (Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny, ONR) is the contemporary version of the fascist ONR originally established (and banned) in 1934. On 18 November 2015, in front of the Wroclaw City Hall, members of the ONR held a racist demonstration against refugees in Poland. At the end of the demonstration, Piotr Rybak (a former collaborator of Pawel Kukiz) burnt a Chasidic Jew in effigy - it was decorated with a kippa, sidelocks and an EU flag. Rybak shouted: "I'm not going to be told by any German, Jew or American that Islam has any good intentions towards Christianity". He was applauded by the event's participants. The police did not intervene. The Prosecutor's Office received a crime report from the President of Wrocław, Rafał Dutkiewicz, among others. In November 2016 Rybak was sentenced to 10 months' imprisonment. In December 2016, the public prosecutor appealed against the sentence claiming it was too harsh.

On 16 April 2016, ONR members marched through the city centre of Białystok. They chanted, among others: “Zionists will be hanging from the trees instead of leaves” as well as other radical nationalist and xenophobic slogans. Father Jacek Międlar, known for his support for extreme nationalist movements, held a holy mass for the ONR members and he addressed them with the following words: “The oppressors together with the dazed, passive Jewish mob will try to bring you down to your knees, drag you around, grind you down and spit you out because you are an inconvenience,” and: “Zero tolerance for the Jewish cowardice.” An investigation was launched, but no charges for hate speech were brought by the public prosecutor.

All-Polish Youth (Młodzież Wszechpolska, MW) was recreated in 1989, it continues the tradition of the antisemitic youth organization of the same name that was active in the 1920s and 1930s. Since 2010, the MW together with the ONR organizes the annual Independence Day march in Warsaw on 11 November. It has arguably become the biggest far-right gathering in contemporary Europe or, in fact, the world. According to estimates, it attracted around 50,000 – 100,000 participants in 2016. The bulk of the marchers have been mobilized by formal and informal football fan networks (Polish football fan culture has been largely hijacked by far-right nationalism). On that day numerous representatives of the Hungarian extreme-right party Jobbik are highly visible on Warsaw streets each year. They are joined by extreme-right delegations from other countries, including Slovakia, Sweden, France, Spain, Croatia, and many more. One of the key-note speeches in 2016 was delivered by Roberto Fiore, the convicted terrorist and leader of the neo-fascist group Forza Nuova. In 2016, chants “Hit the Jewish scum with the hammer and the sickle” were heard at the march, alongside anti-migrant, anti-Muslim and other xenophobic slogans.

National Movement (Ruch Narodowy, RN) – is a far-right political party born out of the cooperation between the MW and ONR activists in 2014. As of January 2017, party leader Robert Winnicki (a former chairman of the MW) is the only MP representing the RN in Parliament (he was elected on the slate of the Kukiz’15 movement). On 21 July 2016, Robert Winnicki made a speech in Parliament protesting against “history policy ordered by Jewish groups with claims on Poland.” The speech was applauded by the parliamentary majority.

National Rebirth of Poland (Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski, NOP) is the radical neo-fascist party associated with the International Third Position and the European National Front. The NOP’s annual Independence Day march in Wrocław attracts 5-10,000 participants, including fans of the Śląsk Wrocław football club led by Roman Zieliński (the author of the notorious book entitled “How I fell in love with Adolf Hitler”). It is also particularly active among the Polish community in the UK (where it cooperates with the neo-Nazi National Action). The NOP is also particularly outspoken in its hostile attitude to Israel, and it has often used the slogan “Bombs against Israel now!” On 12 January 2017, NOP members confronted a small pro-Israeli demonstration in Warsaw and they chanted anti-Israeli and pro-Hezbollah slogans.

Radio Maryja, the nationalist-Catholic radio station run by the Redemptorist order, has been the single most powerful disseminator of antisemitic discourse for the last 25 years, as documented in numerous reports by the NEVER AGAIN Association, the Anti-Defamation League, the Council of Europe, and other organizations. According to the US State Department report on Global Antisemitism to the Congress in 2008, “Radio Maryja is one of Europe’s most blatantly antisemitic media venues.” During a religious ceremony broadcast on

Radio Maryja on 3 September 2016, Radio Maryja's founder and director Father Rydzyk reprimanded the faithful for their misbehaviour exclaiming: "This is not a synagogue!"

Stanislaw Michalkiewicz is a regular Radio Maryja commentator notorious for his vicious antisemitism. On 5 October 2016, Michalkiewicz read his column on air saying: "The Jewish circles in Poland are tasked with providing the European Commission with as many proofs as possible that democracy and the rule of law in our unhappy country is threatened by the fascist regime." On 20 October 2016, Michalkiewicz said: "Today the mischevious Jews understood what it is about and they transformed themselves into liberals." On 23 November 2016, Radio Maryja aired Michalkiewicz's weekly broadcast in which he alleged "the Jewish lobby in Poland demonstrates its racial solidarity with the Ukrainian oligarchs."

Radio Maryja's Tadeusz Rydzyk was received as a guest by the Israeli Ambassador to Warsaw, Anna Azari, in September 2016. The publicized meeting resulted in an open letter of protest to the embassy written by several highly respected figures in the Polish Jewish community, such as Konstanty Gebert, Stanislaw Krajewski, and Joanna Sobolewska-Pyz. Nevertheless, the contacts between the Israeli Embassy and Radio Maryja continued and the embassy was represented at ceremonies organized by Father Rydzyk. Another meeting took place on 26 November 2016 in the form of a shabbat dinner attended by Father Rydzyk, Ambassador Azari, the Director of the Zionist Organization of America Morton Kleinand, and Deputy Speaker of the Knesset Yehiel Bar (Labour Party). Despite these meetings, Radio Maryja continued to broadcast antisemitic views.

The network of organizations around Radio Maryja reportedly received approximately 7.5 million US dollars from Polish state funds in 2016.

Grzegorz Braun is a documentary film director and a far-right activist. In 2015, he ran for president on an openly antisemitic and anti-democratic (monarchist) platform, polling less than 1 per cent of the vote. During the electoral campaign Braun warned against Poland becoming "a German-Russian condominium under Jewish management." In September 2016, he was shortlisted as one of three top candidates for the post of Chairman of Polish state television by the PiS-dominated National Media Council (the job went to a former MP, Jacek Kurski).

Historical revisionism

Arguably, the field of history and national memory is the main field where antisemitic stereotypes are employed in the contemporary Polish public discourse. In this context the denial of the Polish responsibility for the 1941 Jedwabne pogrom is a recurring phenomenon.

For example, in July 2016, the Polish Education Minister Anna Zalewska in a television interview claimed "Jedwabne is a historical fact that has led to many misunderstandings and very biased opinions." The journalist responded by saying: "Poles burned Jews in a barn." "That's your opinion" answered Zalewska and added that Jan Gross's award winning book on the Jedwabne pogrom was "full of lies." On the 1946 Kielce pogrom, she said the perpetrators "were not quite Polish."⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Vanessa Gera, "Polish official criticized over Jewish massacre remarks", 14 July 2016, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/0343e3d10bad435e8ce24d5f9e69c974/polish-official-criticized-over-jewish-massacre-remarks> .

South Africa / David Sacks

Levels of antisemitism, as measured by hostile acts against the Jewish community, whether at the collective or individual level, continue to be relatively low in South Africa. A total of 43 incidents regarded as antisemitic were logged in 2016. By comparison, the total for 2015 was 55. Over the past two decades, antisemitism levels have remained reasonably constant, with an average of between 40 and 60 incidents being recorded annually. Only twice, in 2009 and 2014, did the annual total exceed a hundred, this being a direct result of the conflicts in Gaza that took place between Israel and Hamas in those years.

It is further relevant to stress that antisemitic acts in South Africa rarely take a violent form. Of the 43 incidents logged in 2013, 14 involved antisemitic verbal abuse featuring threats and intimidation and 17 constituted verbal abuse only. The balance comprised hate mail (mainly online) and offensive graffiti.

The above statistics do not include what was undoubtedly the most serious development with regard to antisemitic activity in South Africa, namely the surfacing of allegations that certain radicalised members of the Muslim community in Johannesburg, inspired by Islamic State (IS) ideologies, had plotted to carry out attacks against local Jewish institutions and leaders. In July, four people were arrested for alleged involvement in terrorism activities, viz. twins Brandon-Lee and Tony-Lee Thulsie, who were charged under the Protection of Constitutional Democracy against Terrorism Act, and a brother and sister duo Ebrahim and Fatima Patel, who were arrested in line with the Explosives Act. The latter were later released on bail.

The Thulsies allegedly planned to detonate explosives at a US embassy and “Jewish institutions”, and also allegedly plotted to attack unspecified Jewish community leaders. They were further charged with recruiting for Islamic State.

Noteworthy incidents of antisemitism in South Africa in 2016 included the following:

- 23/1: Six Jewish teenagers walking home from shul in Johannesburg accosted by occupants in a passing vehicle. The driver pulled a zap sign and shouted “f***ing Jews”. The vehicle returned and swerved lanes towards the community members, then double-backed and performed the same swerving action a second time.
- 9/3: Verbal abuse and intimidation directed against Wits Jewish students taking part in a weekly learning session. Palestinian Solidarity Committee supporters taunted participants and the Rabbi and on occasion physically disrupted the proceedings.
- 13/10: Two Jewish students on Wits campus came out of a lecture hall and walked past a group of student protestors, approximately 100 people. As they walked past, three or four black males from within the crowd shouted “mother f***ing Jews”.
- Between 15 and 20 February, serial antisemitic offender Jacques Von Molendorff von made a number of telephonic threats to the Chief Rabbi, including “...help me finish Adolph Hitler’s job and kill every Jew but this time one hundred times worse...”
- 31/10: Graffiti at Wits University, reading “Kill a Jew” and “F**k the Jews”.

Switzerland / Simon Erlanger

At the time of the writing of this article the number of the recorded antisemitic incidents in Switzerland in 2016 has not yet been published. The numbers are usually made public by March. Incidents are recorded in the French-speaking part of the country by the Geneva based NGO “Coordination Intercommunautaire Contre l’Antisemitisme et la Diffamation” (CICAD). In the German-speaking the annual report is compiled and published by the Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities, the “Schweizerischer Israelitischer Gemeindebund” (SIG), together with the NGO “Stiftung gegen Rassismus und Antisemitismus” (GRA). The organizations counted fewer antisemitic incidents in 2015. The year was said to have been similar to the so-called “normal” years since 2003, when the antisemitism report was first published and not to 2014 when the number of incidents peaked.⁷⁶ While the official numbers have not yet been published it seems fair to say that 2016 can also be called a “normal year” with the number of incidents staying below the record of 2014.

The government considers Jews as threatened but refuses to defend them

However in 2016 the terror threat level has remained high. A feeling of uneasiness has spread and increased.⁷⁷ Communities have had to reorganize, to improve and to increase their security. As became clear already by late 2015 and early 2016, growing security costs now threaten the financial viability and the institutional survival of Swiss Jewish Communities. While the federal Swiss government has acknowledged this fact already by the end of 2015,⁷⁸ not much has been done since then. Jewish communities are left alone.⁷⁹ Contrary to Germany or France there are no policemen or soldiers sent by the government to guard, watch and protect Jewish community centers, kindergartens, schools and synagogues.

There is also no financial contribution forthcoming to accommodate Jewish security needs by the central government or by the cantons, the federal states, despite the fact that most of the Jewish communities enjoy the officially recognized legal status of state churches.⁸⁰

Already in December 2015 a Federal commission headed by the defense minister was appointed to look into the matter.⁸¹ The report was only published in November 2016 but neither by the ministry of defense, nor by the ministry of justice, but by a minor commission on racism in the interior ministry. This reflected the lacking political will to address the problem, avoidance of responsibility and – it seems – bureaucratic infighting.⁸² However the

⁷⁶ Communiqué by CICAD; Geneva March 8 2016; see: <http://www.cicad.ch/fr/reports-antisemitism-anti-semitism-reports/rapport-sur-l%E2%80%99antis%C3%A9mitisme-en-suisse-romande-2015-banali> (last viewed on March 29 2016)

⁷⁷ Basler Juden verstecken ihre Kippa vor der Öffentlichkeit – aus Angst; Basellandschaftliche Zeitung, 21.2.2015; see: <http://www.basellandschaftlichezeitung.ch/basel/basel-stadt/basler-juden-verstecken-ihre-kippa-vor-der-oeffentlichkeit-aus-angst-128859939> (last viewed on March 30)

⁷⁸ Bund will Juden besser schützen; Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 13.12.2015; see: <http://www.nzz.ch/schweiz/bund-will-juden-besser-schuetzen-1.1866232> (last viewed on March 29)

⁷⁹ Juden wünschen mehr Schutz durch den Staat; Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1.12.2015; see: <http://www.nzz.ch/schweiz/juden-wuenschen-mehr-schutz-durch-den-staat-1.18655942> (last viewed January 2, 2017)

⁸⁰ Christoph Bernet: Schwarzpeterspiel um die Sicherheit für Schweizer Juden, Tagesanzeiger, 30.7.2016; see: http://www.schweizamsonntag.ch/ressort/nachrichten/schwarzpeterspiel_um_die_sicherheit_fuer_schweizer_juden/ (last viewed on January 2, 2017)

⁸¹ Juden fordern finanzielle Hilfe von der Stadt; 20 Minuten; see: <http://www.20min.ch/schweiz/zueroch/story/12016627> (Last viewed on January 2, 2016)

⁸² Compare Gisela Blau: Die Juden sollen ihre Sicherheit selber zahlen, in: tagesles, 25.11.2016.

commission's findings were accepted as binding by the Federal government, the Bundesrat. While declaring that there is indeed a severe, plausible and growing threat against Jews and Jewish institutions in Switzerland, the report declared it impossible for the government to provide security or to at least help fund Jewish communal security. The authors of the report stated, that there was no legal basis for doing so and instead suggested that the Jews should pay for their own security themselves and found a foundation for the purpose. The underlying assumption, that Jews were rich and could be taken to task in paying for their protections, was felt to be based on antisemitic stereotype and history. It was also overlooked that Jewish communities had already been paying for their own security for quite a while. With the strengthening of security measures after the November 2015 attacks in Paris, millions were spent in 2016, money now lacking for other communal tasks. By early 2017 several communities are expected to reach a breaking point, where will have to choose between their security and a massive deficit or financial survival.

The outrage within the Swiss Jewish communities at the commission's suggestions was great.⁸³ A certain segment of Swiss public opinion expressed solidarity, the media reported and commented on the crisis, but at the time of the writing of this article it still remains unresolved. A parliamentary intervention by the Jewish social democrat Daniel Jositsch in the Upper chamber of parliament was voted down. The negative attitude of the social democratic Swiss Justice minister Cornelia Sommaruga was deemed essential in parliament's refusal to deal with Jewish security.⁸⁴ The story is expected to gain momentum again in January. The outcome is open.

In supreme irony Swiss Jewry celebrated in 2016 the 150th anniversary of its emancipation.⁸⁵ A year that started with a celebration of acceptance ended with the state refusing to defend its Jewish citizens. It seems that 150 years on, they are seen again as a separate category of citizens, with the state abdicating.⁸⁶

Still no updated study on Antisemitism

As mentioned last year and before, there is still no current and updated study into Swiss attitudes on Jews and on antisemitism. While CICAD covers the media in the French part of Switzerland there is in the German part of Switzerland no professional media watch to speak of. In 2014, a poll undertaken by the institute Demoscope on Swiss attitudes to Jews and Judaism was stopped by the pollsters after the endeavor was made public by the Swiss media. The only reliable scientific sources on Swiss attitudes toward the Jews are older studies. However they do not take into account recent development and attitudes, such as the shift to a populist right or the rise of a jihadist groups.

⁸³ Herbert Winter: Wir sind Bürger, nicht Bittsteller, Tagesanzeiger November 26, 2016; see: <http://www.tagesanzeiger.ch/schweiz/standard/wir-sind-buerger-nicht-bittsteller/story/18434823> (last viewed on January 2, 2017).

and: Sicherheit der Schweizer Juden: Jüdische Dachverbände nehmen Bund in die Pflicht, Medienmitteilung SIG, 17.11.2016; see: <https://www.swissjews.ch/de/medien/pressemitteilungen/sicherheit-der-schweizer-juden-juedische-dachverbaende-nehmen-bund-in-die-pflicht/> (last seen January 2, 2017).

⁸⁴ Gisela Blau: Arroganz der Bundesrätin, in Tachles, Nr. 50, December 15 2016.

⁸⁵ See: <http://150.swissjews.ch/de/> (last seen on January 2, 2017)

⁸⁶ See comment by Georg Kreis: Die Schweizer Juden sollen sich selber schützen – eine inakzeptable Unzuständigkeit; in: TagesWoche; 23.12.2016; see:

https://www.swissjews.ch/site/assets/files/0/08/485/2__tw_unzust_ndigkeit.pdf (last seen: January 2, 2017)

An updated survey on Swiss antisemitism on a sound methodological basis is therefore long overdue and urgent in order to be able to combat the phenomena efficiently. For the time being we are left with old surveys based on outdated assumptions, methodologies and demographics. The Swiss population has grown by 1,3 million to 8.3 million since 2000. 5% of the population today is Muslim. In 2000 the “gfs” Research Institute in Berne found that 16 percent of the Swiss harbored intense anti-Semitic feelings.⁸⁷ Although this was about European average at the time, the number constituted double the percentage that earlier polls had found. A 2006 study by the University of Geneva's Department of Sociology found that a full 20 percent of the Swiss were “affected by anti-Semitism”.⁸⁸ The gfs Research Institute responded with a new study in 2007.⁸⁹ While only 10% of respondents were openly antisemitic, some 53% were highly critical of Israel. 50% of the respondents were thinking that Israel was leading a “war of annihilation” against the Palestinians. 13% of respondents stated that Israel has no right to exist. That was ten years ago. To gain a realistic contemporary assessment of the phenomena and the direction where Switzerland is heading in comparison to its neighbors and the rest of Europe a new survey is urgently needed.

Even without a new survey and in the light of fewer incidents reported it can be stated with certainty: Anti-Jewish currents run deep within Swiss society. The “old” and the “new” Antisemitism of the Right and the Left are still very much alive in and growing, as is the newly introduced Islamist variant. As elsewhere in Europa Jihadist groups and Islamist fighters returning from Syria are a clear and present danger to the Jewish communities.

The refusal of the Swiss federal government, the Bundesrat, to even consider funding and organizing Jewish security constitutes a breach of the Swiss public order (*ordre public*). It is the main task of a government to protect its citizens. 150 years after the formal emancipation, which only came after a struggle of many decades under economic pressure by the US, France, the Netherlands and Britain, it seems, that Swiss Jews are not considered full citizens to be protected by the state.⁹⁰ More than any antisemitic incident it is this attitude by the organs of the state which cast doubt on a Jewish future in Switzerland.

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⁸⁷ www.gfs.ch/antsemkurz.html (Last viewed on March 20 2014).

⁸⁸ Sandro Cattacin, Brigitta Gerber, Massimo Sardi, and Robert Wegener, Monitoring Misanthropy and Rightwing Extremist Attitudes in Switzerland: An Explorative Study, Department of Sociology, University of Geneva, 2006, 70.

⁸⁹ <http://www.gfsbern.ch/de-ch/Detail/kritik-an-israel-nicht-deckungsgleich-mit-antisemitischen-haltungen> (Last viewed on March 29 2016)

⁹⁰ Frank A. Meyer: Juden? Bürger. Sonntagsblick, 27.11.2016

WORKING DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

The purpose of this document is to provide a practical guide for identifying incidents, collecting data, and supporting the implementation and enforcement of legislation dealing with antisemitism.

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

In addition, such manifestations could also target the state of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity. Antisemitism frequently charges Jews with conspiring to harm humanity, and it is often used to blame Jews for “why things go wrong.” It is expressed in speech, writing, visual forms and action, and employs sinister stereotypes and negative character traits.

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

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

Examples of the ways in which antisemitism manifests itself with regard to the state of Israel taking into account the overall context could include:

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

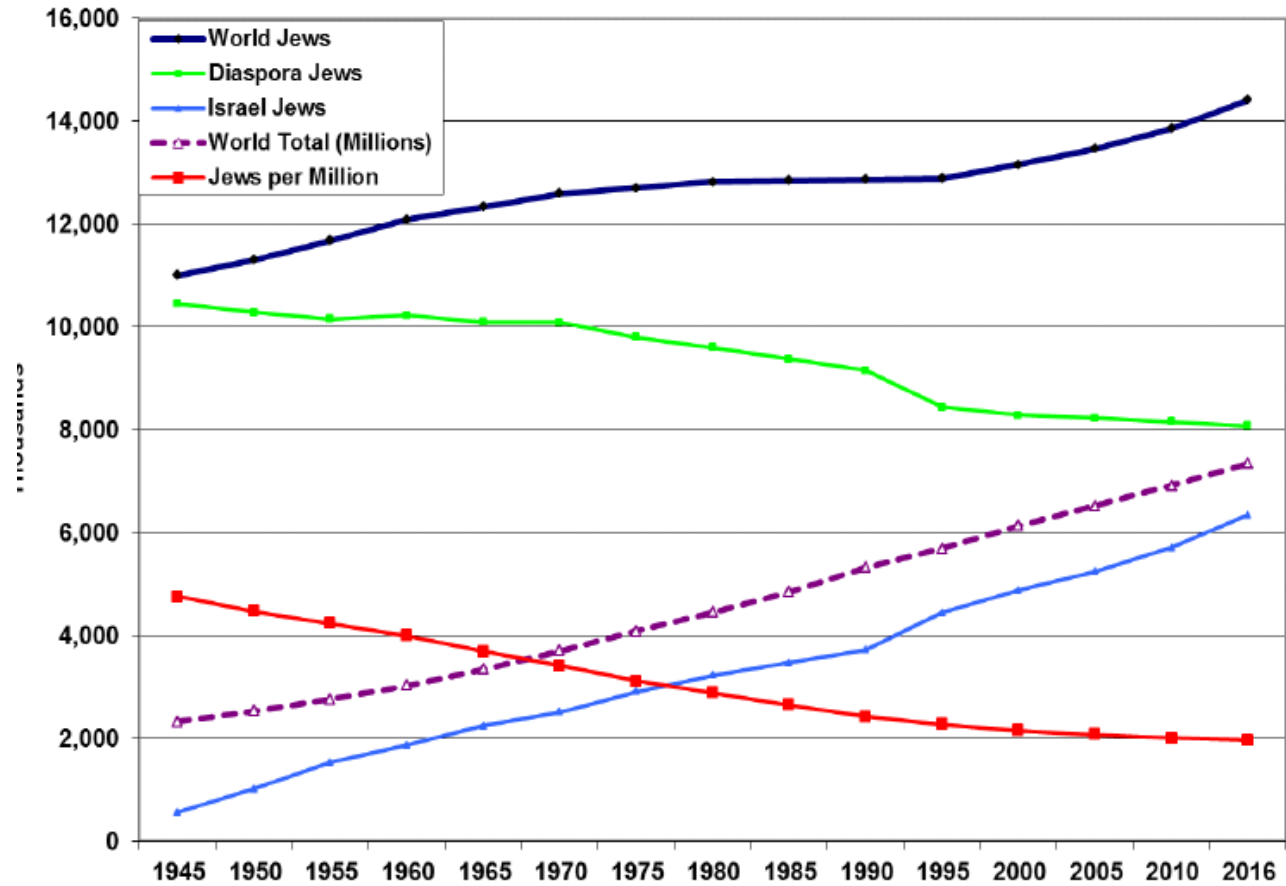
However, criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic.

Antisemitic acts are criminal when they are so defined by law (for example, denial of the Holocaust or distribution of antisemitic materials in some countries).

Criminal acts are antisemitic when the targets of attacks, whether they are people or property—such as buildings, schools, places of worship and cemeteries—are selected because they are, or are perceived to be, Jewish or linked to Jews.

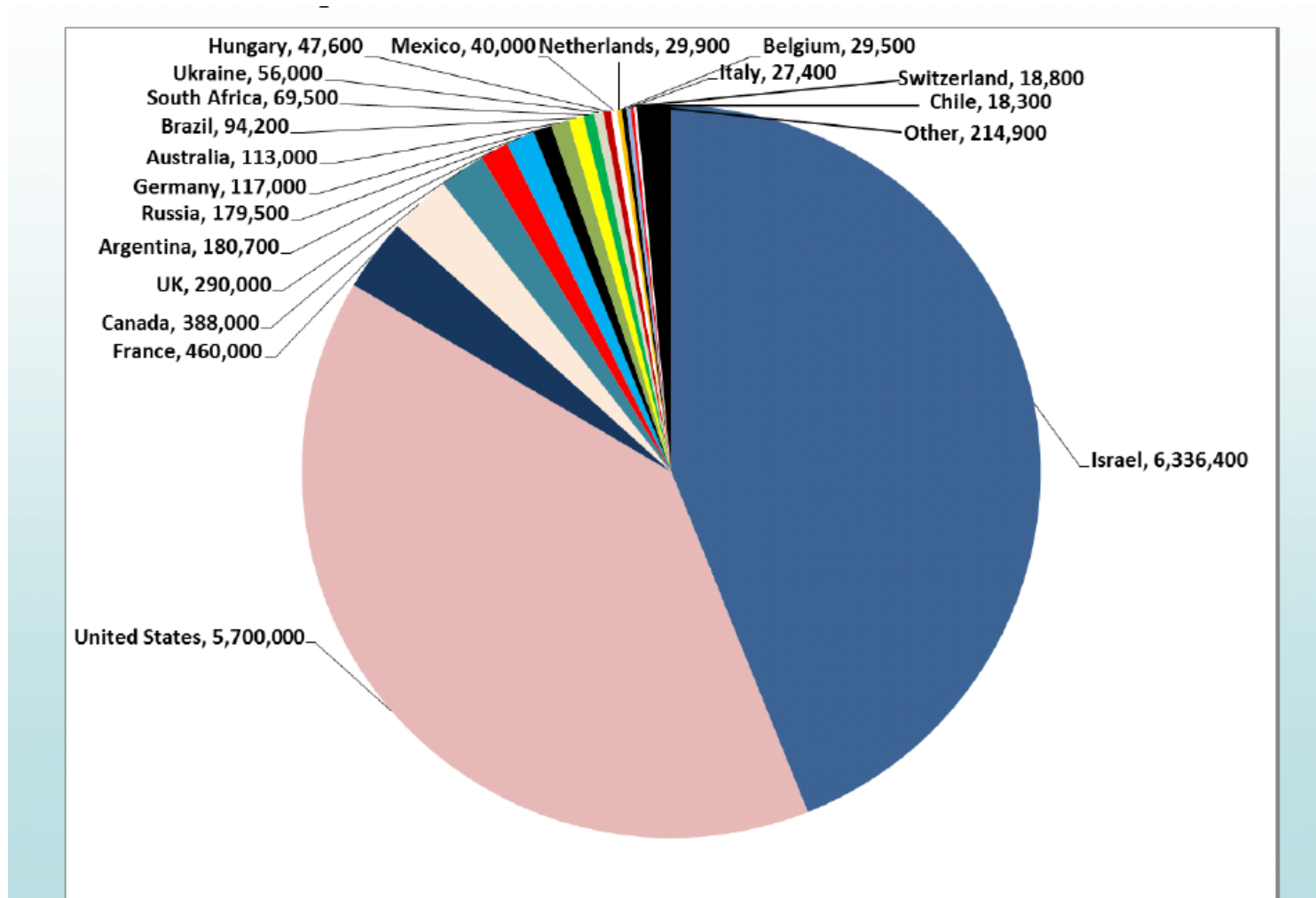
Antisemitic discrimination is the denial to Jews of opportunities or services available to others and is illegal in many countries.

Appendix B– Core Jewish Population in the World, 1945-2016 / Prof. Sergio DellaPergola⁹¹



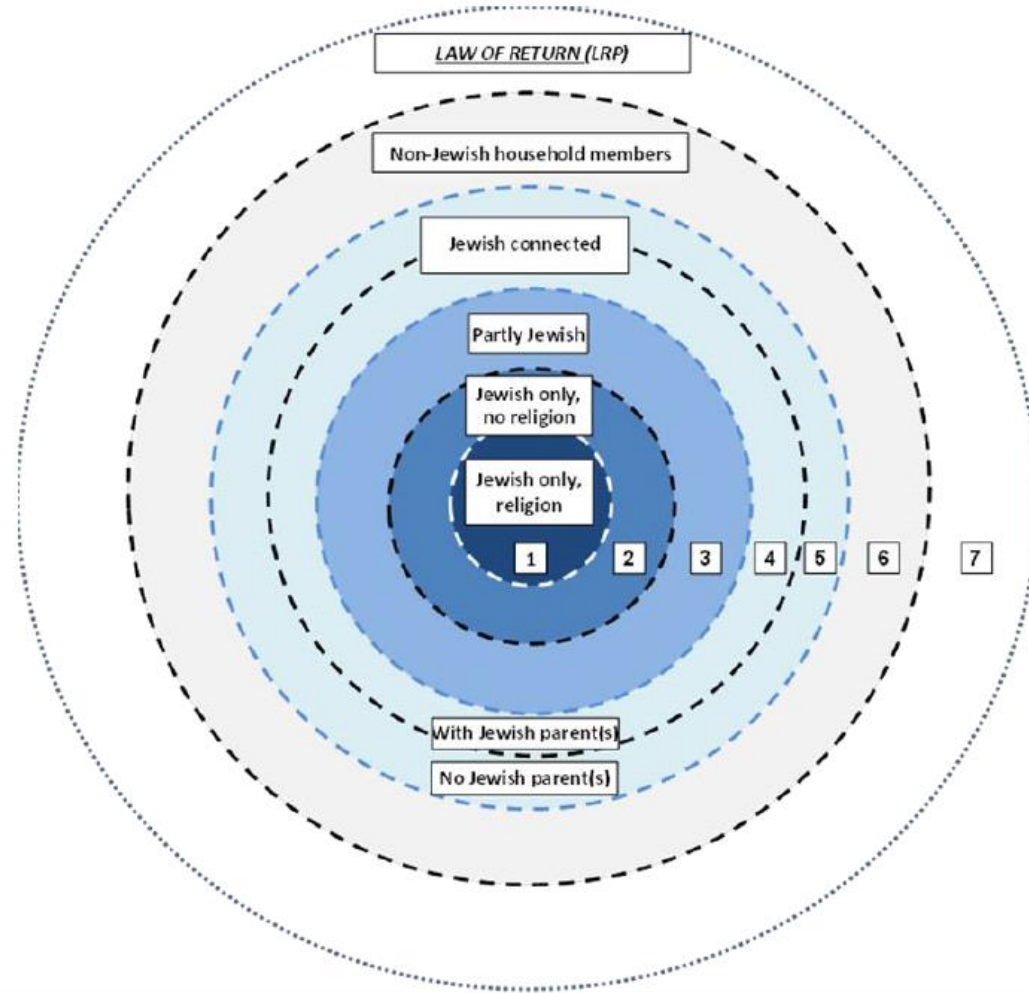
⁹¹ Sergio DellaPergola, "World Jewish Population 2016". In A. Dashefsky and I. Sheskin (eds.) American Jewish Year Book, 116. Dordrecht: Springer, 2017, 253-332.

Appendix C – Core Jewish Populations in Main Countries⁹²



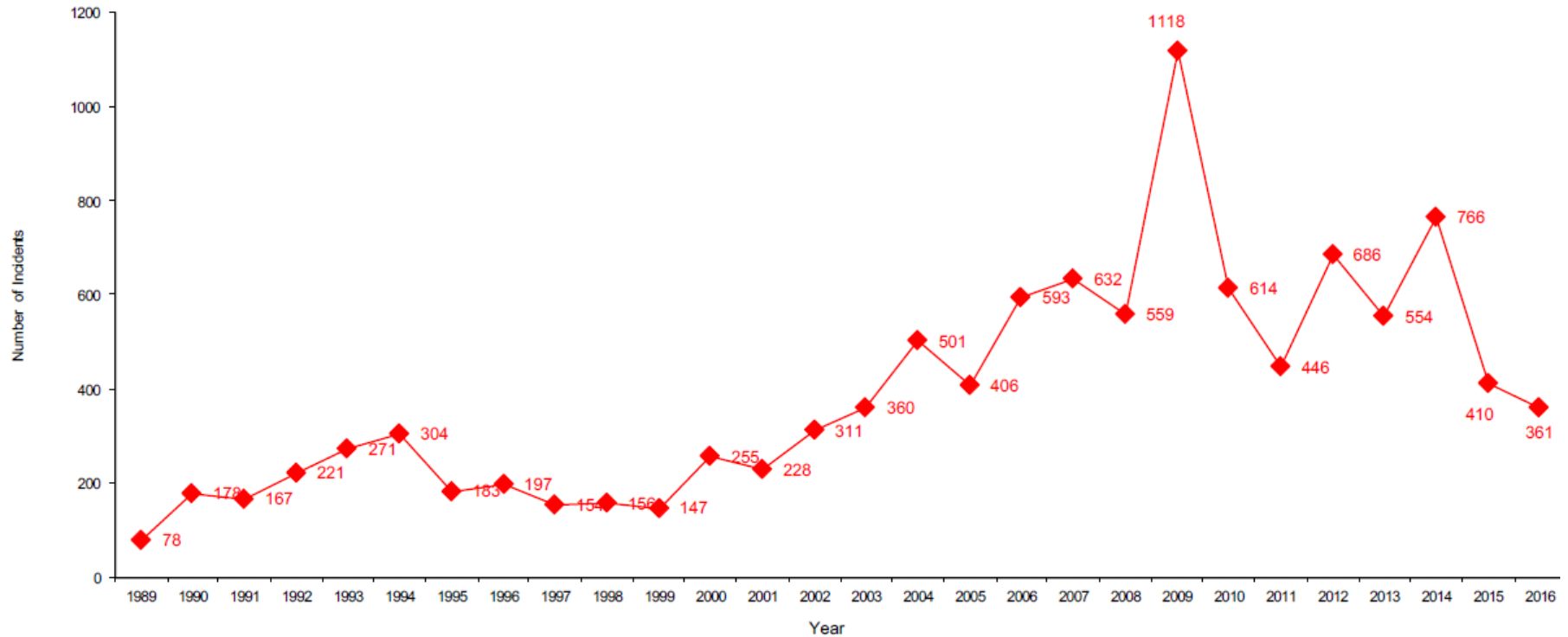
⁹² Ibid.

CONTEMPORARY JEWISH IDENTIFICATION CONFIGURATIONS



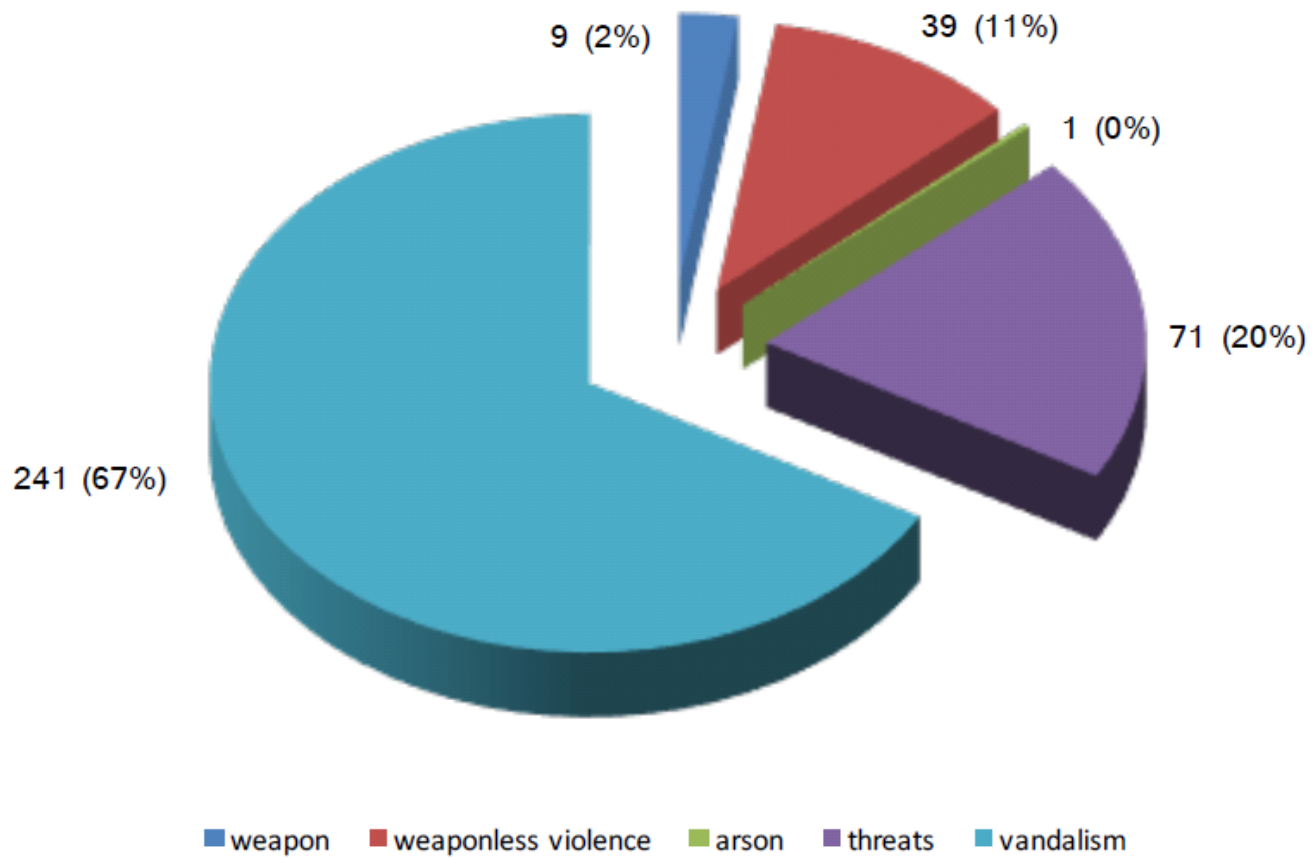
Appendix E – Major Violent Incidents Worldwide, 1989-2016

Antisemitism - Violent Incidents Worldwide 1989-2016

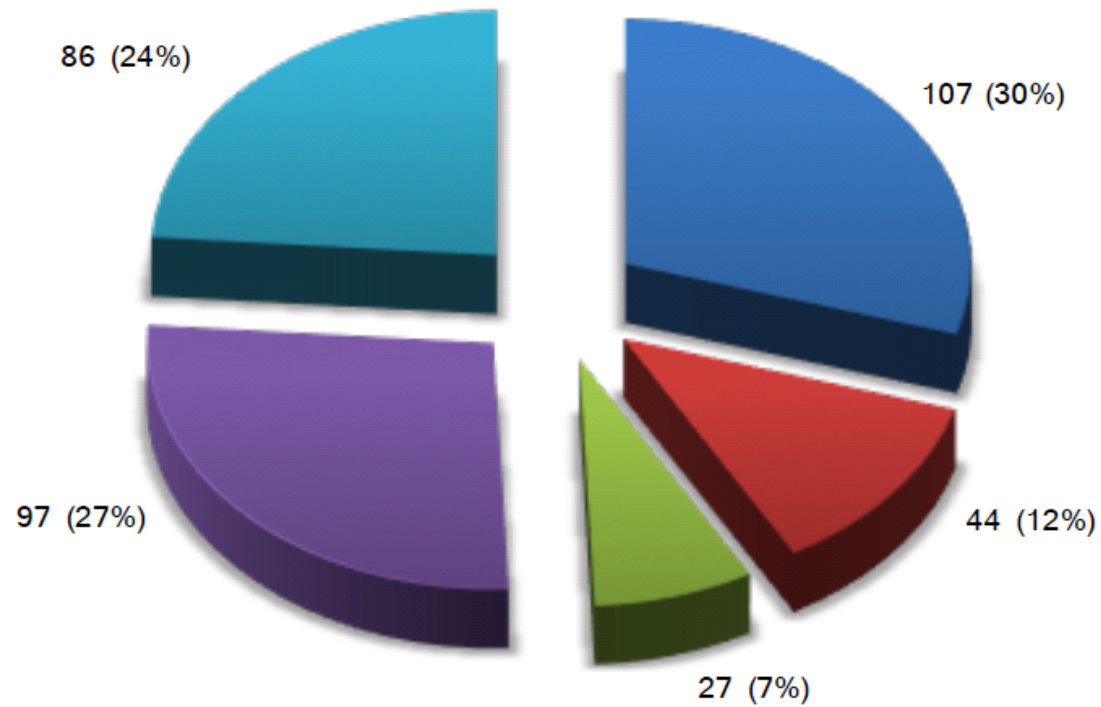


⁹³ Statistics – **Dr. Haim Fireberg (2016)**. The graphs in this section refer to acts of violence and vandalism perpetrated against Jewish individuals and Jewish private and community property worldwide during 2014. The figures are based on the Kantor Database for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism and reports of the Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism. It should be stressed that the graphs reflect only major violent incidents (such as arson, weapon attacks, weaponless attacks, serious harassment, and vandalism or desecration).

Violent Incidents Worldwide in 2016 Breakdown by Modus Operandi



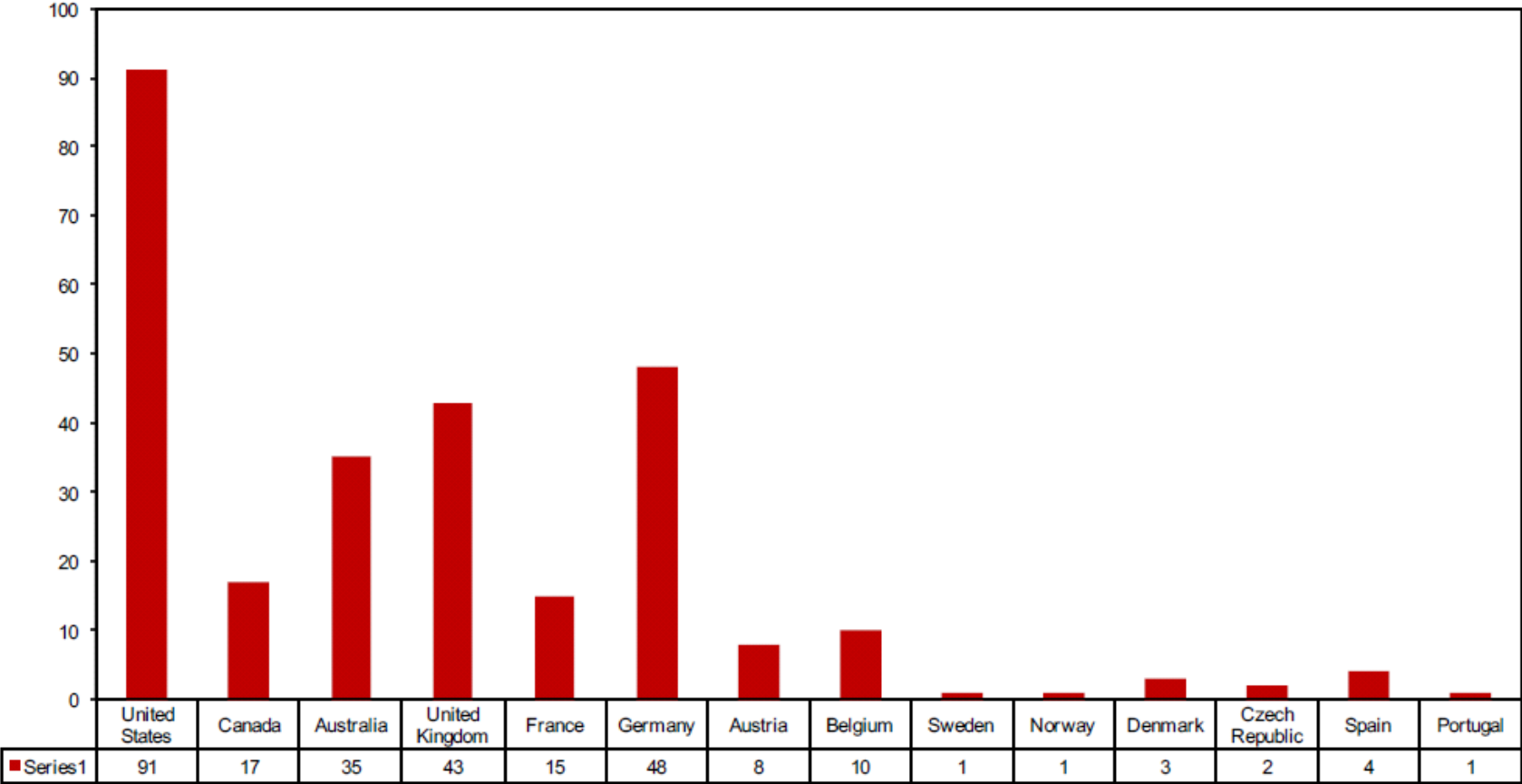
Violent Incidents Worldwide in 2016 Breakdown by Target



■ persons ■ synagogues ■ community centres & schools ■ cemeteries & memorial sites ■ private property

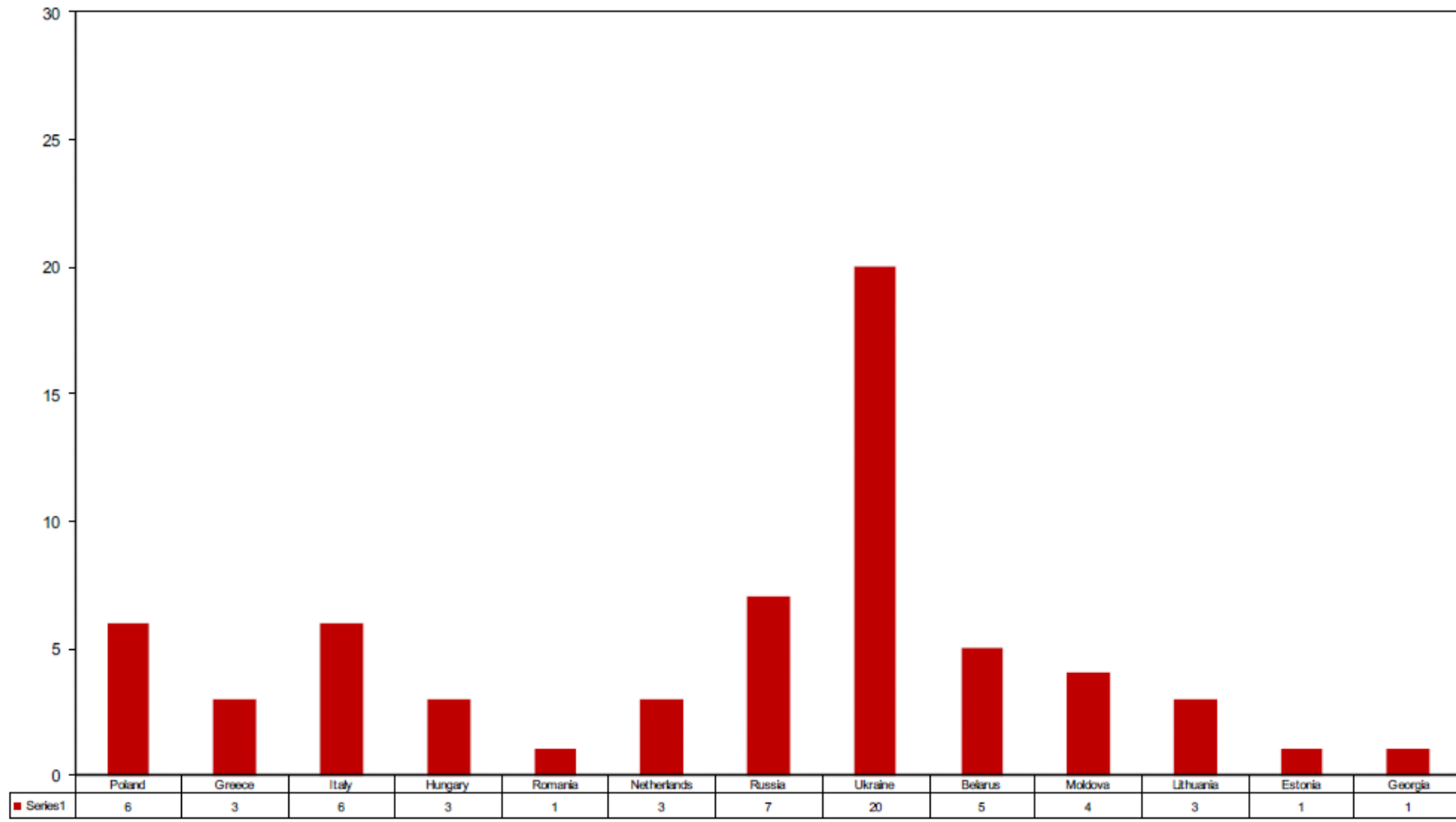
Appendix H

Violent Incidents in 2016 - Breakdown by Country (1)



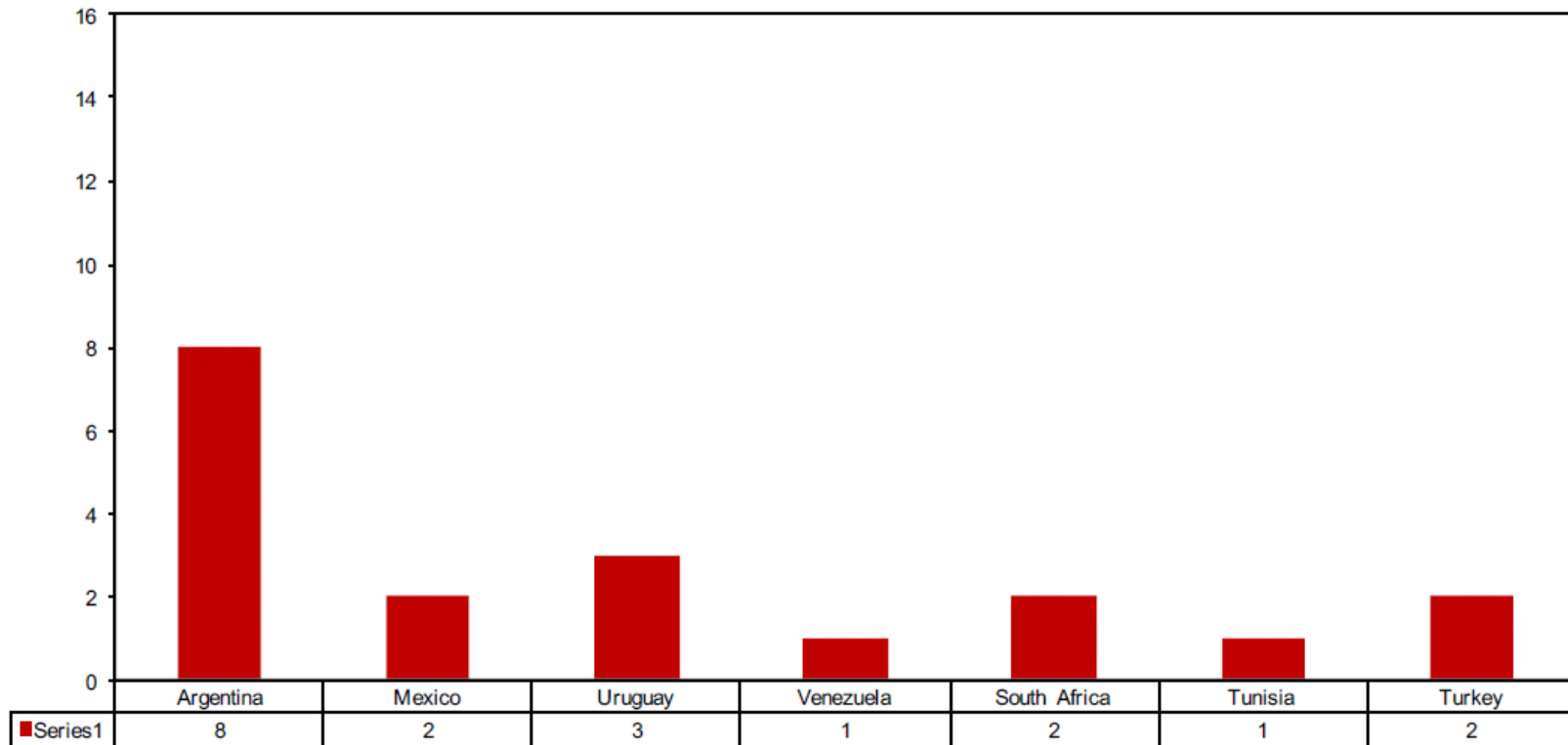
Appendix I

Violent Incidents in 2016 - Breakdown by Country (2)



Appendix J

Violent Incidents in 2016 - Breakdown by Country (3)



סקירה – דו"ח אודות האנטישמיות בשנת 2016 מרכז קנטור, אוניברסיטת תל-אביב, 2017

מגמות והתפתחויות באנטישמיות בעולם בשנת 2016

הקדמה

מסמך זה מתבסס על עבודתו השוטפת של צוות מרכז קנטור לחקר יהדות אירופה בימינו, ועל דו"חות ונתונים ששלחו לנו אנשי הקשר שלנו, מכמה עשרות ארצות. הם מהווים מעין רשת שהוקמה והתבססה במשך למעלה מעשרים שנות פעילות של הצוות באוניברסיטת תל אביב. מרכז קנטור, ומאגר המידע על שם משה קנטור, הם הגוף היחיד, בארץ ובעולם, שעוקב ברציפות במשך שנים כה רבות אחרי האירועים האנטישמיים בעולם כולו; מנתח אותם לאורך הזמן על בסיס קריטריונים קבועים, המאפשרים השוואה רב שנתית; ומעמיד את הממצאים לרשות הרבים. למרות כול זאת אין אנו יכולים לומר כי בידנו כול הנתונים על ביטויי האנטישמיות בעולם, מפני שבארצות רבות המעקב אינו רצוף או שיטתי, ומפני שסקרים מצאו שרוב המקרים, בין אנטישמיים ובין גזעניים בכלל, אינם מדווחים לרשויות.

הנתונים והמידע שאנו מציגים כאן על האירועים האנטישמיים האלימים הם תוצאה של שיטת מעקב וניתוח שפותחה במרכז קנטור, לפי אמות מידה מסוימות: אירוע ייחשב לאנטישמי אם עמד מאחוריו מניע אנטישמי; אירוע שבו נפגעו מפעולתו של אדם אחד או קבוצה אחת כמה אנשים או מצבות, אנדרטות ורכוש פרטי וקהילתי, ייחשב לאירוע אחד; אין להגזים בחומרתם של אירועים, ומצד שני אין להקל בהם ראש. כתוצאה, ייתכנו הבדלים בין הנתונים שלנו לבין הנתונים שמוסרים גופי מעקב אחרים, וקהילות יהודיות בכללם. כאן המקום לציין שרוב גופי המעקב והקהילות מפרסמים מדי שנה נתונים הכוללים את כול סוגי האנטישמיות וביטוייה גם יחד, האלימים, המילוליים והחזותיים.

אנו ערים לצורך בהעמדת תמונה רחבה ומאוזנת, שכן אין להפריד את מצב האנטישמיות מן המצב הכללי במדינה או בחברה זו או אחרת. בבריטניה למשל, נמנו השנה כמה עשרות אלפים של פשעי שנאה, במעשה ובמלל, לעומת כמה מאות שבוצעו כלפי הקהילה היהודית, אך יש לזכור שקבוצות קיצוניות מתנגדות לנוכחותן של כול קבוצות המיעוטים שהן הגדירו כזרים ופועלות נגד כולן יחד: הביטוי למצב זה במחקר הוא GROUP BASED HOSTILITY. לפיכך אין אפשרות להבין מהי אנטישמיות ללא ידיעה מעמיקה של המצב הפוליטי, הכלכלי והחברתי בכול ארץ נתונה ובזירה הבינלאומית בכללה.

להלן כמה מן המגמות והתפתחויות בשנת 2016:

א. האירועים האנטישמיים בשנת 2016 מצביעים על שתי מגמות סותרות המתקיימות במקביל: האחת היא המשך של מגמת ירידה במספר האירועים, וקודם כול האירועים האלימים, בכמה ארצות מרכזיות מבחינת מספר היהודים המתגורר בהן ומבחינת מעמדן הבינלאומי. והשנייה היא המשך העלייה, לעתים עלייה דרמטית, בהתבטאויות המילוליות והחזותיות בייחוד ברשתות החברתיות ובזמן הפגנות, הכוללות עלבונות, הצקות ואיומים, שאינם ניתנים לכימות במספרים. הרשתות עצמן מהוות במקורן מציאות וירטואלית, אך הן הפכו בהדרגה למציאות ממשית, והאינטרנט הוא הכלי העיקרי היום להפצת שנאה וגזענות, בביטויים פוגעניים וגסים, בלשון משולחת רסן.

לפיכך, גם אם מספרי המקרים האלימים ירדו, התחושה הרווחת בקרב יהודים, בין יחידים ובין קבוצות או קהילות, היא קשה מאוד, וזה הנתון המדאיג ביותר.

מקרי האלימות האנטישמית ירדו ב-2016 ב-12% מ-410 ב-2015 ל-361 ב-2016, וזאת על פי הנתונים והקריטריונים של מרכז קנטור.

הירידה בכלל המקרים, אלימים ולא אלימים כאחד, כפי שהם מתפרסמים על ידי גופי מעקב וקהילות, ניכרת בעיקר בצרפת שבה הודיע לאחרונה שר הפנים ברנרד קזנב (CAZENEUVE) על ירידה בכלל האירועים האנטישמיים ב-61%, וירידה מקבילה של אירועים אנטי-מוסלמיים ב-52%. סקר של ה-CNCDH, הוועדה המייעצת הלאומית לענייני זכויות אדם בצרפת, מצא שלמרות החרדה מפני טרור מוסלמי, יש שיפור ביחס כלפי מוסלמים, ומכאן הירידה במספר

האירועים האנטי-מוסלמיים. בבלגיה נרשמה ירידה של 60% בכלל המקרים. בבריטניה הייתה עלייה ב-11%, אך בתוכה נרשמה ירידה של 13% במקרים האלימים, ושל 11% במקרי ונדלזים. בגרמניה הצביעו מקורות רשמיים על ירידה מ-740 מקרים ב-2015 ל-644 ב-2016, אך גוף לא ממשלתי הגיע למספרים גבוהים יותר, בייחוד בברלין, שבה נרשמה עלייה של 16%. באוקראינה המספרים נמוכים כבר מזה שנים אחדות, וברוב ארצות העולם שלא צוינו כאן מספרי האירועים האלימים נעים בין 1 ל-10. היוצאת מן הכלל היחידה השנה היא אוסטרליה, שבה נרשמה עלייה בכלל המקרים ב-10%, ובכללה עלייה של 36% בוונדלזים ו-33% בהתקפת אנשים פנים אל פנים, אלא שמספרים אלה רווחו בה לפני 2015. בקמפוסים ברחבי ארה"ב, שברבים מהם שוררת אווירה אנטישמית קשה המנסה להיראות כאנטי-ציונות, נרשמה עלייה של 45% בכול צורות האנטישמיות, בייחוד בהצקות ועלבונות.

באשר לסיבותיה של הירידה, בייחוד באלימות, אפשר למנות קודם כול את הגברת אמצעי הביטחון השונים ונוכחותם של חיילים ושוטרים, להגנתה של האוכלוסייה בכלל. בצרפת הוצבו 10,000 חיילים לשמירה ברחובי הערים, בייחוד בפריז, ו-800 מבנים יהודיים מוגנים באופן קבוע. יש גם שינוי בדפוסי הפעולה של שירותי המודיעין, שהגבירו את מידת המעקב שלהם אחרי קבוצות קיצוניות בכלל ובמעברי הגבול בפרט, את הניסיון להגביל את חופש ההסתה ואת שיתוף הפעולה הבינלאומי ביניהם. מגמה זו ניכרת בייחוד אחרי ה-BREXIT, החלטתה של בריטניה לעזוב את האיחוד האירופי, והחמרת הפיקוח על גבולותיה. התקציבים להגנה על הקהילות היהודיות הוגדלו – בריטניה למשל, הקציבה 1.3 מיליון לירות שטרלינג למטרה זו. נוסף לכך, יהודים נמנעים יותר ויותר מלצאת למרחב הציבורי כשעליהם סימנים מזהים כמו כיפה, מגן דויד וכדומה. יתכן שהירידה, כפי שצוות מרכז קנטור מצביע עליה היא תוצאה של כול האמצעים האלה, והיא ניכרת בשימוש בנשק (10 מקרים לעומת 24 ב-2015), בהצתה (מקרה אחד לעומת 10 ב-2015), בהשחתת רכוש יהודי ציבורי/קהילתי ופרטי ובתקיפת אנשים, בעוד שבתי עלמין ואנדרטות, שאינם מוגנים, ממשיכים להיפגע יותר: כ-100 בתי קברות חוללו בשנה שחלפה, כמו ב-2015, לעומת 27 תקיפות של בתי ספר ומרכזים קהילתיים (34 בשנת 2015). היו 107 התקפות של אנשים פנים אל פנים, מספר גבוה מאוד ונתון קשה ומדאיג, גם בהשוואה ל-2015 שבה היו 157 מקרים כאלה, ו-306 ב-2014. עם זאת, ולמרות כול המאמצים והאמצעים, סכינאות של יחידים, זאבים בודדים, כפי שהם מכונים היום, שכירת משאיות וייצור בקבוקי מולוטוב בבתי פרטיים אינם צפויים מראש וכמעט בלתי אפשרי למנוע אותם.

כמו כן, הגל שמנה כמיליון ורבע פליטים שזרמו לאירופה ב-2015, רובם מוסלמים מן המזרח התיכון, אפריקה ואפגניסטן, הסיט את תשומת לבם של אנשי הימין הקיצוני, הן בשטח והן ברשתות החברתיות, מן הקהילות היהודיות אל האיום שגל זה מהווה, לדעתם. ב-2016 היה מספר הפליטים שהגיעו לאירופה נמוך אך במעט, כך שבשתי השנים הגיעו, לפי נתוני האיחוד האירופי, כשניים וחצי מיליון פליטים, רובם לגרמניה (1.7 מיליון), והפחד מפני השפעתם של גלי המהגרים על החברה והכלכלה בעינו עומד, וביטוי רווח, "IMMIGRATION RESISTANCE", מעיד עליו. במקביל קיים חשש גובר מפני תאי טרור שמקורם בחוגים איסלמיסטיים קיצוניים הקיימים באירופה עוד לפני הגעתו של גל הפליטים, והם פעילים או ממתנינים לשעת כושר, ומפני קיצוניים נוספים שדאע"ש אימנה ושלחה חזרה לארצות המוצא. בין הנתפסים לטרור ישנם בני דור שני ושלישי למהגרים, שכבר נולדו באירופה, והם מעורים בה, אך הם רוצים לנקום את נקמת העוול שנעשה, לדעתם, לדור הראשון. המעקב אחרי קבוצות ותנועות רדיקליות הביא אף הוא להפחתה באלימות כלפי יהודים.

בשנת 2016, כמו ב-2015, שגם בה חלה ירידה חדה במספר האירועים האלימים, לא התרחש עימות בין ישראל לשכנותיה מצפון או מדרום. עם זאת, יותר ויותר ביטויים אנטי-ציוניים, האשמות והשמצות מובעים בטונים ובלשון אנטישמיים חריפים. סקר באוניברסיטת בילפלד בגרמניה מצא שכרבע מן האוכלוסייה הגרמנית מתבטא באופן אנטישמי כאשר מדובר בישראל.

עוד סיבה אפשרית לירידה במספר האירועים האלימים היא, שאותו החשש הגובר והולך באירופה מפני טרור נוסף, פתח אולי פתח להזדהות או לפחות להבעת אהדה לקהילות היהודיות ולישראל, ומותר אולי לקוות להתייחסות שונה לטרור אותו חווים יהודים וישראלים בעשורים האחרונים.

ואכן נראה שבשנתיים האחרונות התהדקו מגעים בין יהודים לנוצרים, הן במישור הקהילתי-חברתי והן במישור הדתי-תיאולוגי, ושמספר המפגשים והפעילויות על רקע זה גדל באופן ניכר. נוסף לכך, היחסים בין מוסלמים לנוצרים הם העומדים היום על הפרק, ובמקרים רבים נוצרים תקפו מוסלמים, העלו באש מרכזי מהגרים וחיללו בתי קברות ואף מסגדים. סקר נוסף העלה שבגרמניה גדל פי שלושה מספר ההתקפות על אתרים מוסלמים בשנה האחרונה לעומת הקודמת: כ-3000 לעומת כ-1000, ועלייה במספרם של אירועים אלה נרשמה בארצות נוספות. סקר יסודי של חברת PEW, שניתח 11,500 שאלונים בעשר ארצות אירופיות בקיץ 2016, מצא של-50% מן הנשאלים יש גישות שליליות במיוחד כלפי צוענים ומוסלמים, וזה בהשוואה לממוצע של 16% כלפי יהודים. מחברי הסקר סיכמו: "גישות שליליות כלפי יהודים רווחות הרבה פחות". כמובן שיש הבדלים בין הגישות בארצות השונות ובהונגריה, פולין ובייחוד ביוון, המצב גרוע יותר מאשר בבריטניה, צרפת וגרמניה, שבכל אחת מהן הצביע הסקר על פחות מ-10% בעלי דעות שליליות כלפי יהודים.

לסיכומה של נקודה זו, של ירידה במספר האירועים האלימים, יש לומר שב-2016 לא אירע מקרה רצח ממניעים אנטישמיים, ויהודים נהרגו יחד עם לא יהודים, במקרים מרובי נפגעים כפי שקרה בשנה הקודמת בתיאטרון הצרפתי בטקלן (BATACLAN), או כשמשאיות שעטו לתוך קהל חוגגים בניס ובברלין. בשנים שלפניה אופי האירועים האלה השתנה והם הפכו להיות ברוטליים ורבי-נפגעים, בייחוד כשהם היוו חלק מפעולות טרור, כפי ראינו בפריז, בריסל, קופנהגן, ניס וברלין. לאכזריות ולאלימות היה מאז ומתמיד כוח משיכה מסוים, והן מציעות טעם של סכנה ושל התנהגות אנטי-ממסדית, שהרשתות החברתיות מטפחות ומפיצות. אמנם כבר נאמר כאן שהרשתות הן מציאות מדומה, ומהוות אמצעי להעברת מסרים ולא הסיבה להיווצרותם, אך הן הפכו למציאות של היום, בראש ובראשונה עבור הצעירים. ואכן חלק ממי שנעצרו על ידי רשויות החוק התבררו כבני נוער חוליגנים שקיבלו השראה מן הרשתות, משועממים וחסרי ערכים וכיוון, וסקר של ה-Europol מצא שחלקם בעלי עבר פלילי, ומרגישים שהם בשולי החברה. וחלקם, כאמור, בני דור שני ושלישי המעורים בלב החברה.

ברשתות, השיח הופך להיות יותר ויותר מאיים, ברוטלי ואליים, והוא מחריף את המצב הקיים במציאות, מנפח אותו עשרות מונים, והופך אותו לנחלת הרבים תוך זמן מינימלי. לפיכך חלק גדל והולך של עבודת המעקב שלנו ושל גופים אחרים אחרי המתרחש מתקיים ברשתות ולא רק בשטח, ומשקף שנאה כלפי יהודים ומיעוטים אחרים, וחשיבותה של עבודה זו גדלה והולכת. לפיכך אין סתירה בין תוצאות הסקר של ה-PEW לבין הממצאים המדאיגים ביחס לנעשה ברשתות: סקר זה נערך בקרב אוכלוסייה מקומית כללית, ללא שיוך אידיאולוגי, בעוד שהרשתות משקפות פעילים מן הימין והשמאל הקיצוניים, מן האסלאם הרדיקלי, ומקיצונים עצמאיים מכול קצווי הקשת הפוליטית. לפי סקר של הקונגרס היהודי העולמי הועלה מסר אנטישמי לרשת כול 83 שניות בעולם בכלל בשנת 2016, רובם המכריע בטוויטר. המסרים הוגדרו כאנטישמיים לפי הגדרת העבודה של האנטישמיות, שאומצה על ידי ה-IHRA, הברית הבינלאומית לשימור זיכרון השואה.

ב. השפעת גלי המהגרים והתחזקות הימין הקיצוני.

נראה לפי שעה לפחות שהמהגרים החדשים לא העלו את רף האנטישמיות על ידי פעולות שהם יזמו, גם אם הגיעו ממקומות שבהם תעמולה אנטי יהודית קשה יכלה להפוך לחלק מהשקפת עולמם. המהגרים החדשים עסוקים במציאת אמצעי קיום, רכישת שפה והתמצאות בסביבה ובתרבות חדשות עבורם. מקורם של האירועים האנטישמיים ממשך להיות החוגגים הרדיקליים של המהגרים המוסלמים הקודמים, וחוגי ימין קיצוני. העלייה באירועים אנטישמיים ב-16% בברלין, למשל, אינה משויכת לפליטים, למרות שרוב ההתקפות על אנשים מבוצעות על ידי מוסלמים, ואילו חילולי בתי קברות ואנדרטות נעשים ככול הנראה על ידי אנשי ימין קיצוני וחוליגנים למיניהם. אלימות של השמאל הקיצוני נשארה נמוכה כמו בשנים קודמות. ואולם נוכחותם של המהגרים יש לה השפעה עקיפה, מפני שהתחזקות הימין הקיצוני אינה מלווה בהכרח בהתבטאויות אנטישמיות גלויות חריפות יותר מאשר קודם לכן, אלא שהן נאמרות בתוך הקשר של שנאת זרים ושונים פופוליסטית כללית גוברת, שיש בה פוטנציאל קבוע להפוך גם לאנטישמית.

הקשר זה, היוצר אווירה של שנאה לכול המיעוטים והזרים, הוא מקור לדאגה בחוגים ליברליים בארצות אירופה, החוששים לעתידם של הערכים הדמוקרטיים, וזה במקביל לדאגה בחוגים אלה עקב התחזקותן של מפלגות הימין הקיצוני. ככול שמשבר הפליטים גובר, או לפחות ממשיך, כך גובר השיח האלים כלפי המהגרים וכך גם הפגיעה הממשית בהם ובקבוצות מיעוטים אחרות.

שינויים פוליטיים מכריעים, כמו ה-BREXIT, או כמו בחירתו של דונלד טראמפ לנשיא ארה"ב, גם הם אינם קשורים ישירות לאנטישמיות, אך הם העלו מחדש אל פני השטח קבוצות ויחידים בעלי הלכי רוח לאומניים, בדלניים ושונאי זרים ושונים, שחיכו להזדמנות. עם זאת לא ברור מה כוחן הממשי, ויתכן, כפי שמשקיפים טוענים, שדווקא החשש מפני השפעתם של ה-BREXIT ושל בחירתו של דונלד טראמפ, יביא דווקא למיתון בתמיכה הציבורית בימין הקיצוני.

האם אפשר לומר שאירופה הולכת ימינה? סקר שנעשה ממש לאחרונה ב-15 ארצות אירופיות, על ידי גוף מעקב באוסטריה, מבהיר שבניגוד למה שהיה מקובל לחשוב, לא הפחד מגלובליזציה ומאובדן יתרונות כלכלים הוא הגורם להצבעה עבור מפלגות הימין הפופוליסטי, אלא הגישה האישית כלפי שאלת ההגירה ואי אימון כלפי ממשלים קיימים. בגרמניה הבהיר דוברו של גוף מעקב אחר שאכן לא המהגרים גורמים לעלייתה של אנטישמיות גלויה בגרמניה, אלא תנועות ימין כמו פגידה (PEGIDA). ראשיהן של תנועות אלה, גם בשעה שהם עסוקים יותר ויותר במהגרים, משמיעים כאמור הצהרות אנטישמיות באופן תוכף והולך, בייחוד בכול הנוגע לאשמתם כביכול של יהודים בכך שמספר המהגרים הולך וגובר, או בשליטתם המדומה בכלכלה ובתקשורת לתועלתם בלבד. בגרמניה עולה גם כוחה של תנועת ה"אלטרנטיבה לגרמניה", ה-AFD, שקיבלה רבע מן הקולות בבחירות כלליות כבר מיד עם היווסדה לפני שנים ספורות, אך כמה חוקרים חשובים שניתחו את האנטישמיות הנוכחית בגרמניה הגיעו למסקנה שהאנטישמיות הייתה מושרשת בה עוד לפני הופעתן של תנועות אלה, ולא רק בשוליים אלא בקרב מעמדות הביניים.

בצרפת (החזית הלאומית), בהולנד (מפלגתו של חירט וילרדס), ביוון (השחר הזהוב), מפלגת יוויק בהונגריה, הדמוקרטים השבדים, מפלגת החירות באוסטריה – שהפסידה אומנם בבחירות לנשיאות, אבל בהפרש זעום, מפלגת העם האנטי-צוענית בסלובקיה, ומפלגת ה"החוק והצדק", עליה נשענת הממשלה הנוכחית בפולין – כול אלה הגבירו את השפעתן לאחרונה, ונושאות עיניהן לשלטון. ונציגיהן של קבוצות ימניות מבולגריה, הרפובליקה הצ'כית, פינלנד, אירלנד, שוייץ ובריטניה הקימו מה שהם מכנים "קואליצית המבצר של אירופה" (Fortress Europe Coalition), רשת לאומנית המתנגדת לאיסלאם ולממשלות הקיימות. חלק ממנהיגיהן מנסים דווקא להתנער מאמירות אנטישמיות, כמו מרין לה-פן בצרפת, או להפריד בין יחס לישראל לבין יחס לאזרחיהן היהודים, ומצהירים שהם רואים בישראל בת ברית טבעית מול אויב משותף, האסלאם, אך זה לא מאהבת יעקוב או מדאגה לו: מנהיגי תנועות ומפלגות אלה ובשטח מצהירים כך, ואילו בשטח מתקיימת לרוב פעילות אנטישמית ענפה בדרגים עממיים ונמוכים יותר.

ג. תגובת הקהילות היהודיות.

הירידה במספר האירועים האלימים אינה מתבטאת בתחושת ביטחון גוברת בקרב הקהילות היהודיות. נהפוך הוא: נוכחותם של שוטרים וחיילים רבים, וחיזוקם של אמצעי שמירה שונים, מתקבלת כמובן בברכה, ככורח המציאות וכחלק מן המאבק הכללי בטרור, אבל היא תורמת להעלאת רף החרדה: אם יש צורך באמצעים כאלה, פרושו שיש סיבה לדאגה.

גם אם גל המהגרים, המגיע ברובו המכריע ממדינות בעלות מסורת אנטישמית ואידיאולוגיה פוליטית ותרבותית אנטי-ישראלית, אינו מקור, לפחות לפי שעה, לעלייה באנטישמיות, מביא יהודים, כיחידים וכקהילות, לחשיבה מחודשת על אפשרות הקיום היהודי ביבשת, ההופכת יותר ויותר לזירה מסוכנת; ומה גם שהירידה במספר האירועים האלימים אינה מפצה על העלייה המתמדת באנטישמיות המילולית והחזותית המכוערת ובאווירה העוינת הרוויה הצקות. מצד שני, כצאצאיו של לאום שידע מה פרוש להיות פליט, הקהילות חשות שמחובתן להושיט יד. כך מצאו עצמן הקהילות היהודיות בין הפטיש לסדן.

ד. הישגים במאבק נגד אנטישמיות.

למרות התמונה העגומה המצטיירת, של התעללות, איומים וגידופים אשר נמצאים בשפע ברשתות החברתיות, והתפשטותן של קבוצות קיצוניות, ניתן להצביע על התקדמות ומספר הישגים בשנת 2016, אשר יכולים להוות בסיס לתקווה.

- הגדרת העבודה של אנטישמיות

ההגדרה, תוצאה של מאמץ משותף של חוקרים וארגונים, ביוזמתו של "מרכז המעקב של האיחוד האירופי" (EUMC - European Union Monitoring Center), אשר אומצה בשנת 2005 ככלי מעשי לזיהוי אנטישמיות, ואנטישמיות תחת מעטה של אנטי-ציונות. ההגדרה הועלתה לאתר "הסוכנות לזכויות יסוד" (FRA - Fundamental Rights Agency) ונמחקה בפתאומיות בשנת 2013. מאז, יחידים ומוסדות השקיעו מאמצים להחזירה, והשנה מספר הישגים הביאו לשינוי במצב.

במאי 2016, אימצה "הברית הבינלאומית לזיכרון השואה" (IHRA - International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance), ארגון עצמאי שחברות בו 31 מדינות, את ההגדרה פה אחד. פרופ' דינה פורת השתתפה באופן פעיל הן בדיונים שקדמו להחלטה זו והן בניסוח הסופי. מאז, הועלתה המלצה במליאת כנס של אונסקו בפריז בנובמבר, לאמץ אותה; שאל האימוץ נדונה שבוע לאחר מכן על-ידי "הארגון לביטחון ולשיתוף פעולה באירופה" (OSCE) וכמעט אומצה – 56 מדינות הצביעו בעד, אולם רוסיה התנגדה וההסכמה הדרושה פה אחד לא הושגה; ההגדרה אומצה בדצמבר על-ידי תרזה מיי, ראשת הממשלה של בריטניה, בנאום פומבי שלה, כאמצעי לאומי נגד אנטישמיות והיא כבר הפכה למנוף לעשייה: מספר אוניברסיטאות בבריטניה ביטלו את שבוע האפרטהייד בטענה כי הוא מנוגד להגדרה. הסנאט האמריקני אישר את "חוק המודעות לאנטישמיות" ככלי נגד האנטישמיות המשתוללת בקמפוסים. החוק מבוסס על הגדרת עבודה נוספת של אנטישמיות אשר אומצה קודם לכן על-ידי מחלקת המדינה. החלטת הסנאט גרמה למחלוקת סוערת היות וההגדרה הייתה תמיד מסמך בלתי מחייב מבחינה משפטית, ואילו הפיכתה לחלק מ חקיקה מנוגדת לכאורה לחופש הביטוי. ממשלת ישראל אימצה את ההגדרה במהלך ישיבה מיוחדת לציון יום השואה הבינלאומי בחודש ינואר האחרון.

תנועת ה"חרם, מניעת השקעות ועיצומים" (BDS) חוותה שורה של קשיים, אשר החלו כבר בשנת 2015: בגרמניה, מפלגתה של אנגלה מרקל הכריזה על התנועה כעל תנועה אנטישמית; בספרד, מחצית מכ-50 רשויות שתמכו בתנועה חזרו בהן; 14 מדינות בארצות-הברית חוקקו חוק נגד התנועה; אוניברסיטאות באיטליה ביטלו את שבוע האפרטהייד בטענה כי הוא מנוגד לחוקים נגד אפליה. בשווייץ, בצרפת ובגרמניה בוטלו תמיכות כספיות בתנועה. אף-על-פי-כן, תנועה זו הנה בעלת פוטנציאל הרסני, בייחוד בקמפוסים ברחבי ארצות-הברית ובקנדה, שם היא זוכה לתמיכתם של ארגוני זכויות אזרח, חוגי שמאל קיצוני ופעילים פרו-פלשתינאים.

המאמצים להסדיר ולהגביל את ביטויי השנאה ברשתות החברתיות באמצעות שיתוף פעולה עם השרתים הגדולים כמו גוגל, טוויטר, יוטיוב, מייקרוסופט ופייסבוק, החלו לשאת פרי. קתרין פון שנורביין, האחראית על תיאום המאבק באנטישמיות מטעם מועצת אירופה, הגיעה למספר הסכמים עם בעלי השרתים ומנהליהם בנוגע לאמצעים לזיהוי התבטאויות אנטישמיות והסרתן מן הרשת במהירות האפשרית, תוך 24 שעות. נציבת האיחוד האירופי ורה ז'ורובה (Věra Jourová) צעדה צעד נוסף וחייבה את השרתים הגדולים להסכים ל"קוד התנהגות קהילתי", לפיו הם חייבים לזהות ולהסיר מסרי שנאה במהירות האפשרית. ואולם עד כה הצליחו מעטים מהם בלבד לבצע את המשימה באופן חלקי והדרך עוד ארוכה.

מרכז קנטור פרסם שתי חוברות פרי עטן של עו"ד טליה נעמת וילנה פסינה: האחת עוסקת באמצעים החוקיים העכשוויים כנגד תנועת ה"חרם, מניעת השקעות ועיצומים", ואילו השנייה

עוסקת באמצעים להגביל ולהסדיר אנטישמיות ברשת. שתי החוברות הפכו לכלי חשוב בתחומים הללו.

ולבסוף, מספר מנהיגים חשובים, החל באפיפיור, דרך אנגלה מרקל, תרזה מיי, וכלה באנטוניו גוטרש, יצאו בהצהרות חד-משמעיות באשר לצורך במיגור האנטישמיות, בהבינם היטב, כי האנטישמיות היא למעשה השתקפות של בעיות חברתיות ופוליטיות, ושגזענות ושנאת זרים הן אפילו לא הצד השני של אותו מטבע.

פרופ' דינה פורת וצוות מרכז קנטור



TEL AVIV אוניברסיטת
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The Lester and Sally Entin Faculty of Humanities



הפקולטה למדעי הרוח ע"ש לסטר וסאלי אנטין

מאגר המידע לחקר האנטישמיות והגזענות בימינו ע"ש משה קנטור

אנטישמיות בעולם

2016

טיוטה



הקונגרס היהודי האירופי

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