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# Antisemitism Worldwide 2010

## General Analysis



European Jewish Congress

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## GENERAL ANALYSIS 2010

### OVERVIEW

A significant decline in the level of antisemitic incidents was recorded in 2010 compared to 2009, a peak year. An analysis of records from our database for the year 2010, covering major incidents of physical violence, direct threats and major acts of vandalism, points to a decrease of 46 percent, from 1,129 to 614 such events (see Appendices). However, the 2010 total is the third highest since worldwide recording of antisemitic incidents began at the end of the 1980s. Moreover, it represents an alarming continuation of the high level of antisemitic activity in some major countries during recent years. It should be emphasized that harassment, which includes verbal threats, insults and abusive language, has increased dramatically in recent years and constitutes a major disturbance to the daily lives and well being of Jewish individuals and communities.

It should be recalled that 2009 was an extraordinary year in terms of numbers of antisemitic incidents, primarily due to Operation Cast Lead, Israel's war in Gaza, which especially in the first months of the year provoked unprecedented anti-Jewish activity worldwide. Since Jews and Israelis are often conflated into a single collective, events in the Middle East often provoke anti-Jewish groups and individuals into perpetrating hostile activities against local Jews. Notably, Operation Cast Lead, which was perceived by various circles, and particularly in western Europe, as an unjust and disproportional blow to the people of Gaza and an attempt to topple the elected Hamas government, had a considerable impact on hostile activity against Jews. The more dramatic the events in the Middle East and the more graphically Israel's actions are described in the media – and especially if they are perceived to have deliberately harmed innocent people – the greater the hostility and violence directed against Jews worldwide.

In 2010 a major trigger event was Israel's interception of a flotilla of ships bound for Gaza on May 31. The confrontation over the flotilla, and especially the action on the *MV Mavi Marmara*, lasted only a short time and caused a relatively small number of casualties. It seems that for this reason, and despite the extensive media coverage, it did not instigate a significant wave of antisemitic incidents compared to Operation Cast Lead. That being said, there were attempts to harm Jewish institutions in the wake of some anti-Israel demonstrations.

The difference between the considerable impact of Operation Cast Lead on the level of antisemitic activities and the relatively moderate impact of the flotilla event was noticeable for example in France. While 42 percent of all incidents in France in 2009 occurred in January during

Operation Cast Lead, in 2010 only 12 percent were carried out during the month following the confrontation on the *MV Mavi Marmara*. However, as in the case of previous events, the impact of this clash was not uniform around the globe. While it was noticeable in western Europe, home to a large Muslim population and some very active radical left groups, it passed almost unfelt in eastern Europe and the CIS.

According to TAU criteria and data, the highest number of violent incidents was registered in 2010 in the UK, France and Canada, amounting to about 60 percent of all incidents worldwide.<sup>1</sup> The level of violent incidents, particularly physical assaults, remained very high in these countries even compared to 2009. In France, the SPCJ (Jewish Community Protection Service) reported a 44 percent drop in all types of antisemitic events, from 832 in 2009 to 466 in 2010, including a more moderate decrease in acts of violence and vandalism, from 174 to 131. But a closer analysis shows that incidents of physical street violence perpetrated against Jews increased from 37 in 2009 to 57 in 2010. In the UK, too, the CST (Community Security Trust) reported a 31 percent decrease, from 926 incidents of all types in 2009 to 639 in 2010. However, the combined total of assaults, damage to property and desecrations showed only an 8 percent decrease. Although 2009 marked a crest in the antisemitic curve, the CST emphasized that the total in 2010 was 17 percent higher than in 2008. With the exception of 2009, 2010 represented the highest annual total in the UK since CST began recording antisemitic incidents in 1984.

The picture that emerges, based on data from the UK and France, corresponds to that from other countries in western Europe, where a large number of antisemitic incidents have been perpetrated in recent years. A decline in antisemitic activity in 2010 was reported from other regions in the world as well. For example, the number of events in Australia in 2010 amounted to one-third of that in 2009, despite a rise in the amount of insults directed against Jews on their way to or from synagogue. As in western Europe, however, the level of violent incidents remained relatively high. According to Jeremy Jones, who has written the annual reports on antisemitism in Australia since 1989, incidents of assault, arson, personal harassment and vandalism in 2010 totaled the fourth highest over the past twenty years. Moreover, a closer analysis of the data points to an increase of 60 percent in the number of physical assaults and acts of vandalism in 2010 compared to 2009. In Canada, the League of Human Rights of B'nai Brith reported a small increase of 3.3 percent in the overall number of antisemitic events in 2010 compared to 2009. This was mainly due to the large number of acts of harassment. While based on our criteria, the combined figure for acts of violence, vandalism and threats showed a 30 percent decrease, compared to 2009 it was still significantly higher than in 2008. Moreover, only a minor decrease

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<sup>1</sup> The exact number will be published as soon as all the data from the US becomes available.

was observed in the number of physical assaults compared to 2009. A trend of decline, particularly in violent incidents, compared to 2009 was observed in data available from the USA.

The year 2010 saw a continued decline in violent antisemitic incidents in the CIS countries, especially in Russia, where dozens of incidents occurred annually during most of the last decades. The decrease was substantial mainly in the category of physical violence against individuals while Jewish communal facilities remained a target for antisemitic perpetrators albeit to a lesser extent. As in previous years, racist attacks were directed mostly against foreign workers, mainly from Central Asia and the Caucasus. Increased activity of law enforcement agencies against racist groups, particularly in Russia, may be one reason for the decrease of hate crimes in general and antisemitic violence in particular.

An increase in attacks on Jewish sites was recorded in the second half of the year in Latin America, probably influenced by the flotilla events. Such activity was particularly evident in Chile where the Palestinian diaspora is the fourth largest in the world. In Venezuela, the flotilla incident triggered a further rise in antisemitic allegations, which became an integral part of extreme anti-Israel propaganda of governmental and pro-Chavez circles.

Countless antisemitic diatribes, speeches, press articles and especially electronic posts in almost every possible form on the internet were recorded in 2010. The central themes were Jewish-Zionist world power and conspiracies, demonization and delegitimization of Israel, mainly by comparing it to Nazi Germany and labeling it an apartheid state, and the demand that local Jewish communities renounce the State of Israel in principle. It is always difficult to point to a direct link between propaganda and a specific violent incident. Nonetheless, Jewish activists continue to express their concern over unrestrained anti-Israel propaganda and demonstrations, organized by extreme leftists together with radical Muslims, and particularly over the demonization of Israel, which reinforces tensions and often feeds anti-Jewish prejudices and hatred. In 2010, slogans such as “Death to Israel,” “Israeli murderers” or “Jews murderers” were shouted intermittently during attacks on Jews and Jewish sites, or during demonstrations against Israel prior to attacks, highlighting the absence of any distinction between Israelis and Jews living outside Israel. As noted in our previous reports, in addition to members of extreme right and neo-Nazi groups, young Muslims continued to be the perpetrators of many physical street attacks in several countries.

The year 2010 saw the continued strengthening of extreme right and populist parties in Europe. While in the postcommunist countries of eastern and central Europe, their members feel free to use antisemitic expressions, in western Europe the larger and more established parties try to dissociate themselves from antisemitism, declaring their support for Israel and directing their

campaigns mainly against Muslims. Jewish communities, however, refrain from supporting these parties, and their racist statements and traditional adherence to antisemitism still arouse aversion.

Finally, it should be noted that the annual totals of antisemitic incidents in the last decade have been significantly higher than those registered in the 1990s. While one of the reasons for this increase might be improved monitoring and reporting in some countries, an escalation in numbers of antisemitic incidents was reported by countries such as the UK, Canada, France and Australia, which have kept systematic records for over two decades. A disturbing outcome of random street violence has been the decision of religious Jews to avoid wearing a skullcap or other external symbols that might reveal their Jewishness. It might thus be assumed that this factor has had some effect on the level of antisemitic activity which otherwise could have been much higher.

The conclusion drawn from the above is therefore pessimistic. Despite the direct impact visible in certain cases between Middle East confrontations such as Operation Cast Lead and the rise in numbers of antisemitic incidents, the totals of recorded incidents continue to remain much higher than in the past, regardless of such events. The explanation lies in the combining of traditional antisemitism centered on negative stereotypes of the Jew, the perception of the State of Israel as a Jewish state bearing negative Jewish character traits; and the adoption of such stereotypes not only by neo-Nazis and extremist right-wingers but also by radical Muslim youth. Heinz Fromm, head of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution in Germany (BfV-*Bundesamt fuer Verfassungschutz*), noted in an interview with *Der Spiegel* (July 11) that these two camps share a “common concept of the enemy: Israel and the Jews altogether.”

A similar analysis was made by Eric de Rothschild, president of SPCJ: “More than 10 years after the resurgence of antisemitism at a level that nobody expected, it is clear that it has settled permanently in our society, despite the effective action of the police and justice to prosecute,” he wrote in the introduction to the organization’s annual report on France. In the same vein, the authors of the audit of the Human Rights of B’nai Brith Canada, Ruth Klein and Anita Bromberg, noted that “the steady march of this type of bigotry [antisemitism] has been relentless in the past decade, with a more than fourfold increase in just the last ten years.”

## MAIN ANTISEMITIC TRENDS AND MANIFESTATIONS

### **Harassment and Violence**

For the most part, acts of harassment and violence were perpetrated randomly against visible Jews (wearing traditional dress or a skullcap, for example) in the street or in public places such as train stations, and frequently near synagogues or Jewish schools. While most of these attacks took place in western Europe, they also occurred in other parts of the world, notably in Canada and Australia. The assailants were very often young Muslims or members of extreme right or neo-Nazi groups. In Manchester (UK), for example, two men approached an unmistakably Jewish man, in January, ripped off his skullcap, and punched him to the ground, knocking him out.

The year 2010 witnessed many acts of harassment and violence against Jewish children on their way to or from school in the UK and France, as well as in other countries of western Europe. In February, a 14-year-old pupil wearing a skullcap was attacked in Paris by a gang of seven teenagers aged 16 to 18. He was brutally punched in the head and the stomach and called a “dirty Jew” and other antisemitic insults.

In Norway, the home of a tiny Jewish community, Jewish parents claimed that their children were being harassed by fellow pupils of Muslim background, and that the schools were unwilling to deal with the problem. Their complaints were backed by Kari Helene Partapuoli, head of the Norwegian Centre against Racism. In March, the Norwegian parliament debated allegations about widespread antisemitism among Muslim pupils. The findings of a special investigative committee set up by the minister of education following the debate were criticized by the Jewish community for obfuscating antisemitism and focusing instead on the problem of racism in schools. The committee stated that there were too few Jews in Norway to draw any statistical conclusions. Swedish Jews, too, have protested the tendency to minimize the problem of antisemitism in their country (see below).

Following a large number of events in Amsterdam, the mayor announced in June that the police would act vigorously, including covert action, against harassment of Jews by young Muslims in various neighborhoods. A program aired on Dutch Jewish TV (*Joodse Omroep*) in June and dealing with the increase in attacks on Jews by young Muslims in the city aroused an extensive public discussion. One of the most forceful statements was made in early December by Fritz Bolkestein, a senior Dutch conservative politician (VVD), former cabinet minister, and European Commissioner. He stated that there was no future for practicing Jews in the Netherlands because of antisemitism among Moroccan immigrants. Bolkestein’s comment was criticized by Geert Wilders, leader of the Party for Freedom, who urged Moroccan antisemites to emigrate



instead of the Jews. The Dutch Moroccan Information Center (CIDM) rejected Bolkestein's remarks as "scaremongering." While admitting there was a grave problem, the chairman of the Rabbinical Council for the Netherlands, Rabbi Binyomin Jacobs, claimed Bolkestein's words were pessimistic. However, Rabbi Benzion Evers, son of Amsterdam's chief rabbi, announced his intention to emigrate because of growing antisemitism. Evers noted that religious Jews hid their skullcaps and avoided wearing traditional clothing because they feared harassment or violence on the part of young Muslims.

In Sweden, harassment of Jews is especially problematic in the third largest city Malmö, which has a sizable Muslim community. Based on a survey published in *Judisk Krönika* (Jewish Chronicle), 54 percent of Jews there said they had been subject to antisemitism. Local rabbi Shneur Kesselman was attacked repeatedly, and although he lodged some 15 complaints only three showed up in the statistics as hate crimes. Kesselman claims that the police are slow to investigate such crimes. The most serious incident was when someone tried to run him over with a car. Many Jews feel threatened, and some – especially families with young children – have left the city for Stockholm or other places, such as the UK or Israel. The Social Democratic mayor of Malmö, Ilmar Reepalu, tends to underestimate the seriousness of attacks against the Jewish inhabitants of his town (see below). Although the situation in Malmö is extreme, the security issue is problematic for Jewish communities in Stockholm and Gothenburg, too. As much as 25 percent of the community budget in Stockholm goes to cover security arrangements, and government authorities refuse to share in the cost.

In Belgium, the main victims of harassment and physical attacks are Orthodox Jews living in Antwerp. Testimonies collected from members of the Jewish community by Jewish volunteers indicated that despite the significant decrease in the amount of antisemitic incidents in 2010 compared to 2009 (from 102 to 52), Belgium Jews have a strong sense of insecurity and prefer to hide signs of their Jewishness.

In Germany, the Jewish Community of Berlin issued an urgent call "to fight the roots of antisemitism, especially coming from young Turks and Arabs, and to effectively counter it." In March, for example, a man and two women from the city in their mid-20s were beaten and struck on the head with beer bottles, and insulted by a gang, after they affirmed they were Jewish. Following an assault on a dance group from the local Jewish community committed by youths of Arab descent in Hanover in June, BfV head Heinz Fromm pointed out ideological similarities between neo-Nazis and Islamic immigrant communities in Germany (see Overview above). However, Aiman Mazyek, general secretary of the Central Council of Muslims in Germany (*Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland*), stated that the majority of Muslims in Germany knew

there was “no space for antisemitism in Islam.” German journalist and author Henryk M. Broder commented that antisemitic incidents in Germany were encouraged by the anti-Zionist and anti-Israel mood in politics and the sciences.

In Russia, anti-Jewish violence declined considerably in 2010. However, attacks on Jewish facilities by marginal nationalist groups continued (see below). As in previous years, racist attacks were directed mostly against foreign workers, mainly from Central Asia and the Caucasus. These events peaked in December 2010, with anti-Caucasian riots in Moscow and other cities. A serious antisemitic incident occurred in May near the stadium in Rostov, between Zenit (St. Petersburg) and Sibir (Novosibirsk), just before the final of the Russian Cup football match. A group of Zenit fans shouting “Zieg Heil,” “Beat the Yids,” and “Exterminate the Jews,” beat up a Jewish journalist of the Russia Today TV channel in English. He was hospitalized with concussion.

### **Attacks on Jewish Sites and Institutions**

In the last decade the significant improvement in security measures at Jewish institutions in many countries may have contributed to the decline in the number of attacks. In Canada, for example, the number of incidents targeting synagogues decreased considerably compared to 2009 and 2008. On the other hand, there was an increase in attacks on private homes, with 139 being targeted. Nevertheless, Jewish institutions in many countries were attacked and vandalized. In Germany, for instance, Molotov cocktails were hurled at synagogues in Worms and Mainz in May and October, respectively. In the Mainz incident, the perpetrators dispersed flyers threatening, “We won’t stop as long as you don’t give peace to the Palestinians!” Petrol bombs were also thrown at synagogues in Antwerp and Anderlecht, in Belgium.

Twice in January, arson attacks caused significant damage to the medieval synagogue in Hania, Crete. In addition, thousands of rare and holy books were burned. In the first attack, a bar of soap was thrown at the wall of the synagogue, illustrating the common Greek antisemitic expression: “I’ll turn you into a bar of soap.” Other Jewish sites were desecrated throughout Hania in December 2009-January 2010. Extreme right-wingers, both Greeks and foreigners, appeared to have been behind the attacks, some of whom were arrested.

Other parts of Greece also suffered antisemitic attacks in 2010, including the desecration of a cemetery in Thessaloniki and damage to a Holocaust memorial in Rhodes commemorating Jews deported from the island and murdered in Auschwitz. The chance arrest of members of an extreme right group in late November prevented a plan to set alight a synagogue in Athens.

As in previous years, in Russia, extreme right activists, neo-Nazis, and others seeking to harm “foreigners,” used improvised bombs to strike at synagogues. For example, in Tver, about 150 km north of Moscow a homemade bomb exploded near the entrance to the synagogue, causing damage to the site. A group that hung antisemitic posters in the city at least twice during the year may have been behind the attack on the synagogue. In one of the posters Russia's Chief Rabbi Berl Lazar appeared with the caption: “Remember that your main enemy is the JEW! As soon as you see him – beat him at once!”

In Chernigov, Ukraine, the Jewish charity Hesed Ester was attacked twice in December. First, swastikas and the slogan “happy Holocaust” were painted on it. A week later eight young people holding bats, their faces covered with scarves, entered the building, injured the guard, and broke some windows. During the year, swastikas and slogans such as “Shame on the Yids” and “Death to the Jews” were painted on a Holocaust memorial and on tombstones in Jewish graveyards in various locations in Ukraine.

Synagogue in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, were targeted a number of times in 2010. An hour before the beginning of the Rosh Hashanah (New Year) services, a homemade bomb filled with nails and metal balls was thrown into the courtyard of a synagogue where it exploded. The synagogue was empty since the worshippers had not yet arrived. It was the second attempt that year to attack this synagogue. In April, during the violent coup against president Kurmanbek Bakiev, a Molotov cocktail was thrown into the yard and onto the roof of the synagogue. On this occasion, too, the synagogue was empty. The attack was part of a series of antisemitic manifestations that took place during the riots against Bakiev. Posters claimed that Russian Jews living in the US were advising Bakiev’s son on how to utilize the country’s resources for his own benefit. A leader of a group of youths who participated in the riots called, in an interview on a Russian news website, for the killing of all Jews. Allegations against Bakiev’s son had been raised in the past by the opposition, and accusations about the supposed role played by Jews in the corruption of Bakiev’s administration intensified on the eve of the coup, probably triggering the extreme antisemitic manifestations. On September 21, 2010, the head of the presidential administration, Emilbek Kaptagaev, visited the synagogue and promised that security for the Jewish community was “a priority.” In December a group of suspects in the attacks on the synagogue were detained.

An increase in attacks on Jewish sites was recorded in the second half of the year in Latin America, probably influenced by the flotilla events. Such activity was particularly evident in Chile where the Palestinian diaspora is the fourth largest in the world. Chile has witnessed

increased activity of Islamist groups in recent years. Acts of vandalism against Jewish sites and institutions were also recorded in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico.

### **Antisemitic Defamation**

It is always difficult to point to a direct link between propaganda and a specific violent incident. Nonetheless, Jewish activists continue to express their concern about the impact of hate messages on many antisemitic incidents. Unrestrained anti-Israel propaganda, and particularly demonization of Israel, reinforces tensions and prejudices and feeds anti-Jewish hatred. As in recent years, in Canada, for example, an increase in antisemitic incidents was reported in March, around the time of Israel Apartheid Week (IAW), when extreme anti-Israel rhetoric on campuses spills over into anti-Jewish expressions of various kinds (intimidation, harassment, vandalism, and even assault).

#### *Demonizing Israel and the role of the Holocaust*

While extreme right-wingers and Islamists target Jews directly, leftwing activists, and especially the radical left, but also public figures and intellectuals from the so-called mainstream, sometimes cross the line from legitimate criticism of the Israeli government to the use of antisemitic motifs, particularly demonization of the State of Israel. Demonizing Israel by comparing it to Nazi Germany was a central theme in many demonstrations worldwide following the flotilla event. Such expressions were used, for example, during a 10,000-strong pro-Hamas demonstration in Vienna, led by Islamists and radical left activists. One of the main speakers was Omar al-Rawi, a Social Democratic (SPÖ) member of Vienna's local parliament (*Wiener Landtag*) associated with the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood, and the official responsible for the integration of foreigners (*Integrationsbeauftragter*). Demonstrators shouting "Israel – murderers" carried banners branding Israel a child killer, as well as placards urging Hitler to "wake up." Over the next few days visible Jews were harassed in Vienna. Jewish community leaders protested the use of antisemitic slogans and threatened to sue the organizers. The Austrian journalist Karl Pfeifer, among others, criticized the left-center newspaper *Falter* (Vienna) for labeling the slogan "Hitler wake up" as merely strange.

In the US more than 50 anti-Israel demonstrations took place in the wake of the flotilla event. Most were reminiscent of the rallies held in the winter of 2008/9 during the Gaza war. Many of the chants, banners, and speeches at these events contained antisemitic expressions, Holocaust imagery, and support for terrorist groups.

In Venezuela, the flotilla incident triggered a further rise in antisemitism, and government circles once again resorted to anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish allegations. Accusing the Venezuelan opposition of being financed by Israel, and the Mossad of planning his assassination, president Hugo Chávez cried: “Damn you State of Israel, damn you, terrorist and murderer.” Both before and after the flotilla incident, pro-government circles, inspired by the president, frequently compared Zionism with Nazism. In January for example, columnist Javier Monagas Maita posted an article on the pro-Chavez Aporrea website, stating, inter alia: “The illegal state of Israel has converted Palestine into an immense concentration camp... it kidnaps the inhabitants, [and] steals their vital transplantable organs.” In December 2010, Basem Tajeldine claimed that the Zionists had surpassed the Nazis in their “scientific inventions”: “[It is] more profitable to make fertilizer with defenseless captives in their concentration camps and ghettos... than soap.” Tajeldine, the son of Venezuela’s ambassador to Libya, is a member of the Communist Party of Venezuela and is known as a rabid antisemite. He was the first to write an article, in 2003, accusing Venezuelan Jews of the failed 2002 coup against Chavez. In another article in April, written in classical antisemitic style, he linked “Zionist crimes” to the Jewish faith. “The theft of Palestinian territory, the destruction, death and exile of its original habitants, are traditional practices carried out by persons claiming to act by ‘divine mandate’ in the name of a... racist and segregationist ‘God’,” he proclaimed. Another writer to link Israel’s deeds, the Jewish people, and the Holocaust was Obny Castillo. In an article posted on Aporrea in June, he accused the Jewish people, who were “persecuted, tortured, and had suffered, maybe as divine punishment, until millions were killed in the Holocaust,” of now being “the persecutors, the torturers, the murderers; today Israel is the Fourth Reich.”

Depicting Israeli leaders as Nazis and denial of the Holocaust were central to anti-Israel propaganda in the Middle East. Indeed, negative attitudes toward Jews in Arab and Muslim countries are widespread. According to a survey conducted by the Washington-based Pew Research Center and published on February 4, 2010, over 95 percent of Egyptians, 97 percent of Jordanians, 98 percent of Lebanese, and 97 percent of Palestinians in the Palestinian Authority expressed unfavorable views toward Jews. Negative opinions of Jews are also common in predominantly Muslim countries surveyed in Asia (Pakistan, 78 percent; Indonesia, 74 percent), as well as in Turkey (73 percent).

However, the year 2010 witnessed a decrease in the intensity and virulence of antisemitic manifestations in Arab countries due, as noted, to the fact that it was a year with no major military action or political development in the Palestinian-Israeli arena. Yet, articles, Friday sermons, and TV programs featuring antisemitic themes, such as the blood libel, *The Protocols of*

*the Elders of Zion*, and the Jews' responsibility for various disasters, as well as the equation of Israel and Zionism with Nazism, continued throughout 2010, particularly in the Islamist media and internet sites.

The confrontation between Israeli soldiers and participants of the Gaza flotilla on May 31, 2010, was the only acute incident that triggered a barrage of statements in the Arab media calling for jihad and aggressive actions against Israel. Those on board the flotilla were reportedly involved in Islamist movements, were anticipating conflict, and some may have even wished to die as martyrs. In an interview with al-Jazeera TV, Yemen-based Egyptian cleric Wagdi Ghunaym declared that Muslims would never recognize Israel and that Allah would pursue Jews who respected nothing but force. Defining Israel as a "malignant disease," Syrian historian Suhayl Zakkar called, on a TV program, for suicide operations within Israel's borders.

In Turkey, too, harsh criticism of Israel was translated into antisemitic manifestations in the media. Although the Jewish community published a statement expressing its sorrow over the incident and Turkish casualties, and official spokespersons warned the public to avoid hostile action, Jews reportedly felt fearful, isolated, and insecure.

The Iranian daily *Keyhan* evoked Judgment Day, in its editorial of June 1, claiming that the lives of Zionists were not safe anywhere and that Israel was doomed to annihilation. In a statement to the Iranian news agency Fars on May 31, Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who continued unabatedly with his pronouncements delegitimizing Israel and denying the Holocaust, defined Israel as a "cancerous tumor" whose end had begun. On June 4, Iraqi publicist Nuri Jasim al-Miyahi confirmed on the Denmark-based Iraqi internet site al-Hiwar al-Mutamaddin that Israel's aggression would lead to it soon being wiped off the map.

A common motif used in Arab responses to the Gaza flotilla events was the equation of Israel with Nazism. On June 1, 'Abd al-Khaliq Husayn claimed, on the al-Hiwar al-Mutamaddin platform that since its establishment Israel had followed the Nazi-Hitler model and exploited the Holocaust in order to justify the usurpation of Palestine. On the official Muslim Brotherhood site (June 2), Majida Shahhata thanked the so-called "Nazi entity" (Israel) for showing its real face while it committed a holocaust against Palestinians, while Mazin Himad in the Jordanian daily *al-Dustur* (June 6), accused Israel of being worse than Nazism but suspected that it would take a long time to convince the whole world of this.

The Holocaust continued to preoccupy the Arab media and to ignite public debates, especially on International Remembrance Day, January 27. A typical discussion, exposing the complex approach to the Holocaust, was held on January 29, on Egypt's al-Fara'in TV. A report denying the Holocaust was followed by an interview with Sa'id 'Ukasha, a researcher from al-

Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies. ‘Ukasha tried to refute the report, which claimed that the number of Jewish Holocaust victims did not exceed 150,000 or even 30,000 and that the Jews had provoked Hitler with their deeds. He asserted that 6 million Jews were killed, and that “Hitler committed a real crime against humanity”; *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, mentioned in the report, he added, were a forgery.

Basing his claims and data on statements of thinkers such as Henri Roque and Norman Finkelstein, Fathi Shihab posted an article on the official site of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (January 31), asserting that the Holocaust was a myth invented by American intelligence agencies and Israel aimed at political extortion and financing the “real holocaust” against the Palestinian people. On the other hand, the Saudi newspaper *al-‘Ukaz* (January 21) published an article by ‘Abdullah Bin Najad al-‘Atayni, acknowledging the horrors of the Holocaust, and arguing that Arabs should learn from the Jews how to deal with the “terrorist holocaust” perpetrated by al-Qa‘ida and other extremists. Moreover, he emphasized that Jewish Holocaust victims should be differentiated from Jews occupying Palestine.

This kind of controversy and debate was also reflected in the reactions of Arab Israelis to MK Muhammad Baraka’s decision to take part in the official Israeli delegation to Auschwitz to mark International Remembrance Day in January. Whereas some, such as MK Ahmad Tibi and poet Samih al-Qasim, welcomed the decision, encouraging Arabs to sympathize with Holocaust victims and share the Jews’ pain without endorsing Israeli misdeeds against the Palestinians, others were critical. Zuhayr Andraos, on Ynet News, and Wasil Taha on Panet and Panorama online, considered it a needless act, albeit human and bearing symbolic significance. They asked why he would take part in an official delegation while the 1948 Nakba (catastrophe) was denied. Baraka himself caused a commotion when he stormed out of a Yad Vashem lecture on contemporary antisemitism after the lecturer claimed that Arabs belittled the Holocaust. However, upon his return from Auschwitz he published an article in *Maariv*, admitting that the visit deeply moved him and had strengthened his resoluteness to continue his struggle against racism.

Between January 26 and February 5, the Aladdin Project, an independent, international NGO based in Paris, and the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, organized a series of events in French cultural centers, institutes and French schools in Middle Eastern cities such as Rabat, Casablanca, Tunis, Istanbul, Cairo, Baghdad, Irbil, Amman, Jerusalem and Nazareth. They included literary and historical lectures aimed at presenting the general historical context of the Holocaust, and discussions of the new Arabic and Turkish translations of *If This Is a Man*, by Auschwitz survivor Primo Levi. The main goal of these events, according to project president

Anne-Marie Revcolevschi, was to put an end to Holocaust denial and to negative stereotyping of Jews, and to promote intercultural dialogue between Muslims and Jews.

A special conference on “Moroccan Jews during the Second World War” was organized by the Maghreb Arab Press in New York on January 27. In his message to the conference, Moroccan King Mohammed VI condemned efforts to whitewash the Holocaust “as a wound to collective memory,” stressing that remembering the Holocaust “strongly imposes ethical, moral, and political standards.” In contrast, several Arab scholars and commentators, as well as Moroccan Jewish intellectuals, who participated in a conference on the Holocaust held on February 1, in Rabat, attacked the initiative as serving Zionist political and ideological goals, and as a further indication of the alleged instrumentalization of the Holocaust. Most vocal in his criticism was Jewish Moroccan author Edmond ‘Amran al-Malih, who conditioned a discussion of the Jewish Holocaust on recognition of the “Zionist holocaust” in Gaza, emphasizing that Muslims and Jews could never reach coexistence without it. Senior Jewish adviser to the king of Morocco Andre Azoulay, however, called on the participants to avoid a discussion about Gaza, insisting there was no connection between the Holocaust and the State of Israel.

The government and the French embassy in Tunisia were criticized by several Tunisian opposition papers and figures, who considered a similar conference held in Tunis an attempt to impose normalization with Israel under the cover of intercultural dialogue. The official Tunisian media announced that the conference’s main goal was bridging gaps between different religions, cultures and civilizations, without naming them specifically.

An extremely controversial issue was teaching the Holocaust in schools in the Middle East, a project promoted by Project Aladdin since 2009. Under its auspices translated textbooks on the Holocaust have been incorporated in several school curricula in Morocco and in a number of Arab countries. An association composed of various political parties, trade unions and civil organizations in Morocco warned of the “Judaization” of Morocco’s educational system by imposition of the Zionist version of the Holocaust in the curriculum. By becoming the two biggest sins of the century, antisemitism and Holocaust denial provided legitimation for the Zionist movement to carry out crimes against humanity, especially against the Palestinians, using the same methods that were applied against the Jews, it concluded.

Hamas, too, was extremely critical of UNRWA when it learned that its schools teach the Holocaust. UNRWA was accused in March of forcing Palestinian students to study the “so-called” Holocaust, as well as luring a group of children into visiting a Holocaust memorial in Amsterdam. UNRWA media consultant ‘Adnan Abu Hasana, refuted the allegations, insisting that the intention was to draw attention to the Palestinian issue. Similarly, in an open letter to a



senior UN official, dated August 15, the Hamas Popular Committee for Refugees demanded the cancellation of plans for a new history book in UN schools. Hamas official spokesman in Gaza Sami Abu Zuhri emphasized that regardless of the controversy, Hamas opposed forcing the issue of the “so-called Holocaust” onto the syllabus because it constituted an acceptance of the occupation of Palestinian land. On December 18, Hamas issued a statement denouncing UNRWA’s intentions to organize a visit of Palestinian students from the Gaza Strip to the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC, considering it a “moral corruption of Palestinian youth.” However, the Islamic Society of North America strongly recommended the visit for its educational value and the universal lessons of the Holocaust.

The inclusion of textbooks about the Holocaust and *The Diary of Anne Frank* into the curriculum of several Jordanian private schools aroused a heated debate among government officials and commentators in December. Those who condemned the decision, such as Yusuf ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, in the daily *al-Ghad*, argued that since the Zionist movement used the Holocaust to occupy Palestine and was still using it for political purposes, it should not be taught in Arab schools. Fearing its impact on the stability of the state, Husayn al-Rawashida and Ibrahim ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qiyasi wondered in *al-Dustur* how and why *The Diary* had infiltrated the Jordanian curriculum. In contrast, Batir Muhammad ‘Ali Wardam declared that the Holocaust was a crime against humanity which the Arabs and the Muslims should not ignore. However, as a result the Jordanian Ministry of Education set up an investigation committee and announced a ban on the addition of new material to the officially approved curriculum.

During the World Cup Games in July in South Africa, another troubling phenomenon related to perceptions of the Holocaust came to the fore. Lebanese and Syrian youth cheered the German team not only in appreciation of its successes but also out of their identification with Nazi Germany and its attitude toward the Jews. Flags with Nazi swastikas were raised on cars and cries of “Heil Hitler” were heard on the streets of Beirut. On July 4, Lebanon’s al-Jadid TV aired an interview with former Lebanese minister Wiyam Wahhab, who stressed that he admired the Germans in the World Cup “because they hate the Jews and burned them.” Sympathy for Adolf Hitler and Nazism in the Arab world was discerned by several Arab writers, who denounced and rejected it. Liberal Lebanese intellectual Hazim Saghiya wrote in the London-based *al-Hayat* (July 10), that this phenomenon and the former Lebanese minister’s statement indicated a change in the Arab world’s approach toward the Holocaust. Instead of denial, it showed justification and admiration for what the Nazis did to the Jews. Pointing out that the Arab people “were ignorant of the Nazi philosophy and its implications,” Iman al-Qawifli stated in the Saudi daily *al-Watan* (July 7) that their admiration for Hitler during World War II was understandable. However,

contemporary approval of Hitler took two forms: popular esteem for him as a strong leader and empathy disguised in intellectual terms. Glorification of Nazism and Hitler, he concluded, led to a disregard of reality, which contradicted historic truth, and to an ideology of hostility toward the West.

*Antisemitism is a myth – the Jews must condemn Israel*

Demonization and delegitimization of Israel sometimes lead to the demand by intellectuals and public figures, mainly on the left and including Jews, that Jewish communities renounce the State of Israel in principle. In Sweden, for example, Torbjörn Tännsjö, professor of practical ethics at Stockholm University who is connected to the Left Party, demanded in an article on the Swedish forum Newsmill that Jews all over the world distance themselves from Israel if they wanted to avoid harassment and antisemitism. Tännsjö was criticized on June 4 by historian Fredrik Meiton and author Ramona Fransson, who pointed out how Tännsjö's line of reasoning accepted and fostered antisemitic attitudes. Malmö mayor Ilmar Reepalu spoke in a similar vein in an interview to the press on the occasion of International Holocaust Memorial (January 27). Asked to comment on the worsening situation of violence against Jews, he denied knowledge of the problem, claiming that the local authorities rejected antisemitism and Zionism equally, and called upon the local Jewish community to condemn Israel if they wanted to avoid harassment. Reepalu's statements caused much public debate, and he complained that he was the victim of an orchestrated attack by the Israel lobby. Eventually, the national Social Democratic leadership forced him to meet with local Jewish leaders and establish a dialogue forum for Jews and Muslims in the city.

The call to Jews to condemn Israel is often linked to the claim that Jewish communities tend to confuse criticism of Israel with antisemitism. Moreover, as Reepalu pointed out in the interview, attacks on Jews could be seen as retaliation for Israel's deeds. In other words, Israel should be blamed in part for anti-Jewish manifestations. During the public debate that followed the Reepalu interview, most liberals and conservatives criticized the mayor, arguing that antisemitism is a problem that must be addressed. On the other hand, Socialists and leftists such as Communists and Greens contended that there was no antisemitism in contemporary Sweden, and that those who claimed there was, were just trying to stifle criticism of Israel, spread Islamophobia, or both. This has been a recurring pattern in virtually all debates about antisemitism in Sweden in the last decade, in which leftist politicians, intellectuals, academics, and pundits refuse to acknowledge the existence of antisemitism except among neo-Nazi groups.

Similarly, in Norway, Eirik Eigliad, a leftwing activist, published a book, *The Anti-Jewish Riots in Oslo*, in February referring to the disturbances that rocked the Norwegian capital in January 2009 in response to Operation Cast Lead. Eigliad criticizes the Norwegian left for ignoring antisemitism in general and for tolerating it during the violent demonstrations of that period. A cartoon published by the Norwegian paper *Adresseavisen* in March under the title “Antisemitism is advancing disturbingly in Europe,” demonstrates the trend to ignore and even ridicule antisemitism, while labeling Israel a Nazi state. It depicts Palestinian president Abu Mazin kneeling before a skull-capped Israeli prime minister Netanyahu, who is sitting at a desk with the sign, “The new Jerusalem is being built here.” In the background, construction is going on under the sign from the entrance to Auschwitz, “Arbeit Macht Frei” (Work liberates). Abu Mazin to Netanyahu: “I’m also a Semite!” Netanyahu: “Then I’m an antisemite!”

The connection between anti-Israelism and antisemitism continued to be in dispute among leading members of the German radical left Die Linke (see Stefan Kunath, [“Die Linke: Between Anti-Zionism and Solidarity with Israel”](#)). At a conference entitled “Marx Is a Must,” held in late 2009 in Berlin, Hermann Dierkes, an activist from Duisburg, railed against Jews and the State of Israel. The event was caught on video and published on YouTube in March 2010. Dierkes labeled Israel’s demand for the right to exist as “petty” when compared to the former apartheid state of South Africa. Distancing themselves from Dierkes, party chairman Gregor Gysi and his deputy Petra Pau declared that “left-wing criticism of Israeli politics must not question either Israel’s right to exist or the Holocaust.” Stephan J. Kramer, secretary-general of Germany’s Jewish community, commented that “Dierkes is a known Israel-hater and antisemite in the guise of a ‘Gutmensch’ supposedly concerned with human rights.”

President Chavez has also demanded that the Jewish community in Venezuela condemn Israel. While denying charges of antisemitism (“they know they have our affection and respect”), Chavez called on the Venezuelan Jewish community to deplore Israel’s “crime” against the flotilla. In June, foreign minister Nicolás Maduro warned the international community against any act of provocation or violence against the Jewish community in Venezuela, carried out by “any organ of the intelligence apparatus, of the terrorist police apparatus... of the State of Israel,” in order to point the finger of blame at Chavez.

On September 16, Chavez met with leaders of the Jewish community (CAIV), who presented him with a dossier on anti-Jewish events. Accordingly, the president was asked to intervene personally in order to curb expressions of anti-Jewish hatred in the state- and government-linked media, since they endangered the safety of the Jewish community in Venezuela. The Jewish leaders also expressed their desire for the restoration of diplomatic

relations between Venezuela and Israel. The well-publicized meeting was followed by a series of statements by Chavez asserting his “respect” and “love” for the Jewish community and public rejection of antisemitism. As a result, there was a turnabout in antisemitic manifestations toward the end of the year, especially emanating from government channels. There has been a noticeable decline in antisemitism in the media (newspapers, radio, and TV) and on web pages, although die-hard antisemites such as Basem Tajeldine and Javier Monagas Maita have continued with their usual virulence.

### *Jewish conspiracy theories*

Central to antisemitic propaganda is the claim that the Jews are in positions of extraordinary power and influence and drive the global economy and politics according to Jewish interests. In many cases the terms “Jewish lobby” and “Zionist lobby” are interchangeable and are used with the same meanings. For example, the EU trade commissioner Karl de Gucht, a Belgian, stated on Belgian Flemish public radio VRT in early September that most Jews thought they were right all the time and that it was hard to convince them with rational arguments. He also lamented the destructive influence of the Jewish lobby in the US. The EU Commission distanced itself from de Gucht’s comments and, following much negative media attention, he backed down and apologized.

At an event in December in Dearborn, Michigan, aimed at countering anti-Arab bias in the media, longtime White House correspondent Helen Thomas alleged that “the Zionists” controlled Hollywood, Wall Street and the White House. In response, her Alma Mater, Wayne State University, announced that it would cancel a planned award to Thomas for diversity in media. Thomas was forced to retire in June after calling on Jews to leave Israel and deploring “the Zionist controlled Hollywood, Wall Street, and the White House.”

In the UK, British Liberal Democrat baroness Jenny Tonge claimed in the House of Lords in November that the treatment of Palestinians by Israel was “the cause of terrorism worldwide.” She also suggested that “Holocaust guilt” and the pro-Israel lobby in the UK and the US were possible reasons for ongoing British support of Israel’s policies. Tonge is known for her controversial statements regarding Israel. On February she told the *Jewish Chronicle (JC)* that while IDF forces were “to be commended for their fantastic response to the Haitian earthquake,” she recommended an investigation into the accusations that the Israeli medical team “harvested” organs of earthquake victims in Haiti. Ed Fordham, the Liberal Democrat candidate for Hampstead and Kilburn, was quoted by the *JC* as saying, “It’s abhorrent that anyone should suggest that something as perverse and sick as this should be investigated.” Tonge’s colleague,

the Liberal Democrat Lord Andrew Philips said at a Palestinian solidarity event that “Europe cannot think straight about Israel because of the Holocaust, and America was in the grip of the “well-organized Jewish lobby.”

In the post-communist states, propaganda railing against “destructive Jewish power” emanates mostly from the far right. Such accusations played a role in the Ukrainian presidential election in late 2009/early 2010. Two antisemitic candidates ran in the elections, Oleg Tyagnibok, leader of the nationalist Svoboda, and an independent, the mayor of Uzhgorod, Sergei Ratushniak. It was mainly the latter who employed blatantly antisemitic messages in his campaign. Using the terms “Jew” and “Zionist” interchangeably, Ratushniak accused incumbent president Viktor Yushchenko (who was eventually defeated) of being a Jew in disguise. The Jews in general were blamed for the evils of communism in the past and renewed attempts to subjugate Ukraine in the present. Both Ratushniak and Tyagnibok fared poorly in the presidential election. They received only 0.12 percent and 1.43 percent of the votes, respectively. Svoboda, headed by Tyagnibok, however, won 30-34 percent of the vote in three important cities in western Ukraine: Lvov (Lviv), Ternopol (Ternopil), and Ivano-Frankovsk (Ivano-Frankivsk). It should also be noted that in September the district attorney’s office of Transcarpathia closed a criminal case of racial hatred against Ratushniak due to the “absence of legal grounds”.

In Hungary, too, claims about “destructive Jewish power” are at the core of antisemitic incitement. Possibly the most disturbing development has been the growing influence of the nationalist JOBBIK party (Movement for a Better Hungary), which disseminates both anti-Roma and antisemitic propaganda, mainly via its website ([kuruc.info](http://kuruc.info)) which is linked to a network of extremist sites. Its use of antisemitism in 2010 was partly pre-election propaganda (see below). The “inflow of Jewish capital” and the alleged takeover of local economies by Jewish-Israeli business interests were common themes. In this regard, antisemitic conspiracy theories, which have continued in eastern Europe since 1989, were interwoven with attempts to explain and find scapegoats for the economic meltdown. Krisztina Morvai, a EUP member for JOBBIK, suggested that “liberal-Bolshevik Zionists” should start thinking about “where to flee and where to hide.” JOBBIK chairman Gabor Vona appeared at the swearing-in of the Hungarian parliament in May, wearing a shirt resembling the uniform of the fascist Arrow Cross. Leading philosopher Agnes Heller, who was among Jewish public figures who criticized the turn towards extremism in Hungary and accused the Orban government of being too lenient toward manifestations of antisemitism and xenophobia, became a target of antisemitic slander.

In Venezuela, there was a notable rise, as of June, in articles in all state- and government-linked media, which spoke of a Jewish conspiracy to appropriate the wealth of other countries,

including Venezuela itself. A common accusation was the existence of an alliance between the US, Colombia, and Israel to topple the Venezuelan government and assassinate Chavez: “Imperial Zionism” was responsible for human rights violations in Colombia; for carrying out experiments on indigenous people, and importing bacterial weapons in order to seize political and economic power in the Caribbean; and Zionists were responsible for the economic crises in the US and Europe (see, for example, Aporrea site, May 10). Other articles at Aporrea (October 4 and 24) recommended that readers purchase *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in order to compare it with Israel’s political, economic and expansionist activity today.

Allegations regarding a Jewish conspiracy appeared in the propaganda of the Peruvian Nazi Autonomous National Christian Equality Movement (INCA), led by Ricardo de Spirito Balbuena, known as “the Adolf Hitler of Tacna.” De Spirito’s writings on the group’s web page contain repeated denunciations of Jews, accusing them of inventing the concept of interest and condemning their influence – along with that of the Masons – on Peru. He and members of the movement have made appearances in uniforms resembling the brown shirts of Hitler’s National Socialist Party, complete with red arm bands bearing a “Z” instead of the swastika. On July 2, De Spirito’s candidacy for the regional presidency of Tacna was disqualified by the National Jury of Elections on the grounds that he was under a judicial ruling suspending his civil liberties till July 24, 2010.

### **Extreme Right and Populist Parties**

The year 2010 witnessed a continued strengthening of extreme right and populist parties, particularly in Europe. In western Europe, this trend has been affected by Islamophobia, as well as by the debate over the prospects of Muslim integration in Europe, and opposing interpretations of liberalism and democracy. In eastern and central Europe the old nationalist ghosts play an important role in the rise of extreme right parties and groups. While in western Europe the larger and more established of these parties try to disassociate themselves from antisemitism, at least in public, in eastern Europe their antisemitism is more blatant.

In the Swedish general elections held on September 19, the Sweden Democrats (*Sverigedemokraterna* – SD), a xenophobic party with roots in the extreme right, received 5.7 percent of the votes, thereby gaining seats in the Riksdagen (parliament) for the first time. Similarly, in Norway and Denmark, the Progress Party (Norway) and the Danish People’s Party have achieved a substantial parliamentary presence. The SDs’ platform is especially anti-Muslim. Immigrants are described as a burden on society and a source of crime, and Muslims import an “un-Swedish culture,” which threatens the existence of Swedish culture, traditions and liberties.

Although the SD is vocally pro-Israel, the ascendancy of the party worries Swedish Jews, partly because it has awakened antagonism among the general public and could exacerbate the already unfavorable image of Israel, and partly because it proposes a series of policy changes that would make Jewish life in Sweden difficult. These include bans on circumcision for religious reasons and on the import of kosher meat (Jewish ritual slaughter was outlawed in Sweden in the 1930s, and the Jewish communities rely on the import of kosher meat from abroad). The influence of the SD during the current parliament will most likely be small, since all the other parties are committed not to negotiate with them, but the trend is one of growing support for the party, and if it gains more seats in future elections circumventing them may become increasingly difficult. Other, smaller but more extreme parties such as the National Democrats (*Nationaldemokraterna*) and the neo-Nazi Party of Swedes (*Svenskarnas parti*) retained several seats in local councils.

In March, the far right, anti-immigration National Front (FN) re-emerged on the French political scene, enjoying a surprisingly strong showing in regional elections (12 percent of the vote compared to 6.8 percent in European elections in 2009, and 4.3 percent in the 2007 presidential vote). During its campaign, the FN released a poster reading “No to Islamism,” which depicted a woman wearing a burqa and an Algerian flag superimposed on a map of France, with minarets portrayed as missiles. The poster was banned by a French court. According to surveys conducted in France, the popularity of Marine Le Pen, a candidate for the FN leadership (and daughter of party president Jean-Marie Le Pen) was rising, with 17-27 percent support of the general public. In an interview with the Israeli paper *Haaretz* in January 2011, she described her efforts to “de-demonize” the FN image and purge the party of her father’s antisemitic provocations. Her purpose, she claims, is to lead the FN out of its racist ghetto and turn it into a legitimate mass party. According to Marine Le Pen, “there is no antisemitism today in Europe. This expression of hostility disappeared after World War II. The growing [Islamic] antisemitism in our territory is related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.” She firmly refused to denounce the Vichy regime of Marshal Petain and the crimes of French fascism, and defended the controversial comparison she made in December 2010 between prayers of Muslims in French streets (at set prayer times during the day) and the Nazi occupation, claiming that “[Islamic] religious laws and Mafia law are being implemented in France.”

In Belgium, the Flemish separatist New Flemish Alliance (NVA), led by Bart De Wever, emerged in June as the largest force in the national parliament, with 27 of 150 seats. The Alliance’s success marked the first time a Flemish nationalist movement overtook traditional parties. Until then separatist parties were on the fringes of the political debate, but De Wever had led his party into the mainstream over the previous three years. The NVA leader stirred a

controversy in the Jewish community in 2007 when he criticized official apologies by Antwerp's mayor Patrick Janssens for the role of Belgians in the deportation of Jews during World War II. De Wever labeled the apologies "a gratuitous act," claiming that "those who led Antwerp at the time had to make delicate decisions in difficult circumstances." De Wever also drew a parallel between the Holocaust and the current situation in the occupied Palestinian territories where, he said, "some use techniques which recall to me a dark past." While later apologizing to Jewish leaders, he mentioned the so-called "controversy among historians who have been studying the history of the Holocaust over the last decade."

In Austria, the extreme rightwing Freedom Party (FPÖ) doubled its share of the votes in regional elections in southern Austria in September, winning 11 percent. The biggest loser was the ruling Social Democratic Party. In 2010 the FPÖ tried to expand its relations with Hungary's JOBBIK party. On January 28 the Wiener newspaper *Falter* reported a meeting between FPÖ head Heinz Christian Strache and a delegation from JOBBIK in Vienna.

The antisemitic British National Party (BNP) fielded 338 candidates in the May 6 general election, its largest ever effort. Overall, the BNP received 563,743 votes nationally, or 1.95 percent of the national vote, an increase over the 2005 count. Despite these returns, no BNP candidate was elected. In local elections the BNP lost all the seats they had gained in recent years, retaining only two. Together with continuous infighting and legal challenges over their inability to maintain proper accounts, the party now faces an uncertain future. However, the rise of the populist English Defense League may pose problems for the Jewish community, for while it purports to be pro-Jewish and pro-Israel, its membership is drawn largely from football fans who have continuously displayed overt antisemitism.

Hungary witnessed probably the most troubling developments in 2010, notably the rise of the racist and antisemitic JOBBIK and its associated paramilitary Hungarian Guard. JOBBIK is one of the most successful extreme right parties in Europe today. Its increased power is one of the main indicators of a general trend toward rightwing populism, nationalism and extremism in some of the postcommunist countries of eastern and central Europe resulting from the economic crisis. Negative attitudes toward minorities, especially the Roma, are at the core of this trend. In the Hungarian general elections held in April, the conservative party FIDESZ, led by Viktor Orban, was returned to power by a two-thirds majority. However, JOBBIK gained 16.7 percent of the vote, making it the third largest party after FIDESZ and the Socialists. Indications of growing polarization on the Hungarian political scene and a rise in extremism were already evident when three representatives from JOBBIK were elected to the European Parliament in June 2009 (see Raphael Vago, ["Hungary: The Case of a Post-Communist Society in Crisis"](#)). The paramilitary



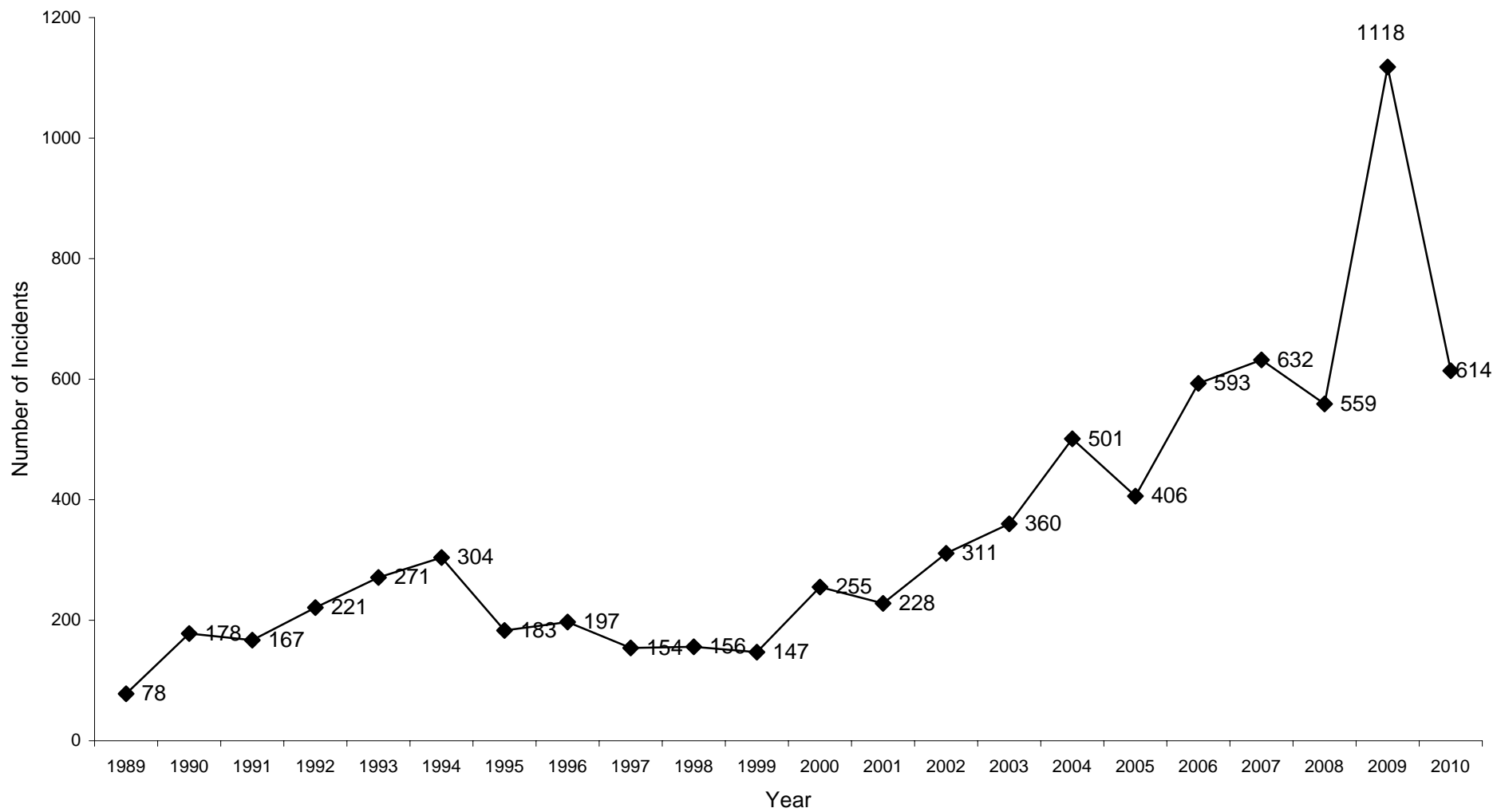
Hungarian Guard is banned but continues to play a cat-and-mouse game. Members of local chapters of the organization wearing military uniforms and displaying extremist symbols threaten and attack Roma communities with almost total impunity (see Roni Stauber, "[Violence against the Roma Minority in Hungary and the Czech Republic and Its Repercussions](#)").

According to political analysts in Germany, the prospect of a second generation of eastern neo-Nazis has dashed any lingering hopes that the upsurge in far right support following German unification in 1990 might have been a temporary phenomenon caused by the collapse of the East German economy and the resulting social upheaval and mass unemployment. "A generation socialized in the far right scene in the 1990s has now had children and we have to deal with the phenomenon of children of rightwing extremists in nurseries and schools," said Friedemann Bringt, who advises local authorities in the eastern state of Saxony on how to cope with far right intimidation, to Spiegel online.

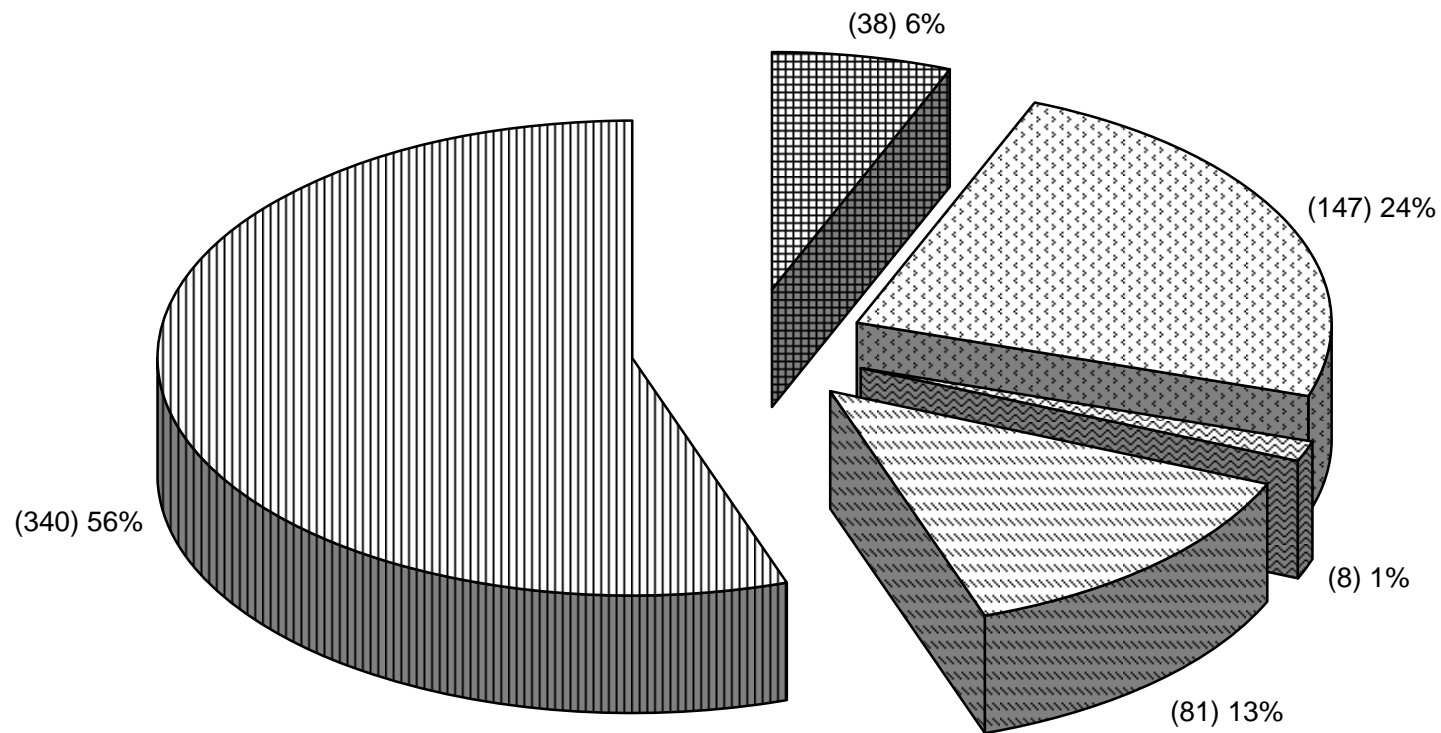
## APPENDICES

The graphs in this section refer to acts of violence and vandalism perpetrated against Jewish individuals and Jewish private and community property worldwide during 2010. The figures are based on the database of the Stephen Roth Institute and reports of the Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism. It should be stressed that the graphs reflect only major violent acts (such as arson, weapon attacks, weaponless attacks, harassment, and vandalism or desecration).

**Antisemitism - Major Violent Manifestations Worldwide 1989-2010**

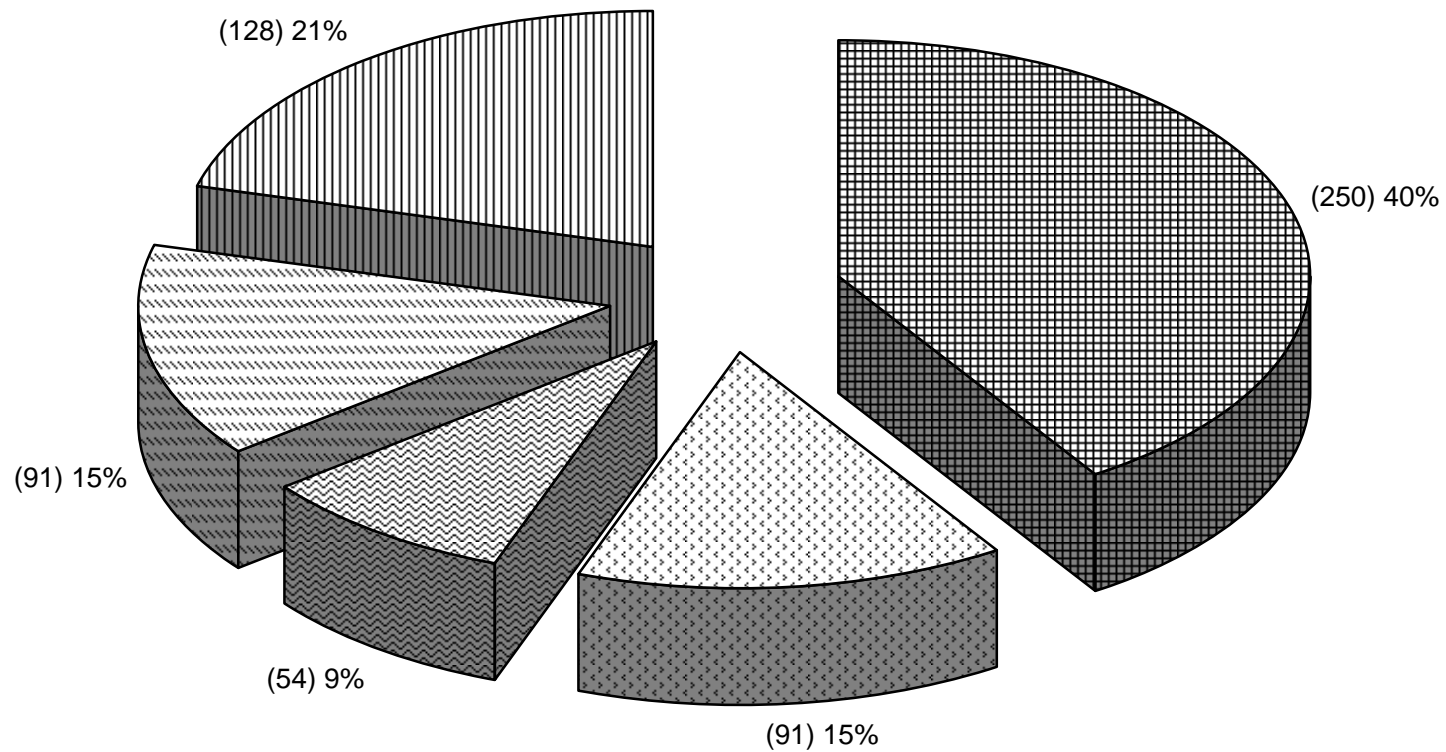


## Major Violent Manifestations Worldwide in 2010 - Breakdown by Modus Operandi



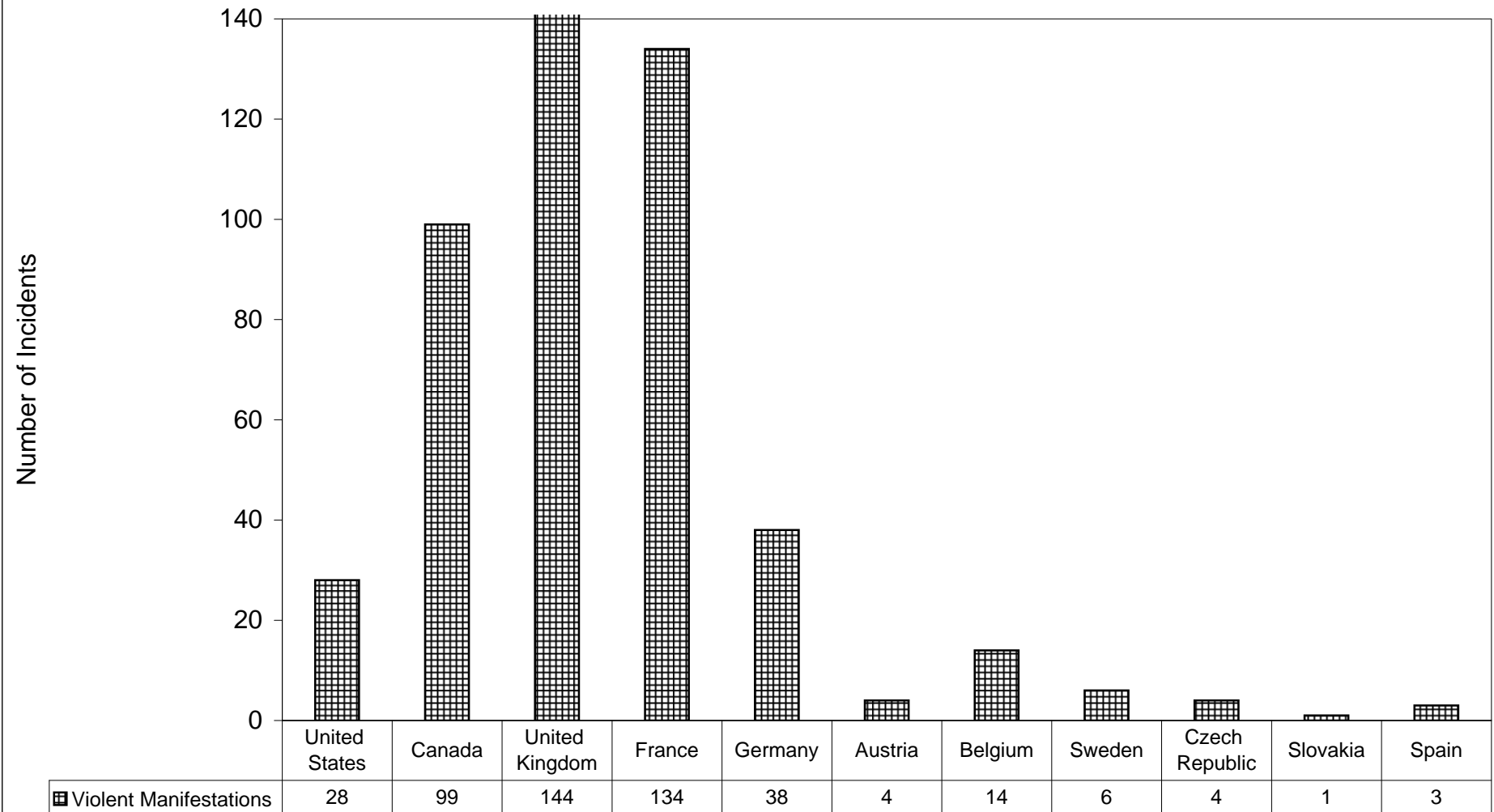
▣ Weapons ▣ Weaponless Violence ▣ Arson ▣ Threats ▣ Vandalism

## Major Violent Manifestations Worldwide in 2010 - Breakdown by Target

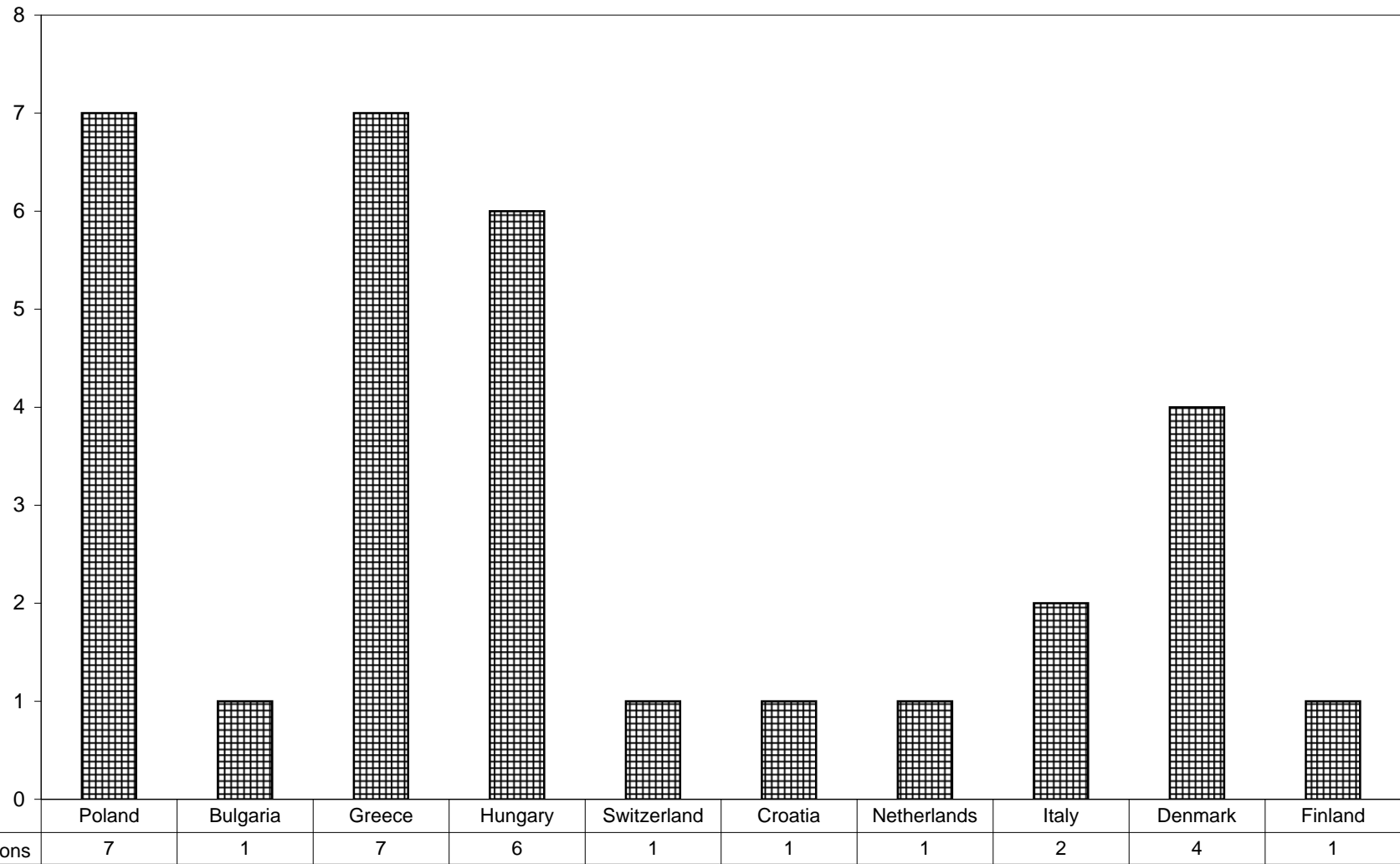


■ Persons ■ Synagogues ■ Schools & Community Centers ■ Cemeteries & Memorials ■ Private Property

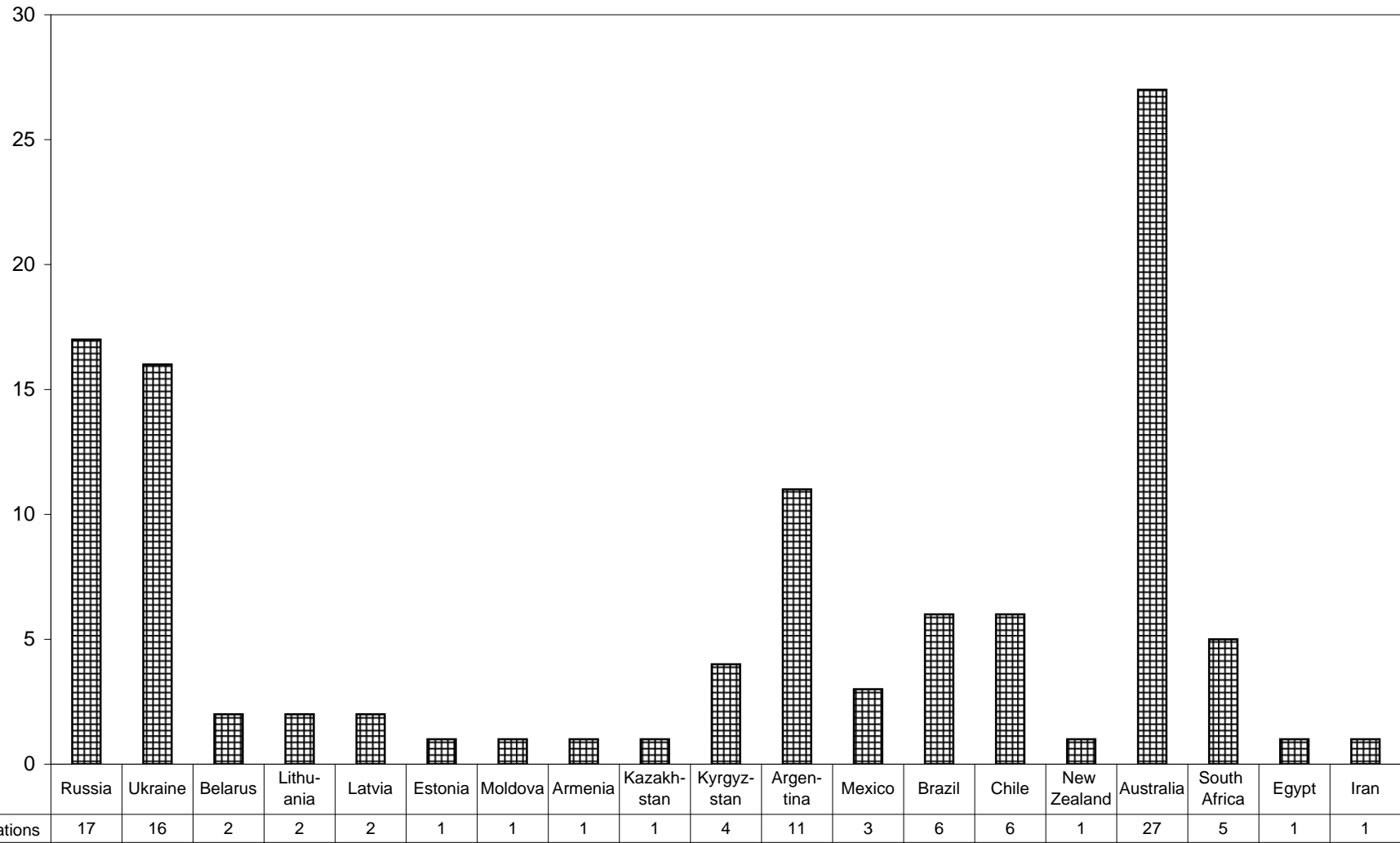
## Major Violent Manifestations in 2010 - Breakdown by Country (1)



**Major Violent Manifestations in 2010 - Breakdown by Country (2)**



**Major Violent Manifestations in 2010 - Breakdown by Country (3)**





## שנת 2010 – תמצית

בשנת 2010 נרשמה ירידה משמעותית במספר הכולל של האירועים האנטישמיים בהשוואה לקודמתה, שנת 2009, שהייתה שנת שיא. הנתונים שנאספו באוניברסיטת תל אביב (להלן: ת"א) הנוגעים למקרים בולטים של אלימות פיזית של ונדליזם ואיומים ישירים מצביעים על ירידה של 46%, מ-1129 ל-614 מקרים (ראו נספחים). עם זאת, המספר הזה הוא השלישי בגובהו מאז החלו להיאסף נתונים שנתיים על אירועים אנטישמיים בעולם בסוף שנות ה-80. יתרה מזו, המספר משקף המשך מגמה מדאיג של רמה גבוהה של אירועים אנטישמיים בכמה ארצות מרכזיות בשנים האחרונות. יש להדגיש שמספר ההטרדות, הכוללות איומים מילוליים, עלבונות, גידופים, צעקות ברחובות וכדומה, עלה באופן דרמטי והן פוגעות מאוד בחיי היומיום ובשגרת ההתנהלות של יחידים וקהילות.

שנת 2009 היתה שנה יוצאת דופן מבחינת מספרם של האירועים האנטישמיים, בראש ובראשונה עקב מבצע "עופרת יצוקה" אשר גרם, בייחוד בחודשים הראשונים של השנה, לפעילות אנטישמית חסרת תקדים ברחבי העולם. יהודים וישראלים נתפסים לעתים קרובות כציבור אחד, והמאורעות במזרח התיכון מעוררים קבוצות ויחידים אנטי-יהודיים לפעילות עוינת כנגדם. למבצע "עופרת יצוקה", שנתפס על ידי חוגים שונים ובמיוחד במערב אירופה כמהלומה לא מיידית נגד תושבי עזה וכניסיון להפיל את ממשלת חמאס הנבחרת, היתה השפעה משמעותית על הפעילות האנטי-יהודית. ככל שהאירועים מוצגים באופן דרמטי יותר בתקשורת, במיוחד כמכוונים כביכול ביוזעין נגד חפים מפשע, כך עולה מידת האלימות האנטישמית בעולם כלפי יהודים.

האירוע המרכזי במזרח התיכון בשנת 2010 היה יירוטה של שיירת הספינות שהיתה בדרכה לכיוון עזה, ב-31 במאי. העימות סביב אוניות המשט ובייחוד הפעולה על המאווי מרמרה נמשכו זמן קצר וגרמו למספר נפגעים קטן יחסית. נראה שמשום כך, ולמרות הכיסוי התקשורתי הנרחב, אירוע זה לא עורר גל משמעותי של אירועים אנטישמיים, בהשוואה למבצע עופרת יצוקה, אם כי היו מספר ניסיונות לפגוע בכמה מוסדות יהודיים, בעקבות כמה מן ההפגנות האנטי ישראליות.

ההבדל בין השפעתו הגדולה של מבצע עופרת יצוקה לבין זו המתונה יחסית של המשט בלט במיוחד בצרפת, למשל: אם 42% מכלל האירועים האנטישמיים ב-2009 אירעו בינואר במהלך המבצע, הרי שרק 12% התרחשו בחודש שאחרי העימות האלים על המאווי מרמרה. יש לציין עוד שכמו באירועים קודמים בסכסוך לא הייתה התגובה למשט אחידה ברחבי העולם. היא היתה ניכרת במערב אירופה שבה מתגוררת אוכלוסייה מוסלמית גדולה ובה פעילות מאוד קבוצות שמאל רדיקלי, ולעומת זאת עברה כמעט ללא תגובה בארצות מזרח אירופה ובחבר המדינות. לפי הקריטריונים והנתונים של ת"א, המספר הגבוה ביותר של אירועים אנטישמיים אלימים נרשם ב-2010 באנגליה, צרפת וקנדה, והוא מהווה 60% מכלל האירועים בעולם.<sup>1</sup> בארצות אלה נשארה רמת האלימות, במיוחד אלימות הרחוב הספוראדית כלפי אנשים, גבוהה במיוחד, גם בהשוואה לשנת 2009. השרות להגנת הקהילה בצרפת (SPCJ) דיווח על ירידה של 44% באירועים

<sup>1</sup> נתונים סופיים יפורסמו לאחר שה ADL ימסור את המידע הנוגע ל-2010.

התמונה המצטיירת מן הנתונים של צרפת ואנגליה עולה בקנה אחד עם זו של ארצות אחרות במערב אירופה, שבה התבצע חלק הארי של האירועים האנטישמיים בשנים האחרונות. גם מאזורים אחרים בעולם דווח על ירידה בפעילות האנטישמית. באוסטרליה, למשל, הגיע מספר האירועים ב-2010 לשליש ממספרם ב-2009, למרות עלייה במספר העלבונות שהוטחו ביהודים בדרכם לבית הכנסת או ממנו, ובדומה למערב אירופה מספר האירועים האלימים היה גבוה יחסית. ג'רמי ג'ונס, שכתב את הדוחות על מצב האנטישמיות באוסטרליה מאז 1989, ציין שאירועי האלימות הפיזית, הפגיעה ברכוש וההטרדות בשנת 2010 הפכו אותה לשנה הרביעית ברמת האלימות מאז שהחל המעקב. יתרה מזו, בחינה מדוקדקת של הנתונים מצביעה על עלייה של 60% במספרם של ההתקפות הפיזיות על יהודים ומקרי ונדליזם ב-2010 בהשוואה ל-2009. בקנדה דיווחה הליגה לזכויות האדם של בני ברית על עלייה נמוכה של 3.3% במספר הכולל של אירועים אנטישמיים בהשוואה ל-2009, שהושפעה בעיקר מהעלייה במספר ההטרדות. המספר הכולל של מעשי אלימות, ונדליזם ואיומים הראה לפי נתוני ת"א ירידה של 30% בהשוואה ל-2009, אך עדיין זהו מספר גבוה באופן משמעותי בהשוואה ל-2008, ורק ירידה קטנה נרשמה במספר ההתקפות הפיזיות בהשוואה ל-2009. מגמת ירידה ברורה, בייחוד במספר האירועים האלימים, נרשמה בארצות הברית ב-2010 בהשוואה ל-2009.<sup>2</sup>

בשנת 2010 נמשכה מגמת הירידה במספרי האירועים האלימים בחבר המדינות, בפרט ברוסיה שבה אירעו קודם לכן עשרות מקרים בשנה. הירידה ניכרה במיוחד במספר מקרי ההתקפות הפיזיות על אנשים, בעוד שהמתקנים הקהילתיים היהודיים נשארו מטרה לתוקפים אנטישמים, אם כי במידה פחותה. כמו בשנים קודמות, כוונו התקפות גזעניות כלפי עובדים זרים, בעיקר ממרכז אסיה ומן הקווקאז. ייתכן שאחת הסיבות לירידה בפשעי שנאה בכלל ובאלימות כלפי יהודים בפרט היא הפעילות המוגברת של גורמי אכיפת החוק, במיוחד ברוסיה.

עלייה בהתקפות על אתרים יהודיים ניכרה במחצית השנייה של השנה בארצות אמריקה הלטינית, כנראה בהשפעת אירועי המשט. פעילות כזו ניכרה במיוחד בצילה, שבה הפזורה הפלסטינית היא הרביעית בגודלה בעולם. בוונצואלה גרם המשט לא לעלייה באלימות אלא בהאשמות בעלות אופי

<sup>2</sup> זו היא ההערכה שלנו, עוד לפני שהגיעו נתוני ה-ADL.

המעקב העלה כי בשנת 2010, כמו בשנים קודמות, לא ניתן היה למנות את המספר העצום של הגידופים, הנאומים, המאמרים בעיתונות ובייחוד לא את דרכי הפרסום ברשת, שהופיעו בעולם. המוטיבים המרכזיים היו הקשר היהודי-ציוני וכוחו בעולם; הדמוניזציה והדה-לגיטימציה של ישראל באמצעות השוואתה לגרמניה הנאצית או התייחסות אליה כאל מדינת אפרטהייד; והדרישה שהקהילות היהודיות יגנו את מדינת ישראל ויתנערו ממנה. כתמיד קשה להצביע על קשר ישיר בין תעמולה לבין אירוע אלים מסוים. ובכל זאת מביעים פעילים יהודיים חשש שאווירה של שנאה אנטי-יהודית מתחזקת עקב תעמולה אנטי-ישראלית חסרת רסן. בהפגנות שאורגנו על ידי גורמי שמאל קיצוני יחד עם חוגי מוסלמים רדיקליים הופצה תעמולה זו במטרה להביא לדמוניזציה של ישראל. בהמשך להפגנות אלה, בהן הונפו סיסמאות כמו "מוות לישראל", "ישראלים רוצחים" או "יהודים רוצחים", אירעו לעיתים קרובות התקפות על יהודים ואתרים יהודיים, שהדגישו את העדרה של אבחנה בין ישראלים לבין יהודים החיים מחוצה לה. ברוב הארצות, בייחוד במערב אירופה, בוצעו רבות מן ההתקפות הפיזיות על יהודים ברחובות בשנת 2010, כמו בשנים שקדמו לה בעשור האחרון, על ידי צעירים מוסלמים, כפי שצינו כבר בדוחות קודמים. גורם אחר הממשיך להיות פעיל באלימות נגד היהודים הוא הימין הקיצוני.

בשנת 2010 נמשכה מגמת ההתחזקות של מפלגות הימין הקיצוני והפופוליסטי באירופה. בעוד שבמזרח אירופה מרשים חבריהן לעצמם להשתמש בביטויים אנטישמיים באופן חופשי, הרי שבמערב אירופה משתדלות מפלגות אלה, בייחוד הגדולות והמבוססות שביניהן, שלא להיות מזוהות עם מגמות אנטישמיות. הן מצהירות על תמיכתן בישראל מזה, ומכוונות את התקפותיהן כנגד מוסלמים מזה. למרות זאת נמנעות הקהילות היהודיות מהבעת תמיכה בהן, מה גם שהצהרותיהן הגזעניות ותמיכתן בעבר באנטישמיות ממשיכות לעורר סלידה.

לסיום, יש לציין שסך כל המקרים האנטישמיים בעשור האחרון היה גבוה בכמה עשרות אחוזים מזה שנרשם בשנות ה-90. ניתן היה להניח שאחת הסיבות לעלייה זו הוא השיפור במעקב ובדיווח בכמה ארצות, אך העלייה החדה במספר האירועים נרשמה דווקא בארצות כמו אנגליה, צרפת, קנדה ואוסטרליה, שבהן קיים מעקב שיטתי מזה שני עשורים. כמו כן, יש לציין תוצאה מטרידה במיוחד של אלימות הרחוב ושל מספרן העולה של ההטרדות, והיא החלטתם של יהודים דתיים שלא לחבוש כיפה או לשאת סימני זיהוי אחרים בצאתם לרשות הרבים. ייתכן שלהחלטה זו היתה השלכה על רמת הפעילות האנטישמית האלימה שאחרת יכלה להיות גבוהה יותר. המסקנה העולה מן הניתוח שלעיל היא, אם כך, פסימית. למרות הקשר הישיר הקיים לעתים ביו עימותים במזרח התיכון כמו מבצע "עופרת יצוקה" לבין עלייה במספר מקרי האנטישמיות, העלייה מתקיימת גם ללא קשר לעימותים נקודתיים, כפי שניתן ללמוד מאירועי השנים האחרונות. ולכן גורמי היסוד הם עדיין הצרופ של אנטישמיות מסורתית שבמרכזה סטריאוטיפ יהודי שלילי; ראייתה של מדינת ישראל, המזוהה עם העם היהודי כולו כבעלת תכונות יהודיות שליליות; ואימוץ הסטריאוטיפים האנטישמיים לא רק על ידי ניאו-נאצים וחברי קבוצות ימין קיצוני אלא גם על ידי מוסלמים

"יותר מעשר שנים אחרי עלייתה מחדש של האנטישמיות לרמה שאיש לא ציפה לה, ברור שהיא קנתה לה שביתה בחברה שלנו, וזאת למרות הפעילות האפקטיבית של המשטרה ורשויות החוק," כתב גם נשיא ה-SPCJ, הברון אריק דה רוטשילד בהקדמתו לדו"ח השנתי של הארגון. באותה רוח כתבו גם המחברות של דו"ח הליגה לזכויות האדם של בני ברית בקנדה, רות קליין ואניטה ברומברג: "המצעד הקבוע של סוג זה של דעה קדומה [אנטישמיות] צעד ללא מעצור בעשור האחרון, וממדיו הם פי ארבעה יותר ממה שהיה לפני עשר שנים בלבד."

הפקולטה למדעי הרוח ע"ש לסטר וסאלי אנטין

המכון לחקר האנטישמיות והגזענות בימינו

ע"ש סטפן רוט

ומרכז קנטור לחקר יהדות אירופה בימינו

## אנטישמיות בעולם

# 2010

### נתונים והערכות

הקונגרס היהודי האירופי

