

ANTISEMITIC MANIFESTATIONS WORLDWIDE 2012

OVERVIEW OF MAIN TRENDS

A considerable escalation in the level of violent and vandalistic acts against Jewish individuals, sites and private property was recorded in 2012. In-your-face harassment, directed mainly against visible Jews, continues to be a troubling phenomenon, particularly in Western Europe, North America and Australia. The rise in numbers of violent and vandalistic acts follows two years in which the figures declined considerably after the peak of 2009. The combined number of 686 incidents of physical violence, direct threats and major acts of vandalism represents an increase of about 30 percent over the 2011 figure of 526. There were 43 attacks with weapons (6 percent); 98 without a weapon (14 percent); 6 cases of arson (one percent); 166 direct threats to Jewish lives (24 percent), and 373 cases of vandalism (55 percent). Two hundred-and-seventy-three attacks were perpetrated against individuals (40 percent); 102 against synagogues (15 percent); 59 against community buildings, including schools and kindergartens (8 percent); and 89 (13 percent) against cemeteries and monuments; 163 private properties were damaged (24 percent). Most of these acts (510) took place in France (200 cases), the US (99), the UK (84), Canada (74) and Australia (53), where the largest Jewish communities outside Israel reside.

Three main factors affected this increase:

1. A substantial growth in the level of violence in France, particularly in the wake of the terror attack on the Otsar HaTorah School in Toulouse. The ensuing wave of copycat violent incidents demonstrates the extent of hatred toward the Jews embedded in the worldview of extremist elements, regardless of any specific Middle East event. As for hate crimes in general and antisemitic manifestations in particular, a clear distinction should be made between hostility felt by extremist elements, notably rightwing extremists and Islamists, toward Jews as Jews, and external and domestic trigger events.
2. The impact of the increasing activity and political strengthening of the antisemitic extreme right in several European countries. This has resulted from the economic crisis of recent years, growing concern over unemployment and possible shrinkage of social welfare, and increasing mistrust of the political establishment. This situation has been accompanied by an escalation of antisemitic incitement, sometimes as part of extreme

anti-Zionist and anti-Israel propaganda. In countries such as Hungary and Ukraine a correlation was observed between the political strengthening of extreme right parties and the high level of antisemitic manifestations, including incidents of violence and vandalism. There was a significant surge in numbers of vandalistic acts against Jewish cemeteries and memorial sites, particularly in Poland, where all the extreme right groups profess extreme antisemitic views. The increase in violent and vandalistic acts against Jewish targets corresponds with the rise of hate crimes against immigrants, foreign workers and ethnic minorities, and the growing tendency among extreme right groups to employ violent means.

3. Operation Pillar of Defense, which brought about a moderate, short-lived increase in some countries, Arab and Muslim states included. Toward the end of the year Israel's operation in Gaza triggered, notably in France and the UK, several incidents of violence and vandalism, but this wave lasted for a relatively short period. The rocket attacks on Israel and the military operation in Gaza had far less impact on the overall number of incidents in 2012 than the terror attack in Toulouse.

It should be noted that there has been a dramatic increase in verbal threats, insults, and abusive language and behavior in recent years. Disseminated through cyberspace and voiced sometimes not just by radicals but also in the mainstream media, in academia and in the political arena, they create an atmosphere that nourishes violence and constitute an ever growing threat to Jewish well-being.

- The year 2012 saw a troubling growth in terrorist and attempted terrorist acts against Jews worldwide, mainly in Western Europe and the US. The most serious event occurred in France, where four people, including three young children, were murdered and a teenager was severely injured in the terror attack by French-born Islamist Mohamed Merah on the Otsar HaTorah School in Toulouse in March. Islamists were also behind the attack on a kosher supermarket in Sarcelles, Paris, in September. The Otsar HaTorah School incident triggered a significant rise in antisemitic activity in France, 58 percent more than in 2011. Physical assaults, including four cases of shooting, almost doubled in number. It was the most violent year in France since 2004, and its impact was felt in other countries as well, notably the UK.

- In France, the UK and Italy, Islamists who carried out terror attacks or planned large-scale attacks on Jewish targets were eventually killed or arrested by the security services. In the US, some Islamists and white supremacists arrested for plotting terrorist acts against individuals and public institutions were also conspiring to attack Jewish targets.
- The phenomenon of harassment and street violence against Jews, particularly close to synagogues and Jewish schools, continued to worsen. In Berlin, for example, a group of four males abused a rabbi with antisemitic insults and threatened to kill his small daughter. Significantly, the number of Jews accosted physically or verbally in the streets of France escalated to 315 compared to 177 in 2011. In Australia, the combined number of incidents involving physical assault, property damage and direct in-your-face harassment, the largest share of the incidents, increased by about 40 percent over the previous year. In the UK, the single, most common type of antisemitic incident in 2012 was verbal abuse (291 out of 640), directed randomly at visibly Jewish people. In Canada the League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith reported that the number of acts of harassment, which formed the majority of antisemitic incidents there, rose notably in 2012. Jewish schoolchildren, during school hours and especially on their way to or from school, have continued to be singled out for antisemitic harassment and assault.
- Throughout the world, commemoration sites, cemeteries, and Jewish property were the targets of serious antisemitic attacks, including fire bombings. In the Netherlands, for example, the apartment of a Jewish man, living above a small synagogue in Amstelveen, was broken into and set alight. A troubling increase in desecration of memorial sites and cemeteries was observed, in Poland in particular, as well as in Hungary and Italy.
- There has been a disturbing growth of the extreme right, including neo-Nazi parties and movements, especially in Greece, Hungary and Ukraine, as well as in Italy. This rise, influenced considerably by the economic crisis of recent years, has been accompanied by blatantly antisemitic messages from the heads and representatives of these parties in the respective parliaments, and in Hungary by an escalation of antisemitic violence and vandalism. In the US, white supremacists believe that the white race is doomed to extinction due to a “rising tide of color,” controlled and manipulated by Jews. Thus, violence against Jews is perceived as part of the struggle for survival.

- A survey of 5,000 adults, conducted in January 2012 in ten European countries by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), revealed that antisemitic notions such as “Jews having too much power in business,” “being more loyal to Israel than to their own country,” or “talking too much about what happened during the Holocaust,” were held by nearly one-third of those surveyed. Hungary (63 percent), Spain (53 percent) and Poland (48 percent) were the countries where individuals expressed the highest levels of antisemitic views. The findings regarding the high level of antisemitic attitudes in those countries correlate with previous studies conducted in recent years.
- Cyberspace, with its websites, social networks, forums and blogs, has become the major conveyer of bigotry and racism in general, and antisemitism in particular. Alleged global Jewish power and theories about an international Jewish conspiracy, including the accusation that Jews control the global economy and are thus responsible for the world economic crisis, are central to various and even conflicting ideological trends: the extreme right, Islamist groups and the radical left. At the same time, these ideas are sometimes integrated indirectly and more subtly into speeches and publications of those associated with the mainstream, hidden behind a veil of supposedly respectable criticism of the state of Israel. Demonization of Israel, and particularly its equation with Nazi Germany, notions that often infiltrate mainstream forums, is regarded by many, Jews and non-Jews alike, as a means to abuse Holocaust memory. In 2012 the question of antisemitic feelings concealed behind severe criticism of Israel was fiercely debated, particularly in Germany, following the publication of a poem about Israel composed by writer Günter Grass, and an article by Jakob Augustin, editor of the weekly *Der Freitag*.
- There was no change in Arab and Muslim countries in regard to antisemitic manifestations. The reactions to Operation Pillar of Defense were much milder than during Operation Cast Lead. Nevertheless, conspiracy theories, and first and foremost *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, continue to be disseminated in social networks and Arab websites. An intensification of antisemitic sermonizing on Islamist TV channels was also observed. Official manifestations of antisemitism continued in Iran, and appeared to be increasing with the tightening of international sanctions and the deepening of Iran’s isolation.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ANTISEMITIC ACTIVITY

A. Violent Incidents, Harassment and Vandalism of Property and Memorial Sites

The terror threat and its impact on violent incidents

One of the most violent incidents witnessed by a Jewish community in recent years occurred in France, in March, when a teacher and three pupils were murdered in a shooting attack, which was intended to cause as many casualties as possible at the Otsar HaTorah School in Toulouse. The attack was perpetrated by French-born Mohamed Merah, an Islamist of Algerian origin, who identified with the global jihadist movement. In the week leading up to the attack, Merah committed two other murderous assaults, in Toulouse and Montauban, during which three French soldiers were killed and another injured. Merah, who was shot and killed a week later by the French police anti-terrorist unit, claimed that he had murdered the Jewish children in revenge for the murder of Palestinian children by Israel, and the French soldiers because of the presence of the French army in Afghanistan. He also alleged that he was linked to al-Qa`ida. The French security authorities concluded that Merah had operated alone, and did not coordinate with radical Islamist groups or Islamist terrorist cells in France or Europe. Nevertheless, he spent lengthy periods in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and in September 2011 even trained in an al-Qa`ida training camp. In addition, for a while he belonged to an Islamist jihadist group in France.

As in the case of other incidents connected to hate crimes, and in particular antisemitic acts, the attack on the Jewish school in Toulouse inspired radical elements, both Islamist and extreme right, to intensify anti-Jewish activities. According to a SPCJ (Jewish Community Protection Service) report, there was a significant rise in the number of antisemitic incidents, including several dozen violent acts, committed in France in the first weeks after the attack. The report was published in early June, following one of the worst incidents in that wave, this time in Villeurbanne, where a number of Jews were brutally assaulted by a gang whose members were described as “youths of North African origin.” According to data published by the SPCJ, France's Jewish community suffered an avalanche of incidents of all kinds, 58 percent more than the previous year – a total of 614 (2011: 389). The number of physical assaults motivated by antisemitism almost doubled. The attack in Toulouse triggered violent antisemitic activities in neighboring countries as well, especially the UK, although the waves there were much less

dramatic than in France. Seventy-five incidents were recorded in the UK in March, more than 20 percent above the monthly average.

The attack on the Toulouse school was a painful reminder of the continuing terrorist threat, both from Islamic extremism and the extreme right. It should be noted that Jewish individuals and facilities have been the targets of terror attacks since the end of the 1960s. According to a report published in 2011 by the London-based Community Security Trust (CST), 96 terror attacks against Jewish communities were perpetrated throughout the world in the years 1968 to 2010.

A couple of months after the Toulouse attack, a Molotov cocktail was hurled in September at a kosher supermarket in the Paris suburb of Sarcelles. The efforts by French security forces to arrest the perpetrators led to the killing of one of them during an exchange of fire. The dead man, whose fingerprints matched those found on the remains of the bomb, was described by the French prosecutor as a Muslim convert who identified with jihadi Islam. It should be noted that like the Toulouse attack, the one in Sarcelles was followed by a series of violent incidents, although not on the same scale, including four cases of pistol fire directed at Jews

In **Italy**, a young man of Moroccan origin was arrested in March on suspicion of planning a terrorist attack on a synagogue in Milan. Video clips of security at the synagogue, as part of preparations for the attack, were found on the computer of the man, who was suspected of ties with al-Qa`ida militants. In **Germany**, due to the numerous threats of terrorist activity against the Jewish community in Berlin, the police declared that security would be tightened at the community offices, since they constituted a potentially prime target in the city.

In February, in the **United Kingdom**, nine men inspired by al-Qa`ida, were convicted of plotting to bomb the London Stock Exchange. It is believed that they also planned attacks against two rabbis, whose names and addresses were found at the home of one of convicted men. In July, Mohammed and Shasta Khan were both jailed for lengthy terms for planning a terrorist attack on the Jewish community in Manchester. Around the same time, it was revealed that Faizul Abdullah Mohammed, leader of the Somali al-Shabaab terror group, who was killed a year earlier, may have been involved in a plot to attack Jews in London. Computerized documents found in his possession revealed that an al-Qa`ida cell planned to strike “a heavy blow” against “tens of thousands of Jews crammed in a small area.”

In the **United States**, citizens and residents who conspired to carry out terror attacks also expressed animosity toward the Jews and some even considered attacks on Jewish targets. Sami Osmakac, a naturalized US citizen from Kosovo, was arrested in January 2012 for an alleged bomb plot in Tampa, Florida. Although he was not suspected of targeting Jews or Jewish institutions, a series of videos posted on YouTube revealed his intense hatred of Jews. Osmakac compared Jews to animals and accused them of worshipping the devil and corrupting all religions. He asserted that “Jews... killed all the prophets” and predicted that the antichrist would be a Jewish politician who would unite Christians and Jews against the Muslims. Amine El Khalifi, a Moroccan citizen residing illegally in the US since 1999, was arrested in a sting operation when he attempted to carry out a suicide bombing at the Capitol building in Washington, DC. Prior to selecting the Capitol as his target, he allegedly divulged to undercover agents, whom he believed to be al-Qa`ida operatives, his desire to target various locations in the DC area, including a synagogue. He has since pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 30 years in prison. Ahmed Ferhani pleaded guilty to plotting an attack against a synagogue in New York City in December 2012. In a statement he read during his plea hearing, Ferhani said, “My anger toward Jews is based on what I believed and perceived to be their mistreatment of Muslims throughout the world. I intended to create chaos and send a message of intimidation and coercion to the Jewish population of New York City, warning them to stop mistreating Muslims.” White supremacists in the US also conspired to murder Jews as part of large-scale killings they planned. In California, for example, a white supremacist couple apprehended by police in the midst of a multi-state killing spree along the West Coast, were allegedly on their way to Sacramento to find a prominent Jew to target. In Ohio, FBI agents arrested a white supremacist on weapons and other charges for possessing a large arsenal of ammunition and weapons, including assault rifles. Moreover, they uncovered a suspected “hit list” that appeared to target African-American and Jewish community leaders in nearby Detroit, Michigan.

Operation Pillar of Defense and its impact on antisemitic manifestations

The military operation in Gaza in November triggered a rise in antisemitic activity in various countries in the world, as reported, for example, by the CST in London. A peak of 80 incidents of all kinds was registered in the **UK** in November, more than triple the 13 incidents recorded during the same period in 2011. Among the violent incidents that took place during Operation

Pillar of Defense and its aftermath was the antisemitic and anti-Israel abuse hurled at a young Jewish man in a parking lot beside a synagogue in a Paris suburb by a gang of three, reportedly of North African origin. In **Belgium** an Orthodox Jew was attacked while leaving a bakery in Antwerp. The attacker, a 15-year-old immigrant, pushed the victim to the ground and shouted in Flemish: “Go back to Palestine.”

This wave, however, was quite short-lived probably because the military operation in Gaza lasted only a few days and resulted in relatively few Palestinian casualties. It should be noted that the terror attack in Toulouse prompted a much more significant wave of antisemitic activity in France than did Operation Pillar of Defense. This reinforces the argument that in regard to hate crimes in general and antisemitic manifestations in particular, a clear distinction should be made between hostility felt by extremist elements, notably rightwing extremists and Islamists, toward Jews as Jews, and external and domestic trigger events. Often clashes in the Middle East serve as a catalyst, yet events in Europe or worldwide may serve to foment a series of copycat violent incidents, as demonstrated after the Toulouse attack. In this regard, it is interesting to make a comparison between the overall level of antisemitic manifestations in general and violent antisemitic incidents in 2012, in particular, between France and the UK. The level of antisemitic incidents and fluctuations in response to external triggers, such as events related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, are usually very similar in these two countries. However, in 2012 the picture was different. Despite a short-lived wave in the wake of the military operation in Gaza in the UK, the overall number of antisemitic events did not rise. In contrast, in France, as noted above, under the impact of the Toulouse attack, the overall number of antisemitic manifestations grew by almost 60 percent and the figure for assaults almost doubled.

An escalation in harassment and street violence

The escalation in acts of harassment and street violence against Jews continued in 2012. The targets were mostly visible Jews, often located near synagogues and Jewish schools, and mainly in Europe, North America and Australia. An event that took place in the Schoeneberg district of Berlin in August illustrates one kind of incident that took place during the year: Rabbi Daniel Alter was abused with antisemitic insults and threats to kill his small daughter who was with him, by four males reportedly of Arab origin. The incident was condemned by the mayor of

Berlin, as well as by the Arab-German Center. A demonstration in support of the rabbi was also held in Berlin. In London, a visibly Jewish man was approached in July by four males, one of whom pushed the victim's skullcap off his head before punching him in the face several times and kicking him while he was on the ground. The number of Jews accosted physically or verbally in the streets of France escalated to 315 compared to 177 in 2012. In **Australia**, the combined number of incidents involving physical assault, property damage and direct in-your-face harassment, the largest share of the incidents, increased by about 40 percent over the previous year. In **Sweden**, the situation in the southern city of Malmö has continued to receive attention. Malmö, Sweden's third largest city with almost 300,000 inhabitants, among them, a tiny Jewish community of fewer than 800 Jews, is the one place in Sweden that has shown a continual rise in antisemitic incidents in 2012. Approximately 20 antisemitic hate crimes are reported in Malmö each month. The most serious incident occurred on September 28, when a home-made bomb went off outside the Jewish Community Center. Despite the increase in antisemitic hate crimes, not a single complaint has led to any conviction.

Jewish schoolchildren, during school hours and particularly on their way to or from school, have continued to be targets of antisemitic harassment and assaults. Many of the victims study outside the Jewish school system. Thus for example In Melbourne, Australia, a Jewish teenager was verbally and physically assaulted after leaving a school function. In Copenhagen, **Denmark**, a Jewish boy with a Star of David chain was attacked in a shopping mall in February. A serious antisemitic violent occurred in **Northern Ireland** in March. A schoolboy of Jewish origin suffered antisemitic bullying after his class learnt about the Holocaust. He was subsequently knocked to the floor and kicked in the head, causing him to lose consciousness.

The United States witnessed a number of violent antisemitic incidents involving yeshiva students, including an attempt to run one over and the shooting and injury of another at the entrance of a New York yeshiva. In Toronto, **Canada**, an Orthodox Jew from the United States was brutally beaten and verbally abused with antisemitic insults by a youth, in April, in front of his wife.

As in 2011 there were also incidents of physical violence in Buenos Aires, **Argentina**. In January several Jewish women were attacked on the street with a plastic tube by a man yelling "Jew, I hate you." A month later a man leaving a synagogue was abused with antisemitic insults by a gang of four.

In various communities, rabbis and community leaders, often on the recommendation of security officials, advised members of their communities to remove their skullcaps when leaving the synagogue or walking in the street in order not to stand out as a Jew. This was a general recommendation for all Scandinavia, as well as the Netherlands, Switzerland and Italy, and was reissued in the wake of Operation Pillar of Defense.

Several “skullcap processions” were organized in Malmö. The object was to enable Jews to highlight their identity by wearing skullcaps and other identifying symbols. Among the participants were government ministers, politicians and even the controversial mayor of the city, Ilmar Reepalu. A similar procession took place in Berlin following the violent assault of Rabbi Alter.

Commemoration sites, cemeteries, and Jewish property

Commemoration sites, cemeteries and Jewish property were also targets of several serious antisemitic attacks in 2012. For instance, in St. Petersburg, **Russia**, two Molotov cocktails were thrown in March at a synagogue; synagogues in the cities of Kremenchug, **Ukraine**, and Derbent, **Dagestan** also suffered similar attacks in January and October. In the **Netherlands**, the apartment of a Jewish man, living above a small synagogue in Amstelveen was broken into and set alight with a candle and prayer book. Documents clearly indicating the Jewish heritage of the victim, such as birth certificate and Jewish marriage certificate (*k'tuba*), were torn up. No suspects were found. In Bergen County, New Jersey, **USA**, firebombs were thrown at two synagogues. The suspect was to be charged with attempted murder because one of the firebombs landed in the rabbi's second-floor bedroom while the family was asleep.

In many other places in the world, such as Caracas (Venezuela), Brussels (Belgium), Genoa (Italy), St. Petersburg, Irkutsk and Kostroma (Russia), Zaporozhye (Ukraine) and Pakruojis (Lithuania), synagogues were vandalized, and swastikas and antisemitic slogans often smeared there, while in others, such as Vienna, (Austria), Lvov (Ukraine), Loev (Belarus), Tiraspol (Moldova), Victoria (Canada) and Nice (France), cemeteries were desecrated. In Germany, almost every week a cemetery was desecrated. A considerable increase in desecrations of cemetery and memorial sites was recorded in Poland. In August, for example, several gravestones in the Jewish cemetery of Wrocław were defaced with inscriptions such as “Seig Heil,” “Jude raus,” and “Here Jews were exterminated!” Other graves were smeared with

swastikas. In November about 20 gravestones were desecrated in the Jewish cemetery in Lodz, including the renovated tomb of the Rabbi of Staszow.

In **Eastern Europe**, there has been an increase in violent activities of groups that identify with the extreme right, especially against Roma. According to a report published by the Czech interior ministry, neo-Nazi groups are intensifying their weapons acquisition and training. In Poland, all the extreme right movements profess extreme antisemitic views. The Independent Guard (Straz Niepodieglosci) is modeled on the violent Hungarian Guard, whose activities have been officially banned in the country. The Independent Guard is linked to the recent reorganization of the Polish extreme right into the National Movement (Ruch Narodowy, RN) which aspires to follow the political success of Hungary's ultra-right Jobbik.

In **Hungary**, there are disturbing signs that the increase in antisemitic and anti-Israel expressions on the part of the abovementioned Jobbik are more than ever being translated into violent acts. An event that aroused a furor in Hungary, as well as internationally, and demonstrated that antisemitism in Hungary has openly raised its ugly head, was the antisemitic abuse directed at the former chief rabbi, Dr. Joseph Schweitzer (89), in a Budapest street. In addition, a 70-year-old Jewish man was brutally beaten close to the synagogue in Dohány St., Budapest. His attackers told him that he had been chosen because he was a Jew. Further, a bloody pig's leg was left at a memorial to Raoul Wallenberg during the time of the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of his birth in Hungary and throughout the world. Another serious incident was the desecration of the Kaposvar cemetery. Hungarian antisemites – Jobbik supporters – decided to organize an anti-Israel demonstration in front of the Dohány St. synagogue, the symbol of Budapest Jewry, where they burned an Israeli flag.

Memorial sites and monuments to Jews murdered in the Holocaust have long constituted a prime target of antisemitic activity. Thus, for example, on the island of Rhodes, where several antisemitic incidents have been perpetrated in previous years, swastikas were scrawled on the site commemorating victims of the Holocaust. An antisemitic Greek group took responsibility for the deed. In Montevideo, Uruguay, the monument dedicated to victims of the Holocaust has become a repeated target of vandalism by local neo-Nazis.

In the CIS countries and the Baltic States, Holocaust memorials were desecrated in Lvov, Feodosya, Rovno, Nikolaev, Ternopol (Ukraine), Baranovich, Mogilev, Grodno (Belarus),

Bendery (Moldova), and Vilkaishkis (Lithuania). In Poland, several memorial sites of Jews murdered in the Holocaust, including those in Urzędów and in Opoczno, were vandalized.

B. Antisemitic Attitudes, Stereotypes and Incitement

Surveys

A survey of 5,000 adults in ten European countries, conducted by Ipsos-Reid Public Affairs for the ADL in January 2012, revealed that antisemitic notions such as “Jews having too much power in business,” “being more loyal to Israel than to their own country,” or “talking too much about what happened during the Holocaust,” were held by nearly one-third of interviewees. Overall, more than half of those surveyed in the ten countries, 55 percent, believed that Jews are more loyal to Israel than to their own country; Hungary (63 percent), Spain (53 percent), and Poland (48 percent) were the three countries where individuals expressed the highest levels of antisemitic attitudes. The findings regarding Hungary and Poland correlate with those published two years previously, as part of a comprehensive study on Intolerance, Prejudice and Discrimination conducted by a group headed by sociologist Andreas Zick. In comparison to the previous survey conducted by the ADL in 2009, Hungary saw the greatest increase in overall antisemitic sentiment, rising from 47 to 63 percent. The prevalence of antisemitic prejudices in Spain has been shown repeatedly in several studies, such as the Pew Global Attitudes from September 2008 and the 2009 ADL survey. In comparison to 2009, antisemitic sentiment in Spain grew from 48 to 53 percent. These findings demonstrate that a correlation does not necessarily exist between the level of antisemitic incidents in a specific country, perpetrated by extremist elements and sometimes supported by specific segments of the population, and the level of antisemitic feeling among the general population. While the level of antisemitic violence, and particularly assault, is influenced by the size of the community and the visibility of the victims, surveys on antisemitic feeling reflect the prevalence of antisemitic feelings and stereotypes among the general population. As demonstrated previously, antisemitic sentiments and traditions have continued to exist even in countries where only small communities remain or were re-established. According to the surveys, the level of antisemitic sentiment in France (24 percent) and the UK (17 percent), where a major share of antisemitic incidents has been perpetrated in recent years, was much lower than in Spain. On the other hand, in Hungary and

Poland, for example, where the survey showed deep-seated antisemitic attitudes, antisemitic manifestations, including acts of violence and vandalism, have grown.

Antisemitism as a political tool

The year 2012 was marked by a strengthening of parties with clear antisemitic positions in several countries, accompanied by antisemitic propaganda and even open incitement against Jews as a part of domestic politics. The propaganda is characterized by classic antisemitic motifs, such as allegations of excessive power of the Jews and their supposed lack of loyalty to the countries where they live. Another element of extreme right propaganda is Holocaust denial. Also conspicuous is the centrality of the state of Israel. Its deeds are presented as representing the negative characteristics of Jews and their unconditional loyalty and support for Israel is stressed. In the past few years, and particularly in 2012, there has been a marked strengthening of antisemitic parties in two member states of the EU, Greece and Hungary, and of a nationalist, antisemitic party in Ukraine. In Greece, the neo-Nazi Chryssi Avghi (Golden Dawn) party made significant gains in the 2012 parliamentary elections, winning 18 seats, against the background of the ongoing severe economic crisis. The leaders of the party, which is violently anti-immigrant, are known for their blatantly antisemitic views, and the party's rise has aroused great concern among the country's Jewish community. Moreover, open expressions of Holocaust denial, as well as quotes from *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in a parliamentary speech, were made by party heads, including the leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos. Antisemitic incitement was reported both during the election campaign and since then. The party's publication of the same name came out against what it termed educational manipulation of schoolchildren by the Jewish community in cooperation with the government. This is done, according to the writer, during visits to the Holocaust Museum, as well as in the course of supposedly educational visits to Israel. All this is brainwashing, he says, and is part of an anti-Gold Dawn campaign. It should be pointed out that in spite of the party's racist and antisemitic declarations and violent actions directed against immigrants, and possibly because of them, an opinion poll conducted in late October revealed that Golden Dawn was the only parliamentary party with a rise in public support, and it came out in third place. This finding has further deepened the Jewish community's fears.

In **Hungary**, Holocaust denial, as well as references to a Jewish/Israel conspiracy to take over centers of power in the world, are principal motifs in the antisemitic expressions of the extreme right antisemitic and racist Jobbik, the third largest party in the Hungarian parliament. Jobbik continued to enjoy significant public support in 2012, particularly among the educated, younger generation – especially university graduates. In speeches and publications, and particularly on the internet, its vocal representatives and parliamentary deputies use blatantly nationalist and antisemitic motifs. Verbal attacks and demonstrations against Israel, and support for Iran and the Palestinian struggle, are all part of Jobbik’s anti-Jewish line.

For instance, a Jobbik MP demanded the reopening of the Tiszaeszlár case – an 1882 blood libel in which Jews were accused of the murder of a Christian girl – hinting that the Jews were in fact guilty. The Jews, he claimed, had pressured Hungary then, and were doing the same today. Another Jobbik MP, Marton Gyongyosi, who gave an interview in February to *The Jewish Chronicle*, reacted disparagingly and disbelievingly when it was put to him that 400,000 Jews were deported to Auschwitz in 1944. Several months later, when he addressed the Hungarian parliament, he even suggested that the war in Gaza (Operation Pillar of Defense) was a good time to organize a registry of citizens of Jewish origin in the country, and especially parliamentary deputies and government members. This was because they posed a threat to the Hungarian state. In the wake of the ensuing furor, Gyongyosi claimed that he meant only Jews who held dual citizenship, Hungarian and Israeli. The antisemitic expressions of Jobbik members, and especially the call to register Jews as “enemies of Hungary,” roused tens of thousands of Hungarians to participate in a demonstration against the rise of antisemitism in the country.

Hungarian government spokespersons condemned the antisemitic manifestations. Moreover, the Hungarian government initiated numerous events within and outside Hungary, during 2012, in the framework of “Wallenberg Year,” marking a century to his birth, in cooperation with Israel’s foreign ministry. Hungarian representatives at these events stressed the tragic fate of Hungarian Jewry. Nevertheless, as noted, this did not prevent Hungarian extremists from desecrating the monument in Wallenberg’s memory and to deny the Holocaust of the Jews in Hungary. However, the key question is whether the ruling rightwing FIDESZ party, which enjoys an overall parliamentary majority, is really interested in taking decisive action against the ultra-rightwing antisemitic wave. This issue was raised more than once against the background

of general criticism, both by the Hungarian opposition and outside the country, of the government's conduct. The criticism focused on measures that were understood within Hungary and outside it as restricting freedom of the individual and as encouraging the return of nationalist-Christian values contradicting the spirit of the European Union. During a conference on antisemitism that took place in the framework of the European Parliament in June, Peter Feldmajer, chairman of the Hungarian Jewish community, harshly criticized the government's conduct and noted the growing concern among Hungary's Jews. Several days later, 50 members of the American Jewish Congress sent a letter to Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban, urging him to speak out more forcefully against antisemitic expressions. The letter was also a response to the verbal attack on Hungary's former chief rabbi, which as noted, aroused an international furor. Reuven Rivlin, speaker of the Israel's Knesset, also sent a letter to the Hungarian president, in which he wrote, among other things: "You cannot be silent in the wake of the proposal to count Jews," and called on him to take practical measures to curb antisemitism and "prevent the spread of the dreadful disease... in Hungary."

Another country where a nationalist antisemitic party had significant political gains was **Ukraine**. In the elections that took place in 2012, a nationalistic-antisemitic party obtained seats in the Ukrainian parliament for the first time in the postcommunist era. The party, Svoboda (Freedom), won 10 percent of the vote, giving it 37 seats (out of 450). There are two possible explanations for its success: a) Many citizens are dissatisfied with the pro-Russian line of the present government and the considerable corruption that has spread throughout it, while Svoboda is considered a clean, pro-Ukrainian party. b) While in the past, nationalist votes were divided among several parties, in 2012 Svoboda was the only nationalist party that ran in the elections.

Svoboda members, including its leaders, have come out with several antisemitic expressions during the last few years. In 2004, party leader Oleg Tiagnybok said, *inter alia*, that during World War II, Ukrainians fought against "Muscovites, Germans, Jews, scum and others," and that "a Jewish-Russian mafia controls Ukraine." He was expelled from the Our Ukraine Party as a result of these comments. In September 2011 Svoboda launched a campaign against Jews from Israel who flock to the grave of Rabbi Nachman from Breslov in the town of Uman. The campaign continued in 2012. During a demonstration organized by Svoboda in Kharkov in November 2012 against illegal immigration into the country, some of the marchers gave the Nazi salute and shouted antisemitic slogans such as "Jews on the knife."

Like Ukraine, **Kyrgyzstan** is another FSU state where for several years antisemitism has played a role in political struggles. During the attempt to topple President Kurmanbek Bakiyev, antisemitic accusations were used by both sides in the confrontations. As noted in previous reports, this trend has intensified since his fall in April 2010. The most common antisemitic propaganda in the press is the allegation that the Jews are responsible for the country's troubles. Moreover, if in previous years the main claims against the Jews concerned their alleged control of the state during the former regime, due to the involvement of several Jews in the country's affairs, in 2012 they were accused of partial responsibility for its economic difficulties. The newspapers involved define themselves as neither pro-government nor pro-opposition, claiming they present a range of existing views in the country. In fact, most articles repeat variations of classic antisemitic myths concerning the huge wealth of the Jews and their efforts to take control over the country.

Unlike Ukraine, no antisemitic movement with any significant power is active in the **Russian** political system, although President Putin, who has repudiated antisemitism, admitted in November 2012 (in a meeting with Russia's Chief Rabbi Berl Lazar) the existence of social antisemitism in the country. Nevertheless, antisemitic expressions, albeit mostly inferred, were reported in Russia in the political connection, mainly in the context of the waves of protest in the first half of 2012 after the parliamentary elections (December 2011) and the presidential election (March 2012). Putin's opponents, whether politicians or protest groups, were presented by Putin supporters as foreign elements, and their Jewishness (whether true or not) was hinted at. Another attempt to play the Jewish card can be seen in the affair of the female group Pussy Riot, whose members called in February 2012, in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow, to overthrow Putin. After a relatively quick trial they were given lengthy prison terms for desecration of the cathedral that were disproportional to sentences given in cases of desecration of worship facilities of other religions, such as synagogues and mosques. During the trial evidence was presented that the group was influenced by a secret global government and the Kabala (hinting at the Jews). The attempt to connect the group (whose members are not Jewish) to the Jews appeared to be part of the effort to prove yet again that the country's values had been adversely affected by elements foreign to the true Russian spirit.

Since the rise to power of Hugo Chavez (who died in March 2013) in **Venezuela** some ten years ago, antisemitic propaganda has been disseminated under the auspices and with the

encouragement of the state authorities. Antisemitic motifs in government and semi-government media are published mainly under the rubric of “anti-Zionism.” The most blatant usage of antisemitic motifs in 2012 was during the presidential election campaign and the highlighting of the Jewish roots of opposition candidate Henrique Capriles Radonski, Catholic son of a well-to-do family of Jewish origin. Chavez supporters exploited Capriles’ Jewish background in order to warn people of the consequences if he were elected. A witch hunt was conducted against him and dozens of articles were published portraying him as a Zionist agent who would bring about Zionist infiltration of Venezuela. One of the crudest articles, entitled “The Enemy Is Zionism,” was published on February 13 on the official site of Radio Venezuela, as well as other websites. Accordingly, in order to understand the interests of Capriles, “the candidate of Venezuelan and trans-national oligarchy,” it is important to grasp that he undoubtedly represents “a terror ideology.” The only choice, says the writer, is between “the Bolivarian revolution [Chavez], which seeks Latin American unity, and international Zionism, which threatens to destroy the planet on which we live.” Chavez himself said of Capriles: “It’s not important how many times you change your disguise... we still see the pig’s tail and the pig’s ears... don’t try to hide them.” Capriles was portrayed repeatedly in cartoons wearing a Star of David and a swastika and labeled a “Nazi-Zionist.” Chavez’ victory in the elections was described as a victory of the Venezuelan people over “international Zionism, which used all its influence and money so that Capriles would win.” Operation Pillar of Defense, followed by the UN vote granting Palestine status as an observer state, led to an escalation in articles and media programs comparing Israel and Nazi Germany.

An attempt to harm a senior politician by emphasizing his Jewish origins, and hence his alleged loyalty to the Jewish people and to Israel and not to his country, was made by the radical left in Chile. The target of this propaganda was Rodrigo Hinzpeter, Chile’s Jewish defense minister. On November 5, the leftwing *El Ciudadano* published his photo, placing on him – as is customary in extreme left propaganda – a Star of David inlaid with a swastika, with the caption: “I did my military service in Israel and now I’m defense minister.” Following protests from the Jewish community, the paper accused the “rightwing, philo-fascist, reactionary” sector of the Jewish community of an incendiary campaign against it. It also accused the Jews, victims of Nazism, of the existence of a state that employs against the Palestinians the same means that Hitler used against them.

Attitudes toward the Holocaust

In the states of the former Soviet Union occupied by the Nazis in World War II, the argument continued in the public discourse over the question of the uniqueness of the Holocaust, as did the question of the commemoration of nationalist movement leaders, who in Jewish memory and historiography in general are considered war criminals and collaborators with the Germans. Nevertheless, in the consciousness of part of the public in these countries, they are regarded as heroes due to their struggle against communism. In Russian cities such as Rostov-on-Don and Rzhensk, the local authorities refused to place plaques commemorating the Holocaust and even removed some that were already there on the grounds that the Jews were not the only victims and that their suffering should not be stressed above that of other nationalities.

In **Moldova**, against the background of the rise of nationalist parties and pro-Romanian trends, there has been a strengthening in the past year of the trend minimizing the responsibility and role of Romanians in the extermination of Jews and even the omission of any information on the Holocaust at all. Thus, in August, for example, Moldovan historian Vyacheslav Stavile, a member of the Committee for the Condemnation of Communism and the Writing of History Books, denied the involvement of Romanian dictator Ion Antonescu in the killing of Jews in the Holocaust and claimed that Romanians did not take part in the slaughter of Jews at all. In addition, he argued that the Germans murdered “only” 20,000 Transnistrian Jews and maintained that the number of 400,000 Jews cited by other historians was “a lie and Communist propaganda.” In mid-October 2012, during a session of the general assembly of the World without Nazism Movement¹ held in Strasburg, Moldovan historian Sergeii Nazarya said, among other things, that most of the history textbooks in Moldova do not mention the Holocaust at all and according to one of them (for 11th grade), Poles, Greeks, Jews and Bulgarians were contaminating Chisinau (the capital) and that the Jews are the worst enemies of the Romanian nation.

In **the Baltic States** a public discourse took place in 2012 concerning local collaboration with Germany and the Nazis, and the issue of restitution of property to the Jews. As in previous years, despite repeated protests both within and outside these countries, in Lithuania (11 March),

¹ This organization was initiated in 2010 by the World Congress of Russian Jews with the aim of uniting all anti-fascist forces, as well as “to confront the dangerous tendency toward distortion of history, glorification of supporters of Nazism and the emergence of neo-Nazism, fascism and xenophobia.”

Latvia (16 March) and Estonia (28 July) marches took place commemorating collaborators with the Nazis, considered in this region to be “freedom fighters” who battled for the liberation of their countries from the Soviet yoke. In Lithuania the mayor of Kovno decided to rebury in his city the remains of Juozas Ambrazevičius-Brazaitis, who was interred in the US. In 1941, Brazaitis was the prime minister of Lithuania’s transitional government, which collaborated in introducing a number of antisemitic measures during the 43 days of its existence, including the decision to create ghettos for Jews in Lithuania. The reburial took place in mid-May. In Latvia, a monument was erected in the city of Bauska in September in memory of locals who fought in Latvian units of the Waffen-SS. The plaque reads: “In memory of the defenders of Bauska in the face of the second Soviet conquest – Latvia must be a Latvian state.” Members of parliament and the city council were present at its unveiling. In **Estonia**, 44 extreme rightwing MPs initiated a process in early 2012 that would officially recognize Estonians who collaborated with the Nazis as “freedom fighters.” The country’s Anti-fascist Committee expressed its disapproval of the move, claiming that recognition would actually justify the deeds of collaborators during World War II. Nevertheless, on February 13, the Estonian parliament decided (by a majority of 71 out of 93 who were present in the session) to acknowledge its gratitude to local citizens who fought during the Soviet and German occupations for Estonian independence.

Another important issue in this region (especially in Lithuania and Latvia) in recent years has been restitution of property confiscated from the Jews by the Soviet and Nazi regimes. In April 2012, after several years of deliberations, the Lithuanian government established a compensation fund of \$52 million which is supposed to be used for conservation and commemoration of Jewish life and heritage in the country. An additional \$1 million was to be allotted to help needy Holocaust survivors. Prime Minister Andrius Kubilius said that this constituted recognition of the suffering of Lithuanian Jewry during the Holocaust. In Latvia, during her visit to the country in late June 2012, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton pressed the local authorities to return Jewish property. During a press conference she said that “the United States strongly supports restitution or compensation for those whose property was confiscated by either the Nazis or the Communists.” In response, lawyer Andris Grutups, who is known for his antisemitic views, said that “the Jews have brought on us American leaders... In order to give the Jews their so called property, [we] need to enact a new law according to which the Jews are the chosen people and have more rights than Latvians, Russians or any others.” In

early July the results of a poll by the TNS Latvia Company and LNT TV channel were published. The poll was conducted on June 26-28 among 650 people aged 18-55; 39 percent of the respondents said they thought that Latvia should return property to the Jewish community.

Antisemitism and its linkage to the anti-Israel campaign

Alongside legitimate arguments, Operation Pillar of Defense and Israel's struggle against the PA's abovementioned application to the UN General Assembly, aroused delegitimization and demonization of the Jewish state, as well as other antisemitic motifs, such as Jewish world power. Two days after the end of hostilities, at a demonstration in Vienna, Austria, with the participation of Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood supporters, for instance, the chant "Kill the Jews," was heard. In Antwerp, Belgium, extreme rightwing and leftwing activists joined forces against the appearance of the Israeli Defense Forces Orchestra shouting "Hamas, Hamas, Jews to the gas." In Finland, a Conservative MP, Pertti Salolainen claimed that the US was forced to vote against the Palestinian application to the UN for recognition due to Jewish control of the media and the American economy.

In the US, too, attempts to equate Israel with Nazi Germany are among the most common forms of antisemitic manifestations as part of anti-Israel activities. Such slurs were particularly prevalent at a range of protests held in opposition to Operation Pillar of Defense. At a demonstration in Atlanta, one protester held a sign that read, "Israel, the new Nazis," while another brandished one featuring a Star of David with a swastika in its center. Similar messages were displayed at rallies in Chicago and Fort Lauderdale, where signs read, "Stop the new Holocaust" and "Stop the Palestinian Holocaust by Israel." In New York, one of the speakers at a demonstration held outside the Israeli Consulate alleged that "Gaza is the Warsaw Ghetto of today." He added, "sixty years ago when the Jewish people in the Warsaw Ghetto fought back against the Nazi war machine, today it is the people of Gaza and Palestine who are fighting for freedom against a war machine that is no better than that of the Nazis."

In October, an OSCE report warned against demonization of Israel in Norwegian public discourse. It was pointed out that according to an opinion poll, 38 percent of those questioned claimed that Israel's deeds were no different from those of the Nazis. Demonization of the state of Israel in general and equating it with Nazi Germany in particular is a widespread theme in extreme anti-Israel and antisemitic propaganda in Latin America and they appeared in the media

during Operation Pillar of Defense. In Mexico the equation was made several times in mainstream papers: "... I know this will sound bad for the Jews, but, no matter how hard they try to deny it or to hide it, the reality is that the narrow Gaza Strip is today the most similar thing we have to a ghetto," wrote Fran Ruiz in *Crónica*. Under the title "Death in Gaza," *La Jornada* published a cartoon showing a mother holding a dead child within a Star of David. A similar cartoon portraying a dead baby full of bullet holes, encircled by Stars of David, appeared in *Metro* (November 21).

In **Germany**, debates on antisemitic tendencies in the context of the anti-Israel discourse were initiated by two publications. At the beginning of April a nine-stanza, 69-line poem, "What Must Be Said" (*Was gesagt werden muss*), by German author Günter Grass, recipient of the 1999 Nobel Prize in Literature, appeared on the front page of the culture section of the Munich-based *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and in the Italian *Repubblica*. Mixing lyrics with discussions of the need for international supervision of both Israel's and Iran's nuclear programs, Grass bluntly called Israel a threat to world peace for its warnings that it might attack Iran's nuclear facilities. Grass also warned that by supplying weapons to Israel, including submarines, Germany had re-initiated a worldwide debate about Israeli policies. The ensuing condemnation of Israel was welcomed by the extreme right as well as the extreme left worldwide. The abovementioned Press TV noted: "Never before in Germany's postwar history has a prominent intellectual attacked Israel in such a courageous way... Metaphorically speaking, the poet has launched a deadly lyrical strike against Israel." Klaus Staeck, president of the Academy of the Arts in Berlin, defended Grass, and Johano Strasser, the head of the German section of PEN International, praised Grass's criticism of Israel's threats against Iran. Distinguished playwright Rolf Hochhuth, however, wrote of Grass: "You remained what you voluntarily became: the SS man."

At the end of the year another prominent public figure, Jakob Augstein, the owner and editor of *Der Freitag Weekly*, was at the center of the revived debate, who is an antisemite? On September 20, 2012, German satirical author and provocative journalist Henryk Broder branded Jakob Augstein an "antisemitic mudslinger." The attack came after Augstein claimed that the rioters in the Middle East protesting Western blasphemy against the Prophet Mohammed were victims, just as much as the American diplomats killed in Libya were. He also maintained that those who profited were the American Republican Party and Israel. "Whom does all this violence benefit? Always the insane and unscrupulous. And this time it's the US Republicans

and Israeli government,” he said. He also compared ultra-Orthodox Haredim to Islamists, claiming that the former were cut from the same cloth as their Islamic fundamentalist opponents. “They follow the law of revenge.”

Broder compared these claims to classic antisemitic allegations, and particularly conspiracy theories. Augstein’s subsequent inclusion in ninth place in the annual Simon Wiesenthal Center (SWC) list, published in December 2012, of the world’s ten worst antisemitic slurs, alongside those of the Iranian regime and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, triggered a public debate about the limits of Israel criticism and antisemitism in Germany. The controversy even divided Germany’s Jewish community. While Salomon Korn, vice president of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, said Augstein’s writings were not antisemitic and accused the SWC of alarmism, of being “analytically and intellectually irrelevant,” and of being “far removed from German reality,” head of the council Dr. Dieter Graumann described them as “dreadful and unnuanced.”

While anti-Israel events across the **United States** often focus on Israeli policy, opposition to the occupation, and support for Palestinian rights, more extreme expressions of vitriol against Israel, including antisemitic narratives, continue to seep into anti-Israel academic programs. In some cases, antisemites are invited to university and college campuses under the guise of their anti-Israel activism. Two such figures were invited to at least five different college campuses in 2012: Amir Abdul Malik Ali, an imam based in Northern California, and Gilad Atzmon, an Israeli “ex-Jew” who now authors books and articles railing against “Jewish supremacy” and describing Judaism as “extremist, supremacist, chauvinist [and] racist.” At Northeastern Illinois University in March, Atzmon evoked Holocaust-related language to demonize Israel, including a reference to a Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon as a “concentration camp” and the statement that the 1982 Lebanon War, during which he was a member of the Israel Defense Forces, had made him realize that “they are the Jews and I am the Nazi.” Atzmon also reiterated the conspiracy theory that the US government is controlled by pro-Israel forces: “They have bought your entire political system... 100 percent of government is controlled by the Zionist lobby.”

Malik Ali was invited to speak at the University of California, Irvine, during a “Palestine Liberation Week” program in May. He claimed that “Zionists” were responsible for the financial crisis and US economic woes and argued that Zionism corrupts “Jews who believe in it.” He also responded to a question in the audience about Israel being the Jewish people’s national homeland

by saying that Israel is not the Jews' homeland and that "y'all came from Europe, you gotta go back."

Social media users in the US have also employed Holocaust imagery and comparisons to demonize Israel. One widely circulated memo during Operation Pillar of Defense contained a montage of famous images from the Holocaust juxtaposed with photos of Israeli military action, among them the image of a Jewish boy with his hands raised as a Nazi officer trains his gun on him, alongside that of an Israeli soldier aiming a gun at a Palestinian child. These images were shared widely, including by the director of the Tampa office of the Council on American-Islamic Relations, a Muslim advocacy organization, who commented: "War crimes similar to those done by Germans... committed by Israel...paid for by US tax dollars."

Comparisons between Israeli policy and the Nazi Holocaust are also sometimes expressed during anti-Israel programs on college campuses in the US. During Palestine Awareness Week at the University of California, Los Angeles, for example, one of the panels of a mock "apartheid wall" set up on campus described the conditions in the Warsaw Ghetto during the Nazi Holocaust; it finished with, "Much is the same in Gaza today."

Al-Quds Day and Israel Apartheid Week are two main yearly anti-Israel events in cities and campuses around the globe, most notably in North America. Initiated mainly by radical left and pro-Palestinian Muslim students, they are characterized by frequent antisemitic slurs..At the al-Quds Day rally at Queens Park, the site of the Ontario Provincial Government Islamic groups and far left groups demonstrated together. In 2012, for the eighth time in a row, Israel Apartheid Week, which is connected to the anti-Israel Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement, took place on some 120 campuses worldwide. In Canada, where the campaign began in 2005 it expanded in 2012 to new campuses, such as the University of Waterloo.

Jewish conspiracy theories and the alleged Jewish role in the economic crisis

The idea that Jews conspire against the interests and well-being of the entire world in order to gain worldwide domination is probably the most widespread antisemitic allegation, in cyberspace in particular. Accordingly, Jews who allegedly control the world economy bear responsibility for the global economic crisis. In **Greece**, newspapers such as *Eleftheri Ora*, *Stochos* and *Chryssi Avgghi* published numerous articles attributing the financial crisis to the Jews and Zionists. In addition, Golden Dawn spokesman Elias Kassidiaris argued that "Zionist and

American birds of prey hover over Greek natural mineral resources,” referring to the American Jewish Committee and David Harris’ visit to Athens. In **Italy**, the Observatory on Anti-Jewish Prejudice identified some 100 online posts featuring antisemitic allegations in 2012, including the accusation of a global Jewish power that controls the economy in collaboration with the Italian Jewish community. Thus, for example, a Facebook post of a group with 48,000 “likes,” alleged that “what the Jews did to the Germans during the Weimar period they are now doing to the whole world.” It warned that “if a war or revolution should break out, our first grenades will hit the Jewish banks.”

The Jewish conspiracy is a central theme in the propaganda of extremist antisemitic black movements in the US, notably the Nation of Islam (NOI), which accuses Jews of controlling America’s economy, government, media and other sectors. In February, the Saviours’ Day convention in Rosemont and Chicago, Illinois, featured a plenary session based on the NOI book *The Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews*, which alleges disproportionate Jewish involvement in the slave trade. NOI leader Louis Farrakhan used #AskFarrakhan during a September town hall style meeting held via Twitter to answer his followers’ questions on topics such as supposed Jewish control of America and Jewish exploitation of Blacks. In addition to suggesting that the Monica Lewinsky scandal was a Jewish plot to take down Bill Clinton for not meeting with the Israeli prime minister, Farrakhan accused the Jews of deliberately fragmenting the Black community. A day before the question and answer session, Farrakhan attended a dinner hosted by Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in New York City. In a July sermon at the NOI’s Mosque Maryam in Chicago, Farrakhan used this platform to engage the audience in a call and response in which he asked who is “at the top” of the fields of law, medicine, entertainment, and who is the “master of the bankers.” Each time the audience answered “Jews!” Farrakhan concluded, “You don’t discredit them because they’re masters, you discredit them by the way they use their mastery.” Additionally, NOI continues to engage in a wide-ranging propaganda campaign against Jews through its *Final Call* newspaper and NOI Research Group. The NOI Research Group maintains a website created in March, which promotes virulently antisemitic conspiracy theories that blame Jews for everything, from perpetrating the 9/11 attacks to bringing on Hurricane Sandy’s destruction as divine punishment.

One of the major sources of antisemitism in the United States continues to be white supremacy. Since 2009, the US has been experiencing a resurgence of rightwing extremist

activity. Rightwing extremism in the US is divided largely into two slightly overlapping spheres: white supremacist movements and anti-government extremist movements. In the current resurgence, both sets of movements have exhibited increased agitation and activity levels, with a commensurate rise in serious criminal incidents. While anti-government extremist movements have also enjoyed a considerable increase in numbers, white supremacist movements have not. Nevertheless, the ADL, which tracks extremism in the United States, estimates that there are at least 75,000 hardcore white supremacists within the country today and a greater number of people with some sort of commitment to white supremacist ideology. White supremacist ideology in the United States is today dominated by the concept of the “survival of the white race.” This ideology is exemplified by the popular white supremacist slogan, dubbed the “Fourteen Words”: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.” Not only is the phrase, or its symbolic equivalent, ubiquitous among white supremacists, some have even incorporated the concept symbolically (through the number “14”) into terrorist acts or conspiracies.

Because white supremacists believe that Jews are masterminding a vast and evil conspiracy (both in the United States and elsewhere), it is common for them to attribute any controversy or issue of concern to “the Jews.” For example, following several recent high-profile mass shootings in the United States, the issue of gun control became once more a topic of serious discussion, with legislators at both the federal and state levels proposing various gun control measures. While the entire extreme right reacted angrily to such proposals, white supremacists were quick to blame Jews. Typically offering conspiracy theories, they claimed that Jews, who allegedly control the federal government in general, and President Obama, in particular, wanted to disarm whites so that they could not defend themselves against violence from racial minorities. In his online publication *Occidental Observer*, one prominent American antisemite, Kevin MacDonald, attributed the gun control measures to a “deep fear of Christian culture [on the part of Jews] that is most vibrant in rural America,” and claimed that “the gun culture of traditional America” has been “particularly loathed by Jewish intellectuals.” MacDoland concludes: “Given Jewish hostility to the traditional people and culture of White America, [a strong central government with a monopoly on lethal force] is a very foreboding combination as we head into the era of a non-White majority America.”

Many American-operated antisemitic websites exist on the internet, but one that stands out in particular is Veterans Today, run by Gordon Duff. The website bills itself as a “military and foreign affairs journal” but its true aim is to demonize Israel and Jews. The site is unusual in that it brings together antisemitic columnists from both the right and left who focus on antisemitic conspiracy theories, Holocaust denial, Israel-bashing, and the alleged power of the Jews. It promotes, for example, the ideas that Israel carried out the 9/11 terrorist attacks, that “the Jewish enclave” appears to exert total power over the American military, and that Israeli death squads were responsible for the December 2012 massacre of young children at a school in Newtown, Connecticut.

C. Arab and Muslim Countries

No signs of change in respect to antisemitic manifestations were observed in Arab and Muslim countries in 2012. The reactions to Operation Pillar of Defense in Gaza, November 14-21, were much milder than those evidenced during Operation Cast Lead in 2008-9. The explanation lies not only in the brevity of the operation, its relatively few civilian casualties, and the ongoing “Arab Spring” which probably diverted attention to bloodier clashes in the Arab countries, but in the ideological background. The rise of Hamas in Gaza is anathema to many nationalist circles, especially in light of the strengthening of Islamist forces in the Middle East.

Unsurprisingly, it was spokesmen for the Muslim Brothers and other Islamist movements that led the strongest condemnations of Israel and the Jews. They called for jihad against the Jews in numerous declarations and articles, using antisemitic motifs taken from the world of Islamic images, ranging from the “descendants of pigs and apes” and “infidels” to the doomsday *hadith* calling on all Muslims to fight and kill Jews wherever they found them. Another example of a reaction to the operation was columnist Khalis Jalabi's article in the normally quite moderate London-based portal *Ilaf*, entitled “The Zionist Cancer.” Jalabi explained in medical terms why Israel and the “sons of Zion” are a malignant cancer that needs to be removed. This alien tumor, he argued, was planted by the West in the heart of the Arab and Muslim lands in an attempt to atone for the Holocaust. Similar to the Islamist approach which leaves no room for coexistence, he foresees only one possibility: either the cancer kills the body, or the body defeats the cancer by chemotherapy, namely, by active resistance to Israel.

A number of trends discerned in recent years continued in 2012:

- a decrease in the number of antisemitic articles in the mainstream press;
- the popularity of conspiracy theories, and first and foremost, *The Protocols of Elders of Zion*, in social networks and websites;
- an intensification of antisemitic preaching on Islamist TV channels;
- a rise in Iranian state antisemitism and Holocaust denial.

Despite the decline in 2012 in numbers of antisemitic articles, the Arab Spring has not improved the image of Zionism, Israel and the Jews. With the exception of a brave handful of liberals who condemn antisemitism and even fight it, it appears that populist antisemitic perceptions have taken root among the greater public in Arab states, expressed in spontaneous reactions in interviews and surveys. A sobering example was provided by an Egyptian version of *Candid Camera*, aired in July 2012 on al-Nahar TV channel, which turned violent when three Egyptian guest actors were led to believe that they were being interviewed by an Israeli channel. The three actors expressed hatred toward the Jews, demonized Israel and denied the Holocaust. Famous actor Ayman Kandil became so irate that he hit the program's hostess, whereas actress Mayar al-Bablawi was bluntly antisemitic. She invoked the Holocaust, claiming that all Israelis are liars, who “keep whining all the time about the Holocaust, or whatever it's called... and its lousy figures.” The Jews, she continued, “are killers of the prophets,” and cursed by God. The third actor, Mahmud ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, hit the producer whom he mistakenly took for a Jew, declaring “I hate the Jews to death.”

The blood libel was invoked by the writer Fikriya Ahmad on March 14, 2012, in the mainstream Egyptian daily *al-Wafd*. In her article titled “The Purim Holiday and the Use of Muslim Blood by Jews,” Ahmad allegedly revealed the story behind the celebration of Purim, depicting the Jews as treacherous and dishonest. She explained that the celebration of Purim throughout history has been dedicated to slaughtering non-Jews and using their blood for Purim delights. Today, according to her, this custom is directed against Palestinians, whose “blood is sacrificed on the altar.”

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion became the principal theme in writing about conspiracy theories and a central issue in Muslim propaganda against Israel and the Jews. Not only are various versions displayed at Arab and Iranian book fairs but they are incorporated

seamlessly into the public discourse, the press, TV programs, and Arab websites and blogs. A variety of Facebook pages and blog posts dedicated to a discussion of the Protocols urged every Muslim and Arab to read them, offering free downloads of publications in Arabic. At www.ysv.me, an alternative to YouTube, a full-length film of the Protocols can be downloaded. The number of such pages increased during Operation Pillar of Defense. At the book recommendations site GoodReads, the Protocols got an average rating of 3.5 out of 5. The website offers a list of nine old and new versions of the Protocols, either translated or written by Arab writers. Some of the books include an introduction, describing the so-called Jewish or Zionist plot to take over the world. Arab subscribers posted various comments, ranging from skepticism about their authenticity to complete acceptance and praise, since the reality allegedly proves their veracity. On the Iraqi site www.iraqiwi.com, a platform for the exchange of ideas among Iraqi writers, journalists, and intellectuals, the Protocols were discussed following the posting of an article in April by lawyer Yusuf `Ali Khan, who tried to prove the connection between them and the revolutions in the Arab world. The goal of the “Zionist entity,” he asserted was the destruction of the Arab *umma* by means of the Arab Spring uprisings and undermining Islam. The symbol of one of the applications advertising the Protocols (E3RaFlay) leaves no room for doubt about their alleged provenance: it consists of a Star of David inlaid with a swastika.

On March 23, the Egyptian al-Nas TV host Husam `Aql also presented the Protocols as an undisputable fact, contending that between 1897 and 1951, secret Zionist groups held nearly 23 meetings. Similarly, in an article published in the Jordanian Islamist daily *al-Sabil* on June 9, 2012, Jordanian columnist and lawyer Hani al-Dahla criticized Palestinians and Arabs for overlooking the Protocols, which allegedly introduced the Jewish plot to occupy Palestine and divide its people. The portrayal of the Jews as conniving against Christians and Arabs, based on the Protocols and the teachings of the Talmud, appeared in several articles by As `ad al- `Azuni and in his new book, *Jewish Hostility toward Christ and Christians*, published in March. Another article in *al-Sabil* invoking the Protocols was published on May 10. Its author Sabrina Sharida explained that the Jewish enemy understood the power of the media, as written in the Protocols, and was thus using the mass media to control the minds of the Arab world and spread lies and venomous ideologies.

Islamist movements continue to be the main propagators of antisemitism in Arab countries. The conflict between Muslims and Jews is not over borders, declared Egyptian cleric Muhammad Hasan, on the Egyptian Islamist channel al-Rahma (February 14), but is existential and religious. In another lecture delivered on the same channel on June 1, Hasan branded the Jews “repulsive and despicable creatures.” Allah disgraced them, he said, because they rejected part of their religion and hence he decreed they would be punished on the Day of Judgment. The Jews are the enemies of Islam and “the number one threat” to Muslims, asserted Kuwaiti head of al-Risala channel Tariq Suwaydan, on al-Quds channel (March 16). “Therefore resistance should continue until Palestine is liberated. In a similar vein, General Guide of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt Muhammad Badi` stressed in a sermon published on the movement’s website in October that the Jews’ “tyranny will lead to their extinction,” and that Allah would “free the world of their filth and corruption.” The Simon Wiesenthal Center and the Anti-Defamation League condemned this statement and called upon Egyptian President Muhammad Mursi and US President Obama to reject such “blatantly antisemitic” statements. Dismissing the accusations, Muslim Brotherhood spokesman Walid Shalabi denied all the quotations attributed to Badi`.

Mursi himself was entangled in a similar controversy, when in early 2013 MEMRI published two statements he made relating to Jews in 2010. On January 10, he urged his followers to “nurse our children and our grandchildren on hatred” for Jews and Zionists, and in an interview on September 23, he rejected any negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel, referring to Israelis as “bloodsuckers, war-mongers, and descendants of apes and pigs.” American and Israeli officials strongly condemned the statements. In response, Mursi stressed that they were taken out of context and that he had always insisted on freedom of faith and religion; he called on the need to differentiate between Jews, singling out those who practice “violent actions against Palestinians.”

The denunciation of the Egyptian president and his retraction aroused several responses in the global and Arab media. Some columnists attributed Mursi’s allusions to all Islamist regimes and praised growing awareness in Western countries of the Islamist antisemitic discourse in general and that of Egyptian government officials in particular. Somali Muslim activist Ayaan Hirsi Ali explained in the *New York Times* (January 17), that such antisemitic statements were neither shocking nor new, but rather reflected the widespread hatred of Jews in the Arab and Muslim world. In an article published in *al-Arabia* (English; January 21), `Abd al-

Latif al-Minawi insisted that Mursi meant what he said. Al-Minawi called on Mursi to either reveal his real stance on Zionism or admit his mistake. On the other hand, several Arab columnists refuted the accusations against Mursi, arguing that they were taken out of context and were part of a malicious anti-Arab campaign by Israel and Zionism aimed at undermining relations between Egypt and the US. An *al-Quds al-`Arabi* editorial (January 15) argued, that this “campaign” launched by the American Israel lobby sought to distort Mursi's image, and while one could accept the condemnation by the White House, a similar denunciation should be issued regarding the “racist” statements made by Jews and Israelis against Arabs and Muslims. Yasir al-Za'atra added, in the Jordanian daily *al-Dustur* (January 17), that the “incitement” against Mursi was directed at extorting support for Israel's deeds against the Palestinians.

Under the present Islamist government in Tunisia, too, there were antisemitic manifestations on TV. On November 30, Hanibal TV broadcast a Friday sermon by Islamist Shaykh Ahmad Suhayli, who incited to hatred and violence against Jews on the grounds that the Qur`an had revealed their true character as disseminators of corruption and treachery, as a result of which God has called for their destruction. In his visit to Tunisia on January 5, Hamas Prime Minister Isma`il Haniyya vowed to a cheering crowd – which welcomed him with antisemitic chants and calls to free Palestine and kill and crush the Jews – never to recognize Israel and to conquer Jerusalem. In response, Rashid al-Ghannushi, head of the moderate Islamic al-Nahda Party, condemned the chants, asserting that they do not reflect the true spirit of Islam. Following the event, Tunisian Jews appealed to the authorities to take steps to ensure that such acts would not be repeated. In addition, Italian MP Fiamma Nirenstein, head of the International Council of Jewish Parliamentarians, released a statement expressing concern at the rise of extremist voices in Tunisia.

Shaykh Bassam al-Qa`id, head of the Palestinian Islamic Scholars Association in Lebanon, said in an interview to Hamas' al-Aqsa TV (February 1) that “the Jew is a Satan in human form.” Accusing the Jews of violating international laws, values and all human norms, he added that he could almost say that the Satanic jinn (in the Qur`an and in Islamic theology) takes lessons from them.

Despite a decrease in the number of articles alluding to the Holocaust, major themes of traditional Arab Holocaust representation – denial of the Holocaust, equation of Jewish and Nazi racist ideology, instrumentation of the Holocaust, and Jewish-Nazi cooperation – continued to

prevail. The official website of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, ikhwanonline.com, regularly features Holocaust denial and vilification of the Jews, alongside demonization of the Jewish state, revealed Oren Kessler in the *Jerusalem Post* (January 22). According to Avi Issaskharov in *Haaretz* (January 27), although the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) feigns a more moderate, pragmatic approach toward Israel, its basic attitude to the Holocaust and the “Jewish character” has not changed.

The death of French Holocaust denier Roger Garaudy on June 15, at the age of 98 was reported by the Arab media in both a factual and favorable manner. Most commentators referred to his conversion to Islam and to his denial of the Holocaust, for which he was sentenced and fined. But whereas Qatar’s al-Jazeera channel was strictly informative, several newspaper articles expressed a warm sympathetic approach to Garaudy's work and activities, especially his stand against Israel and Zionism. ‘Adli Sadiq, in the Palestinian Authority daily *al-Hayat al-Jadida* (June 25), and the editorial of Lebanese daily *al-Nahar* (June 16), praised his moral virtues and his constant striving for justice. Sadiq emphasized his dedication to the Palestinian cause and to his revelations of Zionist deceit and the myth of the Holocaust; *al-Nahar* complained that upon his conversion to Islam he was shunned by society. Radwan al-Sayyid, in *al-Hayat* (June 16), added that denial of the Holocaust also made him an outcast. Columnist Fa’iz Abu Shamala, in Hamas' *Felesteen* (June 17), compared Garaudy to Egyptian President Mursi, for sharing the same worldview regarding the lies of the Jews about the “so-called Holocaust.”

Holocaust denial appeared in official condemnations of UNRWA's decision to include Holocaust studies in the curriculum of the schools it operates in the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, Jordan and the Gaza Strip. The denunciations released on October 17 by Hamas, the Popular Resistance Committee (PRC), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and several other organizations, followed rumors in Jordan of new intentions to introduce Holocaust education as part of conflict resolution studies in schools. UNRWA's decision was considered as “harming the Palestinian cause” and “equating the butcher and the victim,” and UNRWA was urged to take an interest in issues concerning the lives of Palestinian refugees, such as the Nakba, rather than teaching the “Zionist lie.”

In an interview, on February 9, Egyptian presidential candidate Tawfiq Okasha, who is also the owner of al-Faraeen TV station, compared the Jews’ “racist” ideology to that of Hitler.

Both the Germans and the Jews believe in the principle of the supreme race and its role in controlling the world. A secret battle raged between them, and if Hitler had not preceded them with the Holocaust, the Jews would have annihilated the Germans. Okasha also suggested that the Jews have been conspiring against the world since the end of World War II.

Jordanian columnist of Palestinian origin As`ad al-`Azuni argued in an article on “the Holocaust as a manipulation of the Western mind,” posted October 2 on the Iraqi liberal news-portal [al-Hiwar al-Mutamaddin](#), that the Holocaust was in fact a fabrication that the Jews used to terrorize Europeans. Accusing the Jews of cooperating with Hitler he explained that the Holocaust was a “Jewish game” based on nothing but lies and falsifications that are used for extortion purposes. Egyptian international arbitrator Tariq Hamid also accused the Jews of collaborating with Hitler during World War II, in a TV interview aired on Gulf Islamic al-Khalijiya TV (September 19). Moreover, he claimed that they had built the gas chambers themselves in order to use the annihilation of the Jews as a pretext to get their own country. He also doubted the numbers of Jewish victims during the Holocaust, accusing Israel of fabricating them and hence extorting Germany.

A small commotion in Egyptian papers in relation to the Holocaust was caused following the publication in *Der Spiegel* (November 26), of an interview by prominent Egyptian opposition leader, Nobel laureate Muhammad al-Barad`i. Criticizing the Islamists in the newly elected Egyptian parliament, he expressed his fears that they will plunge Egypt into a dictatorship by depriving women of rights, prohibiting music and denying the Holocaust. Al-Barad`i's comment caused an uproar among Islamists in Egypt, who ridiculed him for considering acknowledgment of the Holocaust a criterion for a democratic and humane society, and suggested a new slogan: “bread, freedom, Holocaust.” Several articles on the Muslim Brotherhood's official website mocked al-Barad`i, by quoting posts from Facebook and Twitter that deny the Holocaust and accuse him of being an “agent” of the Jews. Muhammad Isma`il Salama, in an article published in *al-Wafd* (November 29), questioned whether the Holocaust truly happened and doubted the number of Jewish victims. According to Salama, the Jews, “the richest people in the world,” had convinced the world of the truth of the Holocaust as a means to extort sympathy and money. Al-Barad`i, in response, declared that he had visited concentration camps and called upon the Arabs to differentiate between the Jews and their genocide, and Israel and its occupation of Palestine.

Worldwide protests erupted in September 2012 with the release of the anti-Israel film *Innocence of Muslims*, promoted as the work of an “Israeli Jew” and later found to be the product of several Christian anti-Muslim activists. The film, which portrayed the Prophet Muhammad as a child-molester, homosexual and philanderer, was produced by Nakoula Basseley Nakoula, a California-based Coptic Christian, who initially identified himself as “an Israeli filmmaker.” In an interview with the Associate Press, Nakoula, who spoke under a pseudonym, claimed the film “was financed with the help of more than 100 Jewish donors.” Although those claims turned out to be false, Nakoula’s lies of Jewish involvement in the film prompted new conspiracy theories in Arab and Iranian media, which were repeated by government and religious leaders in those countries.

Official indoctrination of antisemitism in **Iran** continued. With the tightening of sanctions leading to Iran’s isolation, this trend appeared even to be intensifying. The attacks on the Jews are characterized by religious and messianic features taken from Khomeini’s legacy, which considers Jews an inferior religious community compared to Muslims. The Jews are perceived as conspiring against Islam in the service of Western imperialism, with Israel being proof of this. On Jerusalem Day, August 16, President Ahmadinejad was quoted as yearning for a new Middle East without Zionism or America. The Zionist entity, he said, “is a cancer and an insult to humanity.” According to *Tehran Times* (January 2, 2013), in response to the comic book on the Prophet Muhammad published by the French periodical *Charlie Hebdo*, Iran’s House of Cartoons plans to hold another international contest on the theme of Holocaust denial, like the one held in 2006 following publication of the caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands Posten*.

A number of initiatives and denunciations of antisemitism should nevertheless be pointed out. Although they are insufficient to balance the picture, they should not be ignored in the discussion of the phenomenon of antisemitism in the Arab and Muslim world. Turkish Muslim scholar, ‘Adnan Oktar, for example, refuted the message expressed in a comics pamphlet in Arabic inciting to kill Jews. Based on the Judgment Day *hadith*, the comics depicted an Orthodox Jew hiding behind a stone and a tree, and called upon Muslims to come and kill him. Oktar, who has been trying in recent years to challenge the notion deriving from the Qur`an that the Jews are the enemies of Islam, said in a TV interview in January, that the pamphlet contradicts the spirit of Islam and that the Qur`an even allows Muslims to marry Jews. In an

article published in the Kuwaiti daily *al-Watan* (February 21), under the title “Where Are the Jewish Television Stations?” liberal Kuwaiti journalist Khalil ‘Ali Haidar challenged some of the extant antisemitic axioms in the Arab world, among them Jewish control of the media and the Protocols. Most people think that the Jews control the world media, he claimed, but there are no traces of Jewish fingerprints in Middle East media. He asks readers how many of those channels or media outlets serve Israel, praise the role of the Jews or show a pro-Zionism approach.

In February, at a book fair in Morocco, translations into Arabic of Primo Levi’s book *If This Is a Man* and Anne Frank’s Diary were displayed under the auspices of the Paris-based Project Aladdin, which is dedicated to disseminating information about the Holocaust in Arab and Muslim countries through the translation of Holocaust literature into Arabic and Persian. Project Aladdin also organized a conference in April at Bahcesehir University, Istanbul, on the immigration of Jewish scientists to Turkey during World War II, and their contribution to the modernization and reform of universities there. In June, despite the tensions between the two countries resulting from the 2010 flotilla affair, Turkish representatives arrived in Israel to participate in a conference at Yad VaShem on teaching the Holocaust.

On the 10th anniversary of the al-Qa`ida terrorist attack in Djerba, in April 2002, in which 21 Jews were killed, Tunisian president Munsif al-Marzuki declared the new regime’s commitment to protect the security and rights of the Jewish community. In addition, the Toulouse terror attack on March 19 was condemned by French Muslims, as well as by PA Prime Minister Salim Fayyad and Israeli Arab MK Ahmad Tibi. Columnist Jihad al-Khazin, usually a vocal detractor of Israel and Zionism in general, also condemned it, declaring that “if the way to Palestine is by murdering children, I certainly don’t want it.”

In May a Jew was stabbed to death in the Sana'a, Yemen, souq, and in November a Jewish woman was murdered in Isfahan, Iran. It is not fully established that the motive in both cases was antisemitic.

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 2012. The figures are based on the Moshe Kantor Database for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism, with the assistance of our colleagues and associates worldwide, and on 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, vandalism and desecration).