

## **Kantor Center Position Papers**

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### **DEBATES ON ISLAMIZED ANTISEMITISM IN AUSTRIA IN THE WAKE OF THE ISRAEL-GAZA CONFLICT 2014**

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#### **Executive Summary**

The Israel-Gaza conflict 2014 brought about a massive outburst of anti-Israeli protest and was followed by a rise of antisemitic incidents all over Europe. As many of the rallies were organized by Muslim organizations and/or attended by a considerable number of people identifying as Muslims, they sparked media discussions about the rise of an Islamized antisemitism and social tensions within Europe's multicultural migration societies. In Austria, the attack on an Israeli soccer team and escalating rallies in mid-July triggered such debates. However, a discourse-analytical look at the debates shows that rather than tackling the problem, the events were often either used for anti-Muslim arguments and a deflection of Austrian antisemitism, or downplayed as a supposedly "anti-racist" reaction to the anti-Muslim bias in media coverage. This paper seeks to illustrate such ambivalent entanglements of antisemitic and anti-Muslim resentment. It is argued that notwithstanding the extensive discussions about the necessity to fight "Muslim antisemitism", the *core* of new antisemitism, namely the "colonial framing" of the Israeli state, is a widely shared view not only by Muslim actors, but also by the far right, the far left and—albeit lacking the conspiracy theoretical component—even by Austrian mainstream society. As long as the criticism of Islamized antisemitism thus mainly serves to depict Muslims as "new antisemites" without seriously analyzing it and taking into account its intertwinement with antisemitic resentment within the majority society, it will not contribute to any change for the better.

## Introduction

On July 24 2014 a group of pro-Palestinian protesters attacked a test game between the Israeli soccer club “Maccabi Haifa” and the French team “OSC Lille” in the Austrian city of Bischofshofen as a reaction to the Israel-Gaza conflict. Towards the end of the game, about twenty persons stormed on the court and assaulted the Israeli team while waving Palestinian flags and shouting anti-Israeli slogans such as “*Free Falestin*” and “*Fuck Israel*”. The assailants were of Turkish background and their appearance clearly defined them as group of ethnicized “underdogs”—most of them wore hoodies of the German rapper Kurdo with crossed sabres on the back and lyrics of his song “*I remain Ghetto*” [*Ich bleib Ghetto*] on the front.<sup>1</sup> Kurdo has a Kurdish-Iraqi background and the song talks about life as an outlaw and implicitly addresses racist discrimination of (Muslim) immigrants and the ongoing exclusion of the second and third generation. Immediately after the attack, the rapper published a Facebook-statement cheering the assault, which got about 29.000 likes and 2000 positive comments within a few hours. After being criticized by the Vienna-based online music magazine “The Message” for feeding into the blurring of anti-Zionism and antisemitism, Kurdo removed the thread from his Facebook-page, but still showed support for the pro-Palestinian assailants on twitter.<sup>2</sup> Still, the content of the removed Facebook-postings was telling though: the majority of the comments firmed under the hashtag “*Free Palestine*” and regarded the attack as appropriate response to the events in the Middle East—not very surprisingly taking an anti-Israeli stance and strongly identifying with the Palestinian side. In addition, many postings referred to experiences of racist exclusion, in particular of anti-Muslim resentment.<sup>3</sup> However, these comments were partially reactions to the coverage in mainstream media and to right-wing user comments that indeed displayed an outburst of anti-Muslim hate speech, often culminating in calls for deportation.

The attack on the soccer team of “Maccabi Haifa” and the reactions in social media are paradigmatic for many anti-Israeli incidences and articulations in the wake of the Israel-Gaza conflict in summer 2014. Both point to the high level of identification of the Middle East conflict for immigrant communities, above all for the second and third generations who were

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<sup>1</sup><http://www.spiegel.de/fotostrecke/maccabi-haifa-spieler-in-bischofshofen-angegriffen-fotostrecke-117313.html> (14 November 2015).

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Shaked, Thomas Kiebl, ‘Mentales Ghetto – Nahostkonflikt in Bischofshofen’, The Message, 26 July 2014, <http://thefmessage.at/wenn-man-nichts-zu-sagen-hat-einfach-mal-die-fresse-halten/> (14 November 2015); [https://twitter.com/kurdo\\_11/status/494414799938547713](https://twitter.com/kurdo_11/status/494414799938547713) (14 November 2015).

<sup>3</sup> The term “resentment” with regard to antisemitism or anti-Muslim racism is adopted from the German-speaking discussion [*Ressentiment*], where it is used to denominate the social-psychological dimension of racism as strong aversion fuelled by the ascription of negative stereotypes to certain groups.

born and raised in Europe but still feel excluded. Furthermore, they reflect the (post-) colonial framing of the conflict as a war of “suppressed and colonized Palestinian underdogs” against powerful “Israeli oppressors”. But for what reason, one might ask, can the attack on a soccer game in the middle of the Alps not only be perceived as response to events on another continent, but *simultaneously* function as a symbolic revolt against racist exclusion in the Austrian and German migration societies? And to what extent did the anti-Muslim comments in social media posted by people identifying as part of Austrian majority society indeed reflect an anti-antisemitic stance? This paper seeks to provide some answers to these questions.

For this purpose, the interrelation of anti-Zionism and antisemitism is introductorily illustrated and linked to theoretical approaches explaining antisemitism.

### **The Middle East Conflict as post-colonial Signifier and Trigger for New Antisemitism**

The Israel-Gaza conflict 2014 brought about a massive outburst of anti-Israeli protest followed by a rise of antisemitic incidents all over Europe. According to the yearly report on antisemitism and racism published by the “Kantor Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry”, reported incidents in Austria doubled in the year 2014 from 137 cases to 255; direct physical violence, such as the attack on the Israeli soccer team, increased from 4 to 9 reported cases. This disturbing trend could be observed all over Europe: in particular, the number of physical assaults increased in an alarming manner—the Kantor Center’s report for the year 2014 registered 766 acts of physical antisemitic violence worldwide, an increase of 38% compared to 2013. Attacks on Jews or Jewish property with weapons even doubled in this period, arson attacks tripled and assaults on persons in public space rose by a percentage of 66%.<sup>4</sup> Most of the incidents were reported from Western Europe and North America, whereby the highest rate of violence was registered in France, followed by the United Kingdom—a trend that has been consistent throughout the last decade. But also in Germany and Austria the increase of incidents was more than twofold. Aside from the rise of physical violence, however, the numbers of verbal and visual harassment and hate speech are troubling: reported cases in France rose from 423 to 851 and it is noteworthy in this respect that it was predominantly the number of threats which increased. With regard to verbal and visual harassment, the United Kingdom shows the highest rate of incidents with a total of 1168 cases reported during the year 2014. The German statistics also arouse concern: in the

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<sup>4</sup> Kantor Center, *Antisemitism Worldwide 2014. General Analysis* (Tel Aviv, 2014), pp. 5f.

year 2014, a total of 1076 cases were reported compared to 788 in the year before; in Austria the numbers doubled from 137 reported cases to 255.<sup>5</sup>

Many of the anti-Israeli rallies in Western Europe during summer 2014 were organized by political actors belonging to various Muslim communities and many of them were accompanied by an alarming outburst of antisemitic hate speech and violence. In France numerous Jewish shops and businesses and eight synagogues were firebombed within the month of July. After an anti-Israel rally in Toulouse, the Jewish community center got attacked with Molotow Cocktails and the peak of violence was reached on 20 July in the wake of the biggest transnationally organized demonstrations, taking place in many European countries. In France a number of these demonstrations ended up in the looting and burning of Jewish shops. Less direct attacks and lootings were reported from Germany, but hate speech peaked with slogans like “*Hamas, Hamas, Jews in the gas*” or “*Death to the Jews*” being chanted at every bigger demonstration. In Hamburg, an elderly Jewish man was attacked by protesters and on 29 July three Molotov cocktails were thrown at the synagogue of the German city Wuppertal, located in the south Ruhr area. In Italy, numerous Jewish stores and businesses were defaced with swastikas and death threats during the first week of August. In England, antisemitic incidents exploded: in the month of July alone, more than hundred hate crimes against Jews and Jewish institutions or property were registered and chants in British rallies frequently included slogans such as “*Hitler was right*” or “*Oh Jew, you will die*”. Perhaps the most peculiar anti-Jewish alliance was reported from the Netherlands, where two rallies in support of the Islamic State (IS) and against Israel were organized and quickly turned into antisemitic manifestations. The common denominator of these antisemitic articulations all over Europe was the discursive merging of the events in the Middle East with a general sentiment of social injustice and racist exclusion in post-colonial European migration societies. This anti-colonial framing constitutes a core meeting point with “traditional” leftist anti-Zionism, where post-colonial criticism and anti-American or more generally anti-Western stances merge with anti-Israel protest. In both perspectives, the Israeli state, Zionism and—serving as a proxy—Jewish communities outside Israel represent a “catchy symbol” of colonialist evil.<sup>6</sup> Such a framing was most obvious in France and England as the two countries with the most extensive colonial past; but in Germany as well, antisemitic hate speech at several protests directly related to the conspiratorial belief of complicity between an oppressive and neo-colonialist “West” and Israel framed as “nation-state Jew”.

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<sup>5</sup> *Antisemitism Worldwide 2014*, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Kantor Center, *Antisemitism Worldwide 2009. General Analysis* (Tel Aviv, 2014), p. 3.

This mindset culminated most obviously in the slogan “*Jew, Jew coward pig, come forward and fight on your own*”, which was chanted during a pro-Palestinian rally in Berlin-Charlottenburg on July 17 and caused debate about the interdiction of hate speech at demonstrations.

The summer 2014 thus saw one of the sharpest increases of antisemitic violence within the last decade; it was only exceeded in the year 2009 when—in the wake of so called “Operation Cast Lead”—the level of violent incidents rose even by more than 40% compared to the previous year. In this case again the most significant increases were reported from the United States, Canada and Western Europe.<sup>7</sup> In the Kantor Center’s analysis, this geographical concentration can be explained by two influencing factors amongst others: on the one hand, by the Islamization<sup>8</sup> of antisemitic resentment, which is also reflected in the large migrant communities with Muslim and/or Arab background. The second explanation refers to strong anti-Zionist traditions mainly articulated by parts of the radical Left, but also merging with mainstream media and political discourse.<sup>9</sup>

Both waves of antisemitic violence indicate an ongoing process of radicalizing anti-Zionism, which has to be viewed against the backdrop of theoretical approaches explaining antisemitism. Predecessors of the blurring between political criticism and Israel-related antisemitism are to be found in Soviet anti-Zionism. In Western Europe it was articulated sharply following the Six-Day-War in 1967, but its new formation peaked for the first time in the wake of the Second Intifada. One key event with regard to the internationalization of anti-Israeli discourse was the “UN World Conference against Racism and Racial Discrimination” in South African Durban in 2001. Regarding political actors, Durban can be seen as starting point of the merging of leftist and Islamic anti-Zionism; with regard to anti-Israeli discourse, the event was marked by a fierce campaign to re-brand Zionism as one major dimension of contemporary (colonial and anti-Muslim) racism. Such claims point to one core element of “new” Israel-related antisemitism, namely to the fact that anti-Zionist discourse frames Israeli nationalism from an exclusively colonial perspective that differs fundamentally from the framings of other nationalisms: Zionism is constructed as a colonial-racist ideology, whereas any other nationalism, albeit criticized, is still seen as “historically grown” or is positively

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> I adopt the terminology “Islamization” of antisemitism from German Islamic scholar Michael Kiefer, who coined it in order to describe the adoption of European antisemitic stereotypes in various Muslim and Arab societies as well as the travelling of the resentment to European migration communities with a Muslim background. See Michael Kiefer, ‘Islamistischer oder islamisierter Antisemitismus?’, in W. Benz, J. Wetzel (ed.), *Antisemitismus und radikaler Islamismus*, pp. 71-85.

<sup>9</sup> *Antisemitism Worldwide 2009*, p. 4.

framed as “national liberation”, such as in the Palestinian case. Following David Hirsh’s approach, such bias is to be analyzed as “discursive antisemitism”: rather than being openly expressed, the resentment is a product of “shared beliefs and meanings”, or—in other words—of a shared framing of the Middle East Conflict as (post-)colonial battleground with the Israeli state being the artificially installed colonial oppressor.<sup>10</sup>

The anti-Zionist “*colonial framing*” with its focus on Israel as a *symbol* for racism and colonialism can be explained with recourse to Moishe Postone's theoretical work on the intrinsic relation of antisemitism and capitalism. In his analysis of such “structural antisemitism”, the resentment serves as ideological tool and pseudo-“explanation” for capitalist exploitation and inequalities.<sup>11</sup> The framing of the Israeli state as the last oppressive—and genocidal—settler colony of the 21<sup>st</sup> century that has to be defeated in order to overcome colonialism, functions in a similar way, only the false (pseudo-)criticism does not tackle capitalism as a whole, but rather its colonialist and imperialist dimension. In addition to this structurally antisemitic “colonial frame”, anti-Zionism can also converge with openly antisemitic tropes and narratives. Main elements of such blurring would be the evocation of a “Jewish blood libel” with regard to the Palestinians, the equation of Israeli politics with National Socialism or, most often, the recourse to conspiracy theoretical narratives regarding the power of the “international Zionist lobby”, a trope that corresponds to images regarding a malicious, threatening “international Jewry”.

Both dimensions of antisemitism—the structurally antisemitic colonial framing of the Middle East conflict and Israel as well as open antisemitic hate speech—could be observed at numerous anti-Israeli rallies in summer 2014. Besides, the fact that they were mainly attended by people identifying as Muslims sparked a considerable media discussion about the Islamization of the resentment and social tensions within Europe’s multicultural migration societies. In Austria the attack on the soccer team of “Maccabi Haifa” and the transnationally organized anti-Israel rally on 20 July triggered the biggest debates. With reference to these two events and their media coverage, current articulations of Islamized antisemitism and the ambivalent intersection of its criticism with anti-Muslim resentment are illustrated.

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<sup>10</sup> David Hirsh, “Hostility to Israel and Antisemitism”, No. 5/1, *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism*, 2013, p. 24.

<sup>11</sup> Moishe Postone, “Anti-Semitism and National Socialism. Notes on the German Reaction to ‘Holocaust’,” Num 19, *New German Critique*, 1980, 106ff.

## **Debating Islamized Antisemitism in the post-Nazi Austrian Migration Society**

Anti-Israel protest peaked in Austria during the month of July 2014, when several demonstrations and flashmobs were taking place throughout the country. Leading organizer of the biggest rally in Austria's capital Vienna on July 20 was the "Union of European-Turkish Democrats" (UETD), the European branch of the "Justice and Development Party" (AKP) of Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Two rallies, organized in Bregenz (Vorarlberg) and Innsbruck (Tyrol), were accompanied by violent incidences: in Bregenz a pro-Israeli counter protest was attacked with stones and in Innsbruck two elderly women carrying an Austrian and an Israeli flag were assaulted, their flags stolen and one of them was even struck on the head. Although these two rallies were officially organized by private persons with no political affiliation, there is considerable indication that the organizers were linked to UETD and even to the Turkish nationalist-Islamist movement Millî Görüş.<sup>12</sup> The by far biggest demonstration took place in Austria's capital Vienna, where approximately 11,000 people gathered. In this case UETD was the official organizer of the demonstration, but protesters came from differing national and ethnic backgrounds and were mainly unified by the fact that most of them identified as Muslims. Due to massive police presence and a lack of counter protest, no incidents occurred during the demonstration itself, but the web-based mobilization prior to the event revealed the troubling extent of Islamized antisemitism.

Mobilization for the demonstration in Vienna on 20 July was organized mainly via UETD's Facebook-page.<sup>13</sup> After the call went online, thousands of anti-Israeli comments, slogans and pictures were posted within a few days, a good number of them containing antisemitic statements and imagery. The bottom line of the comments was the structurally antisemitic criticism of a heavily biased media coverage that would negate the ongoing "genocide" against the Palestinians and back up the "Zionist colonial oppressors". Openly antisemitic imagery was displayed in several respects—for instance when the framing of Israel as "genocidal settler colony" led to equations with National Socialism, which happened either via direct comparisons or via the portrayal of Israeli soldiers as SS-men.<sup>14</sup> The most extreme case within the scope of NS-references was antisemitic hate speech positively referring to the Holocaust displayed in a picture of Adolf Hitler containing the statement "*I could have killed*

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<sup>12</sup> Nikolaus Hagen, 'The Gaza Demonstrations and the Islamization of Austrian Antisemitism', Paper presented at the International Scholars' Seminar "The New Anti-Semitism in European Discourse", Haifa University, 5-7 May 2015.

<sup>13</sup> See <[https://www.facebook.com/uetd.austria/?ref=br\\_rs](https://www.facebook.com/uetd.austria/?ref=br_rs)>, (18 November 2015).

<sup>14</sup> See figure 1 in the appendix.

*all the Jews, but I left some alive in order to show you why I killed them*".<sup>15</sup> Another antisemitic dimension regarded ancient anti-Judaist imagery of "blood libel", which was evoked when Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was portrayed as vampire sucking the blood of Palestinian children.<sup>16</sup> Most of the imagery, however, referred implicitly or explicitly to the topos of a Jewish world dominance or world conspiracy, by suggesting an infinite expansion of the Israeli state, by the use of the trope of the "Illuminati" transferred into "US-Israeli *Killuminati*", or by suggesting that the Israeli government would be the "puppet master" behind US foreign policy while silencing the international community in view of the "Palestinian genocide".<sup>17</sup> Especially in combination with the latter imagery, a homogenous Muslim community (*Ummah*) was evoked, which would resist the Israeli and Western oppressive and colonialist forces.<sup>18</sup> Albeit contested by other commentators and soon deleted from UETD's Facebook-page, antisemitic contents thus formed an integral part of the mobilization.

Media reports focused on this new wave of antisemitism throughout the whole spectrum of formats, ranging from quality media to the rainbow press. Liberal and conservative quality newspapers discussed it in a quite balanced way, either in focusing a political critique of Islamist right-wing actors such as UETD and its relation to Hamas, or in pointing out the interrelation of Islamized antisemitism and the persistence of the resentment within European majority societies.<sup>19</sup> The coverage and comments in boulevard and right-wing media, however, revealed the intertwinement of a (pseudo-)critique of Islamized antisemitism with anti-Muslim resentment. Instead of discussing the extent and functionality of the resentment, Muslim immigrants, and especially "the Turks" as the biggest ethnic group with Muslim background, were framed as violent threat to Austrian society. Besides, criticism of Islamized antisemitism clearly served to deflect antisemitism within Austrian majority society: blanking out the country's antisemitic past and present, Austrian mainstream society was presented as

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<sup>15</sup> See figure 2 in the appendix.

<sup>16</sup> See figure 3 in the appendix.

<sup>17</sup> See figure 4 in the appendix.

<sup>18</sup> See figure 5 in the appendix.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. Gerfried Sperl, 'Der Nahe Osten und die Einäugigkeit', *derStandard*, 20 July 2014 <<http://derstandard.at/2000003311415/Der-Nahe-Osten-und-die-Einaeugigkeit>> (16 November 2015); Vladimir Vertlieb, 'Der Tritt' *die presse*, 19 August 2014, <<http://diepresse.com/home/spectrum/zeichenderzeit/3856908/Der-Tritt?from=suche.intern.portal>> (16 November 2015).



having come to terms with its Nazi-past while now confronting in dismay the rise of a “new (Muslim) Nazism”, which would have to be defeated.<sup>20</sup>

Consequently, what differentiates the context of Islamized antisemitic articulations from anti-Jewish stereotypes within Austrian mainstream society is their intersection with debates about failed integration and racist exclusion. A discourse-analytical look at media coverage and related web-based discussions indeed reveals that what was actually at stake was not so much the antisemitism itself, but the demarcation of Austrian majority society framed as non-antisemitic in comparison to “the problematic Turks/Muslims”. This was reflected most clearly in Facebook-discussions at the UETD webpage, where many “Austrians” criticized the mobilization. Excerpt I in the appendix illustrates that one main focus of criticism was basically the fact that “Muslim immigrants” would organize violent protests on “Austrian soil”, which would cost “Austrian money”. Such behavior would ultimately prove that Muslims, after “flooding Europe in masses” due to “patriarchal suppression and constant warmongering in their home countries”, over time would reveal their non-assimilable “real nature” within their “host societies” as well, and would “ultimately turn aggressive”.<sup>21</sup> To what extent the Gaza-discussions are related to debates about (failed) integration, is shown in excerpt II, where “Muslim” reactions to such statements are illustrated. The bottom line of the arguments was that for the majority society immigrants would be “good enough to work” while their “culture and language” would not be respected at all—even Turkish or Arab names would not be pronounced correctly. “The Turks” especially would be marked as constant “trouble-makers”. Reactions to the discussion of “Muslim antisemitism” in Austrian media and mainstream society were related to these general feelings of exclusion, which were ultimately perceived as part of anti-Muslim resentment. The dominant framing of the debates about Islamized antisemitism was that “Muslims” would be “denounced for being antisemitic” while “actually protesting for human rights”—and in this way the critique was perceived as one major tool of exclusion. As a consequence, Austrian minister of Integration, Sebastian Kurz,<sup>22</sup> was invited to join the protest on 20 July instead of demonizing it.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> E.g. Redaktion heute, ‘Kampf gegen Hass ist von staatlichem Interesse!’, heute, 5 August 2014, <<http://www.heute.at/news/politik/art23660,1051451>> (16 November 2015); Redaktion heute, ‘20 Anzeigen und Hetzer auf Facebook im Visier’, heute 25 July 2014, <<http://www.heute.at/sport/fussball/international/mix/art57347,1046886>> (16 November 2015); Redaktion Krone, ‘Gaza- Protest: Randalie bei Maccabi- Test in Salzburg’, 24 July 2014, <[http://www.krone.at/Fussball/Gaza-Protest\\_Randalie\\_bei\\_Maccabi-Test\\_in\\_Salzburg-Platz\\_gestuermt-Story-413002](http://www.krone.at/Fussball/Gaza-Protest_Randalie_bei_Maccabi-Test_in_Salzburg-Platz_gestuermt-Story-413002)> (18 November 2015).

<sup>21</sup> See Excerpt I: “Violent and non-integrable Muslims protest” in the appendix.

<sup>22</sup> Sebastian Kurz is Austria's Minister for Foreign Affairs and Integration since December 2013; after showing support for the Israeli military operation in July 2014 on Facebook, so many antisemitic comments were posted that Kurz initiated a public prosecution.

In summary, the debates show clearly that both sides, the majority as well as the minority, turned the political position towards the Middle East conflict into an indicator of integration. In this way, the conflict ultimately served as a *proxy* to talk about problems within the Austrian migration society. This identity-political appropriation of a conflict far from the actual Austrian reality was also reflected in the use of profile-pictures on Facebook, where the “Austrian” side identified via Austrian flags and the “Muslim” side via a visual depiction of “Silenced Gaza” that went viral in early July.<sup>24</sup>

Regarding Islamized antisemitism, this perception of being depicted as the “new anti-Semites” as one dimension of feeling excluded by Austrian majority society, is the crux of the matter as it relates to antisemitic interpretations of ethnicized inequality and injustice in the Austrian migration society. Excerpt III in the appendix illustrates this clearly: when concerns about the public perception of the rally on 20 July were expressed, they immediately triggered complaints about biased media coverage that would portray the just protest as antisemitic and label all Muslim protesters as “Islamists, Salafists and Hatemongers”. “The media” thus would “manipulate” public opinion in order to “hide the truth” and back up the oppressors. Therefore, it would also be no wonder that only the “Muslim side” would be demonized as “radical Islamists attacking Israel” while nobody would point to the “radical Jewish Israeli Army”. Both were seen to be connected to the fact that Israel would have enough “money and power” and would therefore “always be protected and excused”—and the ultimate explanation for this bias would be that “all media depend on Zionism”.<sup>25</sup>

In conclusion, one can say that the quite real anti-Muslim bias in Austrian media coverage, as well as the stereotyping of Muslims in web-discussions, were interpreted in an antisemitic way as an outcome of “Zionist influence” that would “hide the truth” and “manipulate” media and public discourse. Such perceptions, however, also must be viewed in context of the *use* of anti-Muslim discourse for the deflection of “autochthonous” antisemitism. To what extent the narrative of having overcome the antisemitic past served as a demarcation line against “the Turks/Muslims” became most obvious in media debates and comments following the attack on the soccer team of “Maccabi Haifa” in Bischofshofen, where the—justly problematized—antisemitic attack sparked numerous comments in social media demanding the arrest or deportation of the “Turkish Nazis”. Such claims were expressed most openly in the web forum of the right-wing newspaper “*Kronen Zeitung*”, where users wanted to see the

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<sup>23</sup> See Excerpt II: “Gaza, Antisemitism and Integration” in the appendix.

<sup>24</sup> For both images see Excerpt I in the appendix.

<sup>25</sup> See Excerpt III: “Anti-Muslim Media Coverage caused by ‘Zionist Media’?”

assailants being “convicted for re-engagement in National Socialist activities” and consequently getting “ripped of the Austrian citizenship”. The most explicit examples for such hypocritical use of the criticism of antisemitism for anti-Muslim arguments, clearly referred to historical anti-Nazi slogans: one such comment warned to “resist the beginnings”, because it would “rumble again in Austria and—like in the 1930ies—politicians would again back down in face of the rise of a new Nazism, albeit today under the guise of tolerance.”<sup>26</sup> A short consideration of the fact that the very same newspaper has been one major source and medium for the diffusion of antisemitism *ever since* its foundation, reveals the hypocritical double standard of such claims and hints at their problematic use for deflection.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, secondary antisemitic framing of the escalation in summer 2014 formed part of the newspapers’ coverage when *Krone*-columnist Kurt Seinitz complained that “Jewish colonial settlers” in the West Bank would be “poisonous offspring of vipers” and the escalation of violence would remind of the “Allies’ bomb war against Germany”.<sup>28</sup>

Despite such double standards, however, populist right-wing positions and media discourse have changed during the last decade and reflect anti-Muslim discourse by increasingly framing the Israeli state as being at the forefront of a historic clash of civilizations between an “enlightened Occident” built on “Christian-Jewish” heritage and the “Islamic world”. In the concluding section of this paper, the problematic relation of Islamized antisemitism and its use by right-wing actors is discussed in light of ambivalent liberal and leftist reactions to this quite new area of conflict.

### **Right-Wing “Israel-Solidarity” and Liberal Belittlement of Islamized Antisemitism?**

At the height of the escalation of the Israel-Gaza conflict in summer 2014 a solidarity-delegation of the “Austrian Freedom Party”<sup>29</sup> (FPÖ) travelled to Israel and visited the cities of

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<sup>26</sup> Redaktion Krone, ‘Gaza- Protest: Randalie bei Maccabi- Test in Salzburg’, 24 July 2014, <[http://www.krone.at/Fussball/Gaza-Protest\\_Randalie\\_bei\\_Maccabi-Test\\_in\\_Salzburg-Platz\\_gestuermt-Story-413002](http://www.krone.at/Fussball/Gaza-Protest_Randalie_bei_Maccabi-Test_in_Salzburg-Platz_gestuermt-Story-413002)> (18 November 2015).

<sup>27</sup> For the analyses of antisemitism in Austria after 1945 with special focus on the role of “*Kronen Zeitung*” see chronologically: Bernd Marin & John Bunzl, *Antisemitismus in Österreich. Sozialhistorische und soziologische Studien*, (Inn-Verlag, 1983), pp. 69-169; Ruth Wodak et al. *Wir sind alle unschuldige Täter. Diskurshistorische Studien zum Nachkriegsantisemitismus*, (Suhrkamp, 1990), pp. 121ff; Maximilian Gottschlich, *Die große Abneigung. Wie antisemitisch ist Österreich? Kritische Befunde zu einer sozialen Krankheit*, (Czernin, 2012), p. 10.

<sup>28</sup> <<http://www.mena-watch.com/showentry/1196-Wochenbericht-21-7-bis-27-7-2014#WB-28Jul14-4>> (16 November 2015).

<sup>29</sup> The “Austrian Freedom Party” is the most right-wing party in Austrian political landscape. It is the direct successor of the “Verband der Unabhängigen” (VdU), which was founded in 1949 as a reservoir for former

Ashkelon, Sderot and Ashdod to speak with political representatives and the civilian population about Hamas' attacks. After returning, the members urged other Austrian parties to support "Israel's' right to self-defense facing Islamist terror".<sup>30</sup> Such right-wing "Israel-solidarity" is not a completely new phenomenon: throughout the last decade, the political discourse of Europe's right-wing populists shifted with regard to the Israeli state, increasingly framing it as "bulwark" against Islamist terrorism and the Islamization of Europe. As early as 2010 Freedom Party-leader Heinz-Christian Strache and the chairman of the Belgian "Vlaams Belang" party Filip Dewinter accepted an invitation of the former head of "Yisrael Beiteinu", Eliezer Cohen, to attend a meeting about Islamist threats to Israel and Europe.<sup>31</sup>

As illustrated above, such peculiar alliances between parts of the European and Israeli right certainly do not put an end to right-wing antisemitism. It is thus not very surprising that Strache's 2010 visit in Israel brought about a considerable scandal as he entered the memorial site "Yad Vashem" wearing a cap of the extreme-right German Nationalist fraternity "Vandalia", of which he has been a member since his youth. Although a (pseudo-) "critique" of antisemitic articulations coming from Muslim communities or from the European left can indeed be observed in recent years, antisemitism is still an integral part of right-wing political discourse and practice. Current research on the intertwinement of antisemitic and anti-Muslim hate speech for instance reveals that although the official main target is to fight the "Islamization of Europe", significant parts of the extreme right believe in a Jewish conspiracy secretly promoting the "Islamic infiltration" of the European Union.<sup>32</sup> Equally telling is a statement by Andreas Mlzer, long-time member of the Austrian Freedom Party, with regard to the party's pro-Israel stances: for Mlzer, the Israel tour of chairman Strache was nothing more than a "submission" to the "Jewish-Israeli" influence worldwide.<sup>33</sup> The most recent statement of a Freedom Party's member, which revealed the unabated continuity of crude antisemitic conspiracy theoretical beliefs, came from parliament member Susanne Winter, who was convicted of anti-Muslim incitement a few years ago. Winter recently cheered a comment on her Facebook-page, which lamented that "Zionist money-Jews", especially "the ones located in the United States" would be "the main problem worldwide" as they would

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NSDAP-members. Since the late 1990ies the Freedom Party has changed its political image from extreme right to right-wing populist, but it is still deeply connected with the Austrian neo-nazistic political spectrum.

<sup>30</sup> <[http://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS\\_20140802\\_OTS0014/lasar-freiheitlicher-solidaritaetsbesuch-in-israel](http://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20140802_OTS0014/lasar-freiheitlicher-solidaritaetsbesuch-in-israel)> (20 November 2015).

<sup>31</sup> Adar Primor, 'The Unholy Alliance Between Israel's Right and Europe's anti-Semites', Haaretz 12 December 2010, <<http://www.haaretz.com/the-unholy-alliance-between-israel-s-right-and-europe-s-anti-semite-1.330132>> (20 November 2015).

<sup>32</sup> Carina Klammer, *Imaginationen des Untergangs. Zur Konstruktion antimuslimischer Fremdbilder im Rahmen der Identittspolitik der FP* (LIT Verlag, 2013), p. 83f.

<sup>33</sup> Heribert Schiedel, *Extreme Rechte in Europa* (Steinbauer, 2011), p. 69.

make “use of the Holocaust in order to eliminate Europe’s and Germany’s potential challenge to the US hegemony”. In complete agreement with this statement, Winter praised the commentator as “brave and independent person” who would express what she, in her position as member of the Austrian Parliament, would not be allowed to bring up.<sup>34</sup> Needless to say that the fact that Winter has been forced to resign, again sparked discussion about the “power of the Jewish/Zionist lobby” in various (not only rightist) media forums. These selected statements illustrate that the conspiracy theoretical belief in being “controlled” or “colonized” by “Jewish/Zionist forces” actually constitutes one major point of contact between Islamized and “autochthonous” right-wing antisemitism.

The trope of a powerful “Zionist lobby”, however, is also deeply ingrained in Austrian mainstream society, as recent empirical studies point out the unswerving belief in a malicious “Jewish influence” on politics and international economics.<sup>35</sup> Yet there are two major differences between Islamized and “autochthonous” antisemitism: as the Facebook-mobilization shows, in Muslim communities the resentment is currently articulated in a disturbingly blunt way, when compared to “Austrian” antisemitic articulations. This fact can partly be explained by the social pressure within post-Nazi majority society to avoid openly antisemitic hate speech, while contemporaneously acting out the resentment in a more hidden way—a (quite Austrian) phenomenon which has been described as “antisemitism without anti-Semites”.<sup>36</sup> The second difference is the role of anti-Zionism, which serves as most important common frame for people identifying as Muslims. As shown above, this is to be related to the fact that racist discrimination and exclusion are interpreted in a structurally antisemitic way.<sup>37</sup> However, it should also be seen in the context of the hegemonic anti-Muslim discourse, in which right-wing populism and even parts of the extreme right gradually abandon anti-Zionist stances and rather frame the Israeli state as a bulwark against Muslim threats “outside” Europe and as a good example with regard to the handling of the internal threat of Europe’s “ongoing Islamization”. That such discursive changes, however, are mainly

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<sup>34</sup> <[http://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS\\_20151031\\_OTS0032/schreuder-fordert-sofortigen-ruecktritt-der-fpoe-nationalratsabgeordneten](http://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20151031_OTS0032/schreuder-fordert-sofortigen-ruecktritt-der-fpoe-nationalratsabgeordneten); <http://derstandard.at/2000024868713/FPOe-prueft-antisemitisches-Winter-Posting>>.

<sup>35</sup> Maximilian Gottschlich & Oliver Gruber, *Waldheims Erbe. Antisemitische Einstellungen der österreichischen Bevölkerung Ergebnisse einer Repräsentativbefragung 2010/2011* (University of Vienna 2011), p. 6f.

<sup>36</sup> Bernd Marin, *Antisemitismus ohne Antisemiten. Autoritäre Vorurteile und Feindbilder* (Campus, 2000).

<sup>37</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of the identificatory potential of anti-Zionism and its intertwinement with debates on the dominance of the Holocaust in “Western” remembrance culture see: Helga Embacher, ‘Muslimischer Antisemitismus in Europa’, *Jüdisches Echo*, 23 January 2015 <<http://juedischesecho.at/muslimischer-antisemitismus/>> (20 November 2015).

a surface phenomenon and absolutely do not mean that “autochthonous” antisemitism has come to an end, is discussed in the concluding paragraph.

## **Concluding Remarks**

What to do from a liberal or leftist perspective, one might ask, when the right discovers “Israel-solidarity”? The answer would be to take Islamized antisemitism seriously while simultaneously disentangling its criticism from anti-Muslim resentment. Unfortunately though, this happens quite rarely as the right-wing focus on it rather leads to a peculiar *non-handling* of antisemitism. Such ambivalent silencing could already be observed already at the turn of the century, when in the wake of the Second Intifada the Islamization of antisemitic resentment first became visible in Europe. Back then, the “European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia” (EUMC) did not publish a study conducted by the Berlin-based “Center for the Study of Antisemitism” in which the authors pointed to this fact. Following harsh criticism, the EUMC vindicated the decision and explained that the main reason for holding back the study would have been its anti-Muslim bias resulting from a lack of reliable data and the insufficient definition of (anti-Zionist) antisemitism.<sup>38</sup> This argument points to the crux of the matter regarding new, Israel-related antisemitism, as the reluctance to differentiate between the factual conflict and its projective dimension has to be explained partly by the “colonial framing” of the Israeli state, which is quite hegemonic not only within Muslim communities, but also within European majority societies. This framing underlies ongoing scholarly debates within the research of antisemitism, where it is still questioned whether anti-Zionism could indeed be articulated as a new form of antisemitism or if it would mainly be a “justified criticism of Israeli policies”, which somehow got out of hand.<sup>39</sup> Similar dynamics could be observed following the antisemitic outbursts in summer 2014, when leading member of the “Austrian Green Party”, Peter Pilz, called for a boycott of Israel while completely ignoring the fact that the conflict also served as a projection screen for people identifying as Muslims. Likewise, elements of the liberal and leftist media tended to downplay the phenomenon of Islamized antisemitism in either not addressing it at all or in

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<sup>38</sup> Redaktion Standard ‘Bericht blieb geheim’, 25 November 2003, <<http://derstandard.at/1491946/Bericht-blieb-geheim>> (20 November 2015).; Redaktion Standard, ‘EUMC wehrt sich gegen Vorwürfe’, 28 November 2003, <<http://derstandard.at/1495240/EUMC-wehrt-sich-gegen-Vorwuerfe>> (20 November 2015).

<sup>39</sup> Dina Porat, “The International Working Definition of Antisemitism and its Detractors”, V:3, *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, 2001, pp. 1-11.

framing the resentment solely as a (somehow understandable) reaction to racist exclusion.<sup>40</sup> Positions referring to post-colonial criticism even regarded the numerous anti-Israeli rallies, including the yearly Al-Quds demonstration, as “de-colonial articulations”, in which the “traumatic historical experience of colonialist displacement” would merge with current experiences of racism.<sup>41</sup> The last comment especially illustrates the liberal and leftist failure to tackle new antisemitism: first, because the anti-racist desire not to feed into anti-Muslim discourse ultimately feeds into the structurally antisemitic colonial framing of Israel, rather than providing an analytical explanation for Islamized antisemitism and its interrelation with antisemitic traditions of the majority society. Related to that, but even more disturbing, is the unquestioned adoption of antisemitic pseudo-anti-colonialist narratives such as Ayatollah Khomeini’s invention of a special day dedicated to “liberate” Jerusalem (*Al Quds*) from the “Zionist invaders”. Finally, the statement reveals a good deal of Euro-centric paternalism and lack of political knowledge, as the Al-Quds day is an invention of the Iranian religious regime rather than being connected to any factual colonial history and also not unanimously embraced in the Muslim world.<sup>42</sup>

Such views are exemplary for many liberal and leftist voices and they illustrate that the framing of Israel as a colonial entity and the unquestioned interlinking of events in the Middle East with racist exclusion in Europe is not only restricted to political actors identifying as Muslims or to extreme ideologies on the right or on the left, but also part of mainstream discourse. Moreover, the liberal belittlement of Islamized antisemitism is a sort of paternalistic, misunderstood “anti-racism” that does not take serious extreme political articulations coming from Muslim communities. Acknowledging the fact that European migration societies are shaped by racist post-colonial cleavages, however, should not prevent an analysis and critique of the resentment also in discriminated communities. Postone illustrated that injustice and exploitation in capitalism have been interpreted in a structurally antisemitic way ever since, as modern antisemitism turned Jewish communities into scapegoats (or proxies) for the unjust system. It would thus be at least paternalistic to behave

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<sup>40</sup> E.g. Stefan Brändle, ‘Krawalle bei Demo gegen Gaza-Offensive in Paris’, *derStandard*, 20 July 2014, <<http://derstandard.at/2000003302687/Krawalle-bei-Demo-gegen-Gaza-Offensive-in-Paris>> (16 November 2015); Gianluca Wallisch, ‘Österreich: Hass-Mails an Muslime’, *derStandard*, 23 July 2014 <<http://derstandard.at/2000003458823/Oesterreich-Hass-Mails-an-Muslime>> (16 November 2015); Sybille Biermann, ‘Vom Straßenlärm übertönt’, *TAZ*, 13 September 2014, <<http://www.taz.de/!5033548/>>.

<sup>41</sup> E.g. Vassilis Tsianos, ‘Nicht mehr nur die `Anderen`’, *Tageszeitung - TAZ*, 19 August 2014, <<http://www.taz.de/!5035250/>> (16 November 2015).

<sup>42</sup> Udo Wolter, ‘Beispiel Al-Quds-Tag: Islamistische Netzwerke und Ideologien unter Migrantinnen und Migranten in Deutschland und Möglichkeiten zivilgesellschaftlicher Intervention’, November 2004, <<http://www.ufuq.de/pdf/WolterQuds.pdf>> (20 November 2015).

as though people identifying as Muslims were an exception to the rule in this respect. Regrettably though, current discussions often stop at the level of competitions of victimization—so instead of discussing who would be the “new anti-Semites”, or who “would have learned from the past”, adequate analyses and pedagogic responses to current antisemitic articulations are needed. Or, as Günther Jikeli points out in his pioneering qualitative study on Islamized antisemitism: the fact that the antisemitic resentment is often interconnected with quite real feelings of racist exclusion and deprivation does not render it less virulent.<sup>43</sup>

What is thus needed is a comprehensive perspective that brings together a historical look at the resentment’s evolution and its current transformations. Approaches tackling the history of Islamized antisemitism illustrate how it “travelled” from Europe to the Middle East during the 1930ies and soon became entangled with an anti-Zionist colonial framing of social and political tensions in the wake of the emerging Middle East Conflict.<sup>44</sup> Theoretical analyses point out how it currently re-articulates in Europe’s migration societies via a post-colonial framing of failed integration of Muslim communities, unifying not only Muslim (and Islamist) but also leftist, or even Christian and other conservative standpoints in an abridged pseudo-criticism of post-colonial inequalities.<sup>45</sup> Alarming in this respect is the violent dimension of the resentment, which was clearly revealed during the rallies last summer. As this paper is written in the wake of the Paris attacks on November 13 2015, it should thus not be concluded without pointing to the deadly potential of the structurally antisemitic colonial framing of the Israeli state: The attack on the Parisian music venue “Bataclan”, where the biggest number of people lost their lives, was by no means a coincidence, as the venue has been publicly taking pro-Israeli stances. Prior to the attacks it had been targeted by BDS-activists and had even received threats of getting firebombed in the year 2011. Such events point to the importance of acknowledging the intersection of structurally antisemitic (pseudo-)anti-colonialism acted out on Israel and current extremist ideologies in order to tackle it. Taking the interrelation of anti-Zionism and antisemitism as well as the eliminatory potential of the resentment serious, however, does not mean to ignore post-colonial realities. On the contrary—it calls for the need to relate differing societal cleavages and resentments to each other rather than sticking to competitions of victimization.

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<sup>43</sup> Günther Jikeli, *Antisemitismus und Diskriminierungswahrnehmungen junger Muslime in Europa* (Klartext, 2012).

<sup>44</sup> Michael Kiefer, *Antisemitismus in islamischen Gesellschaften: Der Palästina-Konflikt und der Transfer eines Feindbildes* (Verein zur Förderung Gleichberechtigter Kommunikation, 2002; Matthias Küntzel, *Jihad und Judentum*, (Ça Ira, 2003).

<sup>45</sup> Robert Wistrich: *Der alte Antisemitismus in neuem Gewand*, in: Dorin Rabinovici, Ulrich Speck & Natan Sznaider (Ed.): *Neuer Antisemitismus? Eine globale Debatte*, (Suhrkamp, 2004), pp. 250-271.



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## Appendix



Figure 1: Comparisons between National Socialism and Israeli policies



Figure 2: Hate speech positively referring to the Holocaust



Figure 3: Imagery referring to Christian anti-Judaist tropes such as “blood libel”



Figure 4: Imagery referring to World Conspiracy Theory



Figure 5: Imagery referring to a “Western-colonialist” attack of the whole Muslim community (*Ummah*) during the Gaza-War 2014

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Source: [https://www.Facebook.com/ueta.austria/?ref=br\\_rs](https://www.Facebook.com/ueta.austria/?ref=br_rs) (16 July 2014).

## Excerpt I – “Violent and non-integrable Muslims protest”

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[Bahar #freegazze](#) !!!12. Juli 15:18



[Susanne Müller](#): I know about the dramatic situation in Palestine and many other Muslim countries, but it's impossible to change this situation by demonstrating in Austria, you will only cause damage which will cost a fortune.

Therefore your popularity scale will sink further, because the Austrians are fed up with the problems caused by our immigrants. Sure, there are some who are civilized and have a steady job, but 70% registered at the unemployment office have a migration background and out of 20 rapists 15 have a migration background.

We are sick of that too!!!!!!

*[ Ich weiß um die Dramatik von Palästina und viele anderen muslimische Länder bescheid, dennoch kann man mit einer Demonstration in Österreich nicht viel bewegen, außer, dass wieder enorme Schäden angerichtet werden und es viel Geld kostet.*

*Ferner wird eure Beliebtheitsskala sinken, denn auch die Österreicher haben genug von den Problemen und den Problemmachern unserer Einwanderer. Natürlich gibt es welche die anständig sind und einer geregelten Arbeit nachgehen, aber 70 Prozent die beim AMS gemeldet sind haben Migrationshintergrund und von 20 Vergewaltigern haben 15 einen Migrationshintergrund usw. Auch wir haben die Schnauze voll!!!!!!].*



[Bahar @Susanne Müller](#) I would be interested where you got these numbers from ???? Homepage of the Freedom Party<sup>46</sup> ???? I find your logic that we should not speak up due to our migration background and that we should not cause financial damage VERY DISCRIMINATING and a false insinuation from your side!!

*[Mich würd interessieren woher du deine Zahlen hast ???? FPÖ Homepage ???? Deine Logik das wir schweigen sollen weil wir einen Migrationshintergrund haben oder auch keine finanziellen Schäden verursachen sollen finde ich SEHR DISKRIMINIEREND und eine Unterstellung deinerseits!!]*



[Susanne Müller: Bahar](#), for you every discussion is a „provocation“! How can one teach you rational thinking? In all your countries either male-patriarchy is ruling that renders life unbearable for women, or there is a war and the worst is that as a consequence of that you are floating us in multitudes expecting us to help you. We do that, but after some years you turn militant even in your guest country.

*[Bahar, eine Diskussion ist bei euch immer gleich "provizieren"! Wie kann man euch Vernunft beibringen? In all euren Ländern herrscht entweder für die Frauen ein unlebbares Männerpatriarch oder es herrscht Krieg und zum großen Übel kommt ihr dann in Scharren zu uns, dass wir euch helfen sollen. Tun wir, aber nach einigen Jahren werdet ihr auch im Gastland kriegerisch.]*



[Ceylan](#): Sorry [Susanne Müller](#), but your comments don't make sense. You just can't stop being racist, right? If you are able to read look it up: everybody is invited to the demonstration, no matter if it is Turks, Austrians, Jews, lesbians or gays, everybody who opposes murder is invited. You don't like the fact that it's Muslims who organize the protest, right? Or that it is Muslims who are at the center of attention, because we are demonstrating for them!? No matter where or when, we stick

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<sup>46</sup> The Austrian Freedom Party is the most right-wing party in Austrian political landscape. She is the direct successor of the “Verband der Unabhängigen” (VdU), which was founded in 1949 as a reservoir for former NSDAP-members. Since the 1990ies the Freedom Party changed its political image from Extreme Right to right-populist, but it is still deeply connected with the Austrian Neo-Nazistic political spectrum.

together, that's what you are not able to do. Regarding your popularity scale: that's ridiculous and we don't care about it! No matter what we do you won't like it! As [Bahar](#) already wrote: if all immigrants would leave the country, oh dear ... I really would like to see that! So please stop your racism at least for a second when it is about human lives!

*[Entschuldige [Susanne Müller](#) aber was machen deine kommentare hier für einen sinn? Aber nein ihr könnt es einfach nicht lassen rassistisch zu sein oder? Wenn du lesen kannst werden hier alle eingeladen zur demo egal ob türke, österreichischer, jude, lesben oder schwule jeder der gegen jede art von morde ist! Euch stört es dass die muslimen sowas organisieren stimmst? Oder das die muslimen jetzt im mittelpunkt stehen, weil wir für sie demonstrieren!? Egal wann und wo wir halten einfach zusammen dass was ihr nicht könnt! Apropos zu deiner beliebtheitsskala ist ja echt lächerlich aber wir haben nicht solche unnötigen sorgen! Denn egal was wir machen habt's ihr immer vorwürfe! Wie [Bahar](#) schon geschrieben hat wenn alle ausländer auwandern würden oje oje...das würd ich echt sehen wollen! Also lasst zumindest einmal diesen Rassismus aus..zumindest wenn es um menschenleben geht!!]*

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**Source:**

**[https://www.Facebook.com/events/1438306863115339/?ref=3&ref\\_newsfeed\\_story\\_type=regular](https://www.Facebook.com/events/1438306863115339/?ref=3&ref_newsfeed_story_type=regular) (18 July 2014).**

## Excerpt II – Gaza, Antisemitism and Integration

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[Afşar 11. Juli 23:16](#): They are talking about Integration, but when did they integrate? They are not even able to pronounce our names and if other foreigners make some trouble they say that it was the Turks for sure. Then Hate Speech starts. *[Die reden über Integration aber seit wann haben Sie sich integriert? Die können nicht einmal unsere Namen aussprechen und wenn andere Ausländer was blödsinn machen heißt es , dass es die Türken waren. Danach gibt es Hass Nachrichten!!!]*



[Burcu](#): Yes, we are against the Zionists, but as soon as you criticize Israel you are an anti-Semite, well? As soon as you are mentioning Israel's crimes you are an anti-Semite, ok? *[Wir sind gegen Zionisten, sobald man die Meinung gegen Israel bringt ist man gleich Antisemit aha? Sobald man über Israel's Untaten spricht ist man Antisemit ok?]*



[Volkan](#) You are right [Afşar](#), we are good enough to work, but they don't respect our culture and religion and language. But [Sebastian Kurz](#)<sup>47</sup> makes an effort to get us to know. He will do so soon I guess and the first important step would be to our side at the demonstration !! *[Du hast recht Afşar zum arbeiten sind wir gut genug, aber den Respekt für unserer Kultur Religion und Sprache haben sie nicht.. aber der Sebastian Kurz bemüht sich uns kennenzulernen und das wird er noch früh genug - der erste wichtige schritt wäre an der Demo an unserer seite zu stehen !!]*



[Afşar](#): If they don't respect our culture, religion and our language they should stop talking about integration. I hope that [Sebastian Kurz](#) will join us, otherwise he won't get far with his politics of integration. *[Wenn sie keinen Respekt vor unserer Kultur Religion und Sprache haben, da brauchen sie dann nicht über Integration reden. Ich hoffe, dass der Sebastian Kurz auch dabei ist, sonst wird er mit seinem Politik nicht weit kommen.]*

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Source: [https://www.Facebook.com/ueta.austria/?ref=br\\_rs](https://www.Facebook.com/ueta.austria/?ref=br_rs) (16 July 2014).

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<sup>47</sup> Sebastian Kurz is the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs and Integration since December 2013; the post is referring to Kurz's statements on Facebook, in which he called for peace in the Middle East and afterwards got attacked with antisemitic statements.

### Excerpt III – Anti-Muslim Media Coverage caused by “Zionist Media”

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[Saffet](#) 16. Juli 16:10 ·

We are protesting peacefully! We don't shout inciting slogans! We DON'T burn flags! We are not radical! We are not against Jews, but against Zionism! Everybody who counteracts these requests damages the whole protest!

*[Wir demonstrieren friedlich! Wir verwenden keine hetzenden Sprüche! Wir verbrennen KEINE Fahnen! Wir sind nicht radikal! Wir sind nicht gegen Juden, sondern gegen den Zionismus! Jeder der diesen Anforderungen widerspricht, schadet der Demonstration als Ganzes.]*



[Nedim](#): No matter how hard we try to make a good impression, in the end we are denominated as Islamists, Salafists, Hatemongers etc.

*[Egal wie gut wir versuchen rüber zu kommen am ende sind wir eh wieder Islamisten Salafisten Hassprädiger etc.]*



[Sevim](#): The newspapers are going to report on us like that: „Vienna's Islamists support terror organization Hamas. Demonstration against Israel. Antisemitism”

*[Wartet nur "Heute" wird von uns berichten aber so ungefähr "Wiener Islamisten sind Anhänger der Terrororganisation Hamas. Demo gegen Israel. Antisemitismus".]*



[Djadi al-Azm](#): To the fucking boulevard press „heute“ and „Österreich“: report whatever you want. The whole world knows what's going on. The truth cannot be hidden forever. You can manipulate right-wing voters of the Freedom Party but not educated people

*[An die scheiß heute & Österreich Zeitung: Berichtet was ihr wollt. Die ganze Welt weiß was los ist. Die Wahrheit kann man nicht auf ewig verstecken. Ihr könnt mit euren Artikel FPÖ Wähler manipulieren aber nicht die gebildeten.]*



[Hayri](#): The TV-news only report that radical Islamists attack Israel, but I never heard of something like the radical Jewish Israeli Army, never ever! Why is that? Because it's all about money and power UNFORTUNATELY! Israel has enough money and power and this is why it always gets protected and excused. (Zionism)

*[Schau mal im Fernseher wirs nur gesagt die radikalen Islamisten Palästinenser greifen Israel an aber ich habe noch nie gehört das irgwas radikale jüdische israelische Armee noch nie! Wieso wohl? Weil es um Geld und Macht geht LEIDER! Israel hat Geld und Macht deswegen wird Israel immer im Schutz genommen. (Zionismus)].*



[Lda Lda](#): I am neither Palestinian nor Arab. But I think that everybody knows that only Israel gets protected because all media depend on Zionism.

*[Bin weder Palästinenser noch Araber. Ich glaube jeder weiß das nur Israel im Schutz genommen wird, weil alle Medien von Zionismus abhängig sind.]*

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Source: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/1438306863115339/> (17 July 2014).