

# **Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU 2002 - 2003**

Based on information by the  
National Focal Points of the  
RAXEN Information Network

# **Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU 2002 – 2003**

Based on information by  
the National Focal Points of the  
EUMC - RAXEN Information Network



## Foreword

Following concerns from many quarters over what seemed to be a serious increase in acts of antisemitism in some parts of Europe, especially in March/April 2002, the EUMC asked the 15 National Focal Points of its Racism and Xenophobia Network (RAXEN) to direct a special focus on antisemitism in its data collection activities. This comprehensive report is one of the outcomes of that initiative. It represents the first time in the EU that data on antisemitism has been collected systematically, using common guidelines for each Member State.

The national reports delivered by the RAXEN network provide an overview of incidents of antisemitism, the political, academic and media reactions to it, information from public opinion polls and attitude surveys, and examples of good practice to combat antisemitism, from information available in the years 2002 – 2003.

On receipt of these national reports, the EUMC then asked an independent scholar, Dr Alexander Pollak, to make an evaluation of the quality and availability of this data on antisemitism in each country, and identify problem areas and gaps. The country-by-country information provided by the 15 National Focal Points, and the analysis by Dr Pollak, form Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 of this report respectively.

Finally, in the light of the information and analysis provided by this exercise, the report concludes with a number of proposals for action to the EU and its Member States on concrete measures to combat antisemitism, including legal and educational measures, and recommendations for improving the monitoring and recording of antisemitic incidents.

We would like to express our gratitude to all those involved in this initiative: to the 15 National Focal Points for gathering this unique collection of data, to Alexander Pollak and Alexander Joskowicz for their evaluation and analysis of this data and provision of historical material, to EUMC Management Board member Victor Weitzel and the Management Board working group for their work on the accompanying report “Perceptions of Antisemitism in Europe”, and finally a special thanks to all the EUMC staff for their tremendous efforts in producing this report.

We hope that this report will contribute to raising awareness of the development of antisemitism in Europe. The aim is to stimulate a broader public debate about antisemitism in the European Union and its Member States. It is important to listen sensitively to the fears of Jewish communities, but also to identify the social context which gives rise to the hatred of the perpetrators. We need joint

initiatives and clear, strong measures to combat antisemitism in all its forms. We need the courage and commitment of political leaders across the EU to turn words into action, and we need new coalitions between politicians, intellectuals, journalists, teachers and many others in order to overcome hate, discrimination and exclusion. Antisemitism can and must be fought jointly to make sure that it never again gains a foothold in Europe. For all of us it must be clear: Jews and Jewish communities are highly valued and respected members of our European societies, and we must ensure that they are able to feel as such.

Robert Purkiss  
(Chair of the EUMC Management Board)

Beate Winkler  
(Director EUMC)

# Contents

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <b>Foreword</b>                                       | <b>3</b>  |
| <b>Contents</b>                                       | <b>5</b>  |
| <b>Executive Summary</b>                              | <b>9</b>  |
| <b>Introduction</b>                                   | <b>31</b> |
| <b>1. COUNTRY REPORTS ON ANTISEMITISM 2002 - 2003</b> | <b>37</b> |
| 1.1. BELGIUM – REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM                 | 37        |
| 1.1.1. Legislation with respect to antisemitism       | 38        |
| 1.1.2. Sources of data and information                | 38        |
| 1.1.3. Data and information                           | 38        |
| 1.2. DENMARK - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM                 | 48        |
| 1.2.1. Legislation with respect to antisemitism       | 48        |
| 1.2.2. Sources of data and information                | 50        |
| 1.2.3. Data and information                           | 51        |
| 1.3. GERMANY - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM                 | 57        |
| 1.3.1. Legislation with respect to antisemitism       | 58        |
| 1.3.2. Sources of data and information                | 58        |
| 1.3.3. Data and Information                           | 60        |
| 1.4. GREECE – REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM                  | 76        |
| 1.4.1. Legislation with respect to antisemitism       | 76        |
| 1.4.2. Sources of data and information                | 78        |
| 1.4.3. Data and information                           | 78        |
| 1.5. SPAIN - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM                   | 87        |
| 1.5.1. Legislation with respect to antisemitism       | 87        |
| 1.5.2. Sources of data and information                | 88        |
| 1.5.3. Data and information                           | 88        |
| 1.6. FRANCE - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM                  | 93        |
| 1.6.1. Legislation with respect to antisemitism       | 93        |
| 1.6.2. Sources of data and information                | 96        |
| 1.6.3. Data and Information                           | 97        |
| 1.7. IRELAND - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM                 | 114       |
| 1.7.1. Legislation with respect to antisemitism       | 114       |
| 1.7.2. Sources of data and information                | 115       |
| 1.7.3. Data and information                           | 116       |

|         |  |     |
|---------|--|-----|
| 1.8.    | ITALY - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM           | 124 |
| 1.8.1.  | Legislation with respect to antisemitism | 124 |
| 1.8.2.  | Sources of data and information          | 125 |
| 1.8.3.  | Data and information                     | 126 |
| 1.9.    | LUXEMBURG - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM       | 135 |
| 1.9.1.  | Legislation with respect to antisemitism | 135 |
| 1.9.2.  | Sources of data and information          | 136 |
| 1.9.3.  | Data and information                     | 136 |
| 1.10.   | NETHERLANDS - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM     | 141 |
| 1.10.1. | Legislation with respect to antisemitism | 141 |
| 1.10.2. | Sources of data and information          | 143 |
| 1.10.3. | Data and information                     | 143 |
| 1.11.   | AUSTRIA – REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM         | 152 |
| 1.11.1. | Legislation with respect to antisemitism | 152 |
| 1.11.2. | Sources of data and information          | 153 |
| 1.11.3. | Data and Information                     | 155 |
| 1.12.   | PORTUGAL - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM        | 167 |
| 1.12.1. | Legislation with respect to antisemitism | 168 |
| 1.12.2. | Sources of data and information          | 170 |
| 1.12.3. | Data and information                     | 171 |
| 1.13.   | FINLAND REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM           | 175 |
| 1.13.1. | Legislation with respect to antisemitism | 176 |
| 1.13.2. | Sources of data and information          | 176 |
| 1.13.3. | Data and information                     | 177 |
| 1.14.   | SWEDEN - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM          | 182 |
| 1.14.1. | Legislation with respect to antisemitism | 182 |
| 1.14.2. | Sources of data and information          | 185 |
| 1.14.3. | Data and information                     | 186 |
| 1.15.   | UK - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM              | 196 |
| 1.15.1. | Legislation with respect to antisemitism | 197 |
| 1.15.2. | Sources of data and information          | 198 |
| 1.15.3. | Data and information                     | 199 |

|           |   |            |
|-----------|---|------------|
| <b>2.</b> | <b>EVALUATION OF NATIONAL EUMC-RAXEN DATA ON ANTISEMITISM</b>           | <b>211</b> |
| 2.1.      | CONTEXTUAL AND CONCEPTUAL MATERIAL                                      | 211        |
| 2.1.1.    | Antisemitism in the EU countries since 1945                             | 215        |
| 2.1.2.    | Definitions, Concepts and Theories                                      | 225        |
| 2.2.      | APPRAISAL OF EUMC RAXEN NETWORK DATA                                    | 242        |
| 2.2.1.    | Belgium   | 242        |
| 2.2.2.    | Denmark   | 250        |
| 2.2.3.    | Germany   | 256        |
| 2.2.4.    | Greece  | 264        |
| 2.2.5.    | Spain   | 268        |
| 2.2.6.    | France  | 272        |
| 2.2.7.    | Ireland   | 278        |
| 2.2.8.    | Italy   | 281        |
| 2.2.9.    | Luxembourg  | 287        |
| 2.2.10.   | The Netherlands   | 290        |
| 2.2.11.   | Austria   | 295        |
| 2.2.12.   | Portugal  | 301        |
| 2.2.13.   | Finland   | 304        |
| 2.2.14.   | Sweden  | 307        |
| 2.2.15.   | UK  | 313        |
| 2.3.      | CONCLUSIONS   | 318        |
| 2.3.1.    | General assessment  | 318        |
| 2.3.2.    | Identification of problem areas   | 320        |
| 2.3.3.    | Proposals for data collection and research                              | 322        |
| <b>3.</b> | <b>PROPOSALS FOR ACTION</b>   | <b>327</b> |
|           | <b>ANNEXES</b>  | <b>331</b> |
|           | ANNEX I ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS, WEB PAGES, AND LITERATURE ON ANTISEMITISM | 333        |
|           | ANNEX II EUMC GUIDELINES - CATEGORISATION OF DATA ON ANTISEMITISM       | 341        |





## Executive Summary

This EUMC report on antisemitism in Europe has four main intentions:

- The report aims to raise awareness on the development of antisemitism in Europe in recent years and to stimulate a broader public debate in order to generate pressure for clear and strong measures against it.
- To this end, the report presents, country by country, the data and information on antisemitism which was provided by the RAXEN network of the EUMC for the years 2002-2003 in 15 Member States of the European Union. This is followed by a critical evaluation of each country report with regard to the availability and quality of this data on antisemitism. On the basis of this evaluation, an identification is made of the problem areas and gaps regarding the present processes of data collection and the currently available data in the 15 EU Member States.
- Thirdly, the report aims to develop a theoretical and conceptual foundation as basis for both the evaluation of present data collection processes and for proposals for future data collection on antisemitism. In doing so, it will refer to the debates on recent claims that a “new antisemitism” has emerged. It will also address the question of whether and when anti-Zionism and “unbalanced” criticism of Israel is to be regarded as antisemitism.
- Finally, the report makes a number of proposals for the improvement of monitoring and research activities regarding antisemitism in the European Union, and makes a number of proposals for action to the EU and its Member States on measures to combat antisemitism.

### THE HISTORY OF THE REPORT

Following concerns about the noticeable increase in antisemitic acts in some Member States in April 2002, the EUMC asked the 15 National Focal Points of its Racism and Xenophobia Network (RAXEN) to direct a special focus on antisemitism. The EUMC’s RAXEN network consists of 15 National Focal Points (NFPs), one in each of the (then) 15 Member States, which are mainly "consortia" between research organisations, specialised bodies and NGOs.

The NFPs were first commissioned to provide an overview of antisemitism covering the months of May and June 2002 in their respective countries. However, after this exercise had been completed and the first overall report had been produced, it became clear that this report was not adequate. One reason for this was that the time period had been too short and the data produced had not

been sufficient. In those countries which had experienced antisemitic incidents, it seems that the month of April 2002 had been marked by a disturbingly high level of incidents, whereas in the following months of May and June, when the research of the NFPs was carried out, relatively little had happened.

For this and other reasons, it was decided by the EUMC that the NFPs should maintain a special focus on antisemitism during 2003. In addition to this, the NFPs were asked to carry out a second exercise - this time covering a longer period and using more ambitious guidelines than had been given to the NFPs for the first study. Therefore, at the beginning of November 2003 the NFPs were asked to provide a second report, incorporating a greater range of detail on antisemitic incidents that had happened over the whole of the year 2003.<sup>1</sup> As well as this, whilst carrying out their 2003 study, many of the NFPs were able to fill in a wider range of examples of incidents of antisemitism which had happened in 2002, and these were also added to their reports. The 15 NFP national reports were submitted to the EUMC in December 2003.

There proved to be a very wide range of difference between the national reports in their content, and in the available data, information and examples that fall under the common headings. The reports also vary in size, according to the amount of data and information that is available in each country. This is not unexpected. Indeed, the demonstration of the fact that such a wide variety of national output is generated by common guidelines for each country is one of the main points to come from this comparative study.

In the light of this difference, the EUMC commissioned Alexander Pollak to carry out a critical appraisal of the 15 country reports so as to identify gaps and problem areas in responses to antisemitism in Europe, and to facilitate proposals for future action. Dr Pollak, in cooperation with Alexander Joskowicz, also provided a chapter that deals with the the historical and conceptual context of contemporary antisemitism, and with developing an adequate working definition of the term “antisemitism” as a theoretical foundation and vantage point for future data collection processes.

The existence of the RAXEN network has enabled the EUMC to produce a consolidated report which presents for the first time in the European Union data on antisemitism that has been collected systematically, using common guidelines for each Member State. This exercise has enabled a ‘gap analysis’ to be performed, allowing the EUMC to be able to make concrete proposals to Member States regarding data collection on antisemitism.

---

<sup>1</sup> The decision to institute a special focus on antisemitism was made in 2002. Shortly after the NFPs were asked to produce material for a second, more ambitious report a number of national newspapers erroneously ran a story that the EUMC had decided to “suppress” the first report for reasons of “political correctness”.

## **THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT - ANTISEMITISM IN EU COUNTRIES SINCE 1945**

The review of the historical development of antisemitism in the EU countries since 1945 and of the existing literature on the subject showed that research on the subject is lacking for several EU countries. It also pointed out the need for comparative studies on antisemitism, which could help us grasp the European dimension of developments that can only be understood in trans-national terms in many respects.

### **DEFINITIONS, CONCEPTS AND THEORIES**

If we look into the literature dealing with the phenomenon of antisemitism, it becomes evident that several problems relate to the usage of the term “antisemitism”.

- The first problem is a terminological one: Is “antisemitism” (as opposed to other terms like for example “Judeophobia”) the right term to describe those attitudes and acts that are seen as a threat to Jews and to society as a whole?
- The second problem refers to the question of how those terms that are in use shall be defined: When exactly can a certain belief, attitude, or act be called “antisemitic” or “Judeophobe”?
- A third set of questions relates to whether a “new antisemitism” has emerged in recent years and whether anti-Zionism and/or an unbalanced criticism of Israel and/or the equation of Israel and Jews represents per se a form of antisemitism or not.

In the present report, the term “antisemitism” will be used when referring to anti-Jewish thinking as well as attitudes and acts of prejudice and/or hostility against Jews (as Jews) after 1945. The notation “antisemitism” will be given preference to the notation “anti-Semitism”. This allows for the fact that there has been a change from a racist to a culturalist antisemitism, and in this context helps to avoid the problem of reifying (and thus affirming) the existence of races in general and a “Semitic race” in particular.

## DEFINING ANTISEMITISM

If we look for commonalities between different approaches to defining antisemitism, we find two recurring aspects:

- First, almost all definitions of antisemitism refer to hostile attitudes and/or activities towards Jews;
- Second, a significant number of definitions contain the additional remark that the hostility is directed towards Jews “as Jews”<sup>2</sup>, or towards Jews “because they are Jews”<sup>3</sup>, or towards Jews “because of their actual or perceived religious or racial background or identification”.<sup>4</sup>

It is the second aspect that is in fact the key premise for an accurate definition and identification of antisemitism. **It is not until the remark “as Jews” is added that we come to the basic conclusion that one can only speak of antisemitism, if Jews (or Non-Jews) are attacked because they are (perceived as) Jews.** We will further elaborate on this below, but two important implications are obvious: First, not every hostility towards Jews is to be classified as antisemitic; and second, Non-Jews can also become the target of antisemitism (e.g. if they are perceived as Jews or associated with a pro-Jewish stance).

In the past, some traits commonly attributed to Jews have become for the antisemites a constituent part of their (imaginary) ‘Jew’. In an analysis of German antisemitic literature of the 1930s and 1940s, i.e. of the period of National Socialism, which provides a condensed image of the ideological system of racist antisemitic beliefs, Alexander Pollak and Nina Eger established six categories of the racist antisemitic stereotyping of ‘the Jew’:<sup>5</sup> These antisemitic stereotypes concern:

- the ‘deceitful’, ‘crooked’, ‘artful’ nature of ‘the Jew’;
- the ‘foreign’ and ‘different’ essence of ‘the Jew’;
- the ‘irreconcilability’, ‘hostility’, ‘agitation’ of ‘the Jew’;
- the ‘commercial talent’ and ‘relation to money’ of ‘the Jew’ (construction of ‘the Jew’ as the worst possible incarnation of a capitalist);
- the ‘corrupt’ nature of ‘the Jew’;
- Jewish ‘power and influence’ and a Jewish ‘world conspiracy’.

---

<sup>2</sup> Helen Fein: Dimensions of Antisemitism: Attitudes, Collective Accusations and Actions. In: Helen Fein (ed.): The Persisting Question. Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Antisemitism. (Current Research on antisemitism, vol. 1, ed. by Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Bergmann). Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1987, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Martin Luther King Jr.: “Letter to an anti-Zionist friend”. *Saturday Review*, 47, August 1967, p. 76. Reprinted in M. L. King Jr., This I Believe: Selections from the Writings of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (New York, 1971), pp. 234-235.

<sup>4</sup> See UK RAXEN 4 Racial Violence Report, 2003 (unpublished - forthcoming).

<sup>5</sup> See Alexander Pollak and Nina Eger: Antisemitismus mit Anspielungscharakter. In: Anton Pelinka, Ruth Wodak (ed.): Politik der Ausgrenzung. Vienna: Czernin, 2002, pp. 187-210.

To these six categories of racist antisemitic beliefs one could add a seventh category, the Christian anti-Judaist myth of ‘the Jew’ as “Christ-Killer”<sup>6</sup>.

For the antisemite, ‘the Jew’ as the imaginary figure outlined above, is the (only) real Jew. Following some of the remarks of Brian Klug, who argues that antisemitism “is best defined not by an attitude towards Jews but by a definition of ‘Jew’” and who regards antisemitism as “the process of turning Jews into ‘Jews’”<sup>7</sup>, we understand the core of antisemitism to be:

Any acts or attitudes that are based on the perception of a social subject (individual, group, institution, or state) as “the (‘deceitful’, ‘corrupt’, ‘conspiratorial’, etc.) Jew”.

The perception of a social subject as ‘the Jew’ (as characterised by the six or seven categories of stereotypical beliefs outlined above) goes far beyond the categorisations and generalisations we all do in everyday life when dealing with social subjects. Believing in the stereotypical construction of ‘the Jew’, means, at its extreme, appropriating a closed belief system about how ‘the Jew’ is and about how he manipulates the world – a belief system that has no exit door, because all arguments against antisemitism are then seen as resulting from Jewish power and a Jewish world conspiracy.

#### ARE ANTI-ISRAELI AND ANTI-ZIONIST EXPRESSIONS ANTISEMITIC?

If we turn to the crucial question of defining the point where anti-Israeli and anti-Zionist expressions are to be considered as antisemitism, then we could conclude, on the basis of our definition of antisemitism, that anti-Israeli or anti-Zionist attitudes and expression *are* antisemitic in those cases where Israel is seen as being a representative of ‘the Jew’, i.e. as a representative of the traits attributed to the antisemitic construction of ‘the Jew’.<sup>8</sup>

But what if the opposite is the case and Jews are perceived as representatives of Israel? What if Jews are criticised or offended for Israel’s policies toward the Palestinians? If we stick to our definition, then, strictly speaking, we would have to qualify hostility towards Jews as ‘Israelis’ only then as antisemitic, if it is based on an underlying perception of Israel as ‘the Jew’. If this is not the case, then we would have to consider hostility towards Jews as ‘Israelis’ as *not* antisemitic, because this hostility is not based on the antisemitic stereotyping of

<sup>6</sup> The myth of “the Jew” as “(bloodthirsty) Christ Killer” has been perpetuated to the present through the myth of Jewish ritual murder. See Marvin Perry and Frederick M. Schweitzer: *Antisemitism: Myth and Hate from Antiquity to the Present*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp. 2ff.

<sup>7</sup> Brian Klug: *The collective Jew: Israel and the new antisemitism*. In: *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 37, No. 2, June 2003, Routledge, pp. 122ff.

<sup>8</sup> The antisemitic view of Israel as being representative for the (stereotypical) “Jew” is not to be confused with the view of Israel as a Jewish state, which is, in fact, the way, Israel defines itself.

Jews. However, this does not mean that such a hostility towards Jews should be excluded from monitoring. There are three good reasons why hostility towards Jews as 'Israelis' should in any case be carefully monitored:

- First, for the victims of such hostility, it does not make an immediate difference, if they are attacked as 'the Jew' or as 'an Israeli'.
- Second, it is a very difficult – and in most cases an impossible – task to look into peoples' heads and grasp their thinking and their "real" intentions behind launching hostile activities against Jews.
- Third, those physical or verbal attacks on Jews, which are based not on antisemitic stereotyping but on the (false) generalisation of Jews as 'Israelis', are to be regarded, in the words of the EUMC, as "attitudes and social behaviours that constitute a serious threat to basic European values and democracy".

What should *not* be considered as antisemitic and therefore does not have to be monitored under the heading of 'antisemitism', is hostility towards Israel as 'Israel', i.e. as a country that is criticised for its concrete policies. Hostility towards Israel as 'Israel' (as opposed to criticism of Israel as representative of the stereotypical 'Jew') should only then become a matter of general public concern, when there is explicit evidence that criticism of Israel as 'Israel' produces attacks on Jews as either 'the Jew' or 'Israeli'. If there is no such evidence, the case of criticism and hostility towards Israel as 'Israel' should not be part of monitoring activities under the heading of 'antisemitism'.

One crucial problem, however, is that of clearly identifying whether, for example, an attack on Israel in the press is aimed at Israel as 'the Jew' or Israel as 'Israel'. We will be confronted with cases, where no clear analytical distinction can be made, but some of the suggestions and guidelines provided by those who have already dealt with the problem of developing analytical tools and finding markers, indicating that Israel is attacked as 'the Jew' and not as 'Israel', may help us in distinguishing these two cases. What is in any case indispensable in order to be able to draw any valid conclusions about the character of texts that criticise Israel, is the need for a thorough and systematic analysis of these texts, pointing out to different possible interpretations, accounting for their context of production as well as their context of reception, and making systematic use of methodological tools as provided by different social scientific disciplines.

## THE NFP COUNTRY REPORTS ON ANTISEMITISM

The 15 national reports are reproduced in Chapter 1 of the main report. The reports present an overview of developments and incidents of antisemitism, the political, academic and media reactions to it, information from public opinion polls and attitude surveys, and examples of good practice to combat antisemitism, all occurring in the years 2002 – 2003.

They illustrate great differences between countries in the quality and quantity of the data on antisemitism that is available. In some EU countries there are relatively well-established official or semi-official monitoring structures which produce year by year reasonably reliable statistics on antisemitic incidents. In other countries, in the absence of official statistics there are NGOs which produce data of varying reliability, and in some countries there is very little in the way of any statistics at all.

### THE SOURCES OF DATA

In **Belgium**, in the absence of any official systematic monitoring of antisemitic incidents, the evidence is drawn from complaints to the Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism (CEOOR), and from some other non-governmental organisations, although in the case of the latter the reliability and validity of the information cannot be verified. Statistics held by the **Danish** police and security service cover only ‘racist’ incidents without categorising them as ‘antisemitism’, ‘Islamophobia’, etc. Therefore it is not always clear how many incidents within official statistics relate specifically to antisemitism. Further information on incidents of antisemitism is provided by Jewish organisations and NGOs. The **Austrian** NFP describes the difficulty in giving a precise overview of antisemitism as there is no specialised body to record incidents, and a lack of consistency in recording complaints of racial discrimination in general and antisemitism in particular. In **Greece, Spain, Ireland, Luxemburg, Italy, Portugal** and **Finland** there is no systematic monitoring of antisemitic incidents, and no reliable research or statistics. In these cases what information exists is gleaned from Jewish representative organisations, NGOs and the media.

Only a minority of EU countries collect relatively reliable official or semi-official statistics. Information in **Germany** comes from the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the Federal Ministry of Justice. The official authorities systematically register extreme right wing and antisemitic offences. In **France** official data and information are analysed and published by the French Human Rights Commission. There are several sources of antisemitism statistics in the **Netherlands**, including official bodies, NGOs and research organisations. Each year the **Swedish** security police compile a formal record of antisemitic incidents. In the **UK**, statistics on antisemitism in London are provided by the



Metropolitan police, and for the rest of the country by an independent Jewish organisation.

The fact that only a minority of Member States collect information in a systematic way means that comparability between them is inevitably limited. One problem is that those countries which have better data collection systems are in danger of signalling that they have a greater problem of antisemitic incidents than those Member States which do not, whereas in fact this assumption might be quite erroneous. Another paradox is that where there are more ambitious systematic and official data collection systems, these data take longer to compile and publish than unofficial data. This means that, in the case of this research, NFPs in the above five countries with official recording systems had difficulty in getting hold of the full statistics for 2003 before this report was published, whereas information gleaned more informally and less systematically from media and NGO sources could be provided in other countries more readily for the year 2003.

#### ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS DURING 2002 - 2003

In **Belgium**, according to the NFP, there has been a catalogue of incidents during the two-year research period of varying extremity, including several incidents of the fire-bombing of Jewish property and some serious physical assaults, as well as many other incidents of insults, graffiti, hate speech and vandalism. The CEOOR is of the opinion that the number of antisemitic incidents in Belgium has increased since 2000, and the 64 acts recorded by one NGO in 2002 represent roughly double those it recorded in the two previous years.

In **Germany** it seems that antisemitism acts increased considerably (by 69 per cent) from 1999 – 2000, and then showed a further slight increase in 2001. In 2002, although there was a slight decrease in total offences, the number of antisemitic violent crimes rose from 18 (in 2001) to 28. In the first six months of 2003 there were a further 16 violent crimes. However, in general, most of the antisemitic crimes concern incitement and propaganda offences. Some high profile controversies over alleged antisemitic speeches by politicians stimulated some open antisemitic reactions on the Internet, and over the two year period of the research Jewish organisations in Germany reported great increases in the amount of aggressive antisemitic letters, emails and phone calls.

In **France**, official data and information analysed by the Human Rights Commission indicate a significant rise in antisemitic violent incidents and threats in 2002. Of the 313 racist, xenophobic or antisemitic incidents reported in 2002, 193 were directed at the Jewish community, six times more than in 2001. There were many incidents of Jewish people assaulted and insulted, attacks against synagogues, cemeteries and other Jewish property, and arson

against a Jewish school. In 2002 by far the largest proportion of these attacks took place in April, showing a link to events in Middle East during that month.

The data in the **Netherlands** collected by the NFP show that antisemitic incidents, ranging from targeted graffiti and threats to arson and assault, significantly increased in 2002 compared to previous years, especially in Amsterdam, which has a relatively large Jewish community in comparison with the rest of the country. However, at the time of publication there were no statistical data on racial and right wing violence for the year 2003. A worrying trend is the increasing dissemination of antisemitic material on Internet sites that are hosted in third countries.

The statistics available in the **UK** suggest that there has been a recent increase in both physical and verbal attacks against Jews. National statistics show a total of 350 reported anti-Semitic incidents in 2002, constituting a 13 per cent rise from the previous year, and statistics for the first quarter of 2003 already show a 75 per cent increase in incidents compared to the same quarter of 2002. In 2002 there were violent attacks on two synagogues, and in 2003 there were two cases of suspected arson and several attacks on Jewish cemeteries. The relevance to the Middle East conflict is shown by the fact that the worst month for attacks was April 2002, the month in which the Israeli army controversially occupied several Palestinian towns.

In **Sweden** police statistics show that antisemitic crimes have been at a similar level over the last few years, with 131 in 2002, the same as in 2000, and 115 in 2001. The cases in 2002 include assaults, harassment, hate speech and vandalism. The cases of vandalism often occurred in Jewish cemeteries. For 2003, in the absence of police statistics, the 60 incidents reported to the Jewish Communities included 3 of assault, with the rest categorised as abusive behaviour and damage and desecration of property. Whilst articles with antisemitic content are rare in the Swedish media, there can be found traditional antisemitic propaganda by extreme right and nationalist groups, and the Internet home pages of both extreme right and radical left groups have contained antisemitic material with regard to the Middle East conflict.

In some other Member States, whilst physical assaults and violent manifestations were absent or relatively rare, the antisemitic discourse was nevertheless particularly virulent. In **Greece**, NGOs recorded no acts of extreme violence or physical assaults against Jewish people during 2002 – 2003. However, several acts of vandalism, desecration and graffiti against cemeteries and a Holocaust memorial were recorded over the period 2002 – 2003. Although antisemitic violence does not seem to have been a problem, there is a noticeable antisemitic discourse in Greek public life. It was reported that there exists a kind of “popular antisemitism” with a large section of the Greek public subscribing to conspiracy theories of Jewish world domination, or stories such as the complicity of the Israeli secret service in the terrorist attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>, and much of this seems to be encouraged by antisemitism

within a section of the Greek media. Antisemitism also still exists in Greece within the educational, legal, and political environment. For example, the Orthodox Church continues to include in the liturgy ritual of Good Friday anti-Jewish references, whereas similar references were removed from the Roman Catholic liturgy under Pope John XXIII.

In **Austria** one NGO source reports an apparent increase of over 70 per cent in antisemitic incidents in 2003 compared to the same period in 2002. Altogether 108 cases were reported in 2003. There were two recorded cases of extremely violent attacks in 2003, and two other less serious assaults. There were several other incidents of damage to synagogues, and vandalism to cemeteries, but the most frequent type of antisemitic incident appears to be abusive behaviour and graffiti. In general, according to the NFP, acts of antisemitic violence are comparatively rare, and it seems that Austrian antisemitism is characterised by diffuse and traditional antisemitic stereotypes rather than by acts of physical aggression.

In **Italy** in 2002 the NFP did not find any reports of physical attacks on Jewish persons or property, and there was just one recorded assault during 2003. It did, however, find many examples of verbal threats and abuse, as well as threatening letters, phone calls and graffiti. There are also many antisemitic web sites. Furthermore, the NFP refers in its reports to three instances of (Christian) antisemitism in the media. Although there appears to be no major problem of antisemitic violence in Italy, the NFP considers that antisemitic attitudes are widespread in all political parties and in a large section of public opinion.

In **Denmark**, there were some instances of physical assault noted in 2002, and several of threats and harassment. In 2003 there were no incidents which could be categorized as 'extreme violence', and just two or three incidents which could be categorized as assaults against Jewish people. There were, however, some serious instances of antisemitic hate speech via the internet, resulting in prosecution and punishment by the courts. In Denmark it is not unlawful to publicly display or use Nazi symbols such as the swastika, as the symbols in themselves are not considered to express insult or degradation to Jews. One unusual practice in Denmark is the public funding of a Nazi radio station, although in 2003 the Government announced its decision to review this policy.

In **Spain** in the period 2002 – 2003 Jewish organisations and NGOs did not identify any incidents of antisemitic physical violence against Jewish individuals, although there were some reported incidents of abusive behaviour in the streets and some cases of threatening graffiti on Jewish buildings, which led to members of the Jewish community being advised to avoid external signs that may identify them as Jews. There has been some criticism of Spanish newspapers for apparently antisemitic caricatures and for the tone of some of their articles on the Israeli incursions into Palestine, but the press has responded that this is not antisemitism, but criticisms of the policies of Ariel Sharon.

In general in **Ireland** there is no discernable evidence of an increase in antisemitic violence or rhetoric over the period 2002 – 2003, and no evidence of systematic targeting of the Jewish community. There were no recorded incidents of extreme violence, physical assaults, or damage to property. The bulk of the incidents in 2003 were categorised as ‘abusive behaviour’ - mainly abusive and aggressive letters and phone calls with some further instances of antisemitic literature in the form of leaflets or on websites.

In **Luxemburg** there is no discernable evidence of antisemitic violence or rhetoric over the period 2002 – 2003, and no evidence of systematic targeting of the Jewish community at all. Representatives of the Jewish community, politicians, NGOs and experts are unanimous in claiming that since the end of World War II Luxembourg has been free of antisemitic phenomenon.

In **Portugal** there were no reported acts of antisemitic violence, threats or damage to property in 2002 - 2003, apart from a number of offensive telephone calls and emails received by the Israeli Embassy, and some antisemitic statements on Nazi Internet sites. Antisemitic feelings have not manifested themselves in acts of physical violence nor insults directed against specific persons, but rather in the occasional newspaper article with overtly antisemitic remarks, or in discussions surrounding certain public events where antisemitic prejudices may be expressed in the form of the charge that “the Jews killed Christ”.

In **Finland** the Office of the Ombudsman for Ethnic Minorities did not receive any reports of antisemitic incidents during 2002 – 2003. However, in 2002 there were two bomb threats, and at the same time the windows of the synagogue in the centre of Helsinki were broken and eggs thrown against the walls. Around the time of increased tension in the Middle East in 2002, members of the Jewish community began to receive threatening letters and phone calls. There has been some antisemitic graffiti in different parts of Helsinki, and in 2003 a Star of David in a cemetery was broken. However, representatives of the Jewish community did not think that antisemitic incidents were increasing, and there has been very little public debate on antisemitism.

In conclusion, it is clear that there is a tremendous variety within Member States regarding their routines and practices on the monitoring and collection of data on antisemitic incidents. Because of this, true comparability between Member States on this issue is not yet possible. Having said this, it is clear that antisemitism manifests itself with greater strength in some countries than in others, and there are countries where there is evidence of an increase in the regularity of these incidents over the past two or three years. Such a conclusion is reached by the NFPs in Belgium, Germany, France, the Netherlands and the UK.

In some EU countries, specifically violent acts of antisemitism are relatively rare or virtually unknown. Yet in several of these countries – for example,

Greece, Italy, Austria, Spain - we have a paradox that the apparent absence or relative rarity of violent incidents coexists with an extremely nasty antisemitic everyday discourse which is relatively widespread amongst the general population. In contrast, in France, where there is a large number of antisemitic incidents, often violent, which have apparently been increasing in recent years, opinion polls show that antisemitic attitudes within the general French population are declining. In particular, one recent survey shows that French young people are especially intolerant of antisemitism, and that French young people of North African origin, whilst exhibiting some traditional antisemitic beliefs of Jewish influence and power, are on other dimensions even more intolerant of antisemitism than the average.

#### THE PERPETRATORS OF ANTISEMITIC ACTS

As with other categories of data under the heading of antisemitism, there is a wide variety in the reliability and detail of information specifically on the perpetrators of antisemitic acts, and therefore in the generalisations that can safely be made about them. In **Germany** data on perpetrators are provided by official police statistics, and also by sociological studies which offer a qualitative insight into the background and motivation of the perpetrators. However, no specific studies on antisemitic offenders have been conducted so far. Based on the results of several empirical studies on xenophobic offenders, a perpetrator profile has been compiled in Germany. The majority of offenders are male and between 15 and 24 years old. In addition, their educational achievements are lower than those of respective age groups within the general population. The majority of suspects or perpetrators are not first-time offenders, but have already been registered as criminal offenders, for politically motivated as well as other offences. Concerning the affiliation of offenders with extremist organisations, it can be stated that 50% of offenders in West Germany, but only 10% in East Germany, have been recorded as skinheads. It can therefore be concluded that many offenders, particularly in the "new" German states, are not affiliated with organised right-wing extremist groups, but rather with informal or spontaneous peer groups. The findings with reference to antisemitic attitudes reveal differences between East and West German perpetrators. While two thirds of Eastern German perpetrators agree with antisemitic statements, the Western German perpetrators display 100% antisemitic attitudes. According to the NFP, there is evidence that some antisemitic incidents are committed by perpetrators with a migration, particularly Muslim, background.

In the course of the rise in antisemitic incidents in Europe over the last few years, there has been a shift in the public perception of the 'typical' antisemitic offender from an 'extreme right' skinhead to a disaffected young Muslim. Press reports perpetuate the assumption that the bulk of antisemitic attacks in Europe are committed by young men of immigrant and Muslim background. However, the NFP reports suggest a more complex picture than that.

In some countries – e.g. France and Denmark – the NFPs conclude that there is indeed evidence of a shift away from extreme right perpetrators towards young Muslim males. In **France** the Human Rights Commission (CNCDDH) notes that the percentage of antisemitic violence attributable to the extreme right was only 9% in 2002 (against 14% in 2001 and 68% in 1994). The CNCDDH concludes that the revival of antisemitism can be attributed to the worsening of the Israeli Palestinian conflict, notably in the spring of 2002, corresponding with the Israeli army offensive in the West Bank and the return of suicide bombings to Israel. Antisemitic acts are ascribed by the CNCDDH to youth from neighbourhoods sensitive to the conflict, principally youth of North African heritage. In **Denmark**, according to the NFP, the perpetrators of antisemitic acts were traditionally to be found amongst the groups of the so-called “Racial revolutionaries”. However, for the years 2001/2002, from the reports of the Jewish Community in Denmark, victims and witnesses of antisemitic acts now typically describe “young males with Arabic/Palestinian/Muslim background” as being the main perpetrators.

However, it is also possible for the available statistics to point in the other direction. In **the Netherlands** the NFP observes that the small number of ethnic minority perpetrators involved in ‘racial violence’ in 2002 (5%) is rather striking. Concerning anti-Semitic incidents in particular, only a very limited number (5) of the large amount of such incidents registered by public prosecutors (60) in 2002 were caused by ethnic minority perpetrators. The NFP points out that although in a number of cases the perpetrators proved to be persons from Islamic circles, the idea that it is mostly certain groups of Moroccan young people who are guilty of antisemitism is not corroborated by the figures from the Dutch authorities. Analysis of the statistics shows that in 80 per cent of the cases of antisemitic violence, the perpetrator was ‘white’.

In several other countries the lack of reliable statistics on perpetrators means that it is more difficult to make sound conclusions. According to one analyst quoted by the **British** NFP, the available data suggests that an increasing number of incidents in the UK are caused by Muslims or Palestinian sympathizers, and that surges of antisemitic incidents may be visible manifestations of political violence, perpetrated against British Jews in support for the Palestinians. However, the British NFP points out that, as in other areas of racist violence, there is very little reliable data on perpetrators of antisemitism, and it is difficult to come to sound conclusions. In an analysis of the 20 incidents which occurred in the first five months of 2002 in the categories “Extreme violence” and “Assault”, five of the perpetrators were described as white, five as Arabs, three as Asian, and seven as unknown.

In **Austria** there is no systematic data collection on perpetrators, their backgrounds and motives with regard to antisemitic incidents. The NFP quotes a very general appraisal by the Forum against Antisemitism, according to which most of the attacks are committed by right and left-wing extremists as well as by members of the Islamic scene. Contrary to this appraisal, information

provided by governmental sources, indicates that perpetrators of antisemitic crimes predominantly stem from skinhead groups.

In **Belgium** the NFP concludes with regard to perpetrators of antisemitic acts that they are mainly found in the context of political-religious movements, who spread antisemitic ideas among groups of youngsters with Arabic-Islamic origins. Added to this, extreme right organisations are seen to exploit the tensions between Israel and the Palestinian authority in order to set both parties against each other in Belgium as well. However, the Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism (CEOOR) concludes that due to the lack of systematic data on racial violence, it is very difficult to make an analysis of the personal characteristics of victims and perpetrators, and they do not have the required information to perform such an analysis.

In **Sweden** there is evidence of incidents committed by people connected to anti-Israeli or pro-Palestine movements, and also of assailants connected to the extreme right. The NFP points out that there is a large “White Power” element in many antisemitic crimes.

In **Italy**, from the NFP research and from cases drawn from the press, the NFP perceives that individuals and groups belonging to several formations of the far-right (generally anti-Jewish and racist; in some cases pro-Palestinian, in others anti-Muslim) constitute the most numerous and aggressive category of perpetrators of racist and anti-Jewish acts.

Finally, the NFPs for **Finland, Greece, Ireland, Luxemburg, Portugal, and Spain** report that there is no data at all on perpetrators of antisemitic acts.

The reports of the NFPs have not only shown that some countries have perceived an increase in antisemitic incidents during the last years, but that this increase was also to some extent accompanied by a change in the profiles of perpetrators reported to the data collecting bodies. Particularly in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the UK, it is no longer solely or predominantly the extreme right that is named as alleged perpetrators of antisemitic incidents; a varying proportion of victims of hostility in these countries classified perpetrators to be “young Muslims”, “people of North African origin”, or “immigrants”<sup>9</sup>. In general, on the basis of available data and looking at the EU as a whole, it is problematic to make general statements with regard to the perpetrators of antisemitic acts. In some countries the data collection is reasonably reliable, in some countries the bulk of the evidence is from victims’ descriptions which cannot always be confirmed, and in other countries there is no evidence at all.

---

<sup>9</sup> See the NFP country-reports for viewing the different profile structures of and development with regard to perpetrators of antisemitic acts.

## CRITICAL EVALUATIONS OF THE NFP COUNTRY REPORTS

The country-by-country evaluation of present data collection on antisemitism in the EU, which was mainly based on the information provided by the fifteen NFPs of the RAXEN network, has pointed to several gaps and problem areas, which will be discussed below. The critical analysis of present processes of data collection and the identification of significant problem areas should, however, not be misunderstood to imply that the presently available data on antisemitism in Europe allows for no conclusions to be drawn on this topic.

One has to distinguish here between two data sets:

- one that deals with the development of *attitudes* towards Jews in the overall population (or in particular groups or institutions) and
- one that deals with *concrete instances of antisemitic acts*, directed against individuals or institutions.

Concerning the former, in some European countries, particularly in France and Germany, polls are carried out on a comparatively frequent or even regular basis, revealing some statistical trends. Most countries in the EU 15, however, are only subject to sporadic polls, which have in general a much lower significance.

Concerning the survey and registration of concrete antisemitic acts, there are only a few countries in Europe that have a comparatively dense net of official and unofficial organisations registering and processing data related to incidents with a potentially antisemitic background.

Some countries have only a loose net of monitoring and countries like Finland, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal, and Spain possess no or only rudimentary structures for the registration of data on potential acts of antisemitism. Some of the latter countries seem indeed to have a significantly lower rate of such incidents, but for other countries it is clear that it is rather the official denial of the phenomenon of antisemitism than the absence of it that has led to the refusal to collect data systematically.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> In the course of its studies over several years on racist incidents, the EUMC has identified a general problem of under-reporting.



## IS THERE A NEW ANTISEMITISM?

From an analytical perspective we can distinguish between two possible aspects of change from an “old” to a “new” antisemitism:

- (a). Changes concerning the nature of antisemitism, through redefining ‘the Jew’ (for example, by adding new characteristic to the imaginary ‘Jew’);
- (b). Changes concerning the manifestations of antisemitism in politics, media, and everyday life, or concerning new ways of disseminating antisemitism, new groups of (active) antisemites, or a new quality or quantity of antisemitic acts.

Concerning the first aspect, very few participants in the debate deal with any possible changes concerning the very nature of antisemitism. The question here is, whether the antisemitic stereotypical trait of ‘the Jew’ as “racist” or “imperialist” appearing in contemporary antisemitic ideology, constitutes a new trait in the construction of the imaginary ‘Jew’. Although, it is very difficult to give any conclusive answer, as this is still an ongoing debate, we would argue that the “old” antisemitic stereotypes of “the Jew” – at least implicitly– already contained these traits. It is questionable whether the stereotype of ‘the Jew’ has significantly changed.

Concerning the second aspect there is practically a consensus among almost all participants in the current debate on the “new antisemitism” that there has been a significant increase in verbal and physical attacks directed against Jews or Jewish institutions since the year 2000. Most of them also agree that this increase should be seen in the context of political developments in the Middle East. Furthermore, particularly the proponents of the view that there is indeed a “new antisemitism”, point to new sources of antisemitism, new groups of offenders, or to new coalitions formed between extremist organisations that have discovered antisemitism as a common point of reference. Moreover, a new public manifestation of antisemitism is noted by most of the “new antisemitism” proponents who claim that the last decades have brought a masquerading of antisemitism as anti-Zionism or as critique of Israel, or behind anti-ideologies such as anti-racism or anti-imperialism. Others point to new communication channels, particularly the Internet, responsible for the rapid spread of conspiracy theories. So far, all of these “new aspects” of contemporary antisemitism regard “external” aspects; i.e., they concern the public appearance and the “new face” of antisemitism.

In this sense we can speak of a “new antisemitism”: new as far as its manifestations in politics, media and everyday life, new forms of discrimination, new groups of antisemites, or a new quality or quantity of antisemitic acts are concerned – but not new in that it uses the traditional negative stereotypes of “the Jew” already present in “traditional” antisemitism. In the NFP reports we can see evidence among the registered data that supports

the view that there is some linkage between the number of reported antisemitic incidents and the political situation in the Middle East. This can be seen by the significantly high peak of incidents in some countries during the month of April 2002, the month in which the Israeli army controversially occupied several Palestinian towns. Such a peak has not been repeated during any subsequent month. Furthermore, some of the data indicates that there have been changes in the profile of perpetrators. It is not anymore mainly the extreme right that are seen to be responsible for hostility towards Jewish individuals or property (or public property with a symbolic relation to the Holocaust or to Jews) – especially during the periods when registered incidents peak. Instead, victims identify “young Muslims”, “people of North African origin”, or “immigrants”. However, one has to also point to the limitations of the registered data, namely that, for example, most of the classifications of perpetrators are based only on the perceptions of victims or witnesses, which are difficult to verify, and not on official records, which underlie certain procedures of determining the identity of perpetrators. This underlines the need for better official mechanisms for the recording of incidents.

#### IDENTIFICATION OF PROBLEM AREAS

- Lack of a common definition of antisemitism

The basic premise for a valid monitoring and analysis of a phenomenon is to have an adequate definition of this phenomenon; and the basic premise for comparability is the common use of such an adequate definition within a country, or even better, within Europe (as main reference area). The country-by-country evaluation has shown explicitly that in general neither is the case.

- Lack of comparability

As pointed out above, through the lack of a common definition of antisemitism, one basic premise for a comparable monitoring and analysis of the phenomenon is missing. A second premise is the common use of a certain scheme for classifying different forms of hostility, as it is represented, for example, by the EUMC guidelines for its NFPs (see Annex II). However, without a common definition of antisemitism, this attempt of the EUMC can only be seen as a partial step in approaching the task of ensuring the highest possible comparability within the organisational network of the EUMC. A third premise for an overall comparativeness within the EU would be the presence of comparable facilities for registering incidents and complaints in the EU Member States.

- Lack of official data on antisemitism

The majority NFP-reports state clearly that one of the major problems they faced in compiling data on antisemitism is the complete or partial absence of state official monitoring of antisemitism. In some countries, this lack of official monitoring seems to be accompanied by a general absence of public and political problem awareness with regard to antisemitism. The importance attributed to official monitoring is based in the assumption that official bodies may dispose of more financial and personal resources (and may make better use of synergies with other official bodies) than Non-Governmental organisations, and on the hope that official organisations are more likely to implement firm, transparent, and objective common rules for reporting. Inquiries have shown that these assumptions and hopes are not always met; it seems that the “optimal” structure of bodies within a monitoring area is the combination of a central official monitoring facility with one or more NGOs.

- Problem of underreporting

Most NFP reports point to the problem of underreporting, particularly referring to official systems of data collection that are based on police records and on crime and law statistics. The term “underreporting” can in this context take on two meanings:

- not all antisemitic incidents registered by the official institution are categorized under the label of antisemitism, and/or
- not all antisemitic incidents are reported to the official body by the victims or witnesses of an incident.

In the first case, not all incidents with a potentially antisemitic background are registered, for example by the police, under the heading of “antisemitism”. Examinations of the practical work of police have shown that, on the one hand, both the guidelines for official bodies and the incidents themselves are not always unambiguous and the right labelling of incidents and complaints therefore not always an easy task, and on the other hand, in some cases underreporting might be caused by a lack of awareness of the police force for the importance of the right labelling of such incidents.

The second case of underreporting refers to the fact that “minor” incidents are in most cases not reported to official bodies. Such incidents are much more likely to be reported to victim hotlines.

- Problem of validation/overreporting

The complementary problem to underreporting is that of mis- and overreporting. The reports of the National Focal Points point to the fact that the NFPs themselves have up to now not had the resources to deal with validating the data on antisemitism that they received from unofficial sources. Where validation processes are conducted, as for example by the Belgian CEOOR (see country evaluation of Belgium), a significant proportion of the complaints were labelled as “unfounded”, or as not fitting under the category under which they were initially filed. In addition to this kind of overreporting, there is also the problem that the statistics of different data collecting bodies within one monitoring area are not aligned to each other, so that these statistics cannot be added up without the risk of double- or multiple-reporting.

- Lack of research on antisemitism

The review of the historical development of antisemitism in the EU countries since 1945 and of the existing literature on the subject showed that research on the subject is lacking for several EU countries. The same is true for the ongoing debates around the issue of “new antisemitism”, which has clearly revealed that Europe faces a lack of systematic empirical social scientific research in many areas related to the broad issue of antisemitism.

- Lack of systematic analysis of texts

Finally, the NFP-reports point to an absence of systematic approaches of discourse analysis with regard to antisemitism in media texts and political speech. At the present, most of the references to such texts do not represent systematic approaches, but seem to be rather unstructured and eclectic. So far, there are only very few systematic studies, like the (contested) one conducted by the Duisburger Institut für Sprach- und Sozialforschung (DISS) on demand of the American Jewish Committee (see the country evaluation of Germany). Such studies, conducted on a regular basis, could contribute to revealing the role of language use in the reproduction and persistence or the countering of antisemitic stereotypes. Beside country-specific studies also a trans-national, comparative perspective would be desirable.

Future data collection and assessment should be commonly based on the definition of antisemitism provided in this report. In addition, all data should be structured and validated in a – common – way that a high degree of comparability is ensured. Official bodies as well as NGOs should make explicit their underlying working methods and should be evaluated by the NFPs in order to ensure the validity of the data they

report. Social scientific research on both historical and contemporary antisemitism should be enforced, particularly with regard to the need for comparative, trans-national studies. Part of social scientific research, but also part of the work of monitoring bodies should be the collection and systematic analysis of media texts and political speech that either address antisemitism or are suspected of reproducing or enforcing antisemitic stereotypes.

## **PROPOSALS FOR ACTION**

The EUMC welcomes the growing awareness of the presence of antisemitism in the Member States and the development of positive initiatives, many of which were highlighted in this report.

The detailed analysis of both the data and the interviews carried out with members of the Jewish community, however, pointed to a number of areas where further initiatives could be taken including legislation, education, the role of the media and wider civil society.

On this basis, and according to its role under Article 2 (e) of its founding regulation to “formulate conclusions and opinions for the Community and its Member States”, the EUMC recommends mainly the following proposals. These proposals should also be seen within a general framework of measures against racism, Islamophobia, xenophobia, and related intolerances.

### **IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION**

- The EUMC calls on the Council of Ministers to adopt the Framework Decision (COM 2001/664) proposed by the European Commission in November 2001 on defining a common criminal law approach to racism and xenophobia in the EU. This Framework Decision, if adopted, will introduce effective, proportionate and dissuasive criminal penalties and define antisemitic acts.
- The EUMC also calls for the adoption of the proposed Council Directive on compensation of crime victims proposed in October 2002. Within this, a lump sum compensation should be defined for victims of racism and antisemitism.

## RECORDING ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS

- The EUMC urges the Member States to establish specific mechanisms to record incidents of antisemitism. Furthermore, Member States should assume their legal obligations under the Race Equality Directive (43/2000/EC) and establish independent specialized bodies to monitor discrimination, support victims and carry out research.
- The EUMC encourages the European Commission and the Member States to consider adopting measures for police cooperation under Article 34 of the EU Treaty, which would work towards the collection and dissemination of data on antisemitic offences, with the close cooperation of EUROPOL and EUROJUST.

## PROMOTING EDUCATION AND TRAINING MEASURES

- The EUMC stresses the crucial importance of education and training measures in combating racism and antisemitism. In this context EU Member States should undertake in depth reviews of school textbooks in order to ensure that history is presented in a balanced way free of bias and that the history and message of the Holocaust is properly conveyed.
- Furthermore, the EUMC encourages the Member States to introduce in teacher training a compulsory component to raise awareness, understanding and respect of the diverse cultures, religions and traditions in the European Union.
- The EUMC further encourages the Member States to incorporate compulsory antiracism and diversity training in their police education programmes focusing in particular on antisemitism.

## ENGAGING WIDER CIVIL SOCIETY

- The EUMC has been actively involved in promoting the “Charter of European Political Parties for a Non Racist Society” which sets out a clear code of conduct for the fight against all forms of racism, xenophobia and antisemitism. The EUMC calls on all political parties in Europe to sign and implement the Charter.

## INITIATING INTERFAITH AND INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE

- The EUMC encourages all religious communities, Non Governmental Organisations and other organisations involved to speak out against bigotry and hatred and to develop interfaith and intercultural dialogue through specific initiatives at local, national and European level. Such

initiatives should be encouraged and actively supported by the Member States and the European Commission.

#### INVOLVING THE MEDIA

- Mainstream and minority media emanating from both within and outside the EU play a key role in shaping social attitudes and behaviour. Further research is needed on both their content and the impact they have on society in particular concerning antisemitism. The EUMC for its part will continue and reinforce its work on the media notably through media monitoring initiatives.
- The EUMC calls upon the Member States to enact or reinforce appropriate legislation on Internet service providers preventing the dissemination of racist, xenophobic and antisemitic material as foreseen by article 14 of the EC Directive on Electronic Commerce (2000/31/EC).
- The EUMC encourages media and Internet service providers to develop clear codes of conduct, and training programmes for journalists and other media professionals to promote diversity and combat all forms of racism, xenophobia and antisemitism.

# Introduction

The year 2000 marked the beginning of a period in which most EU countries faced a sharp rise in attacks against Jewish individuals and/or Jewish property. Since then, the issue of antisemitism in Europe has increasingly moved to the centre of public attention. The question whether a new form of antisemitism has appeared, replacing traditional antisemitism, has become a lively discussed public issue and many analysts focused their attention on the connection between the crises in the Middle East and acts of antisemitism in Europe.

In this context, the question arises as to whether the recent debate on antisemitism was able to go beyond mere political polemics and speculative remarks. In other words: is there sufficient empirical data and background information that allows for a debate that is based on reliable and valid evidence on the phenomenon discussed, its history and presence, its agents and victims, as well as its possible interrelatedness with other political and social phenomena?

This EUMC report on antisemitism in Europe has four main intentions:

- The report aims to raise awareness on antisemitism in Europe in recent years and to stimulate a broader public debate in order to generate pressure for clear and strong measures against it.
- To this end, the report presents, country-by-country, the data and information on antisemitism provided by the national focal point of the EUMC-RAXEN network for the years 2002-2003 in the 15 Member States of the European Union. This is followed by a country-by-country appraisal of the national data collections with regard to availability, quality, representativeness, reliability, validity and comparability. On the basis of this appraisal, problem areas and gaps are identified regarding the present processes of data collection and the currently available data.
- The report aims to develop a theoretical and conceptual foundation as basis for both the evaluation of present data collection processes and for proposals for future data collection on antisemitism. In doing so, it refers to the debates on “new antisemitism” and addresses the question of whether and when anti-Zionism and “unbalanced” criticism of Israel is to be regarded as antisemitism.
- Finally, the report makes a number of proposals for the improvement of monitoring and research activities regarding antisemitism in the European Union, and makes a number of proposals for action to the EU and its Member States on measures to combat antisemitism.



## THE HISTORY OF THE REPORT

Following concerns about the noticeable increase in antisemitic acts in some Member States in April 2002, the EUMC asked its 15 National Focal Points of the RAXEN network to direct a special focus on antisemitism. The EUMC-RAXEN network consists of 15 National Focal Points (NFPs), one in each Member State, which are mainly "consortia" between research organisations, specialised bodies and NGOs.

The NFPs were first commissioned to provide an overview of antisemitism covering the months of May and June 2002 in their respective countries. However, after this exercise had been completed and the first overall report had been produced, it became clear that this report was not adequate. One reason for this was that the time period had been too short and the data produced had not been sufficient. In those countries, which had experienced antisemitic incidents, it seems that the month of April 2002 had been marked by a disturbingly high level of incidents, whereas in the following months of May and June, when the research of the NFPs was carried out, relatively little had happened.

For this and other reasons, it was decided by the EUMC that the NFPs should maintain a special focus on antisemitism during 2003. In addition to this, the NFPs were asked to carry out a second exercise - this time covering a longer period and using more ambitious guidelines than had been given to the NFPs for the first study. Therefore, at the beginning of November 2003 the NFPs were asked to provide a second report, incorporating a greater range of detail on antisemitic incidents that had happened over the whole of the year 2003. As well as this, whilst carrying out their 2003 study, many of the NFPs were able to fill in a wider range of examples of incidents of antisemitism, which had happened in 2002, and these were also added to their reports. The 15 NFP national reports were submitted to the EUMC in December 2003.

The report consists of the following structure:

- The first part presents in turn the 15 NFP national reports on the data and information that is available on antisemitism for the years 2002-2003 in the 15 Member States of the EU. These reports present an overview of developments and incidents of antisemitism, the political, academic and media reactions to it, information from public opinion polls and attitude surveys, and examples of good practice to combat antisemitism, all occurring in the years 2002 – 2003. The reports presented here are in fact an amalgamation of several NFP reports (on antisemitism, racist violence, legislation, etc).
- The second part of the report, which was compiled by Alexander Pollak and Alexander Joskovicz, begins with a brief historical overview of antisemitism in the EU countries since 1945, a short discussion of terminology, and a summary of the main positions within the “new

antisemitism” and “anti-Zionism equals antisemitism” debates. In addition, on the basis of the elaboration of a working definition of “antisemitism”, it attempts to clarify some of the controversial issues underlying these debates.

- This is followed by an evaluation of the present situation in the European Union with regard to the availability and quality of data on antisemitism. A county by country appraisal is conducted, which is based on the reports of the fifteen NFPs for the years 2002 and 2003, as set out in the first part.
- The concluding section of this part of the report provides an assessment of the main gaps and problem areas with regard to the present monitoring of antisemitism in the EU 15 and furthermore provides proposals for future research in this area.
- Finally, the report makes a number of overall proposals for action for the EU and its Member States including legal and educational measures, and recommendations for the improvement of monitoring and recording of antisemitic incidents.



# **COUNTRY REPORTS ON ANTISEMITISM 2002 - 2003**



# **1. COUNTRY REPORTS ON ANTISEMITISM 2002 - 2003**

## **1.1. BELGIUM – REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM**

**Data and Information provided for 2002 (with a special focus on the period of May – June) and 2003 by the Belgian RAXEN National Focal Point**

### **PREFACE**

The first Jewish presence in the geographical area of Belgium can be traced back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century mainly in the Brabant province. Later expelled Jews from France began settling in different parts of Belgium and in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century Marranos settled in Antwerp playing an important economic role. After Belgium's independence in 1831 Judaism was officially recognized and the Jewish population grew significantly after 1880 with the influx of Eastern European Jews.

At the beginning of World War II, more than 100,000 Jews lived in Belgium 20,000 of who were refugees German Jews. By 1941, authorities started to confiscate Jewish properties and in 1942 around 25,000 Belgian Jews were deported mostly to Auschwitz; very few Belgian Jews survived concentration camps.

Jews joined the resistance movement with the largest Jewish organisation affiliated to the national Belgian resistance movement being the 'Committee for Jewish Defence'.

Today the Jewish community of Belgium numbers around 35,000 persons living mainly in Antwerp and Brussels with smaller communities in Charleroi, Ostende, Ghent, Liege, Mons, Arlon, Waterloo and Knokke. The Jewish community supports several schools, five newspapers and more than 45 synagogues. The umbrella organisation of Jews for the French-speaking part of Belgium is the 'Comité de Coordination des Organisations Juives de Belgique' (Coordinating Committee of the Belgian Jewish Organizations), and the equivalent organisation for the Flemish-speaking region of Belgium is the 'FORUM der Joodse Organisaties' (FORUM of Jewish Organisations).

### **1.1.1. LEGISLATION WITH RESPECT TO ANTISEMITISM**

Within the Belgian legal framework there are two laws addressing antisemitism, notably the general “Anti-racism Law” of 1981 and the “Law of Holocaust Denial” of March 1995:

- The anti-racism law provides for the punishment of those who incite hatred, violence and/or discrimination, both verbally and behaviourally. Discrimination under this law refers to any kind of distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference, which aims at, results in, or potentially results in, annulling, harming or limiting the recognition, enjoyment or exercising of the human rights and the fundamental freedom at the political, economic, social or cultural level or at other levels of community life. Anyone who incites publicly to discrimination, hatred or violence towards a person or a group (or who makes it public) because of race, skin colour, descent or national or ethnic descent is liable to punishment.
- According to the Holocaust denial law anyone who denies, grossly minimises, agrees with or attempts to justify the genocide committed by the German nationalist-socialist regime is liable to punishment.

### **1.1.2. SOURCES OF DATA AND INFORMATION**

In general Belgium does not have an official monitoring system for antisemitic incidents. Therefore, the NFP relies on information and data from complaints made to the ‘Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism’ (CEOOR) and its annual reports (<http://www.diversite.be>); from data and information provided by the ‘Bureau Exécutif de Surveillance Communautaire’ (BESC), (<http://www.antisemitisme.be>); and from the Internet magazine RésistanceS (<http://www.resistances.be/antisem01.html>).

### **1.1.3. DATA AND INFORMATION**

#### **I. ANTISEMITISM IN 2002**

The recent rise in antisemitism in Belgium is documented through the above sources. It could be attributed mainly to international events such as the second Intifada (October 2000) and the terrorist attacks in the USA of 11 September 2001. This form of antisemitism is predominantly manifested as isolated acts against members of the Jewish community. Examples of such acts are the daubing of suitcases of a flight to Tel Aviv with antisemitic slogans or the

attack on the principal rabbi of Brussels in December 2001. In addition, antisemitic texts are circulated in political and religious circles. On the whole, antisemitism seems mainly to be situated in the context of political minorities or political-religious fundamentalist movements, who spread it among groups of youngsters. Extreme right organisations exploit the tension between Israel and the Palestinian Authority in order to create a conflict between Belgian Jews and Muslims. In September 2001, for instance, pamphlets (inciting to kill Jews) that were initially attributed to a fundamentalist Islamic organisation were distributed in different districts of Brussels; however, later investigation showed that they were in fact not produced by this organisation.

In its 2003 Annual Report the CEOOR points out that the number of antisemitic acts has been on the increase since 2000. In 2002 the CEOOR received 30 complaints in regard to antisemitism five of which led to court action. In 2003 30 complaints were received 4 of which led to court action. These complaints concerned mainly the Internet, correspondence, graffiti, posters and articles.

#### A. PHYSICAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE TOWARDS JEWS, THEIR COMMUNITIES, ORGANISATIONS OR PROPERTY

- **1 April 2002** five firebombs were thrown against a synagogue in the rue de la Clinique in Brussels.
- **3 April 2002** Molotov cocktails were thrown against the oldest synagogue in the Bouwmeesterstraat in Antwerp.
- **15 April 2002** a family of Jewish traders in Molenbeek (Brussels) who were repeatedly victims of harassment and vandalism by youngsters in the neighbourhood had their car severely damaged and swastikas painted on the bodywork. There was also an attempted arson attack.
- **20-21 April 2002** unidentified persons machine-gunned the synagogue in Charleroi.
- **3 May 2002** Molotov cocktails were thrown against the Sephardic synagogue in Schaarbeek.
- **25 May 2002** a group of adolescent immigrants vandalized the restaurant of the soccer club “Maccabi” of the Jewish community in Antwerp smearing anti-Jewish slogans on the walls, and then destroying the doors, windows and furniture. The police arrested the youngsters who were released after questioning and an interview with their parents.
- **28 May 2002** a shop on the Frankrijklei, a major avenue in Antwerp, was painted with the slogan: ‘Kill the juif. Laat ze lijden (let them suffer), fuck Belgium’.<sup>11</sup>
- **In May** the Antwerp police reported some damages to bus stops, shops or public buildings. In most cases it concerns graffiti of SS signs, the swastika and the Star of David.

<sup>11</sup> Reported by the Forum of the Jewish Organizations of Antwerp.



B. VERBAL AGGRESSION, HATE SPEECH AND OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS JEWS

- **15 January 2002** the Correctional Court of Brussels sentenced a person who had disseminated (between December 1997 and February 1999) via the Internet racist literature and other texts denying the Holocaust. After repeated warnings, the Internet provider filed a complaint. The judge sentenced the accused in absentia to one year of imprisonment because of infringements against the anti-racism law and the Holocaust denial law.
- **In April and later in November 2002** during several demonstrations sympathising with Palestinians or protesting against the war in Iraq there were antisemitic banners and antisemitic slogans were shouted.
- **19 May 2002** a group of Jewish youths aged 13 were threatened by a group of allegedly Arab youths at the City Park of Antwerp. One of them menaced the Jewish youngsters with a mock rifle and was subsequently arrested by the police.<sup>12</sup>
- **In the second half of May 2002** an anonymous letter of antisemitic and revisionist content was sent to a concentration camp survivor who had published an article in a popular public newsletter.
- **In the second half of May 2002** a highly antisemitic article was published in a periodical published in the region of Charleroi.
- **3 June 2002** an antisemitic letter, originating in France was sent to an individual in Belgium.
- **6 June 2002** a complaint was filed at the CEOOR against Dyab Abou Jahjah, president of the Arabian European League (AEL) for inciting openly to hatred, discrimination and/or violence towards the Jewish community through the Internet. The complaint concerned a press statement in which the AEL urged people to join a demonstration in Antwerp on 8 June 2002 arguing that “power (in Antwerp) is in the hands of a Zionist lobby and extreme rightwing racists” and because “Antwerp is the bastion of Zionism in Europe” and a city “where pro-Aaron gangs of Zionists are dictating the rules”.
- **19 November 2002** a Jewish teacher working in a French-speaking school in Brussels was the victim of insults and threats by a number of pupils. The authorities were informed and the pupils involved were punished. The teacher left the school and had to receive psychological counselling.

C. STUDIES, OPINION POLLS OR OTHER REPORTS ON CHANGES IN ANTISEMITIC SENTIMENTS

No studies or opinion polls are reported by the NFP for the reporting period.

---

<sup>12</sup> Reported by the Forum of the Jewish Organizations of Antwerp.

D. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

- As a follow up to the inter-religious and inter-community meetings (mentioned below) organised since 11 September 2001 the CEOOR proposed an action plan to the Government including the creation of a website, containing a list of associations subscribing to diversity and mutual respect, and educational tools fostering interculturalism and diversity in society. In addition the website will contain instructions for lodging a complaint on racism with the CEOOR. A glossary of key words and concepts to be elaborated and explained in simple terms is also to be included (<http://www.agenda-respect.be>).

E. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS

- **5 April 2002** a Round Table conference was held following the initiative of the Belgian Government to bring together representatives from social partners, the Jewish and the Muslim communities, the League of Human Rights and CEOOR after the attacks on synagogues in Antwerp and Brussels. A common declaration was signed and commitments were made by the different actors to take concrete measures in the near future. At the inter-ministerial Conference for the Equal Opportunities Policy, which took place on 17 May 2002 an action plan was tabled and approved by the Government. This action plan is further discussed in the following section.
- **December 9 2002** on the invitation of the Belgian Government a round table took place with the participation of representatives of religious and philosophical communities, relevant associations, social partners and the COOR. This round table with the theme “Mutual respect” elaborated a common declaration entitled “to live together” and resulted among else in the organisation of local round tables as well as the creation of the website [www.agenda-respect.be](http://www.agenda-respect.be)

## ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

The Bureau Exécutif de Surveillance Communautaire (BESC) offers an overview of antisemitic acts in Belgium through its Internet site (<http://www.antisemitisme.be>). However, since no reference is made to the methodology used, the reliability and validity of the information on this site cannot be verified by the NFP.

BESC recorded 62 hostile acts towards the Jewish Community in 2002 (Table 1). The rise in antisemitic incidents in April 2002 corresponds with the start of the construction of the barrier wall by Israel. The recorded incidents took place mainly in Brussels (45) and to a lesser extent in Liège (8), Antwerp (6) and Charleroi (2); 39 antisemitic acts targeted persons and 23 buildings of the Jewish community.

*Table 1: Number of antisemitic acts for 2000-2002 registered by BESC*

|              | <b>2000</b> | <b>2001</b> | <b>2002</b> |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| January      | 4           | 1           | 2           |
| February     | 1           | 2           | 1           |
| March        | 2           | 0           | 2           |
| April        | 1           | 1           | 25          |
| May          | 2           | 0           | 11          |
| June         | 1           | 2           | 0           |
| July         | 1           | 0           | 0           |
| August       | 5           | 1           | 1           |
| September    | 4           | 2           | 7           |
| October      | 13          | 7           | 9           |
| November     | 2           | 5           | 3           |
| December     | 0           | 9           | 1           |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>36</b>   | <b>30</b>   | <b>62</b>   |

## II. ANTISEMITISM IN 2003

**The National Focal Point gave the following information to the EUMC:**

Due to the absence of any official systematic monitoring system the incidents reported below come from BESC, unless otherwise indicated.

### A. EXTREME VIOLENCE: ANY ATTACK POTENTIALLY CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE

- **13 June 2003** a bomb was placed in front of the synagogue in the rue de la Boucheterie in Charleroi. The explosion was prevented by the rapid intervention of the fire brigade.

### B. ASSAULT: ANY PHYSICAL ATTACK DIRECTED AGAINST PEOPLE, WHICH IS NOT A THREAT TO LIFE

- **31 January 2003** an executive of the European Rabbi Centre was attacked in the subway station Porte de Halle, insulted with the words "dirty Jew" and knocked down. The subway security service had to intervene.
- **22 February 2003** a Jewish youngster aged 15 was attacked while on his way to the youth organisation "Bné Akiva". Both he and the rabbi of the Jewish community in Uccle and Forest have filed a complaint. The attack was made by two local youths belonging to a neighbourhood group of youngsters who had in the past repeatedly insulted Jewish persons going to the synagogue or the supermarket.
- **10 March 2003** several Jewish youngsters aged 14 were attacked in a subway station by a group of thirty youngsters throwing stones at them. One of the Jewish youths was thrown on the ground, insulted as "dirty Jew" and beaten. When two of the other Jewish youths came to their assistance, they were also attacked.
- **17 March 2003** at lunchtime a Jewish pupil of the Yavnè school in Antwerp was attacked and insulted by three youngsters allegedly of North African origin. The school security personnel intervened, but the attackers managed to escape.
- **10 June 2003** an orthodox Jew member of the Jewish community in Saint-Gilles was attacked and insulted by a group of youngsters allegedly of North African origin.

C. DAMAGE AND DESECRATION OF PROPERTY

- **7 February 2003** a man with a knife attempted to break into a synagogue. The police took him for questioning.
- **18 February 2003** concrete posts in front of the synagogue Rogier were damaged during the night and pieces of concrete were thrown against the entrance of the synagogue, causing damage.
- **19 March 2003** Jewish graves at the cemetery of Dilbeek (Brussels) were desecrated.
- **9 July 2003** the day-care centre Gan Hai in Uccle was damaged. The premises were ransacked during the night and excrement was thrown against the windows and Hebrew posters.

D. THREATS, VERBAL OR WRITTEN

- **14 February 2003** a member of the Jewish community in Brussels was threatened by two young persons apparently of North-African origin saying: "dirty Jew, we will get your skin", mimicking cutting his throat.
- **12 May 2003** an executive of the Jewish community in Brussels received several death threats on his mobile phone.

E. ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

- **2 January 2003** the car of the (non-Jewish) caretaker of the synagogue of the rue de la Clinique was vandalised. The windscreen was smashed and the words "Jew" and "to death" were written on the car.
- **In March 2003** antisemitic graffiti ("death to the Jews") was smeared in the subway station Clemenceau, which is very close to the synagogue in the rue de la Clinique in Anderlecht, Brussels.
- **30 March 2003** a group of youngsters allegedly of North African origin insulted a young man ("dirty Jew") in front of a shop in Uccle.
- **16 June 2003** insults were directed against a Jewish funeral procession in Brussels. Children of a nearby school allegedly of North-African origin yelled insults ('dirty Jew', 'death to the Jews', etc) as they noticed the Star of David on the hearse.

## F. ANTISEMITIC LITERATURE

- **In May 2003** the ‘CEOOR’ received several complaints about racist and antisemitic statements in a secondary school textbook for Dutch speaking students. Examples are the use of words like “little Negro”, “Negro”, “chief of a Negro tribe” or phrases like “Do you also think Germans are such unpleasant people?” and “When a Palestine child in Jerusalem saw a Jewish soldier coming, it winced with fear”. The publisher of the textbook stressed that these statements were not intended as racist or antisemitic, but agreed that the terms and phrases could be interpreted in a negative way. For this reason the publisher immediately destroyed the existing textbook stock and printed an adapted version. For the other textbooks that were already in use by schools, stickers were printed to correct the relevant paragraphs.
- **15 May 2003** the ‘CEOOR’ filed a complaint against a Dutch publisher disseminating in book fairs on the “paranormal” books by an alleged medium with racist and antisemitic content, on the basis of the anti-racism law and demanded these books to be withdrawn from a fair in Antwerp. The judge agreed with ‘CEOOR’ and ruled that this ideology is insulting and damaging for a group of persons because of their race, religion or conviction of life, and incites to discrimination and violence, and is, as a consequence, in breach of the legislation against racism and discrimination. In addition, the judge ruled that any dissemination of racist and discriminatory ideas couldn’t be allowed in a society in which mutual tolerance is more important than the unlimited free expression of opinions.
- **9 September 2003** the correctional court of Antwerp sentenced Siegfried and Herbert Verbeke to one year suspended imprisonment and a fine of 2500 € for offences against the Holocaust denial and anti-racism laws. They were also deprived of their civil rights for 10 years. The ‘CEOOR’ and the ‘Auschwitz Foundation’ lodged a liability complaint and received symbolically 1 € damages. The brothers Verbeke were prosecuted because of their Holocaust denial activities through the organisation ‘VHO’ (with its own homepage) that disseminates Holocaust denial pamphlets and books.
- **Until the end of November 2003** the ‘CEOOR’ had received three additional complaints on antisemitic elements in e-mails and in local newspapers and three complaints on antisemitic texts on Internet sites.

G. CHANGES IN THE EU POPULATION ATTITUDES TOWARDS JEWS

The NFP does not report any recent relevant studies or opinion polls.

H. RESEARCH STUDIES OR OPINION POLLS REPORTING ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE OR ATTITUDES

The NFP does not report any recent research studies or relevant opinion polls.

I. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

- **18 and 19 January 2003** a conference on "The new Judeophobia: The return to antisemitism?" was organised by the 'European Centre for studies of the Shoah, antisemitism and genocide' of the Free University of Brussels, the collective 'Dialogue et Partage', the 'Centre Communautaire Laïc Juif' and the 'Union des Etudiants Juifs de Belgique'.
- The representative body of Muslims in Belgium and its Jewish counterpart, the 'Consistoire Israélite de Belgique', issued a joint appeal condemning violence and antisemitism. Anti-Arab, anti-Muslim remarks made by some members of the Jewish community were severely criticised by the other members.
- **22 May 2003** in Brussels and **21 October 2003** in Charleroi the 'CEOO' and the 'GSARA' ('Groupe Socialiste d'Action et de Réflexion sur l'Audiovisuel') organised a debate on "Jews, North Africans, Muslims, Palestinians, Israelis... in Brussels or somewhere else: 'Provided that we talk to each other'". The occasion for this debate was the premiere of the film "Pourvu que l'on se parle". The film suggests that the September 11 terrorist attacks led to an upsurge in both antisemitic and Islamophobic incidents in Belgium with both Jews and North Africans becoming victims of stereotypes, prejudice and misinformation. The film also shows that despite the growing tension both communities have much in common: a history of migration, expectations and hopes.

J. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS INCLUDING INITIATIVES TO REDUCE POLARISATION AND COUNTERACT NEGATIVE NATIONAL TRENDS

- A common declaration to promote dialogue was signed by representatives of different religions and denominations, the federal Government, civil society representatives and the 'CEOOR'. Initiatives promoting dialogue and mutual understanding have also been organised

on both a local and a national level in co-operation with representatives of the different religions and denominations by the ‘CEOOR’.

- A “Call for Mutual Respect” drafted by ‘COOR’ has been signed by the leaders of all Belgian political parties, after the attacks on 11 September 2001.
- The federal Government asked the ‘CEOOR’ to propose a plan on specific actions that can be undertaken in order to promote dialogue between the different communities. In September 2003, the ‘CEOOR’ finalised a proposal for a “National Action Plan against Racism” containing suggestions for specific national projects to guarantee access to social services, such as education, health care, decent housing, and adequate means for the protection of victims.

## CONCLUSIONS

In the absence of any official systematic monitoring of antisemitic incidents in Belgium until 2004 the evidence is drawn from complaints to the Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism (CEOOR), and from some other non-governmental organisations. In the case of the latter the reliability and validity of the information cannot be verified by the Belgian NFP. However, if this information is correct, there has been a catalogue of incidents during 2002 and 2003 of varying extremity, including several incidents of the fire-bombing of Jewish property and some serious physical assaults, as well as many other incidents of insults, graffiti, hate speech and vandalism. The CEOOR is of the opinion that the number of antisemitic incidents in Belgium has increased since 2000, and the 64 acts recorded by one NGO in 2002 represent roughly double those it recorded in the two previous years. It is significant that 25 of these 64 acts occurred in April 2002, the start of the construction of the barrier wall by Israel. In response to the perceived increase in incidents, there have been some joint activities and campaigns by Muslim and Jewish organisations against antisemitism.



## **1.2. DENMARK - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM**

### **Data and Information provided for 2002 (with a special focus on the period of May – June) and 2003 by the Danish RAXEN National Focal Point**

#### **PREFACE**

Jews arrived in Denmark in the 17th century. During WW II about 90% of the Jewish population were secretly transported to Sweden, but the remaining were sent to the concentration camp of Theresienstadt.

The Jewish community numbers today around 7,000, in a total population of 5,2 million, mostly concentrated in Copenhagen with smaller communities in Odense and Aarhus. The great majority of Danish Jews are Ashkenazim with roots in central and Eastern Europe.

The central representative organisation of the Danish Jews is the ‘Mosaiske Troessamfund i Kobenhavn’ (Jewish Congregation in Copenhagen); other organisations include ‘B'nai Akiva’, ‘B'nai B'rith’ and ‘WIZO’.

#### **1.2.1. LEGISLATION WITH RESPECT TO ANTISEMITISM**

The Danish Penal Code includes special provisions for crimes with a racist, ethnic, religious or cultural motivation related to racist discourse. The usual provisions of the Danish Penal Code cover racist violence, including violent attacks, arson, murder etc. It can however be considered an aggravating circumstance, if the crime had a racist motivation.

The provision prohibiting racist discourse dates back to 1939, when Section 266b was introduced in the Danish Penal Code in order to combat antisemitism. In 1971 Section 266b was amended to fulfil the requirements of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. It was again amended in 1987 (inclusion to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation), in 1995 (aggravating circumstance, if the dissemination amounts to propaganda) and in 2002 (possibility of punishing legal entities).

## Danish Penal Code: Section 266b

“(1) Any person who publicly or with the intention of dissemination to a wide circle of people makes a statement or imparts other information threatening, insulting or degrading a group of persons on account of their race, colour, national or ethnic origin, belief or sexual orientation, shall be liable to a fine or imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

(2) When handing down punishment, it is to be considered as an aggravating circumstance that the statement is in the nature of propaganda.”

Section 266b refers only to statements that are disseminated publicly or to a wide circle of people. Private statements are thus not covered by the provision; however it is clear how “private” may be interpreted. In a recent decision by the district court in Herning a member of the ‘People’s Party’ (‘Fremskridtspartiet’) had distributed an e-mail to 47 people containing degrading and insulting statements about inter alia Muslims. The court found that this distribution fulfilled the requirement of dissemination to a wide circle of people. Moreover the International Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in a recent communication concerning Denmark invited “the State party to reconsider its legislation, since the restrictive condition of ‘broad publicity’ or ‘wider dissemination’ required by article 266b of the Danish Criminal Code for the criminalization of racial insults does not appear to be fully in conformity with the requirements of articles 4 and 6 of the Convention.”<sup>13</sup>

The terms “statement or other information” should be interpreted broadly. They cover both oral and written expressions, pictures, caricatures and also symbolic acts or objects. Case law inter alia shows that burning crosses are covered by the provision. Regarding Nazi or neo-Nazi symbols case law shows that the courts have dealt mainly with the use of the swastika as a violation of section 266b. However any symbol expressing a threat, an insult or degradation targeted towards a specific group would be considered a violation. Moreover, a specific connection between the symbol and a group has to be present, e.g. the swastika and Jews. Under Danish law it is not considered a violation of the provision to publicly display, use or wear the swastika or other Nazi symbols, as the symbols themselves are not considered as implicitly expressing a threat, an insult or degradation of Jews.

---

<sup>13</sup> Communication No. 25/2002

## 1.2.2. SOURCES OF DATA AND INFORMATION

- The Copenhagen Police.
- The Danish Civil Security Service (PET) collecting data on “racially motivated” crimes in Denmark
- ([http://www.pet.dk/upload/pet\\_aarsberetning.pdf](http://www.pet.dk/upload/pet_aarsberetning.pdf)).
- The Jewish Community (Det Mosaiske Trossamfund) (<http://www.mosaiske.dk>); official representative of the Jewish community in Denmark.
- “Maichsike-hadas” (<http://www.machsike-hadas.subnet.dk>); Orthodox Jewish Community in Copenhagen.
- Chabad (<http://hjem.get2net.dk/chabad/>); organization promoting Jewish awareness.
- Carolineskolen (<http://www.carolineskolen.dk>); main Jewish school located in Copenhagen.
- JIF Hakoah (<http://www.hakoah.dk>); Jewish sports club (via Carolineskolen).
- Progressive Jewish Forum (<http://pjf.5u.com>); organization for the “reform Jewish congregation”.
- The Danish Center for Holocaust and Genocide studies.
- The Embassy of Israel in Copenhagen.
- Eastern and Western High Courts, City Court of Copenhagen and City Court of Sorø.
- NEC (Nationalt støtte Center).
- The Department of Holocaust and Genocide Studies in Denmark.
- DACoRD - individual cases registered in a database.

### Written sources:

- AMID Working Paper Series 17/2002 – *Danskernes holdninger til indvandrere. En oversigt*. Jørgen Goul Andersen, Institut for Økonomi, Politik og Forvaltning, Aalborg Universitet. 2002.
- *Unge danskeres kendskab og holdning til Holocaust* (Knowledge and attitudes amongst young Danes on Holocaust) The Department of Holocaust and Genocide Studies in Denmark, Copenhagen January 2001.
- Møller, B. and Togeby, L. (1999) *Oplevet diskrimination, en undersøgelse blandt etniske minoriteter* Copenhagen, Board for Ethnic Equality.

**Newspaper articles from:**

- Berlingske Tidende,
- Information,
- Jyllandsposten,
- Kristeligt Dagblad,
- Politiken,
- Weekend Avisen.

**Homepages:**

- <http://www.holocaust-uddannelse.dk>
- <http://www.holocaust.nu>
- <http://www.axt.org.uk/essays/Whine.htm>
- <http://www.politiken.dk/Flash/nazisme/rapport.htm>

**1.2.3. DATA AND INFORMATION****I. ANTISEMITISM IN 2002**

Antisemitic and other racist incidents are monitored by civil society organisations and since 1992 by the Danish Civil Security Service (PET). However, as PET does not provide information on motives it is difficult in some cases to assess whether the incident is antisemitic.

The ‘Mosaiske Troessamfund i Kobenhavn’ systematically records all antisemitic incidents in Denmark. This includes incidents, which have not been recorded by PET because a complaint was not filed with the police. The ‘Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination’ (DACoRD) also registers incidents. Many of these incidents come from information provided by PET; however, DACoRD also records incidents that are not reported to the police, and is thus another source of information, which supplements the official data.

The research period 15 May 2002 to 15 June 2002 represented a calmer period for the Jewish community in Denmark compared to the preceding months with very few reported incidents. The main cause for concern has been a “flyer” distributed by the Islamic political organization ‘Hizb-ut-tahrir’ with an apparent call for Muslims to kill all Jews. This incident has led to a fervent political debate about the organization and whether it should be prohibited in accordance with §78 of the Danish constitution.

A. PHYSICAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE TOWARDS JEWS, THEIR COMMUNITIES, ORGANISATIONS OR PROPERTY

- The President of the Jewish Community reported that he had been harassed by two Arabs, who followed him closely and stepped on his heels near his home.
- A mother, who wished to remain anonymous, reported that her son had been beaten on the street by Palestinians who knew him from school. The boy required medical attention at the local hospital.
- **3 May 2002** a young man in a fitness centre was beaten up by a group of youngsters apparently of Palestinian origin according to the Jewish Community in Denmark.
- **13 June 2002** a member of the Jewish Community's Board reported the eighth incident of malicious damage to his automobile.

B. VERBAL AGGRESSION, HATE SPEECH AND OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS JEWS

- Rabbi Yitzchok Lowenthal, director of Chabad-Denmark reported that he and some of his friends have been verbally abused five or six times during the research period, when walking home from the Synagogue on Friday evenings. He describes the people who are shouting at him as young Arab men, as the abuse is often shouted in Arabic.
- During the research period the Jewish Community received eight reports from members who had been spat upon or otherwise harassed on the street.
- A student of the Jewish school ('Carlineskolen') reported that he was afraid to go home after being repeatedly threatened by a group of young people at the bus stop.
- A Jewish man reported that a "gang of young Muslims" yelled at him on the bus and told him what they would do to the Jews.
- The Islamic organization 'Hizb-ut-tahrir' distributed flyers containing material from their homepage with antisemitic statements, such as "Jews are a slanderous people". The following was written on the flyer: "And kill them. Wherever you find them, and expel them from where they expel you". The incident took place just before the research period, but was publicly discussed throughout the research period.
- **21 May 2002** the mother of a 9<sup>th</sup> grade student at Byens Skole in the Valby section of Copenhagen reported to the police that her son had been threatened by "Muslim students" from the neighbouring Vigerslev Allé Skole. A teacher at the school had to smuggle him out the back door when a gang showed up to assault him.
- **21 May 2002** according to information from the Jewish Community graffiti was smeared on traffic signs around Fælledparken: "No Juden".

- **21 June 2002** similar graffiti was smeared in Blågårdsplads: “No Jews”.

C. STUDIES, OPINION POLLS OR OTHER REPORTS ON CHANGES IN ANTISEMITIC SENTIMENTS

NFP-Denmark has no knowledge of any research carried out or published in this time period on antisemitism. No opinion polls have been conducted.

D. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

No examples are mentioned by the NFP.

E. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS

On the same day that ‘Hiz-ut-tahrir’ began distributing the aforementioned flyers the Prime Minister, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, invited several of the leading figures of the Jewish Community in Denmark to discuss the incident. Immediately afterwards the Prime Minister publicly condemned the incident. The author of the flyer was reported to the police in connection with Section 266b, and the Public Prosecutor started an inquiry to establish if ‘Hiz-ut-tahrir’ should be banned in accordance with §78 of the Danish constitution banning organizations, which incite violence. A majority in the Danish Parliament supported both of these actions.

Several leading Muslim personalities publicly condemned ‘Hizb-ut-tahrir’, their methods and viewpoints. Member of Parliament, Naser Khader, together with the Chairman of the Integration Council in Copenhagen, Hanna Ziadeh and historian Mahmoud Issa, all Danish Palestinians, wrote an open letter in the daily newspaper ‘Politiken’ (24.5.02) appealing to all Danish Palestinians living in Denmark not to allow their “justified criticism of the Israeli Government turn into hatred for all Jews” and emphasizing that, “our battle is political and not about religion and ethnicity”. The article was printed in both Danish and Arabic.

The daily newspaper ‘Kristeligt Dagblad’ published a long interview (10.5.02) with Tariq Ramadan, described as one of Europe’s leading Islamic thinkers, in which he explains that “hate for the Jews is not Islamic”. In the article he states that, “nothing in Islam legitimizes the antisemitism that certain Muslim organizations are expounding”.

## II. ANTISEMITISM IN 2003

### A. EXTREME VIOLENCE: ANY ATTACK POTENTIALLY CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE

During 2003 no such incidents were reported.<sup>14</sup>

### B. ASSAULT: ANY PHYSICAL ATTACK DIRECTED AGAINST PEOPLE, WHICH IS NOT A THREAT TO LIFE

During 2003 PET registered one incident of assault.

The Jewish Community recorded two incidents<sup>15</sup> that may be categorised as assaults (13 March 2003 and 23 May 2003). In both cases the perpetrators were reported to be of “Arabic and/or Palestinian origin”.

### C. DAMAGE AND DESECRATION OF PROPERTY

The Jewish Community recorded four incidents of damage or desecration to property.

### D. THREATS, VERBAL OR WRITTEN

About half of all incidents recorded by PET during 2002 and 2003 may be categorised as “threats” towards individuals (because they are Jews) or towards Jews as a group. The Internet and other electronic media are now being used to forward or display threats against Jews. This can be illustrated by a number of Danish court decisions in 2003:

(1) In one court decision the author of an Internet site was found guilty and fined 8,000 DKK for violating Section 266b stk.1 of the Danish Penal Code. The court ruled that the webpage with the title, “For the promotion of the Aryan society! Questions and answers”, was threatening, insulting and degrading to Jews and Muslims. However, the accused was not found guilty of violating Section 266b, stk.2 because the above text was on a private website, which, although accessible by anyone, had in fact not been advertised to a wider public. The fine also referred to a violation of the possession of weapons law §10 stk.3, §4, sk.3 concerning the possession of a flick-knife and a butterfly-knife.

(2) The leader of the Danish branch of the organization ‘Hizb-ut-Tahrir’ was found guilty for the dissemination of a “flyer”, also published on the organization’s website, containing degrading, insulting and threatening remarks about Jews and received a suspended sentence of 60 days

---

<sup>14</sup> The Jewish Community has reported no incidents of extreme violence either in 2002 or 2003.

<sup>15</sup> This figure is not final, as information about other incidents during 2003 may be reported to the Jewish Community in 2004.

imprisonment for violation of the Penal Code Section 266b, para. 2 cf. Para. 1 and Section 23 on complicity.

(3) In a judgement of 11 September 2003 by the Western High Court a former lieutenant colonel was fined 1000 DKK for publishing a marching-song, which inter alia degraded Jews and Turks on his webpage.

The Jewish Community recorded 29 incidents of threats and abusive behaviour against Jews in 2003.

#### E. ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

During 2003 no such incidents were recorded.

#### F. ANTISEMITIC LITERATURE

The liberal legislation on freedom of expression and speech in Denmark allows the sale of Nazi literature and symbols, flags etc that may contain antisemitic and racist statements.

Broadcasting (by e.g. radio ‘Oasen’) and distribution of such material is free and therefore not recorded by PET or the Jewish Community. It is thus difficult to make any assessment on the increase or decrease of the volume of such literature in Denmark.

The Internet as well as e-mails and SMS messages are increasingly used to disseminate antisemitic material.

#### G. CHANGES IN THE EU POPULATION ATTITUDES TOWARDS JEWS

In general, the focus of research and attitude surveys in Denmark is on “migrants” or “ethnic minority groups” rather than “Jews”, as a social group.

A study carried out in 2001 amongst young people age 15 to 35 on “Knowledge and attitudes amongst young Danes on the Holocaust”<sup>16</sup> asked a number of questions relating to “racism and Nazism”. Out of a total of 32 questions, 25 related to knowledge about the Holocaust, while 7 questions focussed on attitudes. None of these included questions on attitudes about Jews today. Questions were asked such as: “Should Muslims be allowed to build their own Mosques in Denmark?” (Yes 43%, No 33%) or “Is Islam a threat to Denmark? (Yes 19%, No 58%). No

<sup>16</sup> Available at <http://www.politiken.dk/Flash/nazisme/rapport.htm> : ”Unge danskeres kendskab og holdning til holocaust”



questions were asked about attitudes towards synagogues, cemeteries or other religious Jewish symbols in Denmark today.

H. RESEARCH STUDIES OR OPINION POLLS REPORTING ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE OR ATTITUDES

No other studies are mentioned by the NFP.

I. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

No good practices were reported by the NFP.

J. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS INCLUDING INITIATIVES TO REDUCE POLARISATION AND COUNTERACT NEGATIVE NATIONAL TRENDS

In November 2003 the Ministry of Culture announced that the rules for public financial support to the radio station "Oasen" would be reviewed.

## CONCLUSIONS

Statistics held by the Danish police and security service cover only 'racist' incidents without categorising them as 'antisemitism', 'Islamophobia', etc. Therefore it is not clear how many incidents within official statistics relate specifically to antisemitism. Further information on incidents of antisemitism is provided by Jewish organisations and NGOs. In terms of tangible antisemitic incidents, the first research period in 2002 was relatively calm, compared to earlier months. In 2003 there were no incidents, which could be categorized as 'extreme violence', and two or three incidents, which could be categorized as assaults against Jewish people. There were, however, some serious instances of antisemitic hate speech via the Internet, resulting in prosecution and punishment by the courts. In Denmark it is not unlawful to publicly display or use Nazi symbols such as the swastika, as the symbols in themselves are not considered to express insult or degradation to Jews. One unusual practice in Denmark is the public funding of a Nazi radio station, although in 2003 the Government announced its decision to review this policy.

### 1.3. GERMANY - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM

#### Data and Information provided for 2002 (with a special focus on the period of May – June) and 2003 by the German RAXEN National Focal Point

#### PREFACE

There is evidence of Jewish communities in the area now known as Germany as far back as the early 4<sup>th</sup> century; a Jewish graveyard from that era was found in Cologne. By the thirteenth century, Jewish communities were formed in Munich, Vienna and Berlin. In many German states during the eighteenth century Jews were granted rights similar to those of other citizens. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, antisemitism became visible, and even manifested itself in politics, but became more pronounced in the aftermath of World War I. The Nazi takeover of 1933 was a stunning blow to German Jews. The Nuremberg Laws adopted soon afterwards defined Judaism in terms of race and stripped all Jews of their citizenship rights. On the November 9, 1938, “Kristallnacht” Jewish businesses and synagogues were destroyed and Jews were injured and murdered. In 1941 Hitler officially ordered the implementation of the “Final Solution”, a horrific euphemism for the genocide that followed. On May 19, 1943, Hitler declared Germany to be “Judenrein” (free of Jews), though there are estimates that about 20,000 Jews managed to survive in hiding.

Only around 15,000 Jews remained to experience liberation by the Allies at the end of WWII. The number of Jews living in Germany rose in the post-war years to around 26,000. Although between 250,000 and 300,000 passed through Germany, particularly from Eastern Europe, the number of Jews living permanently in Germany remained about 30,000 until 1989. Since 1990, a considerable number of Jews has migrated to Germany from the former Soviet Union. The number of members of the Jewish communities in Germany has meanwhile grown to approximately 100,000 (0.12% of the population).<sup>17</sup>

The largest Jewish communities are in Berlin, Frankfurt, Munich and Hamburg, but there are religious, cultural, and social provisions for 83 communities. The main Jewish umbrella organisation is the ‘Central Council of Jews in Germany’ (‘Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland’) with headquarters in Berlin. In 2003 an agreement on cultural and social cooperation was signed by the Government and the Central Council with a fixed annual state funding of 3 million Euros.

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.zentralratjuden.de/>. The actual number of Jewish residents, however, is higher, as not all of them are members of local Jewish communities. It is impossible to state the precise figure as ethnic features are excluded from statistical registration by German law.

### 1.3.1. LEGISLATION WITH RESPECT TO ANTISEMITISM

Legislation with respect to antisemitism is addressed through a variety of legislative provisions, the most important of which are the following:

- The Constitution of Germany, which stipulates in Art.3 Par.3 Basic Law ('Grundgesetz') that it is illegal to discriminate on the basis of sex, descent, race, language, origin, belief, or their religious and political views.<sup>18</sup>
- The Civil Code: the anti-discrimination bill, which transposes the EC Race and Equality Directives, will amend the Civil Code ('Bürgerlichen Gesetzbuch, BGB') as the central document of civil law. According to proposed §319a, for example, no one must be directly or indirectly discriminated or harassed on the basis of "race", ethnic origin, sex, religion or belief, handicap, age or sexual identity.<sup>19</sup>
- The Penal Code, which includes regulations for the prosecution of "communication or propaganda" offences. Among these crimes are, for example, "using symbols of anti-constitutional organisations (e.g. swastika or other Nazi symbols)" (§86a Penal Code), "incitement of the people" (§130 Penal Code) or "glorification of violence" (§131 Penal Code). According to § 130 of the Penal Code ("incitement of the people") anyone who incites hate or violence against parts of the population (for example Jewish citizens) or "against a national, racial, religious group or a group defined by national customs and traditions" (own translation) or who abuses, disparages or slanders these groups and thereby attacks human dignity can be sentenced to a prison sentence of three months to five years.<sup>20</sup>

### 1.3.2. SOURCES OF DATA AND INFORMATION

The NFP used the following sources in its data and information collection:

- Official statistics;
- Legal provisions;
- Political organisations and parties;
- NGOs;
- Newspapers and press agencies;
- Studies and opinion polls.

---

<sup>18</sup> Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, München: Beck, 2002

<sup>19</sup> Diskussionsentwurf eines Gesetzes zur Verhinderung von Diskriminierungen im Zivilrecht (Per 10 December 2001) (Discussion on the bill relating to the prevention of discrimination in civil law; available online at <http://www.bmj.bund.de/images/11312.pdf>)

<sup>20</sup> Strafgesetzbuch und Nebensätze (ed. Herbert Tröndle), München: Beck, 2003

The most important data sources recording antisemitic criminal acts are the police crime statistics systematically recording extreme right wing, xenophobic and antisemitic criminal offences. However, individual case studies and research of other institutions also shed light on this phenomenon, for example regarding the background or the specific situation in a region. As all efforts to combat extreme right-wing tendencies have to be based on sufficient and detailed data, a new system has been introduced for recording incidents of extreme right-wing, xenophobic and antisemitic violence and criminal acts. This register, the KPMD-PMK: 'Kriminalpolizeilicher Meldedienst – Politisch motivierte Kriminalität' (Criminal Investigation Registration Service – Politically Motivated Criminality), has been in operation since 1 January 2001. The new system is based on the perpetrators' motivation. However, as individual federal states are responsible for the criminal persecution of extreme right-wing, xenophobic and antisemitic motivated criminal acts, and individual cases are processed by local police authorities, it is difficult to say whether the new system has been applied in exactly the same way by all 16 German states.

The present report is based mainly on information from governmental and non-governmental organisations, official statistics on crimes with antisemitic backgrounds and reports from selected media. In its data collection the NFP uses the German Federal Ministry of the Interior and the Federal Ministry of Justice as source. However, German public authorities do not offer an official legal definition of antisemitism: the classification "antisemitic" in crime statistics refers to the perpetrator's motives or the victim.<sup>21</sup> Since this report covers more subtle forms of antisemitism the NFP applied the definition of W. Benz as "intentionally used and articulated, and defaming prejudice against the minority of the Jews" in its wider collection of information and its assessment of the situation. It must also be noted that the high figures on antisemitism in comparison to other EU Member States is due also to the efficient data collection system of Germany.

---

<sup>21</sup> Federal Ministry of Interior & Federal Ministry of Justice: *Erster Periodischer Sicherheitsbericht*, Berlin 2001

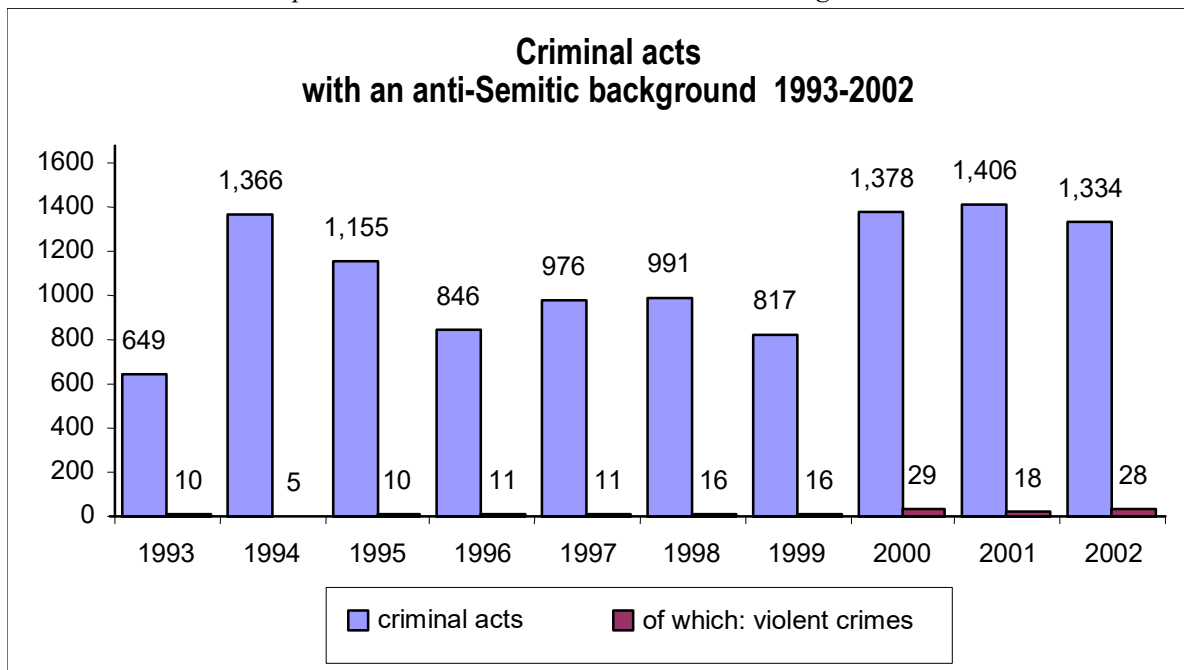
### 1.3.3. DATA AND INFORMATION

#### I. ANTISEMITISM IN 2002

##### A. PHYSICAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE TOWARDS JEWS, THEIR COMMUNITIES, ORGANISATIONS OR PROPERTY

The number of antisemitic criminal acts – parallel to the development of criminal acts with an extreme right-wing background – increased considerably (69%) from 1999 to 2000. Contrary to the trend of decreasing numbers of extreme right-wing criminal acts in 2001, the number of antisemitic criminal acts showed a further (slight) increase compared to 2000.<sup>22</sup> There was a drop, however, in the number of antisemitic violent crimes. In 2002 this development reversed: whilst the total number of criminal offences with an antisemitic background dropped slightly, the number of antisemitic violent crimes rose from 18 in 2001 to 28 in 2002.<sup>23</sup>

Graph 1: Criminal acts with an antisemitic background 1993-2002



Source: Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz (Federal Office for Internal Security) 2001a, <http://www.verfassungsschutz.de/news>

<sup>22</sup> Taking the limited comparability of the figures of 2000 and 2001 due to the introduction of the new registration system into consideration

<sup>23</sup> Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz (Federal Office for Internal Security) 2001a <http://www.verfassungsschutz.de/news>, 11/06/03

**(Please note that due to the introduction of a new registration system at the beginning of 2001, figures of 2001 cannot be compared with those of previous years.)**

The antisemitic criminal acts in the first half of 2002 were mainly incitement (66%) and propaganda crimes (almost 20%). In this period also eight violent crimes were recorded. An East-West-comparison shows that – in contrast to the criminal acts with an extreme right-wing background in general – the number of antisemitic criminal acts is not over-proportionally frequent in the new federal states, in relation to the respective population.

The following incidents were also noted by the NFP:

- **In April 2002** in Berlin a bottle with flammable liquid was thrown at a synagogue without causing damage; a similar incident was reported in Herford. In Berlin two Jewish women who wore a pendant of a Star of David were attacked, and two Orthodox Jews were slightly injured by a group of people in the street after a visit to the synagogue.<sup>24</sup>
- **28 May 2002** an unidentified man called the ‘Hessischer Rundfunk’ (Hessian Broadcasting Company) in Frankfurt and warned that a bomb would explode in the main tower, where a talk show was hosted by Michel Friedman, the vice-Chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany.
- **24 December 2002** the Jewish cemetery in Philippsburg in the federal state of Baden- Württemberg was desecrated, 8 gravestones were knocked over and 15 were smeared with swastikas.<sup>25</sup>
- In a similar incident the Jewish cemetery in Bützow (Mecklenburg-West Pomerania) was desecrated. In addition, gravestones were sprayed with swastikas and SS runes.<sup>26</sup>

The NFP also cites a number of press reports on attacks, damage and desecration of Jewish monuments or memorials, for example:

- **In September 2002** an arson attack was carried out on the memorial to the Wittstock concentration camp in Brandenburg. One of the two exhibition rooms was destroyed by fire and the perpetrators left antisemitic and Nazi graffiti behind.
- **In October 2002** the Jewish memorial in the Levetzowstrasse in Berlin-Tiergarten was desecrated with a swastika.<sup>27</sup>
- **In November 2002** a man desecrated the visitors’ book at a memorial to a concentration camp with a swastika and was subsequently arrested by the police.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Associated Press, 04/29/02; Amnesty International Public Statement EUR 03/002/2002; 05/10/02

<sup>25</sup> Neues Deutschland, 12/28/02

<sup>26</sup> Frankfurter Rundschau, 09/09/02

<sup>27</sup> Berliner Zeitung, 10/12/02; TAZ, 10/12/02

## B. VERBAL AGGRESSION, HATE SPEECH AND OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS JEWS

In the Berlin district of Spandau at a ceremony renaming a street “Judenstrasse” (“Jew Street”), Alexander Brenner was heckled with antisemitic slogans such as “Jews out” and “You Jews are to blame for everything” (own translations).<sup>29</sup>

The editor of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frank Schirrmacher, described Martin Walser’s latest novel ‘Tod eines Kritikers’ (‘Death of a critic’), whose main figure can be easily recognised as the famous German-Jewish critic of literature Marcel Reich-Ranicki, a “document of hatred” and denounced its “repertoire of antisemitic cliché” and refused the planned pre-release in the newspaper. M. Walser himself rejected the accusation of antisemitism arguing that his novel would be about the “power in the world of culture”, and not about Jews.<sup>30</sup> The argument between Walser and Schirrmacher was linked to the Möllemann case (see below) and received broad publicity.

### The “Karsli case”

A former member of the Green Party, Jamal Karsli, who applied for admission to the liberal ‘Freie Demokratische Partei’ (FDP, ‘Free Democratic Party’), stated in an interview on 3 May, 2002 to the weekly ‘Junge Freiheit’ that the “very big Zionistic lobby controls the major part of worldwide media, and, therefore, would be capable of destroying every person no matter how important”. A few weeks earlier he had described the behaviour of Israeli troops against Palestinians as “Nazi-methods”.<sup>31</sup>

Leading FDP politicians and nearly all public opinion leaders distanced themselves from Karsli’s statements, except from the deputy Chairman of the FDP and party leader in North Rhine-Westphalia Jürgen Möllemann.

J. Karsli also accused the Central Council of the Jews in Germany of supporting Israel’s policies in an interview in the Saudi-Arabian newspaper *Al Watan*.<sup>32</sup> On May 22, 2002 J. Karsli withdrew his application for admission to the FDP due to “public hounding”<sup>33</sup>.

### The “Möllemann case” (Jürgen W. Möllemann died in June 2003)

J. W. Möllemann in early April, commenting on the Palestinian suicide attacks on Israelis, stated: “I would also defend myself, (...) and I would also do it in the

---

<sup>28</sup> TAZ, 11/12/02

<sup>29</sup> TAZ, 11/05/02

<sup>30</sup> Frankfurter Rundschau 05/31/02; Die Welt 05/30/02; AP 05/09/02; Jüdische Allgemeine 06/07/02; Berlin Online 06/04/02

<sup>31</sup> Süddeutsche Zeitung 05/16/02, 05/16/02 and 05/20/02

<sup>32</sup> Der Spiegel, 05/20.02; Der Stern, 05/20.02

<sup>33</sup> Reuters, 05/23/02; <http://www.d-a-g.de>, 05/24/02

land of the aggressor.” German media and politicians interpreted this statement as legitimising suicide attacks.<sup>34</sup>

Möllemann also accused Michel Friedman, Vice-chairman of the Central Council of the Jews in Germany, of being partly responsible for antisemitism in Germany “with his intolerant and spiteful way”.<sup>35</sup> The President of the Central Council of Jews, Paul Spiegel, described Möllemann’s accusation as “the biggest insult, which a political party has expressed in German history since the Holocaust”<sup>36</sup> and Michel Friedman demanded that the Liberal Party should publicly denounce Möllemann.<sup>37</sup> In response Möllemann stated that he received more than 11,000 letters of support.<sup>38</sup>

### Reaction and public debate about Möllemann and Karsli

The two cases evoked a hot debate and partly latent, partly open antisemitic reactions:

- Antisemitic statements were posted to the FDP parliamentary group’s web site discussion forum ‘Speaker’s corner’, for example: “Germany has to free itself from the chains of bondage of Israel”<sup>39</sup>; “The Jews themselves propagate the so-called ,antisemitism’ in order to punish everyone who contradicts them”;<sup>40</sup> “I think the Jews themselves have invented antisemitism”<sup>41</sup>; “It is really sad how all politicians grovel to the lobby; everyone who does not and dares to have a different opinion, is denounced immediately and is branded as antisemitic or racist”;<sup>42</sup> “If the Central Council of the Jews immediately senses antisemitism in every criticism of Israel, it is only because the alleged collective guilt of the Germans should be carried around like a monster as long as possible”.<sup>43</sup> Similar postings appeared in the online discussion forum of ‘Der Spiegel’.
- Since early April 2002, the Jewish communities and the Central Council of the Jews in Germany received a massive amount of antisemitic letters, e-mails, and phone calls with an increasingly aggressive tone. The chairman of the Jewish Community in Berlin, Alexander Brenner, stated that the authors of these letters do not even shun anymore from signing them and added that many disguise their anti-Jewish aggression as criticism of Israel. “The conflict in the Middle East offers a nice

<sup>34</sup> Der Spiegel, 04/04/02

<sup>35</sup> Der Spiegel, 05/27/02

<sup>36</sup> Süddeutsche Zeitung, 05/25/02

<sup>37</sup> Der Spiegel, 05/21/02.

<sup>38</sup> TAZ, 05/23/02; see also <http://www.n-tv.de>, 05/22/02.

<sup>39</sup> Frankfurter Rundschau 05/24/02; quoted from the FDP discussion forum at <http://www.fdp-fraktion.de>

<sup>40</sup> Available at <http://www.fdp-fraktion.de>; 05/23/02

<sup>41</sup> Available at <http://www.fdp-fraktion.de>; 05/23/02

<sup>42</sup> Available at <http://www.fdp-fraktion.de>; 05/23/02

<sup>43</sup> Available at <http://www.fdp-fraktion.de>; 05/24/02



opportunity to finally wrap up their antisemitism as criticism of Israel; anti-Zionism or anti-Israelism serves as an outlet for antisemitism”.<sup>44</sup> The weekly Jewish newspaper ‘Jüdische Allgemeine’ released samples of such letters.

C. STUDIES, OPINION POLLS OR OTHER REPORTS ON CHANGES IN ANTISEMITIC SENTIMENTS

- **31 May 2002** the American Jewish Committee (AJC) released a study in Berlin about the reporting of German print media on four important incidents in the Middle East during the second Intifada between September 2000 and August 2001. The study conducted by the ‘Linguistic and Social Research Institute in Duisburg’ (‘Institut für Sprach- und Sozialforschung’) concluded that the reporting on the Middle East conflict of the newspapers and magazines they examined was biased and showed antisemitic elements which could often (re) produce antisemitic and racial prejudices. The study was criticised by the weekly newspaper ‘Die Zeit’, because it refused to produce verifiable proof on how media reports affect people.<sup>45</sup>
- **In April 2002** the study “Political Attitudes in Germany” (conducted by the ‘Sigmund-Freud-Institut’ in Frankfurt) showed that antisemitic attitudes have increased since 1999. The statement “I can understand well that some people feel unpleasant about Jews” was confirmed by 36% (1999: 20%) of those questioned.<sup>46</sup>
- The ‘Jüdische Allgemeine’ quotes an opinion poll, which has similar results concerning anti-Jewish attitudes between 1999 and 2002: In 1999 19% of the Germans could “well understand that some people feel unpleasant about Jews”; this rose to 33% in 2002. Only 37% of the people questioned cannot understand these “unpleasant feelings” towards Jews; while three years earlier 55% stated a lack of understanding.<sup>47</sup>
- In contrast conclusions from a recent poll by ‘NfO Infratest’ show that antisemitic resentments slightly decreased in Germany over the past 11 years. In June 2002, 68% of those asked rejected the statement “The Jews are partly responsible for being hated and persecuted“ and 29% confirmed it. In 1991, the percentage for confirmation was 32%. To the question “How many Germans have an anti-Jewish attitude?” in 2002 2% voted for “most Germans“, 13% for “a high number of Germans”, 57% for “a small number of Germans”, and 26% said “hardly anyone”.

---

<sup>44</sup> Der Spiegel, 05/16/02

<sup>45</sup> Die Zeit, 05/29/02; also: <http://www.spiegel.de>, 05/30/02

<sup>46</sup> Frankfurter Rundschau, 06/15/02

<sup>47</sup> Jüdische Allgemeine, 06/07/02

Furthermore, 29% agreed to, “Jews have too much influence on the world”, a figure lower than in the 1991 poll, when 36% agreed.<sup>48</sup>

#### D. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

- Almost all public leaders distanced themselves from Jürgen Möllemann’s<sup>49</sup> statements in relation to the current debate about antisemitism<sup>50</sup> and the Minister of Foreign Affairs; Joschka Fischer (Green Party) called for an election campaign about values, in which the coalition of the Green Party and the Social Democrats would be able to demonstrate openness and tolerance.<sup>51</sup> However, Möllemann’s statements were positively received by some political parties, such as “Die Republikaner”, the NPD (National Democratic Party Germany) and the DVU.<sup>52</sup>
- The Liberal Democrats (FDP) and the Social Democrats (SDP) petitioned the Parliament to ban antisemitic tendencies and not to exploit antisemitism in election campaigns.<sup>53</sup>
- **In May** the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Johannes Rau, met with representatives of the Central Council of Jews in order to express his solidarity. In an interview with the Jewish newspaper ‘Jüdische Allgemeine’ he noted his fears for a reduced sensitivity in antisemitic statements, although he pointed out that criticism of Israel is not tantamount to antisemitism.<sup>54</sup>
- The trade union, ‘IG Bauern-Agrar-Umwelt’ disassociated itself from Jürgen Möllemann by “mutual agreement” as a result of the politician’s statements.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> Der Spiegel, 11.06.02

<sup>49</sup> Jürgen W. Möllemann died in June 2003

<sup>50</sup> BBC News Europe, 06/10/02; AP, 06/02/02

<sup>51</sup> Associated Press, 06/11/02

<sup>52</sup> Süddeutsche Zeitung, 06/10/02

<sup>53</sup> Pressedienst des Deutschen Bundestages, 06/06/02

<sup>54</sup> Jüdische Allgemeine, 05/22/02; AP, 05/16/02

<sup>55</sup> Reuters, 06/13/02

## E. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS

In the period 15 May to 15 June 2002, there were many appeals for solidarity with the Jewish community and calls for promoting an inter-religious dialogue.

- Appeals were made by the chairman of the Central Council of the Jews in Germany, Paul Spiegel, and by leaders of the Christian churches.
- **In June 2002** the 'German Coordinating Council of Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation' ('Deutscher Koordinierungsrat der Gesellschaften für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit'; member of the International Council of Christians and Jews) organised a meeting, in which the importance of an inter-religious dialogue was discussed.<sup>56</sup>
- An inter-religious discussion group was recently established in Bremen where Muslims invited the Jewish community in order to foster a dialogue and promote a peaceful way of living together. This started a process of creating a discussion group bringing together Muslims, Jews, non-Muslim Palestinians, Protestants, Catholics, peace campaigners, politicians and trade unions. They attempt to maintain positive intercultural relations in Bremen as an example for other German towns.<sup>57</sup>

## II. ANTISEMITISM IN 2003

### A. EXTREME VIOLENCE: ANY ATTACK POTENTIALLY CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE

Statistical data was not yet available at the time of the NFP report (December 2003).

- **In September 2003** 14 kgs of explosives were discovered in the Munich neo-Nazi milieu. According to statements from the suspects the neo-Nazi group was planning an attack on the construction site of the Jewish Community Centre in the centre of Munich on 9 November, the day the foundation stone would be laid. It is still unclear whether the attack was aimed at the building site or those participating in the ceremony, including the Bavarian Prime Minister Edmund Stoiber, Federal President Johannes Rau, and the President of the Central Council of Jews in Germany Paul Spiegel. Further investigation revealed that other targets included mosques and a Greek school in Munich.

---

<sup>56</sup> Available at <http://www.deutscher-koordinierungsrat.de>, 04/12/02

<sup>57</sup> Frankfurter Rundschau, 05/14/02

B. ASSAULT: ANY PHYSICAL ATTACK DIRECTED AGAINST PEOPLE, WHICH IS NOT A THREAT TO LIFE

Statistical data was not yet available at the time of the NFP report (December 2003).

- In the first half of 2003, 16 violent crimes were recorded by the authorities and 14 people injured as a result of antisemitic crimes. Two cases, in Berlin, should be highlighted: the attack on a 19-year-old orthodox Jew and the attack on a 56-year-old man wearing a Star of David (both attacks took place in May 2003). The authorities allege that these attacks were carried out by young people of Arab descent.

C. DAMAGE AND DESECRATION OF PROPERTY

Statistical information was not yet available at the time of the NFP report (December 2003).

In an interview with the newspaper Frankfurter Rundschau in May 2003 the President of the Central Council of Jews, Paul Spiegel, spoke of “almost weekly attacks on Jewish cemeteries and Jewish institutions“ (own translation).<sup>58</sup> The following cases are only examples:

- **In November 2003** unidentified perpetrators badly damaged a Jewish memorial in Löcknitz close to Pasewalk (Mecklenburg-West Pomerania) only several days after it had been renovated.<sup>59</sup>
- **In November 2003** unidentified perpetrators damaged a number of wreaths several days after a memorial ceremony to the “Crystal Night” at the Jewish Memorial in Berlin.<sup>60</sup>

D. THREATS, VERBAL OR WRITTEN

- **In August 2003** the Frankfurter Rundschau reported at length on the Jewish owner of a food shop in Berlin-Reinickendorf who had been forced to give up his business as a result of constant antisemitic harassment and threats.

---

<sup>58</sup> Frankfurter Rundschau, 05/26/03

<sup>59</sup> Berliner Zeitung 11/18/03

<sup>60</sup> TAZ 11/20/03

E. ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

The NFP has not reported any such incidents for 2003.

F. ANTISEMITIC LITERATURE

Antisemitic statements are often contained in the following publications:

- The monthly 'Deutsche Stimme' (German Voice) with a circulation of 10,000;
- The bi-monthly 'Republikaner' (Republican) with a circulation of 12,000;
- The weekly 'National-Zeitung/Deutsche Wochen-Zeitung' with a circulation of 44,000 copies.

G. CHANGES IN THE EU POPULATION ATTITUDES TOWARDS JEWS

**Measurements of the majority population's attitudes towards Jews**

A number of research projects attempt to assess public attitudes towards minorities. They vary greatly depending on the research undertaken, especially the questions asked.<sup>61</sup> However, all projects show the following common features:

- Xenophobia is higher in the new federal states than in the old ones, but antisemitism is more marked in West Germany than in the East.
- Antisemitic attitudes are more frequent among those with a lower level of education.
- Contact between members of the minority and the majority have a positive effect in reducing xenophobia and racism.
- The following are examples of the main results of some of these surveys:

---

<sup>61</sup> Werner Bergmann (2003) in his article "Survey-Fragen als Indikatoren für den Wandel in der Wahrnehmung politischer Probleme: Antisemitismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1949-1998" (Survey questions as indicators for change in the perception of political problems, antisemitism in the Federal Republic of Germany 1949-1998) investigates how the question items employed to assess antisemitism have changed in the course of time. When, shortly after the Second World War, the relationship to National Socialism was more in the foreground, then in later studies of the 1970s this aspect was emphasised less and the focus was placed more on regarding the Jews as an ethnic minority and questions were asked, for example, on the "characteristics of Jews". Although this focus was still maintained in studies at the end of the 1980s, at the same time there was a "re-historicisation" as coming to terms with the Holocaust, for example, was included in the surveys. In addition, questions were also asked on the perspective to Israel and the attitude towards Jews was compared with that towards other ethnic groups.

- Angermeyer/Brähler (2001): In this survey, 4,005 Western and 1,020 Eastern Germans were interviewed. Ethnically motivated xenophobia was found in 11% of those interviewed (West 10%; East 16%); for 30% xenophobia is motivated by socio-economic reasons (West 27%; East 43%); and 9% displayed antisemitic tendencies.
- Brähler/Niedermayer (2002): This survey covered 1,050 Western and 1,001 Eastern Germans. 25% displayed xenophobic and 12% antisemitic attitudes. Interviewees from the new federal states were more xenophobic than those from the old federal states (30% compared to 24%); however, Western Germans displayed stronger antisemitic tendencies than people from Eastern Germany (14% compared to 5%). Xenophobic or antisemitic attitudes are more frequent in lower educated people (27% to 12% and 14% to 2% respectively).
- Fuchs/Lamnek/Wiederer (2003): Within the framework of this study, in 2001, 5,042 Bavarian pupils were asked in written questionnaires.

| Agree/disagree  | Fully agree | Tendency to agree | Undecided | Tendency to disagree | Fully disagree |
|---|-------------|-------------------|-----------|----------------------|----------------|
| <b>Jews try to profit from the past.</b>                  | 18.7        | 14.9              | 30.1      | 19.7                 | 16.7           |
| <b>Humiliation due to German crimes towards the Jews.</b> | 45.9        | 23.3              | 16.0      | 6.6                  | 8.2            |
| <b>Lack of understanding towards anti-Semites.</b>        | 43.8        | 20.4              | 20.1      | 8.0                  | 7.8            |
| <b>Jews are partially to blame for persecution.</b>       | 6.4         | 7.5               | 21.2      | 23.0                 | 41.8           |
| <b>Jews have too much influence.</b>                      | 5.8         | 5.1               | 16.6      | 26.2                 | 46.3           |
| <b>Christians and Jews can get along well.</b>            | 40.7        | 21.3              | 26.9      | 5.5                  | 5.7            |

Source: Fuchs/Lamnek/Wiederer 2003

Differentiation according to school type revealed that pupils in grammar school (Gymnasium) were least xenophobic or antisemitic, whilst pupils at secondary modern, secondary and vocational schools (Haupt-, Real- und Berufsschule) had similarly high percentages.

- GMF-Survey (Heitmeyer 2002a): In the course of this-survey (Group-related Misanthropy) 3,000 representatively chosen members of the

German-speaking population were interviewed in May and June 2003.<sup>62</sup> The project, Group-related Misanthropy, is a long-term observation of misanthropic attitudes in the population (running from 2002 until 2011) among which are racism, xenophobia, antisemitism, Islamophobia, etc.

*Indicators of the syndrome Group-related Misanthropy (in %)*

| Agree/disagree  | Fully disagree | Tendency to disagree | Tendency to agree | Fully agree |
|---|----------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| <b>Antisemitism</b>   |                |                      |                   |             |
| <b>Jews are too influential in Germany.</b>   | 36.8           | 41.5                 | 14.8              | 6.9         |
| <b>Because of their behaviour, Jews are partially responsible for being persecuted.</b> | 50.5           | 32.9                 | 12.1              | 4.5         |

*Source: Heitmeyer 2002a*

The study also showed that antisemitism is slightly higher in west than in east Germany (12.8% against 12.3%).

### **Current opinion polls**

The newspaper ‘Die Welt’ and the magazine ‘Der Stern’ commissioned two opinion polls on “antisemitic attitudes” in Germany:

- In the FORSA poll commissioned by ‘Stern’ a catalogue of questions and statements on attitudes towards Jews was sent to 1,301 German citizens in mid-November 2003. A comparable study with similar questions had already been carried out in 1998 with the intention of also offering the opportunity to make statements on possible changes in the attitude towards Jews. The results of the survey were given much media attention: in 23% of those interviewed “latent antisemitic” tendencies were present; in 1998 this percentage was 20%. Furthermore, 61% agreed with the statement: “58 years after the end of the war the persecution of the Jews should not be talked about so much any more, but that a line ought to be finally drawn for the past”. In 1998, 63% had agreed with this statement. The percentage of those who agreed with the statement that “Jews have too much influence in the world” rose from 21% (1998) to 28%, and the proportion of those who agreed with the statement that “Jews tried to gain advantages from their past and make Germans pay” dropped from 41% (1998) to 36%. The FORSA survey

<sup>62</sup> GMF stands for Group-related Misanthropy. It should be pointed out that people with a migrant background were not included in the results so that the sample survey was reduced to 2,722 people.

revealed, as a number of other studies, that the popularity of antisemitic statements is on average higher amongst those with lower education. There was also a higher tendency towards antisemitism amongst the older population.<sup>63</sup>

- The EMNID Institute carried out a similar survey in early November 2003 on behalf of the newspaper 'Die Welt'. The survey revealed that 79% of the 1,006 interviewed agreed that in Germany "hardly anyone" or "only a low number" of citizens were "against Jews"; only 12% of the interviewees agreed that "a large number" and only 1% that "most" citizens were "against Jews". 85% of those interviewed do not care whether they have "a fellow citizen of the Jewish faith" as a neighbour and 13% even wish they had a Jewish neighbour. Only 2% of those interviewed said that they did not want a Jew as a neighbour. However, 24% of the interviewees also agreed with the statement "The Jews, now as well as in the past, have too much influence on events happening in the world" (8% "agreed strongly"; 17% "rather agreed").<sup>64</sup>

#### H. RESEARCH STUDIES OR OPINION POLLS REPORTING ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE OR ATTITUDES

The NFP does not report any such studies in 2003.

#### I. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

- The 'MIPHGASCH/BEGEGNUNG' was founded in 1995 in Berlin to improve the relationship between Jewish and non-Jewish young people. In this context, lectures and seminars with contemporary witnesses are initiated and organised in schools.<sup>65</sup>
- The 'Jugendgeschichtswerkstatt' (youth history workshop) initiative teaches young people about the history of the Third Reich and how to combat racism and antisemitism. Amongst their activities is a travelling exhibition 'Fahrende Ausstellung', on a local train in Berlin on discrimination against the Jews during the National Socialist period. The exhibition contains texts, pictures, sound documents, conversations with contemporary witnesses and theatre performances. In 2003, the 'Jugendgeschichtswerkstatt', along with other project groups, was honoured by the 'Bündnis für Demokratie und Toleranz – gegen Extremismus und Gewalt' (Alliance for Democracy and Tolerance - against Extremism and Violence) because it motivates young people to act as multipliers for the tolerant co-habitation of differing cultures.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Available at <http://www.stern.de>, 11/19/03; TAZ, 11/20/03; Financial Times Deutschland, 11/20/03

<sup>64</sup> Die Welt, 11/10/03

<sup>65</sup> Available at <http://www.miphgasch.de>, 11/05/03

<sup>66</sup> Available at <http://www.jugendgeschichtswerkstatt.de>, 11/05/03



- The ‘Interkultureller Rat’ (Intercultural Council) has initiated a number of important activities: an inter-religious working group with representatives of Alevites, Baha’i, Buddhists, Christians, Jews and Muslims; inter-religious functions in churches, mosques and synagogues carried out on 3 October, the day of German Reunification; the ‘Forum of Abraham’, a group contributing in inter-religious communication with exemplary projects and joint initiatives of Jews, Christians and Muslims providing information on common aspects or differences between Jewish, Christian and Muslim beliefs and mediating locally in case of conflicts.<sup>67</sup>
- The treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Central Council of Jews in Germany signed on 27 January 2003 creates for the first time a permanent basis for the legal and financial relationship between the German state and the Jewish community. Under this agreement, both sides have agreed to cooperate constantly as equal partners (Article 2). In addition, the federal Government has agreed to provide financial assistance to the Jewish community. According to Article 2, the Central Council of Jews in Germany will receive an annual subsidy of € 3 million from the federal Government to support it in “fulfilling its cultural, social and integration contributions” to German society. Paul Spiegel, the President of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, states that the financial regulations do not form the core of the agreement. It is far more important that Germany recognises and supports the Jewish community: “The agreement does not only acknowledge our existence, but also underlines the political support of the Government and Parliament for the Jewish community in Germany.”<sup>68</sup>

J. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS INCLUDING INITIATIVES TO REDUCE POLARIZATION AND COUNTERACT NEGATIVE NATIONAL TRENDS

- **3 October 2003** in a speech on the German Day of Reunification by Member of Parliament Martin Hohmann the Jewish people were described as “people of perpetrators“ (“Tätervolk”). This provoked strong reactions from the other political parties, the Central Council of Jews and the Protestant and Catholic churches. The party leadership launched an action of censure that was accepted by Martin Hohmann who apologised for the remark in his speech, but refused to withdraw other statements in his speech.
- The public debate on this incident continued with the newly elected president of the Protestant church in Germany, Wolfgang Huber,

---

<sup>67</sup> Available at <http://www.interkultureller-rat.de/index.shtml>, 11/21/03

<sup>68</sup> Available at <http://text.bmi.bund.de/downloadde/24172/Download.pdf>, 11/16/03

demanding “more severe consequences”.<sup>69</sup> The CDU vice-president Jürgen Rüttgers also considered his apology as insufficient<sup>70</sup> and the President of the Central Council of Jews, Paul Spiegel, criticised the CDU leadership for what he described as the “worst case of antisemitism in past decades”.

- General Reinhard Günzel, commander of the “Kommandos Spezialkräfte“ (KSK; Special Commando Forces), who praised Martin Hohmann’s speech was dismissed by Minister of Defence, Peter Struck who remarked that the general had damaged the whole of the German army with his “abstruse and confused” utterances and his “unacceptable” opinion.<sup>71</sup>
- Later, the leadership of Martin Hohmann’s parliamentary group decided to draft a motion excluding him from the parliamentary party. The vote on the exclusion from the parliamentary party was the first in the party’s history and the necessary two-thirds majority was reached.<sup>72</sup>
- According to a poll conducted by the opinion research institute TNS Emnid<sup>73</sup>, although the majority of Germans (54%) welcomed the expulsion of Martin Hohmann, 40% of those interviewed in Western Germany and 28% of those interviewed in Eastern Germany were in favour of Hohmann staying. The poll also revealed that approval for Hohmann was stronger among the young.
- **In December**, the German Parliament passed a declaration supported by all parliamentary parties and the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) in which every form of antisemitism is condemned.<sup>74</sup>

## ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

**Inflows of Jewish immigrants from the territory of the former Soviet Union:** In 1990 the Government of the German Democratic Republic started to allow Jewish immigrants to enter from the Soviet Union by introducing a fast-track procedure. After German reunification, Germany decided to maintain this practice. Jewish immigrants are allowed to enter Germany on the basis of the Law on Setting Quotas for Refugees (‘HumHAG’, also known as the ‘Kontingentflüchtlingsgesetz’), which allows inflows of refugee groups during humanitarian crises. However, contrary to the usual practice, no quota has been set for entries of Jewish immigrants. Furthermore, they are under no obligation to take part in the language test in their home country, in contrast to ethnic

<sup>69</sup> TAZ, 11/07/03

<sup>70</sup> TAZ, 11/06/03

<sup>71</sup> Frankfurter Rundschau online, 11/05/03

<sup>72</sup> TAZ, 11/11/03; Frankfurter Rundschau online, 11/15/03; TAZ, 11/15/03

<sup>73</sup> Die Welt, 14/11/03

<sup>74</sup> Quoted according to <http://www.juden.de>, 11/03/03

German immigrants. State governors have agreed to distribute immigrants among the federal states.

As of 15 February 1991, all entry applications are reviewed individually on the basis of the so-called Structured Admission Procedure (“geordnetes Aufnahmeverfahren”).<sup>75</sup> Under these regulations, Jewish immigrants have to apply for an entry permit at a German consulate in one of the successor states of the former Soviet Union. In accordance with Foreign Ministry instructions to German consulates abroad (as of 25 March 1997), Jewish immigrants are entitled to enter Germany, if the following conditions are fulfilled: they have to provide official registration documents stating that they are of Jewish “nationality” – the former Soviet Union recognised Jews as a nationality – or that they are descendants of at least one Jewish parent. Applicants have to provide proof in the form of passports or birth certificates. After reviewing applications, state authorities notify the Federal Administrative Office, which, in turn, informs the decision to German consulates abroad. If entry permission is granted, migrants receive entry visas containing information on the federal state they have been allocated to. Entry visas have to be collected at the respective German consulate within twelve months, and are then valid for three months.

*Inflows of Jewish people from the former Soviet Union: 1993 – 2002*

| <b>Year</b> | <b>Inflows</b> |
|-------------|----------------|
| 1993        | 16,597         |
| 1994        | 8,811          |
| 1995        | 15,184         |
| 1996        | 15,959         |
| 1997        | 19,437         |
| 1998        | 17,788         |
| 1999        | 18,205         |
| 2000        | 16,538         |
| 2001        | 16,711         |
| 2002        | 19,262         |

*Source: Federal Ministry of the Interior, Federal Administrative Office (Bundesverwaltungsamt)*

A total of 164,492 Jewish emigrants entered Germany between 1993 and the end of 2002. The majority originate from the former Soviet Union in Europe,

<sup>75</sup> Jewish emigrants entering Germany before this agreement was reached were granted the same legal status, in accordance with the Law on setting Quotas for Refugees (HumHAG, also called *Kontingentflüchtlingengesetz*).

the main source countries being the Ukraine, Russia, the Baltic States, Belarus and Moldavia. Jewish immigrants receive the same legal status as people entitled to political asylum (e.g. entitlement to education benefits, permanent residence permit, and work permit). They are also offered a German language course and an integration benefit for six months funded by the federal government. Even though Jewish immigrants are characterised by a high proportion of university graduates, their integration into the German labour market has proved to be difficult, as existing qualifications are frequently not recognised in Germany.

## CONCLUSIONS

Information in Germany comes from the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the Federal Ministry of Justice, as well as from NGOs and selected media. The official authorities systematically register extreme right wing and antisemitism offences. It seems that antisemitism acts increased considerably (by 69%) from 1999 - 2000, and then showed a further slight increase in 2001. In 2002, although there was a slight decrease in total offences, the number of antisemitic violent crimes rose from 18 (in 2001) to 28. In the first six months of 2003 there were a further 16 violent crimes. However, in general, most of the antisemitic crimes concern incitement and propaganda offences. Some high profile controversies over alleged antisemitic speeches by politicians stimulated some open antisemitic reactions on the Internet, and over the period of the research Jewish organisations in Germany reported great increases in the amount of aggressive antisemitic letters, emails and phone calls. Evidence from opinion polls is mixed. One study of public political attitudes indicated that antisemitic feelings had increased since 1999, whereas another indicated that antisemitic resentment had been slightly decreasing. Research projects show that whilst xenophobia in general is higher in the new federal states, antisemitism is more marked in Western Germany than in Eastern Germany. Studies also show that antisemitic attitudes are more common amongst those with a lower level of education.

## **1.4. GREECE – REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM**

**Data and information provided for 2002 (with a special focus on the period of May – June) and 2003 by the Greek RAXEN National Focal Point**

### **PREFACE**

Jews have lived in Greece since the antiquity, but the largest community of around 20,000 Sephardic Jews settled in the city of Thessalonica after an invitation from the Ottoman Sultan in 1492. When Thessalonica was annexed to Greece in 1913 Jews constituted about half of its population. The Greek Government recognized Jews as Greek citizens with full rights and attributed Judaism the status of a recognized and protected religion. The Jewish community of Thessalonica, in contrast to other Jewish communities in Greece, was almost annihilated during WW II and today numbers less than 1,500 members.

Jewish Communities representing the 5,000 Greek Jews are legal entities under public law. They come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, according to Law No. 2456/1920 "On Jewish Communities". They are accountable to the State and submit budget and accounts for approval. The highest authority is the 20-member Community Assembly elected every four years. The umbrella organisation of the Greek Jewry is the 'Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece'<sup>76</sup> ('Kentriko Israilitiko Symvoulio' – abbr. KIS) established by law in 1945. The aim of the Central Board is to co-ordinate the activities and to represent the Greek Jewish Communities to the authorities and other organisations.

### **1.4.1. LEGISLATION WITH RESPECT TO ANTISEMITISM**

There is no specific legal definition of antisemitism. Religious freedom is guaranteed by Article 13 of the constitution of the Hellenic Republic.

Law 927 of 1979 punishes by imprisonment of up to two years or a fine or both: whoever intentionally and publicly instigates, either orally or in the press or through written texts or illustrations or through any other means, acts or activities capable of provoking discrimination, hate or violence against individuals or groups because of their racial, ethnic and, (amendment in Law 1419 of 1984) religious beliefs; The establishment of, and membership in,

---

<sup>76</sup> <http://www.kis.gr>

organizations which proceed to organized propaganda or other activities aimed at racial discrimination; Public, oral and written, expression of offensive ideas aimed at racial discrimination; The act of refusing to sell goods or supply services, or subjecting the aforementioned activities to special conditions, on racial grounds. The statutory purpose of the anti-racist law is to safeguard “public order”; it is therefore directly related to a general criminal provision, namely Article 192 of the Greek Penal Code. In 2001 another amendment to Law 927/1979 -appended to Law 2910 of 2001- allowed the public prosecutor to bring charges *ex officio*.

The law refers only to the private sector, concerning the supply of services. Regarding services provided by public authorities, article 27.3 of Law 2683 of 1999 (Greek Civil Servants’ Code) states that civil servants: “are not allowed to discriminate in favour or against citizens on the ground of the latter's political, philosophical or religious beliefs”. Violation of article 27.3 carries disciplinary penalties. Another similar general provision can be found in article 7.1 of law 2690 of 1999 (Code of Administrative Procedures) introducing the principle of “impartiality of administrative bodies”.

Law 2472 of 1997 in articles 2 and 7 expressly forbids the collection and processing of any data related to the racial or ethnic origin and the religious, political or philosophical beliefs of individuals. Such data are termed “sensitive” and may be collected and processed only on the exceptional conditions prescribed in detail in article 7.2 of the law.

Presidential Decree 100 of 2000, transposing EC Directive 97/36/EC, provides for the right to redress in cases where they are offended by a radio or television programme, with regard, among others, to their “personality or honour”.

Article 192 of the Greek Penal Code punishes with a maximum imprisonment of two years, if any other more severe penalty is not provided for by another provision (like the above-mentioned Law 927/1979), “anyone who publicly, in any manner, whatsoever provokes or incites citizens to act violently against each other, or to mutual discord and, as a consequence, disturbs public peace or any action inciting disharmony among citizens”. Prosecution may be initiated *ex officio*. Legal doctrine has clarified that by “citizens” the above criminal provision means “groups of citizens whose bond is either a religious or political conviction or professional occupation or common interests or...even race or some conviction or conception other than religion or political ideology”.

## 1.4.2. SOURCES OF DATA AND INFORMATION

- The Ministry of Press & Mass Media;
- The Ministry of Public Order;
- The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece;
- Regional Boards of Jewish Communities in Greece;
- Media monitoring;
- Reports by national and international NGOs.

## 1.4.3. DATA AND INFORMATION

### I. ANTISEMITISM IN 2002

#### A. PHYSICAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE TOWARDS JEWS, THEIR COMMUNITIES, ORGANISATIONS OR PROPERTY

- **15 and 16 April 2002** the Holocaust Memorial in Thessalonica was vandalized by person(s) unknown who sprayed red paint on the wreaths that had been deposited two days previously in memory of the victims of the Holocaust and on the surrounding area. The Central Jewish Board of Greece wrote to the Minister of Public Order asking for measures to be taken to guard these sites more effectively in the future. The Holocaust monument was unveiled in 1997 in honour of the Greek Jews killed in Nazi concentration camps during World War II reducing Greece's 80,000-strong Jewish community to 5,000.
- **15 April 2002** the Jewish cemetery in the city of Ioannina was vandalized by person(s) unknown with Nazi and antisemitic graffiti. The Government spokesman described the cemetery and memorial incidents as "barbaric," saying he had not thought it possible for such acts to occur in Greece.
- **18 April 2002** the Holocaust Memorial of the city of Drama and the Jewish cemetery of Zavlani in Patras were vandalized by person (s) unknown with Nazi and antisemitic graffiti.
- **23 June 2002** the Holocaust memorial in Rhodes was vandalized by the removal of the inscription.
- **4 July 2002** the Holocaust memorial in Rhodes was partially destroyed.

## B. VERBAL AGGRESSION, HATE SPEECH AND OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS JEWS

- The spokesperson of the Jewish Community of Rhodes<sup>77</sup> complained of verbal and physical harassment of workers constructing the Holocaust monument requiring constant police protection.
- The rumour, first published by some newspapers of the Arab press, that 4,000 Jews had been warned by the Israeli Secret Service MOSAD and did not go to their offices in the twin towers on 11 September 2001, the day of the terrorist attack in New York, was tabled as a question in Parliament by Member of Parliament and leader of the political party “LAOS” G. Karatzaferis<sup>78</sup> soon after the attack. Print and broadcast media<sup>79</sup> – even the Bulletin of the Technical Chamber of Greece (8 October 2001) also reported this rumour.
- The Chairman of the Central Board of Jewish Communities in his written reply to the NFPs request for information stated that “there is a conscious attempt to create an antisemitic climate by various articles that are critical of the policies pursued by Israel and personally his Prime Minister” and pointed specifically to two articles that put forward the view that Jews have used excessively the pain resulting from the cruelty of the Holocaust” published during the period in question:
  - “Auschwitz and Palestine”, by Gerasimos Lykiardopoulos, published in the daily national newspaper “Kathimerini” on 2 June 2002
  - “The excessive use of the Holocaust”, by Maria Katsounaki published in the daily national newspaper “Kathimerini” on 4 June 2002
- He also pointed out that cartoons with antisemitic content appeared in newspapers during the period in question and in previous months.
- The following Greek Internet sites are examples of anti-Zionist and antisemitic propaganda:
  - Internet web page entitled “New Zionist Attack Against Hellenism”<sup>80</sup>
  - Internet web page entitled “Zionists and Mongols - Butchers of Hellenism”<sup>81</sup>
  - Internet web page entitled “Christianity and Hellenism”<sup>82</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Greek Helsinki Monitor Report: “ANTISEMITISM IN GREECE: A CURRENT PICTURE: 2001-2002”, Athens, November 2002, p. 39

<sup>78</sup> Available at <http://www.iospress.gr/mikro2001/mikro20010929.htm>, 20/10/2001

<sup>79</sup> National daily newspaper “Eleftherotypia” on 29/9 /2001 and 14/10/2001 (<http://www.iospress.gr> and <http://www.enet.gr> )

<sup>80</sup> Available at <http://www.hellas.org/news/1997/nea-97ad.htm>, 15/10/2001

<sup>81</sup> Available at <http://www.hellas.org/news/1996/nea-96al.htm>, 23/09/2001

<sup>82</sup> Available at <http://w4u.cexi.gr/~antbos/ORTHELLA.HTM>, 22/10/2001



- The Chairman of the Jewish Community of Corfu reported in a telephone interview to the NFP that leaflets containing abusive material were scattered outside their offices.

C. STUDIES, OPINION POLLS OR OTHER REPORTS ON CHANGES IN ANTISEMITIC SENTIMENTS

There are no specific research studies on antisemitism according to the Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece, the National Centre for Social Research and the National Documentation Centre. The situation regarding antisemitism in Greece has routinely formed part of the annual reports of all international organisations, the US Department of State Report on Human Rights and Religious Freedom, the EUMC, the Greek National Commission for Human Rights, the Greek Ombudsman and the Greek Helsinki Monitor.

- An opinion poll conducted five weeks after the circulation of the rumour that Jews working in the twin towers in New York knew of the terrorist attack showed that 42% subscribed to this rumour, as opposed to 30% who did not.<sup>83</sup>
- Opinion polls carried out after the 11 September terrorist attacks showed that a significant proportion of the Greek public accepted readily conspiratorial rumours implicating the Israeli secret services in the attack. Articles in the press, as well as television and radio programmes were highly critical of the Israeli Government's military action and not always careful to distinguish between Jews and Israelis.
- The results of a nationwide survey conducted by the private research firm "V. PRC" on behalf of the national daily newspaper "Ta Nea" are indicative of the political climate. The survey was carried out from 20 to 29 September 2001 on a national representative sample of the Greek adult (18+) population. It showed that only 18,8% believed that the terrorist attacks were perpetrated by a terrorist Islamic group.
- A second nationwide survey conducted by the private research firm "OPINION" on behalf of the national daily newspaper "Eleftherotypia" from 26 October to 6 November 2001 on a national representative sample of the Greek adult (18+) population including both quantitative and qualitative data showed that only 29.2% believed that the terrorist strike was carried out by a terrorist organisation, while 28.2% actually stated that it was carried out by the US intelligence services.

Although it is not possible to draw any conclusions on the basis of such surveys, especially since some of their findings are contradictory and may express temporary sentiments rather than attitudes, it could be said

---

<sup>83</sup> Television poll conducted 17-18/10/2001 by KAPA Research among 622 households in the Greater Athens Area for the TV program "Protagonistes," aired on 18 October 2001 on NET (2nd channel of State Television).

-with reservations- that these results lend some support to the contention that public opinion may be negatively influenced by the media. It would, however, be necessary to conduct further targeted scientific attitude studies before any safe conclusions can be drawn concerning the development of antisemitic attitudes.

#### D. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

- **28 January 2002** the President of the Hellenic Republic was visited by teachers and pupils of the Primary School of the Jewish Community of Athens.
- **13 May 2002** the Minister of Culture inaugurated the Jewish Museum of Thessalonica.
- **6 June 2002** the topic in Modern Greek of the formal examinations for entry into Greek Universities that receive wide publicity was an excerpt from the “Diary of Anne Frank”. Students were asked to comment and compare WWII and modern incidents of racism and antisemitism.

#### E. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION MAKERS

The Government, political parties and the Orthodox Church condemn antisemitic incidences. The majority of politicians and opinion leaders from both the right and the left have been strongly critical of Israel’s response to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Intifada, but have equally condemned terrorist acts stressing the need for a peaceful settlement and the futility of military solutions. A small number of commentators who frequently appear on small ultra nationalist TV stations expressing antisemitic views cannot be considered “opinion leaders” and their influence is very small.

### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

During the October 2002 elections for the Greater Athens Prefecture, Member of Parliament and leader of LAOS, Mr. G. Karatzaferis received 14% of the vote. LAOS through its newspaper “Alpha1” and television channel “TeleAsty” frequently disseminates antisemitic statements.

## II. ANTISEMITISM IN 2003

### A. EXTREME VIOLENCE: ANY ATTACK POTENTIALLY CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE

The NFP does not report any incidents.

### B. ASSAULT: ANY PHYSICAL ATTACK DIRECTED AGAINST PEOPLE, WHICH IS NOT A THREAT TO LIFE

The NFP does not report any incidents.

### C. DAMAGE AND DESECRATION OF PROPERTY

- **1 February 2003** the Holocaust memorial in Thessalonica was vandalised by antisemitic graffiti.
- **3 August 2003** the Jewish Synagogue in Ioannina was vandalized by antisemitic graffiti.
- **8 October 2003** the Holocaust memorial in Ioannina was vandalized

### D. THREATS, VERBAL OR WRITTEN

According to newspaper reports in the spring of 2003 the embassy of Israel sent a confidential report on the alleged “sharp rise in antisemitic expressions in Greece since the end of March” to a number of Jewish organizations, such as the American Jewish Committee, the Simon Wiesenthal Foundation, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, the World Jewish Congress, etc) claiming that feelings of imminent threat or danger are present among members of the Greek-Jewish Community who, according to the report, had contacted the Embassy expressing their fears. In a subsequent press interview the Chairman of the Central Jewish Board, Mr. Kostantinis argued that although a rise in antisemitism is evident it cannot be considered alarming.

### E. ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

- **22 September 2003** antisemitic graffiti was reported on an abandoned building visible from the Corinth-Tripoli motorway<sup>84</sup>.

---

<sup>84</sup> Report by the Greek Helsinki Monitor available at [http://www.greekhelsinki.gr/bhr/english/organizations/ghm/ghmB\\_25\\_09\\_03.doc](http://www.greekhelsinki.gr/bhr/english/organizations/ghm/ghmB_25_09_03.doc), 30/10/2003

## F. ANTI – SEMITIC LITERATURE

Antisemitic literature, such as “*The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*” and other antisemitic texts usually contained in ultranationalist or extreme right wing publications are to be found primarily in the very few ultranationalist bookstores.

## G. CHANGES IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE EU POPULATION TOWARDS JEWS

### Reports:

- International Religious Freedom Report 2002, US Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labour<sup>85</sup>: Antisemitism is not mentioned as an issue in Greece.
- The ‘Steven Roth Institute for the study of contemporary antisemitism and racism’ “Greece 2002/2003”<sup>86</sup>: The 2003 update suggests that: “A sharp rise in antisemitic activity was reported in Greece in 2002, which, in part, may be attributed to the strengthening of anti-Israel sentiments in recent years. A spate of vandalistic attacks on cemeteries and Holocaust memorials was recorded in spring 2002, probably instigated by a plethora of editorials, cartoons, articles and letters to the editor, which appeared in the press at that time. They equated Israeli army activity with Nazi conduct and Sharon with Hitler, and accused Greek Jews of collective responsibility for the “Holocaust” of the Palestinians. Greek cultural icon Mikis Theodorakis was in the forefront of these attacks.”
- Report of the ‘Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece’, abstract released in September 2002, stating that since the start of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Intifada "a sharp sense of anti-Israeli feelings has prevailed in Greek society, as expressed mainly in the media". Greek media reports constantly promote the image of Israel as a "Nazi country" attacking "defenceless Palestinians." Conversely, acts of suicide bombers are received with understanding as a step adopted by "persons in a state of despair." The report states that, "The anti-Israeli atmosphere has led to several antisemitic incidents and vandalism in several Jewish communities," and offers examples of both media coverage and incidents.”<sup>87</sup>
- Report by Mr. Alvaro Gil-Robles, Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe on his visit to the Hellenic Republic, 2-5 June 2002, Strasbourg [17 July 2002 CommDH (2002) 5]<sup>88</sup>: “My meeting with Mr Constantinis, Chairman of the Central Committee of Jewish

<sup>85</sup> Available at <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2002/13935.htm>, 28/11/2003

<sup>86</sup> Available at <http://www.tau.ac.il/Antisemitism/asw2002-3/greece.htm>, 28/11/2003

<sup>87</sup> Newspaper article available at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/balkanhr/message/5013>, 28/11/2003

<sup>88</sup> Available at [http://www.commissioner.coe.int/docs/CommDH\(2002\)5\\_E.pdf](http://www.commissioner.coe.int/docs/CommDH(2002)5_E.pdf), 28/11/2003

Communities in Greece, left me with an impression of general satisfaction as to their position.”

- “Antisemitism in Greece, a current picture: 2001-2002”, ‘Greek Helsinki Monitor’, November 2002<sup>89</sup>: “A fundamental obstacle to counteracting antisemitism in Greece is that its existence is systematically denied or ignored. Efforts to expose it are met with resistance, sometimes even from the Jewish community itself...Jews are not perceived as a “vulnerable” or “minority” group, per se – just the opposite, in fact. Elaborate conspiracy theories involving Jewish or “Zionist Lobbies” with designs on Greece are promulgated as proof of Jewish omnipotence and an ongoing threat to the territorial, spiritual and cultural integrity of the Greek nation. The identification of all Jews with Israelis is further facilitated by the fact that in the Greek language, the words “Israeli” (Israelinos) and “Israelite” (Israelitis) are often – and often conveniently – confused. The Greek Government has yet to take a strong and consistent stand against antisemitism. Even extreme antisemitic views openly expressed by Orthodox clergy members, politicians, factions, cultural icons, and journalists pass without comment. Attacks on Jewish monuments and property receive little if any attention in the media and faint condemnation by the political and spiritual leadership. Of course, many members of Greek society find these acts disturbing. Yet the prevailing tendency is to compare them to the larger-scale antisemitic violence elsewhere in Europe, and judge them to be inconsequential or at least not a serious threat. There is no public discussion of the broader implications of these incidents and the culprits are never named, apprehended or brought to justice. Because antisemitism is a non-issue, no internal or external pressure is exerted to modify media portrayals or alter public opinion, as is the case with other forms of racism. Deeply entrenched, antisemitism continues to be tolerated if not condoned by all facets of Greek society.”
- “Antisemitism in Greece: Recent Developments”, Report by the ‘International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights’ and the ‘Greek Helsinki Monitor’, PC.DEL/605/03 16 June 2003 PC.DEL/605/03<sup>90</sup>: “Antisemitic expressions in Greece continue to stem from two central misconceptions: a perceived threat to the traditional, Orthodox Greek culture and the direct link between Greek Jewry and Israeli policy in the Middle East. In the absence of strong criticism, selected clergy, journalists, and politicians have brought their extreme views into mainstream discussion, the effect of which seeds antisemitic views within the larger Greek population.”

---

<sup>89</sup> Available at [http://www.greekhelsinki.gr/bhr/english/organizations/ghm\\_mrgg\\_antisemitism\\_2002.rtf](http://www.greekhelsinki.gr/bhr/english/organizations/ghm_mrgg_antisemitism_2002.rtf), 26/11/2003

<sup>90</sup> Available at [www.osce.org/documents/sg/2003/06/259\\_en.pdf](http://www.osce.org/documents/sg/2003/06/259_en.pdf), 28/11/2003

**Media references:**

A small number of fringe ultra-nationalist and ultra-rightwing publications attracting a very small audience regularly carry antisemitic texts and references. The Public Prosecutors have not taken any action on the basis of anti-racist law 927/1979. The Greek Helsinki Monitor and occasionally the Central Board of Jewish Communities have also made allegations of antisemitism against large circulation dailies, such as ‘Kathimerini’, ‘Eleftherotypia’, ‘Apogeymatini’, etc. in reference to their reporting of the al-Aqsa Intifada.

H. RESEARCH STUDIES OR OPINION POLLS REPORTING ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE OR ATTITUDES

The NFP does not report of any such studies other than those mentioned above.

I. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

- **In August 2002** the NGO ‘Greek Helsinki Monitor’ lodged a complaint with the Public Prosecutor of the Athens Magistrates’ Court against newspapers ‘Eleftherotypia’ and ‘Ta Nea’ on the grounds of inciting racial hatred and discrimination through published material namely a letter expressing anti-Jewish sentiments and using characterizations offensive to Jews. The ‘Central Jewish Board’ was a civil claimant. This constitutes in our view a ‘good practice’ example, because it actively seeks the application of the law not only in the sense of punishment, but also as an awareness-raising instrument.
- 420 young Jewish students aged 18 to 30 from 32 countries, gathered in Greece during the summer for the celebratory ‘European Jewish Summer University’ organized by the European Union of Jewish Students — an annual week of noisy debates, workshops and partying now in its 25th year, and aims to be a week of Jewish culture, reflection and social happenings.<sup>91</sup>

J. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS INCLUDING INITIATIVES TO REDUCE POLARISATION AND COUNTERACT NEGATIVE NATIONAL TRENDS

- **27 October 2003** the President of the Hellenic Republic Kostantinos Stefanopoulos inaugurated a monument for Greek Jews who fell in WW2 fighting against Italy and Germany. The Ministers of Defense,

---

<sup>91</sup> Available at <http://www.jewishtimes.com/scripts/edition.pl?now=10/04/2003&stay=1&SubSectionID=87&ID=3371#top>, 12/04/2003

Development, Culture, Macedonia & Thrace, the leader of the opposition K. Karamanlis and representatives of the Jewish Community were present. 12,898 Greek Jews fought in the war of which 513 were killed in action and 5,743 were wounded.<sup>92</sup>

- **21 November 2003** Deputy Interior Minister Nikos Bistis announced that 27 January will be the Holocaust Remembrance Day and Foreign Minister George Papandreou announced an intention to develop a coalition of Greek Jews, Greek non-Jews and Jews worldwide to fight antisemitism in Greece.

## CONCLUSIONS

There are no official bodies in Greece registering antisemitic incidents, or any kinds of racist criminal acts. Antisemitic acts are recorded instead by the Central Jewish Board and NGOs, and these have recorded no acts of extreme violence or physical assaults against Jewish people during 2002 - 2003. They did record several acts of vandalism, desecration and graffiti against cemeteries and a Holocaust memorial over the period 2002 - 2003. However, in 2003 the Chairman of the Central Jewish Board in Greece stated that he did not consider the rise in antisemitism to be alarming.

Whilst antisemitic violence has not been a problem, there is a noticeable antisemitic discourse in Greek public life. There exists a kind of “popular antisemitism” with a large section of the Greek public subscribing to conspiracy theories of Jewish world domination, or stories such as the complicity of the Israeli secret service in the terrorist attacks of September 11th, and much of this seems to be encouraged by antisemitism within a section of the Greek media. Antisemitism exists in Greece as a latent structure to be found in the educational, legal, and political environment. The Orthodox Church continues to include in the liturgy ritual of Good Friday anti-Jewish references - similar references were removed from the Roman Catholic liturgy under Pope John XXIII. The Central Board of Jewish Communities has repeatedly, but unsuccessfully, appealed to the Minister of Education and Religious Affairs to remove antisemitic texts found in state school textbooks and provide more information on the Holocaust, especially in reference to the Greek Jews.

---

<sup>92</sup> On line article on 27/10/2003 available at <http://www.in.gr/news/article.asp?lngEntityID=491844>, 28/11/2003

## **1.5. SPAIN - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM**

**Data and information provided for 2002 (with a special focus on the period of May – June) and 2003 by the Spanish RAXEN National Focal Point**

### **PREFACE**

In 1492 shortly after the Moors were driven out of Granada, Spain expelled all Jews ending the largest and most distinguished Jewish settlement in Europe. Small numbers of Jews began returning to Spain in the 19th century.

Today the Jewish community in Spain is very small estimated at 20,000 to 40,000 (0,05%-0,1% of the total population), approximately 12,000 to 15,000 of who are registered with their Communities. The main Jewish centers are Madrid (3,500) and Barcelona (3,500). Smaller communities are located in Málaga, Valencia, Alicante, Palma de Mallorca, Tenerife, La Gomera, Málaga, Torremolinos, Marbella, Sevilla as well as Ceuta and Melilla in Spanish North Africa.

The main umbrella Jewish organisation is the ‘Federación de Comunidades Israelitas de España’ (Federation of Jewish Communities in Spain). There are Jewish day schools in Barcelona, Madrid and Málaga and a cultural publication, ‘Raíces’ (Roots).

### **1.5.1. LEGISLATION WITH RESPECT TO ANTISEMITISM**

The Criminal Code specifically considers antisemitism as a serious aggravating circumstance (section 22.4 of the Criminal Code 1995) and provoking discrimination for antisemitic reasons is a crime according to section 510 of the Criminal Code.



## 1.5.2. SOURCES OF DATA AND INFORMATION

The Spanish NFP used the following sources for its reports

- Mass media
- Internet
- Reports by national and international NGOs
- Personal interviews
- Consultation and interviews with several organizations including representatives of several Jewish associations
- Centre for Jewish-Christian Studies
- Centre of Jewish-Christian Studies, ‘Sisters of Our Lady of Zion’<sup>93</sup>
- ‘Guesher Association of Spanish Jews’<sup>94</sup>
- B’nai B’rith Spain, Public Action and Human Rights Centre<sup>95</sup>, that has provided the NFP with the report ‘Naive Spanish Judeophobia’<sup>96</sup> and with the 2002 annual report on racist and antisemitic events in Spain, prepared by Alberto Benasuly.

## 1.5.3. DATA AND INFORMATION

### I. ANTISEMITISM IN 2002

#### A. PHYSICAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE TOWARDS JEWS, THEIR COMMUNITIES, ORGANISATIONS OR PROPERTY

The NFP does not report any incident in this period, but it should be noted that the synagogue of Madrid is under permanent police surveillance and Jewish schools are temporarily under protection.

#### B. VERBAL AGGRESSION, HATE SPEECH AND OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS JEWS

In 2002 there were various examples of graffiti in the street, the synagogues of Madrid and Barcelona and on the façade of the building where the Centre of Jewish-Christian Studies is located, as well as on a bridge in Zaragoza.

---

<sup>93</sup> <http://www3.planalfa.es/cejc>

<sup>94</sup> In Hebrew, ‘guesher’ means ‘bridge’.

<sup>95</sup> <http://www.bnaibrith-spain.org>

<sup>96</sup> <http://www.jcpa.org/phas/phas-perednik-f03.htm>

C. STUDIES, OPINION POLLS OR OTHER REPORTS ON CHANGES IN ANTISEMITIC SENTIMENTS

None were reported by the NFP.

D. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

None were reported by the NFP.

E. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS

None were reported by the NFP.

**II. ANTISEMITISM IN 2003**

A number of incidents are reported by the Spanish NFP, but the overall picture indicates that antisemitism does not constitute a serious social problem in Spain.

A. EXTREME VIOLENCE: ANY ATTACK POTENTIALLY CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE

None were reported by the NFP.

B. ASSAULT: ANY PHYSICAL ATTACK DIRECTED AGAINST PEOPLE, WHICH IS NOT A THREAT TO LIFE

None were reported by the NFP.

C. DAMAGE AND DESECRATION OF PROPERTY

The NFP did not find any references about damage or desecration of property. The same is true for antisemitic graffiti. There are groups of skinheads and football hooligans who use the swastika as their symbol, but their attacks are aimed principally against the immigrant population.

D. THREATS, VERBAL OR WRITTEN.

There have been some cases of abusive behaviour in the streets and members of the Jewish community have been advised to avoid wearing external signs that may identify them as Jews. Consequently, as a newspaper article ('El Pais', 23 November, 2003) also indicates, the Jewish community feels harassed and the Madrid synagogue is under police surveillance. Quoting Mr Jacobo Israel Garzón, the chairman of the Jewish Community of Madrid, the article states that some Jews have been

insulted and threatened by mail and by phone, but no specific data were available.

E. ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

None were reported by the NFP.

F. ANTISEMITIC LITERATURE

According to the Spanish sources evaluated by the NFP, there has been no mass distribution of antisemitic pamphlets. In their view, antisemitism in Spain is mostly apparent in the media coverage of the Mid East conflict.

In 2003 the 'Guesher Association'<sup>97</sup> studied caricatures published in the Spanish press between 2000 and 2003. These caricatures relate to stereotypes of Jewish characters usually depicted to look sinister, with large noses, ears and a perverse stare (vignette in the journal 'El Periódico', 27 October 2003). In a vignette published in 'El País' on 24 May 2001 a man dressed in typical Jewish attire, wearing a skullcap, reading a book that could be either the Torah or the Bible, and carrying the flag of Israel on his shoulder, says "we are the chosen people for weapon manufacturing". Also, in 'El País' of 23 May 2001, there is a drawing of Ariel Sharon and an attached Hitler-like moustache. The study argued that the most offensive of all caricatures was published in 'El Periódico' on 6 October 2000, in which a Palestinian appears crucified on the Star of David of the flag of Israel.

In defence, articles and editorials were published in the Spanish press, in late 2003, in which accusations of antisemitism are rejected with the argument that their criticism is not an attack, neither on the Jewish nor the Israeli people, but a condemnation of "Ariel Sharon's policies and his decision to build the Security Fence"<sup>98</sup>. Additionally, and in an attempt to offer a more balanced editorial content, numerous articles have been published by Jewish authors in the Spanish press, who lived in Spain or have had links with this country. Amongst them it is worth noting the following: "Antisemitism 60 years ago and now", by Yaacov Cohen, former ambassador of Israel in Spain, "Sharon is guilty of the European antisemitism", by Avi Shlaim, Israeli historian and professor of International Relations in Oxford University, and "European fears, Israeli nightmare", by Hermann Tertsch, all of them published in 'El Pais' on 19 November 2003. 'El Pais' continued to publish articles on antisemitism in Europe.

---

<sup>97</sup> <http://www.lateral-ed.es/>, November 2003 issue.

<sup>98</sup> For instance, the editorial of the journal La Razón, "Israel and Antisemitism", of 17 November 2003 and editorial in El País, "Political Criticism", of 19 November 2003.

#### G. CHANGES IN THE EU POPULATION ATTITUDES TOWARDS JEWS

The representatives of the Jewish community interviewed by the NFP in 2003 noted a surge in antisemitism. Some of the interviewees believed that this is related to antisemitic attitudes latent in Spanish society that have been revitalised by the Middle East conflict and were also critical of some NGOs for their radical pro-Palestinian stance.

The NFP also notes that the terms ‘Jews’, ‘Judaism’, ‘Israelis’ are often confused.

#### H. RESEARCH STUDIES OR OPINION POLLS REPORTING ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE OR ATTITUDES

The Spanish NFP reported a new history of Spanish antisemitism by G. A. Chillida<sup>99</sup>.

#### I. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

The NFP notes the educational and cultural efforts of the ‘Centre for Jewish-Christian Studies’ in Madrid and also the practices adopted by the virtual newspaper ‘Liberdad Digital’.

Throughout 2003, various exhibitions have been organised on Jews in Spain, such as the recently ended exhibition in the City Museum of Madrid, on the Sephardim.

Furthermore, there is a notable increase of interest in the history of the Spanish Jews: small villages and cities, such as Toledo try to redevelop old Jewish quarters and promote various cultural activities relating to their historical relationship to the Jewish communities.

#### J. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS INCLUDING INITIATIVES TO REDUCE POLARISATION AND COUNTERACT NEGATIVE NATIONAL TRENDS

None were reported by the Spanish NFP for 2003.

---

<sup>99</sup> Gonzalo Alvarez Chillida, 2002, “*El antisemitismo en Espana. La imagen del judio (1812-2002)*”, Madrid, Marcial Pons

## **CONCLUSIONS**

Antisemitism has a rather low profile in Spain - Spanish people generally do not consider themselves anti-Semites and have a low awareness of the presence of Jewish people in Spain. The Criminal Code does identify antisemitism as a serious aggravating circumstance. In the period 2002 - 2003 Jewish organisations and NGOs did not identify any violent incidents of antisemitism, although there were some reported incidents of abusive behaviour in the streets and some cases of threatening graffiti on Jewish buildings. There has been some criticism of Spanish newspapers for apparently antisemitic caricatures and for the tone of some of their articles on the Israeli incursions into Palestine, but the press has responded that this is not antisemitism, but criticisms of the policies of the Israeli government. All in all, antisemitism does not seem to constitute a major social problem in Spain.

## 1.6. FRANCE - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM

### Data and Information provided for 2002 (with a special focus on the period of May – June) and 2003 by the French RAXEN National Focal Point

#### PREFACE

Jews settled in France already during the antiquity benefitting from rights and privileges deriving from their Roman citizenship. Jews were expelled from the country in 1306 by Philip the Fair. Jews returned to France gradually by 1640.

Until the end of the nineteenth century there were only about 100,000 Jews in France. Jews were eventually granted equal treatment with all faiths in France, and in 1831 they were in fact incorporated into the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The French Government paid the salaries of rabbis just as it paid priests until the separation of church and state in 1905.

It is estimated that 200,000 Jews immigrated to France from eastern European countries between 1900 and 1939 and another 60,000 refugees came from Nazi Germany. During WWII about 75,000 were deported to Auschwitz out of an estimated 330,000.

The French Jewish community has today about 600,000 members amounting to slightly more than 1% of the total population.

#### 1.6.1. LEGISLATION WITH RESPECT TO ANTISEMITISM

Racist offences are material facts from which racist intent may be imputed. Some have no identified victim but are judged to impugn humanity or some section of it (e.g. press offences), to violate the respect due to the dead (e.g. the profanation of graves and other memorials), or to deny the indignity of past atrocities (e.g. Holocaust denial, usually called in French “*négationnisme*”, which was made a specific offence by a law of 1990). What these acts have in common is that the very fact of committing them creates a presumption that they were intended to transgress the right to dignity, which is the core of the French legal conception of equality.

Historically, French legislation first considered racism and discrimination as aspects of freedom of expression and of the necessary legal restrictions thereto. The Law on the Freedom of the Press of July 29, 1881 was amended by Law of July 1, 1972 by introducing aggravated penalties for racist speech or writing.

Subsequent legislation has enhanced this framework by clarifying its terms and extending its scope to acts as well as verbal utterances.

Additionally, the new Criminal Code, which entered into force on March 1<sup>st</sup> 1994, and was amended by the Laws of November 16, 2001 and February 3, 2003, has made a number of changes to the provisions relating to racism and discrimination in the old Criminal Code, but has not affected the law on freedom of expression.

## **RACIST OFFENCES IN THE CRIMINAL CODE**

A distinction must be made between the law applicable to racial discrimination, which depends crucially on proof of discriminatory intent, which will be discussed below, and those miscellaneous provisions that define racist offences on the facts alone.

### **Criminal penalties against discrimination (articles 225-1 and 2 of the Criminal Code)**

Article 225-1 defines unlawful grounds for discrimination that are subject to prosecution in very broad terms, which cover inter alia race, real or supposed origin, beliefs and opinions. Article 225-2 specifies the situations in which appeal to the unlawful grounds previously specified shall be punishable. The definition is more restrictive and covers only employment, provision of goods and services, and “interference in ordinary economic activity”.

Furthermore, a civil servant (*agent du service public*) may be prosecuted under these articles, but is liable to aggravated penalties if the offence was committed in the context of a public service mission (article 432-7 of the Criminal Code).

Criminal sanctions against discrimination are tightly circumscribed both by the definition of the offence itself and by the rules of criminal procedure, which require proof of racist intent for an act that would otherwise be entirely lawful (e.g. a choice of tenant or employee) to be declared unlawful. It is of the nature of such acts that intent cannot typically be inferred from the decision, and even when direct proof of, say, racist prejudice is available, its specific contribution to the questionable act is extremely difficult to assess, and often obscure even to the perpetrator. Furthermore, the collection of such evidence as may be available is made difficult by the lack of legal protection against reprisals for prospective witnesses. There are, in particular, many indications that employees are reluctant to come forward with evidence that may assist in the prosecution of their employer.

## Racist offences

We discuss offences here in so far as racist intent is constitutive of them, and only substantively. There are no specific procedural rules relating to racist offences. The relevant offences are few in number and respond to very peculiar circumstances. In particular, racist intent is immaterial as far as the legal treatment of offences against the person or, in most cases, against property is concerned.

- Digital recording or storage of data comprising, directly or indirectly, a person's "racial origins", without that person's express consent and except where specifically authorized by law (art. 226-19 of the Criminal Code).
- Racist violation of the respect due to the dead (art. 225-18 of the Criminal Code).
- The wearing or public display of insignia, uniforms, or emblems, likely to remind the public of those characteristic of the perpetrators of crimes against humanity is an offence carrying a maximum fine of € 1,500 (art. R645-1 of the Criminal Code).
- A final offence is peculiar to sports meetings, including broadcasts of sporting events. Any person that has, in any way whatsoever, incited spectators to hatred or violence against a person or group of persons faces a maximum sentence of 1 year imprisonment and € 15,000 fine (art. 42-7 of the law of July 16 1984, incorporated in art. 222-16 of the Criminal Code). Introduction, wearing, or display, in such gatherings of insignia, signs, or symbols, characteristic of racist or xenophobic ideology carries the same maximum sentence (art. 42-7-1 of the law of July 16 1984).

In view of the growing number of attacks related to ethnic origin or religion, particularly targeting the Jewish and Muslim communities, a new law was adopted on 3 February 2003, which increases criminal penalties when assault or damage to property are committed for racial or religious reasons (Law N° 2003-88 of 03/02/2003 –JORF N°29 of February 4 2003).

The increased penalties are defined as follows:

- Premeditated murder (art. 221-4 6°CP): the standard sentence is raised from 30 years to life
- Torture and barbaric acts (222-3 5° CP): from 15 to 20 years
- Murder (art.222-8 5° CP): from 15 to 20 years
- Assault leading to permanent disability or mutilation (art.222-10 5° bis CP): from 10 years and / or a 150,000 € fine to 15 years



- Assault leading to extended unavailability for work (art. 222-12 5° bis CP): from 3 years and / or 45,000 € to 5 years and / or 75,000 €
- Common assault (art. 222-13 5° bis CP): from 1,500 € (3,000 € in case of a repeat offence) to 3 years and / or 45,000 €
- Racially motivated damage to property:
  - General case (art. 322-2 al. 3 CP): from 2 years and / or 30,000 € to 3 years and / or 45,000€
  - Damage caused by explosives, arson, or other means dangerous to human life (art. 322-8 3° Cp): from 10 years and / or 150,000 € to 20 years and / or 150,000 €

Furthermore, the law created a new offence “destruction of property with respect to places of worship, schools and educational or leisure facilities, or vehicles for the transport of children” (art. 322-3 al. 2 CP), the penalty being 5 years imprisonment and/or a 75,000 € fine.

Finally, in the context of growing numbers of acts of racist or antisemitic violence, two instructions from the Justice Ministry (dated 2 and 18 April 2002) were circulated to prosecution offices restating the need for a firm response to such acts as soon as perpetrators are identified and for information on legal proceedings to be provided to victims and relevant local voluntary bodies.

## 1.6.2. SOURCES OF DATA AND INFORMATION

The French NFP reports note the following sources:

- Ministry of the Interior;
- ‘French Human Rights Commission’ (Commission Nationale Consultative des Droits de l’Homme – ‘CNCDH’)<sup>100</sup>;
- ‘CRIF’ – the Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juifs en France – (The Representative Council of Jewish Institutions in France). The ‘CRIF’ established a national observatory to collect a broad range of information on antisemitic violence in France, and is the only NGO in France to have developed its own reporting system with a help-line to collect victims’ testimony on antisemitic threats and actions since October 2000 (calls are systematically verified and facts confirmed before entry into the monthly statistics)<sup>101</sup>;

---

<sup>100</sup> Commission Nationale Consultative des Droits de l’Homme – *Human Rights Commission, 2002, The Fight Against Racism and Xenophobia, Activity Report*, Paris, La documentation Française, 2003

<sup>101</sup> ‘CNCDH’, op cit, p 89

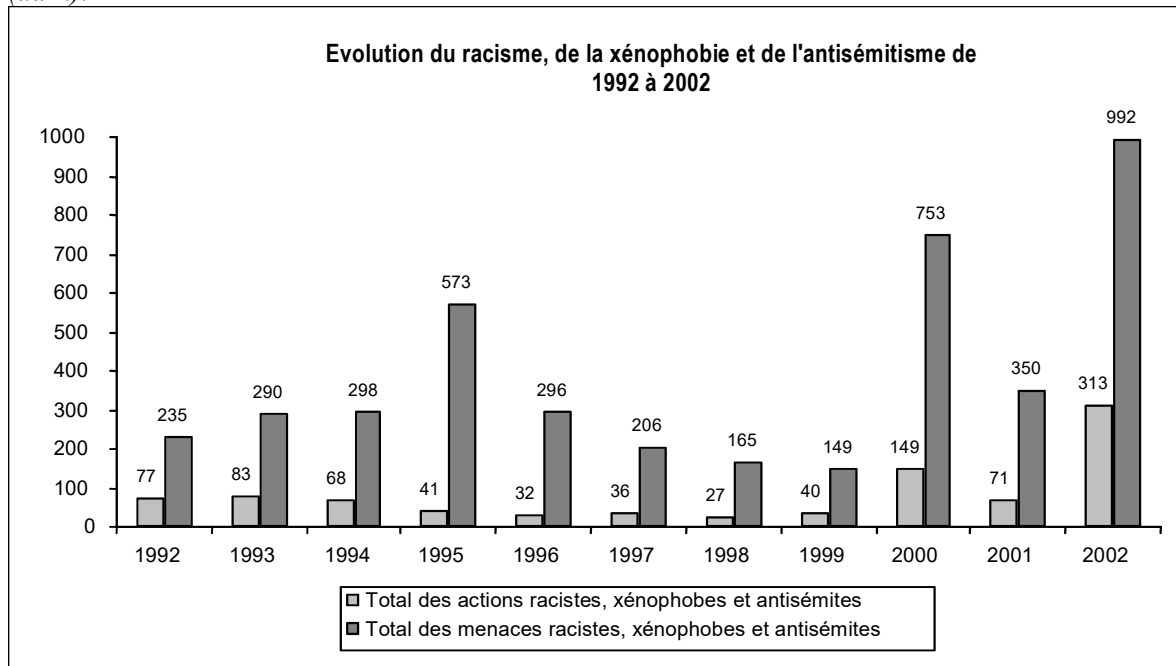
- Other Jewish organisations (UEJF) in particular new structures or initiatives set up to measure antisemitic acts or for the purpose of victim support ('Observatoire du monde juif', help lines such as 'SOS Vérité – Sécurité' or 'SOS Antisémittisme');
- Media of Jewish Communities ('Antisémittisme.Info', 'Actualité Juive');
- Anti-racist NGOs ('LICRA', 'SOS Racisme', 'MRAP', 'FASTI');
- All daily print press as well as press agencies (however, the NFP points out that some information widely disseminated by the press was not systematically checked).

### **1.6.3. DATA AND INFORMATION**

#### **I. ANTISEMITISM IN 2002**

Concerning acts of violence counted in the 'CNCDDH' report, antisemitic violence was most prevalent in 2002 (193 acts, corresponding with a six-fold increase from 2002), while during the 10 previous years (excepting 2000), other forms of racism and xenophobia predominated (120 incidents in 2001). Antisemitic violence constituted 62% of all incidents tolled in 2002, compared with 45% in 2001, but down from 80% in 2000.

*The Evolution of Racism, Xenophobia and Antisemitism in France from 1992 to 2002. Total of racist, xenophobic and antisemitic acts (light), total of racist, xenophobic and antisemitic threats (dark).*



With regards to the perpetrators of antisemitic violence, the ‘CNCDDH’ notes that the percentage attributable to the extreme right is only 9% in 2002 (against 14% in 2001 and 68% in 1994) . Furthermore, they ascribe the upsurge in racial violence and antisemitism to current national and international events (September 11th terrorist attacks, war in Afghanistan, and the fight against terrorism). Therefore, the revival of antisemitism can be attributed to the worsening of the Israeli Palestinian conflict, notably in the spring of 2002, corresponding with the Israeli army offensive in the West Bank and suicide bombings in Israel. Antisemitic acts are ascribed to youth from neighbourhoods sensitive to the conflict, principally of North African descent<sup>102</sup>.

Official data from the Ministry of the Interior is not exhaustive. Its figures only concern acts of violence reported to public officials and do not take into account the range of threats, gestures, insults and intimidations, which tend to be difficult to quantify. Nevertheless, placed in a longer-term context, they reveal trends. Statistics concerning penal convictions for 2002 are still not available.

In order to better understand antisemitism, the annual report of the ‘CNCDDH’ provides data and some elements of analysis on antisemitic acts in France that draws on different indicators<sup>103</sup>. Notably, they have made use of statistics

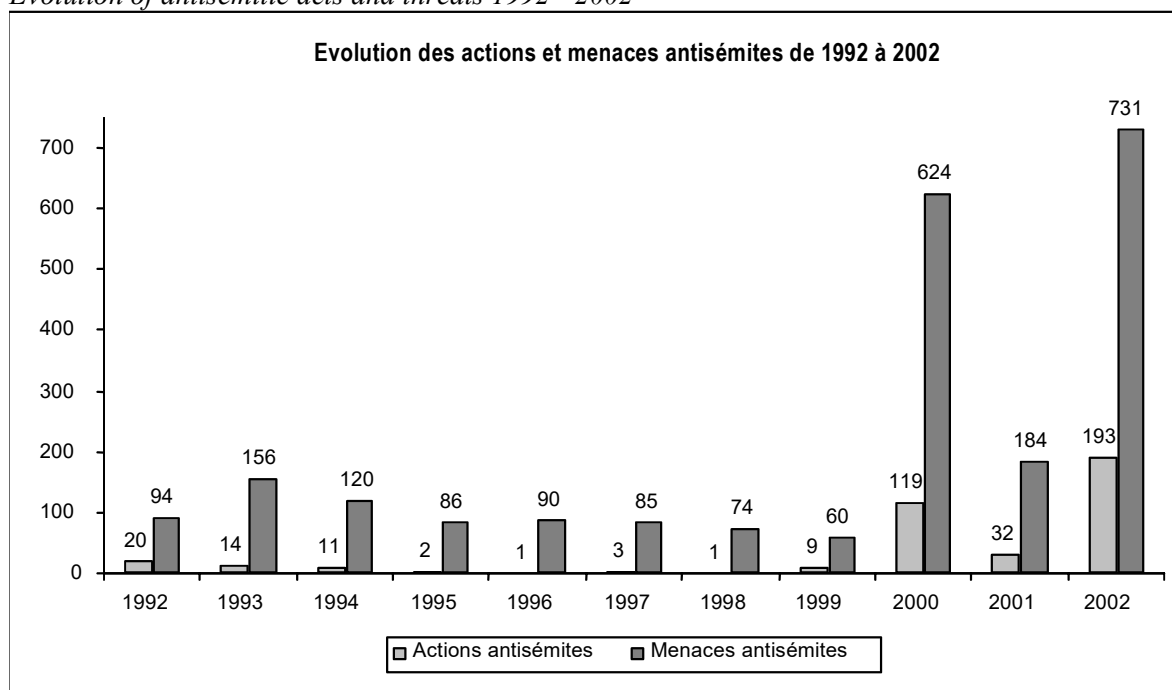
<sup>102</sup> ‘CNCDDH’, op cit, p 24-25

<sup>103</sup> See the Analytic Report on Racial Violence produced for RAXEN 3 for detail on protocol used in the collection of statistical sources.

concerning racist and antisemitic acts established by the Ministry of the Interior, that is to say, the police, and inquiries carried out by its investigative service.

The Ministry of Interior usually provides the ‘CNCDH’ with temporary data concerning antisemitic actions by the beginning of the last quarter of the current year.

*Evolution of antisemitic acts and threats 1992 - 2002*

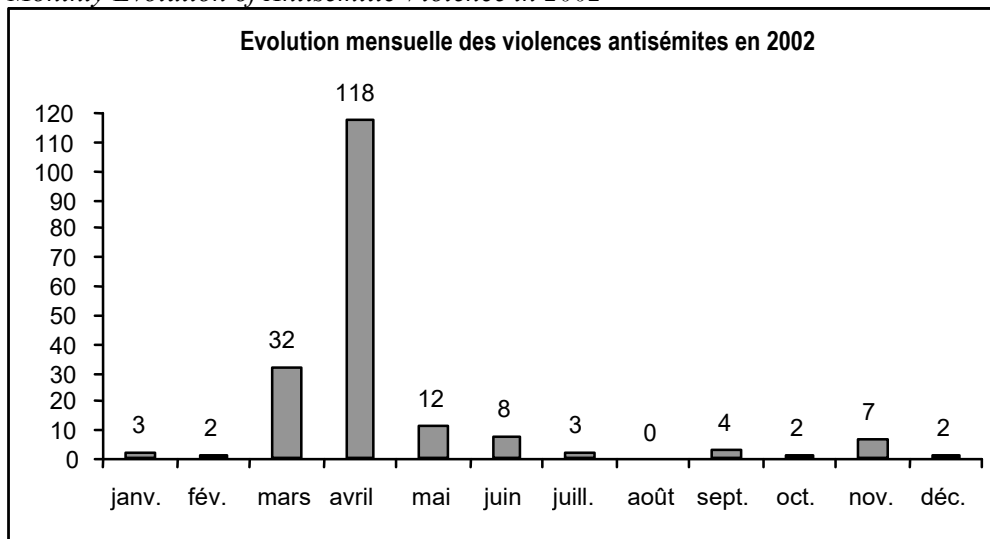


However, whilst the statistics for the whole year were high, there was significant variation within the year. The ‘CRIF’ reports a steady decrease in antisemitic threats and incidents as the year progressed, following a single peak in the month of April, seen to correspond with heightened Israeli-Palestinian tensions. The ‘CRIF’ attributes this decrease in antisemitic incidents over the year to different factors<sup>104</sup>:

- The results of the first round of presidential elections;
- The Ministry of the Interior’s resolution to re-establish security and authority;
- The harsh sentences (two to four years in prison without bail) issued to those convicted of attempted arson on a synagogue in Montpellier;
- A flurry of international events which served to divert attention away from the Israeli Palestinian conflict;
- A moderation of the tone in which the media reported the conflict.

<sup>104</sup> ‘CNCDH’, op cit, p 90

*Monthly Evolution of Antisemitic Violence in 2002*



A. PHYSICAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE TOWARDS JEWS, THEIR COMMUNITIES, ORGANISATIONS OR PROPERTY

The 2003 report of the ‘CNCDH’ listed the following cases occurring in 2002 the majority occurring during April<sup>105</sup>:

- **28 January 2002** a man was attacked by two people between Rue Rodier and Rue Maubeuge in Paris. They insulted him: “you Jew, go back to Israel”; then one of them sprayed tear-gas in his face;
- **24 February 2002** in the Saint Paul area in Paris a Jewish teenager who was playing football with friends wearing a tee shirt with printed Hebraic letters on it was hit on the head and on the hands by three young people with sharp tools. He was sent to the hospital requiring many stitches;
- **14 March 2002** in Paris a Jewish crèche was desecrated, money and computers were stolen and antisemitic graffiti was smeared;
- **29-30 March 2002** in Lyon an arson attempt on a synagogue in the area of La Duchère was reported. Four people, including three of north African origin were arrested;
- **1 April 2002** in Montmagny a member of the Jewish community wearing a kippa was violently attacked near the Talmudic Centre by two youngsters, allegedly north Africans;
- **1 April 2002** in Strasbourg the synagogue in Hirschler Street was damaged by arson;

<sup>105</sup> ‘CNCDH’, op cit, pp 518-528 and pp 531-570. This selection is supervised by the ADRI, which uses the list of antisemitic acts committed in 2002, which is elaborated by the Ministry of the Interior and the ‘CRIF’.

- **3 April 2002** two graves were damaged in the Jewish cemetery of Pere-Lachaise in Paris;
- **3 April 2002** a school bus of the Chné Or school in Aubervilliers was entirely destroyed by fire; two buses and a car were also damaged;
- **10 April 2002** around 10 pm, a group of people who wore hoods and had baseball bats violently attacked young Jews from the Maccabi team of Bondy who were training in the stadium. One of them was sent to the hospital with many contusions. The attackers also stole their personal sport bags;
- **10 April 2002** a teenager wearing a kippa was insulted, hit and knocked down in the 19<sup>th</sup> district of Paris;
- **10 April 2002** a young student of the high school in Trappes was insulted and knocked down by other girls allegedly “because she was Jewish”;
- **12 April 2002** the Jewish cemetery in the area of Cronenbourg in Strasbourg was damaged and desecrated by antisemitic and Nazi graffiti;
- **18 April 2002** in Marseille three young Jewish women were attacked at the exit of a car park by three people allegedly of north African origin who hit them, damaged their cars, and stole their mobile phones;
- **24 April 2002** in Limeil-Brevannes, near the synagogue, a rabbi was insulted and attacked with tear gas sprayed into his face by two men who were arrested;
- **28 April 2002** arson destroyed the first floor of the ‘Tifferet Israël’ school in Sarcelles;
- **12 May 2002** in Saint-Maur des Fossés (a Paris suburb), three young Jews playing on a football field at Arsonval reported that they were insulted and attacked by about fifteen young people allegedly of North African origin. They lodged a complaint against them for assault and racist remarks (‘Le Figaro’, 15 May 2002);
- **26 June 2002** a man working in a kosher grocery shop in Rue Merlin in Paris was stabbed in the throat and shoulder by a man who attacked him from behind;
- **30 December 2002** in Marseille the technical installation of a Jewish radio station was destroyed.

B. VERBAL AGGRESSION, HATE SPEECH AND OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS JEWS

During 2002 the following incidents were highlighted by the NFP:

**Hate speech**

- **18 May 2002** in a demonstration organized in the 19<sup>th</sup> district of Paris by the 'Parti des Musulmans de France' against the 'Naqba',<sup>106</sup> hostile slogans towards Jews were shouted without any attempt from the organizers to intervene;
- **26 May 2002** during a demonstration organized in Paris against the US President's visit to France by a combination of left wing, Green, anti-racist and human rights groups, about thirty teenagers chanted anti-Jewish and "pro Bin Laden" slogans. The organizers expelled them and ethnic minority activists then intervened to prevent some youths from attacking a young couple on a scooter in the belief that they were Jewish. (AFP Source);

**Graffiti**

- **28 January 2002** "The Jews must die. Terrorist state" on pro-Israel advertisements in the Saint Maur and Bel Air metro stations;
- **21 May 2002** police questioned an 18 year-old female student suspected of drawing antisemitic slogans and symbols on a kosher butcher's shop-front in Pré Saint-Gervais (Seine-Saint-Denis, Paris suburb);
- **June 2002** advertising posters in various metro stations as well as election posters were defaced by graffiti showing the Star of David and the swastika connected by an "=" sign.
- **1 March 2002** swastikas and graffiti: "the Jews must die... the Jews in crematoria" were painted in the stairs of a building in Sarcelles;
- **5 November 2002** various stickers with swastikas on the door of the UEJF in Paris, advocating the boycott of Israeli products;
- **16 November 2002** several graffiti, such as "you Jews", "son of a bitch" were discovered at the entry of the synagogue of the 'Yabne' high school in Paris.

---

<sup>106</sup> "Naqba" is the word used by Palestinian activists to refer to the forced emigration of 1948.

### Threats

- **15 January 2002** aggressive words and threats "we shall shave your face... we shall kill you... we have got weapons..." were addressed against a man living in Villepinte;
- **3 April 2002** on their way home, in Bobigny a Jewish man and his two children of 15 and 17 were insulted and threatened: "we know where you live, we shall set fire to your house". They went back home quickly in order to go to the police, but encountered another group of people who assaulted them and shouted: "you are going to die, as did your brothers over there";
- **6 April 2002** on the way to the synagogue in Saint Brice a group of men and their children faced a man who shouted: "you, Jews, I am going to exterminate you" and proceeded to attack them with a Stanley knife;
- **15 April 2002** several e-mails were sent to the Paris MJLF and the rabbi of the community was threatened;
- **17 June 2002** the neighbours of a Jewish family living in Mitry Mory insulted them and threatened to kill them.

### Abusive behaviour

- **22 January 2002** in a high school of the 12<sup>th</sup> Paris district, a Jewish pupil in the fourth grade was constantly insulted by the class representative: "you Jew, your race must be exterminated, fuck you";
- **20 February 2002** an anonymous man claiming to belong to the "Breton phalanges" telephoned the 'CRIF', saying that he would cut the throats of all the Jews;
- **21 February 2002** anonymous phone call at the ACIP: "I am going to bomb a synagogue in the "Quartier Latin", because of Georges Kalman";
- **7 March 2002** anonymous phone call to the 'CRIF': "you Jews... we will do to you what you do to Palestinians";
- **5 April 2002** phone call at the 'CRIF': "fed up with the Jews, the Holocaust, the Jews' money";
- **26 July 2002** in a gas station in Paris, a man accompanied by his three children was insulted and told "You kill a Palestinian child";
- **2 August 2002** the UEJF and the 'CRIF' received envelopes containing razor blades and antisemitic text.



C. STUDIES, OPINION POLLS OR OTHER REPORTS ON CHANGES IN ANTISEMITIC SENTIMENTS

Between 28 January and 1 February 2002, the ‘Sofres Institute’ surveyed 400 people aged between 15 and 24 living in France<sup>107</sup> reaching the following conclusions:

- The overwhelming majority rejected antisemitic acts: 87% of the young people questioned considered that “antisemitic acts against synagogues in France” are “scandalous; the state must punish the culprits very severely”. Only 11% considered that “if the Jews did not support Israel as much, these attacks would not take place”;
- Similarly, in reaction to assaults against “young Jews wearing kippa”, 88% of the young people questioned considered that “Jews should be allowed to follow their usual customs without risking getting into a fight”. Only 11% considered that “if Jews did not seek to make themselves conspicuous by wearing kippa, this kind of fight would not take place”;
- 99% of the young people questioned judged that defacing synagogues is “very serious” or “rather serious”;
- 97% of the young people questioned judged that writing antisemitic graffiti is “very serious” or “rather serious”;
- 91% of the young people questioned judged that joking about gas chambers is “very serious” or “rather serious”.

There were also questions regarding traditional antisemitic prejudices. To the question “do Jews have too much influence...?”

- “...in France”: 77% of the young people questioned answered that they “rather disagree” or “do not agree at all”;
- “...in the media”: 79% of the young people questioned answered that they “rather disagree” or “do not agree at all”;
- “...in politics”: 80% of the young people questioned answered that they “rather disagree” or “do not agree at all”.

For the director of political studies at ‘Sofres’, these figures show that young people as a whole are very tolerant and attach great value to minorities’ rights. Furthermore, the answers to the above questions given in this survey by French young people of North African origin were particularly interesting.

---

<sup>107</sup> *Les Antifeujs* Paris, UEJF-S.O.S Racism, Calmann-Lévy, 2002

- 86% of young people of North African origin judged that “defacing synagogues” is “very serious” or “rather serious”;
- 95% of young people of North African origin thought that Jews have the “right to follow their usual habits without risking getting into a fight”;
- Only 5% of young people of North African origin thought that “if Jews did not seek to make themselves conspicuous by wearing kippa, this kind of fight would not take place”;
- Finally, 54% of young people of North African origin underlined the seriousness of “insulting the Jews, even if it is a joke”.

However, the tendency of French young people of North African origin to be more tolerant is reversed when it comes to the question relating to the alleged “influence” of Jews. According to the ‘Sofres’ director, “the survey shows that respectively 35%, 38% and 24% of the youth of North African origin (against only 22%, 21% and 18% of the total group of young people) think: “Jews have too much influence in the economic and political fields and in the media”.

On the whole the ‘Sofres’ director concluded that there is “no massive antisemitism among the youth of North African origin (...) It is thus essential not to stigmatize a community (...) which, in its great majority, rejects antisemitism”. Compared with the whole group of people between 15 and 24, the survey shows that the young people of North African origin are in fact even more intolerant of antisemitism than the average. This might be explained by the fact that antisemitic acts or attitudes remind them that they have themselves suffered from of racial or cultural discrimination, as Muslims or as children of North African parents.

#### D. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

- The dissemination of studies, such as the ‘Sofres’ public opinion poll “Youth and the Jewish image”, also in public meetings, maintained a feeling of hope with regard both to the decline of intolerance towards the Jews and to their “normalization” in French society. The situation seems also to be encouraging concerning the development of attitudes of children with North African parents towards Jews.
- Educational information campaigns within Muslim groups, on the theme: “Burning a synagogue is like burning a mosque”, have encouraged people to share views improving the solidarity between the different communities. Thus, the gesture of a local Muslim group in Aubervilliers (Paris northern suburb) to lend its own school bus to the Jewish school of the same city, whose buses were destroyed during an attack, carried a particularly important symbolism.

- **In 2002**, the ‘MRAP’ initiated awareness raising debates using educational tools, like films, novels, autobiographies, books, etc. focusing on issues such as: “How can the ‘duty to remember’ continue when the last witnesses are dead”; “How can history be linked to the current situation”; An “anti-racist book for youth” is also available on their website<sup>108</sup>.
- **In March 2002**, ‘SOS Racisme’ condemned antisemitic acts and published a book reporting and analysing such violence since September 2000, in order to disseminate the information as widely as possible. Addressing young people the organization used a slang term as title: “Antifeujs”<sup>109</sup>. The book published in partnership with ‘UEJF’, argues that only a minority of people are actually antisemitic<sup>110</sup>.

#### E. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS

- Faced with rising antisemitism from the spring of 2002 linked, according to the NFP, with the 11 September terrorist attacks and subsequent Middle East tensions, in March 2002 the Ministry of Justice called for a meeting with leaders of the Council of Jewish Institutions in France (‘CRIF’) to inform them of the situation and involve them in a Government response.
- After the antisemitic attacks in April 2002 (against Lyon, Marseille and Strasbourg synagogues), the President of the French Republic demanded Lionel Jospin’s Government to improve the security of Jewish buildings. The Prime Minister announced that additional police would be deployed.
- Two memos (2 and 18 April 2002) were issued to the public prosecutor’s office appealing for firm and dissuasive sentences for perpetrators of antisemitic violence, and for the need regularly to inform victims and local Jewish organisations of the legal outcomes handed down by “procedures 28”<sup>111</sup>. In 2002, the Interior Minister contributed to the protection of places of religious worship (notably mosques and synagogues) and school confessionals from tensions linked with international events.
- President Jacques Chirac, re-elected on May 5 2002, reacted repeatedly to accusations of antisemitism, in particular from Israel and the United States stating in the press that he “has protested against the ‘anti-French campaign’, which took place in Israel and which aimed at presenting France as an antisemitic country”. “France is not an antisemitic country”, he repeated the day before the 55<sup>th</sup> Cannes festival, in response to pressures by the American Jewish Congress, which sought

---

<sup>108</sup> ‘CNCDDH’, op cit, p 111

<sup>109</sup> “Antifeujs” means “Anti-Semites” in current slang.

<sup>110</sup> ‘CNCDDH’, op cit, p 115

<sup>111</sup> ‘CNCDDH’, op cit, pp 61-62

to dissuade Jewish celebrities from participating in the world's most prestigious cinema festival. During his discussions with US President G. W. Bush, who was in France on 26 and 27 May 2002, President Chirac "protested strongly" against the idea conveyed in the United States that France is seized by a kind of antisemitic fever.

- Interior Minister, Nicolas Sarkozy, visited the synagogue of Clichy-sous-Bois, which was attacked with a petrol bomb on 10 August 2000, launching the slogan "zero tolerance for antisemitism" on 29 May 2002.
- **2 June 2002** Nicolas Sarkozy met with representatives of the Jewish community and promised to improve the coordination of suitable preventive or educational safety measures, and to follow up regularly the files indexing complaints. Moreover, the Minister is said to have committed himself to work in partnership with the Ministries of Justice and Education on the issue (Source: 'Actualité juive', this information was not reported in the national dailies).

## ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

**7 June 2002** the publication, on the Internet website 'Indymedia-France' of a text in which the "Israeli concentration camps" were compared to Nazi concentration camps in Germany during the WW2, provoked the resignation of two members of the editorial team. The article also pondered whether Israel might be equated with Nazi Germany. One of the founding members of this anti-globalization site, which was created after the Seattle summit, also demanded the expulsion of the author of the article. 'Indymedia' has been aware of the problematic "outbreak of fascist postings" since the second Intifada, and has questioned its own open publishing system, under which on-line publication is allowed initially without any editorial control, which is exercised later by censoring articles that are against 'Indymedia's charter, which prohibits "nationalist, sexist, racist, homophobic, commercial, ultra-liberal and antisemitic contributions"). Neo-Nazi groups have tried to use this open Internet publishing system to disseminate their views.

## II. ANTISEMITISM IN 2003

The 'CNCDH' report provides statistics only for 2002. Available evidence for incidents in 2003 was available by the 'CRIF':

A. EXTREME VIOLENCE: ANY ATTACK POTENTIALLY CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE

The 'CRIF' reports no incidents of extreme violence in 2003.

B. ASSAULT: ANY PHYSICAL ATTACK DIRECTED AGAINST PEOPLE, WHICH IS NOT A THREAT TO LIFE

The 'CRIF' reports 61 assaults in 2003.

C. DAMAGE AND DESECRATION OF PROPERTY

'CRIF' reports 33 incidents of damage in 2003.

D. THREATS, VERBAL OR WRITTEN

'CRIF' reports 39 threats in 2003.

E. ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

'CRIF' reports 42 incidents of abusive behaviour in 2003.

F. ANTI- SEMITIC LITERATURE

'MRAP' (Movement against Racism and for the Friendship between Peoples), in its contribution to the Human Rights Commission 2002 report<sup>112</sup>, explains how much the Internet, is used by delinquent Internet surfers today pointing out that numerous antisemitic web sites, in order to avoid legal proceedings, often choose to host their sites in states where racist and antisemitic texts are allowed. In the report, MRAP does emphasize the exemplary and severe decision of the 17th District Court of Paris "Tribunal de Grande Instance"<sup>113</sup>, on 26 March 2002. A web user, who was sentenced for incitement to hatred and violence and for defamation, was given a suspended prison sentence of 18 months, and was ordered to pay a 1,500 € fine for damages to the two plaintiffs, including the MRAP. The court rejected the argument of the council for the defence who said that the person's antisemitic outburst was influenced by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and racist anti-Arab messages he had received.

---

<sup>112</sup> 'CNCDH', op cit, p 107-108

<sup>113</sup> Court presided over by three judges, authorized to try more serious cases

## G. CHANGES IN THE EU POPULATION ATTITUDES TOWARDS JEWS

According to ‘SOS Racisme’<sup>114</sup>, it is particularly the influence of international news, which causes antisemitic violence. To some young people living in underprivileged suburbs, Jews constitute a “perfect scapegoat”, as the media coverage of the events in the Middle East helps to justify antisemitic prejudices<sup>115</sup>.

However, the ‘MRAP’ insists that it is dangerous to see the problem as lying in the “banlieue” (underprivileged suburbs) and “the youth”, simply because of their Arab or Muslim origin. The evidence of the survey by the ‘Sofres’ Institute shows that simplistic assumptions are not true, as young people of North African origin were in fact shown to be even more intolerant of antisemitism than the average French young person. French people of diverse origins have expressed in opinion polls that they felt sympathy with the Palestinians and their suffering and humiliation, while not seeing themselves as an enemy of the Israelis.<sup>116</sup>

## H. RESEARCH STUDIES OR OPINION POLLS REPORTING ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE OR ATTITUDES

There were a number of research studies and analyses in 2002 – 2003 focusing on two parallel and contrasting phenomena, Islamophobia and antisemitism. In 2002, Pierre-André Taguieff published an updated and elaborated version of his 1998<sup>117</sup> book, in which he describes the construction of racial doctrine in France throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. In ‘La nouvelle judéophobie’<sup>118</sup>, (‘The New Judeo-phobia’) Pierre-André Taguieff, who was among the first in France to denounce the “new faces of antisemitism”, demonstrates, within an international context, the dangers of anti-Jewish racism. The author examines the “rising tide of judeophobia” that extends beyond the French borders, to Europe and the Islamic countries.

In the same vein, the book by Alain Finkielkraut “Au nom de l’Autre, réflexions sur l’Antisémitisme qui vient” (“In the name of the Other: Reflections on an antisemitism to Come”) in which he accuses French intellectuals of a “new judeophobia”<sup>119</sup> stemming from the left, anti-globalisationism, third-worldism, Christian socialists and the anti-racist milieu who associate anti-Zionism with antisemitism and deny the

<sup>114</sup> ‘CNCDDH’, op cit, p. 113

<sup>115</sup> ‘CNCDDH’, op cit, p. 98

<sup>116</sup> ‘CNCDDH’, op cit, p. 109

<sup>117</sup> Taguieff Pierre-André, *Colour and Blood. Racist Doctrines “à la française”*, Mille et une nuits, Paris, January 1998 and February 2002 (new edition), p. 326

<sup>118</sup> Taguieff Pierre-André, *The New Judeophobia*, Paris, Mille et Une Nuits, 2002, p. 234

<sup>119</sup> Finkielkraut Alain, *In the Name of Others. On the Coming Antisemitism*, Paris, La Découverte, 40p 2003. Similarly, Pascal Boniface, *May People Criticize Israël ?*, Paris, Robert Laffont, 2003, p. 240

current renewal of antisemitic violence. He analyses antisemitic violence perpetrated by “frustrated Arab Muslim youth” living in suburban housing projects and discontent with their own social and economic disenfranchisement in French society who adopt the Palestinian cause.

An opinion poll published in March 2003 by the ‘BVA Institute’ (‘Institut d’études de Marché et d’Opinion’ – The Institute for Market and Public Opinion Studies) and carried out in November 2002<sup>120</sup> on xenophobia, antisemitism, racism and anti-racism issues, produced results that seem to contradict some conventional assumptions concerning racist and antisemitic behaviour showing that in general French opinion does not appear to consider antisemitism as an important issue in relation to other social concerns: Out of 15 potentially worrying issues, racism ranked ‘6th’ after insecurity, unemployment, poverty, terrorism and drugs, while antisemitism was the source of least concern, and was selected by only 6% of those polled.

In this survey, there were also four questions on the way people perceive Jews in France: Are they part of the national community? Should there be restitution of their property that was stolen in WW2? How important is the memory of the Holocaust and how far can antisemitic words be allowed?

- Almost all respondents (89%, including 63% who “totally agree”) have the feeling that the Jews are “as French as others”;
- Almost all respondents (87%, including 63% who totally agree) think that the Jews should be given back what the French state robbed from them during WW2;
- Only 17% of the respondents feel that people talk “too much” about the extermination of the Jews by the Nazis;
- Most respondents (59%) find it normal that racist remarks, such as “you Jew”, should be punished.

The poll asked exactly the same question about French Muslims: Are they as French as the others? Most respondents (75%) answered “yes”. But on the whole, respondents were better disposed towards French Jews than towards French Muslims or French of North African origin<sup>121</sup>.

---

<sup>120</sup> *Xenophobia, Antisemitism, Racism and Anti-racism in France*, Institute BVA - March 2003, 35 p. Study conducted upon the joint request of the ‘CNCDDH’ and the Government Information Service, using one-on-one surveys, based on a representative sample of the French Population (1010 people ; figure base on quota method), between November 29 and December 6 2002.

<sup>121</sup> ‘CNCDDH’, op cit, pp 100-101

The French NFP provides also an interesting comparison of a survey issue asked in a similar way in the years 1946, 2000 and 2003:

To the question “Is a French person of Jewish origin ‘as French as the others’?”

In 1946, 33% of the respondents replied affirmatively.<sup>122</sup>

In 2000, 66% of the respondents replied affirmatively.<sup>123</sup>

In 2003, 89% of the respondents replied affirmatively.<sup>124</sup>

Another question revealing of antisemitic attitudes and regularly asked in opinion polls concerns the belief in the stereotype of “Jewish occult power” (those who believe in it also tend to consider that “Jews are too numerous” and that they are not “as French as others”). In 1999, 31% believed in this and in 2000 the figure was 34%<sup>125</sup>. However, in 2002, the figure was down to 25%.<sup>126</sup>

It is conventionally thought that hostility towards the Jews should go together with favourable attitudes towards Arabs, Muslims, and Palestinians. The results of the ‘BVA’ poll suggest the contrary. In fact, those who refuse to consider the Jews as French are most likely to refuse to consider also Muslims as French. They are also more critical of immigrants and foreigners, and they are the most reluctant to acknowledge their rights and the equality of races; they are less shocked by discrimination against Blacks and North Africans, etc.

Antisemitism, as studies of racism have shown, is part of ethnocentrism, and people who refuse to consider the Jews as French also do not like Arabs, Muslims and immigrants. Such prejudice develops especially in low-educated families, where people are economically or socially insecure, and minorities are the scapegoat of their problems. In the political field, such prejudices are more present on the right than on the left. The radical right remains the most attractive political area for those expressing racist and antisemitic attitudes, whereas people who vote for the radical left are the least racist and the most likely to consider Jews and Muslim as French<sup>127</sup>.

<sup>122</sup> Poll made by the IFOP for the ‘CRIF’, 13-20 February 1946 (N=1132).

<sup>123</sup> Poll made by the Louis Harris institute for the 2000 report of the Human Rights Commission, *The Fight against Racism and Xenophobia*, 2000, Paris, La Documentation Française.

<sup>124</sup> Institute BVA - March 2003, op. cit., p. 35

<sup>125</sup> Survey CEVIPOF/SOFRES (9-20 May 1988), Political Inter-regional Observatory (17 June-3 July 1991) and Louis Harris/ ‘CNCDH’, 17-24 November 1999 and 2-14 October 2000.

<sup>126</sup> ‘CNCDH’, op cit, p 101

<sup>127</sup> ‘CNCDH’, op cit, p 104



I. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

There is no systematic inventory of the initiatives that are carried out in France in the field of the fight against antisemitism. Therefore the information given in this section, extracted from the 2002 report of the Human Rights Commission and from the declarations of NGOs, is not inclusive:

Since October 2000, the Jewish community has implemented a toll-free number, which aims at collecting the testimonies of victims of antisemitic acts or threats. The calls and the facts are systematically checked before being added to a monthly record<sup>128</sup>.

Each year, during the Anti-Racism Education Week, 'SOS Racisme' organizes debates in schools, notably on the issue of antisemitism and the "duty of remembering the past".

The Paris committees of 'SOS Racisme' organize awareness raising and educational travel in partnership with the "Memory Department" of the 'UEJF', like one-week trip to Cracow, Auschwitz, Lublin, Majdanek, Sobibor, Theresinstadt and Prague. Participants talk about their experiences to other pupils. The testimony of people who were sent to concentration camps is another good educational project by the Ministry of Education<sup>129</sup>.

The French delegation, which was commissioned by the Prime Minister, is now leading the International Action Group for the memory of the Holocaust ('G.A.I.S.'). During the two plenary assemblies in June 2002 in Paris and in October in Strasbourg, it proposed that member states should adopt strategies in conformity with these objectives. With the help of the Foundation for the Memory of the Shoah, presided by Simone Veil, of the Contemporary Jewish Documentation Center and of the Council of Europe<sup>130</sup>, it organised an international scientific seminar on the theme "Education of the Shoah and artistic creation" (Strasbourg, 15-18 October 2002)<sup>131</sup> with the participation of well known scholars, artists, as well as policy makers, diplomats, etc. The Ministers of Education of the Member States of the Council of Europe were given the conclusions of the seminar and decided to launch an annual day in schools on "the memory of the Shoah and the prevention of crimes against Humanity." In France, the Government decided that it would be on 27 January in commemoration of the liberation of the Auschwitz camp.

---

<sup>128</sup> 'CNCDDH', op cit, p 89

<sup>129</sup> 'CNCDDH', op cit, p 117

<sup>130</sup> 'CNCDDH', op cit, p 118

<sup>131</sup> 'CNCDDH', op cit, p 118

J. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS INCLUDING INITIATIVES TO REDUCE POLARISATION AND COUNTERACT NEGATIVE NATIONAL TRENDS:

None were reported by the NFP for 2003.

## CONCLUSIONS

Antisemitism has been a highly visible issue in France during recent years. The French NFP reports present mixed messages, with both negative and positive developments during 2002 - 2003. Data and information gathered by the French Human Rights Commission and 'CRIF' indicate a significant rise in antisemitic violent incidents and threats in 2002. Of the 313 racist, xenophobic or antisemitic incidents reported in 2002, 193 were directed at the Jewish community, six times more than in 2001. As with some other countries, the highest total was in April 2002, precisely the time of heightened Israeli-Palestinian tensions. On the other hand, surveys show that antisemitic attitudes within the general French population are declining. In particular one survey shows that young French people are especially intolerant of antisemitism, and that young people of North African origin, while exhibiting some traditional antisemitic beliefs of Jewish influence and power, are on other dimensions even more intolerant of antisemitism than the average. There are many organisations involved with combating antisemitism, and more is being done to address the problem, including a strengthening of the legal measures against it. A new law was adopted in 2003, which increases the penalties when assault or damage to property is committed with a racist or religious motive.

## 1.7. IRELAND - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM

**Data and information provided for 2002 (with a special focus on the period of May – June) and 2003 by the Irish RAXEN National Focal Point**

### PREFACE

Jews have lived in Ireland for centuries. The earliest record of a Synagogue in Ireland dates from 1660 with the establishment of a prayer room in Crane Lane, opposite Dublin Castle. The oldest Jewish cemetery dates from the early 1700's and is situated near Ballybough Bridge, Dublin. Between 1880 and 1910 almost 2,000 Jews came from Eastern Europe, mainly Lithuania, and settled in Belfast, Cork, Derry, Drogheda, Dublin, Limerick, Lurgan, and Waterford. Only a handful of Jews came during the Nazi period and shortly after the end of World War II. The Jewish population reached its highest number (5,500) in the late 1940's. The 2002 Census demonstrated that there is now a Jewish population of 1,790 living in Ireland. This was the first increase since the 1961 Census that probably means that there are 'new' Jewish people mostly labour migrants, in Ireland.

### 1.7.1. LEGISLATION WITH RESPECT TO ANTISEMITISM

There is no specific legislation on antisemitism in Ireland. However, a number of legislative provisions address inter alia the issue of antisemitism.

- ***The Prohibition of Incitement to Hatred Act 1989:*** the use of words, behaviour or the publication or distribution of material, which is threatening, abusive or insulting and are intended, or are likely, to stir up hatred are prohibited under the Prohibition of Incitement to Hatred Act 1989. The Prohibition of Incitement to Hatred Act is currently being reviewed in the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform with a view to improving its effectiveness. According to the draft report under CERD the review is taking into account the Protocol to the Cybercrime Convention on combating racism and xenophobia through computer systems and the EU Framework Decision combating racism and xenophobia, on which negotiations are continuing. It is also taking place against the background of an increased number of successful prosecutions under the 1989 Act. This review is currently at an advanced stage though, as yet, there is no timetable for its completion.

**Other relevant legislation includes:**

- **The *Video Recording Act 1989*:** aims to prevent generally undesirable video works from being supplied to the public. Among the grounds on which the Official Censor can conclude that a video recordings should not be classified as fit for viewing are that the viewing of the video would be likely to stir up hatred against a group of persons in the State or elsewhere on account of their race, colour, nationality, religion, ethnic or national origins.
- **The *Criminal Justice (Public Order) Act*** makes threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour with intent to provoke a breach of the peace (or being reckless as to whether such a breach is caused) an offence (section 6). The Act also makes it an offence to distribute or display material, which is threatening, abusive, insulting or obscene with intent to cause a breach of the peace (or being reckless as to whether such a breach is caused).

**1.7.2. SOURCES OF DATA AND INFORMATION**

The bulk of incidents recorded in the NFP 2002 report come from information supplied by Jewish organisations in Ireland. The Organisations contacted in this regard include the ‘An Garda Síochána’ (Irish police) Racial & Intercultural Office and Jewish organisations, namely the Jewish Representative Council of Ireland, the Chief Rabbi’s Office, the Israeli Embassy and the Ireland-Israel Friendship League.

The 2003 report has been mainly compiled through a consultation process with the Jewish community in Ireland. In addition this report reflects research initiatives, which sought to identify antisemitism on the Internet and in the mainstream media in 2003. The National Focal Point also consulted with the national police force in relation antisemitic violence and crime. The key sources of information regarding racism in general in Ireland are the Garda PULSE system<sup>132</sup> the informal monitoring system that has been put in place by the NCCRI<sup>133</sup>, and the casework of the Equality Authority and the ODEI – The Equality Tribunal. However these sources have not, to date, provided

<sup>132</sup> As a consequence of increased awareness of the need to collect statistic on racist crimes the ‘An Garda Síochána’ have recently drawn up and approved a definition of what constitutes a racial incident. The new Garda Information system, PULSE has been adapted to record racial incidents but it is likely that such statistics will only be published in the Garda Annual Report of 2003 (due in 2004).

<sup>133</sup> In May 2001 the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) established a voluntary procedure for reporting racist incidents in Ireland. The reports do not seek to provide a comprehensive list of every racist incident in Ireland, indeed the evidence from other countries tends to show that with all racist incidents reporting systems, there is likely to be significant under-reporting of incidents.

significant data in relation to antisemitic incidents. Consequently the 2003 report draws also on consultations with Jewish people living in Ireland, researchers, the Jewish Representative Council, and the Israeli Embassy.

### **1.7.3. DATA AND INFORMATION**

#### **I. ANTISEMITISM IN 2002**

The NFP considers many incidents reported by Jewish organisations to be one off and unusual occurrences, with no evidence of systematic targeting of the Jewish community.

However, one representative of the Jewish Representative Council of Ireland believes that there is increased apprehension in Irish Jewish community. This anxiety relates primarily to recent events in Europe, such as the increased electoral support of the far right, as opposed to any marked change in attitudes amongst the Irish population.

There has been no discernible increase in antisemitic violence or rhetoric in the period in question, though there have been other incidents, just outside the research period again mostly in the verbal aggression category. The police provide discreet presence at the synagogue in Dublin on certain occasions according to the Garda Racial and Intercultural Office.

According to the Intercultural Office there appear to be good relations between the local police and representatives of the Jewish community and meetings have been held between Garda Racial & Intercultural Office and Jewish communal leaders in the period in question.

#### **A. PHYSICAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE TOWARDS JEWS, THEIR COMMUNITIES, ORGANISATIONS OR PROPERTY**

The NFP reports no incidents of physical violence during the research period.

B. VERBAL AGGRESSION, HATE SPEECH AND OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS JEWS

- A survey of national newspapers for the month May 15 – June 15 showed no verbal attacks on Jews in public discourse or by Irish politicians.
- The NCCRI logged one call in relation to Irish media coverage of events in the Middle East, but, when pressed, the caller did not maintain that the coverage was in essence antisemitic.
- The Israeli embassy has received a number of hate telephone calls but has not logged the exact number. The embassy also received a piece of hate mail on June 10, written on a brown paper bag.
- Amnesty International ran an advertising campaign in regard to Israel and the Occupied Territories. A copy of the advertisement was returned to its offices with the words “Hitler Was Right” written over it.
- The Garda Racial and Intercultural Office reports that there have been a few threatening and abusive phone calls to Jewish residents in the Terenure district of Dublin, where the synagogue is located that were dealt with by the local police.
- A website, called ‘National Socialist Are Us’<sup>134</sup> contained a section called The New Folk where white supremacist and “Aryan” ideology is expressed. The website also contained links to other similar sites including Stormfront.

C. STUDIES, OPINION POLLS OR OTHER REPORTS ON CHANGES IN ANTISEMITIC SENTIMENTS

No such reports or studies are reported by the NFP.

D. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

No such examples are reported by the NFP.

E. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS

No such reactions are reported by the NFP.

---

<sup>134</sup> At <http://www.nsrus.ie> (National Socialist Are Us) – no longer active.

## II. ANTISEMITISM IN 2003

The data presented below on the years 2001, 2002 and 2003 do not point to any discernible increase in antisemitism in Ireland during 2003.

| <b>ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS<br/>(as defined in by the EUMC guidelines)</b>   | <b>2001</b> | <b>2002</b> | <b>2003</b>         |
|---|-------------|-------------|---------------------|
| 1. Extreme Violence: Any attack potentially causing loss of life  | 0           | 0           | 0                   |
| 2. Assault: Any physical attack against people, which is not a threat to life   | 0           | 0           | 0                   |
| 3. Damage and Desecration of Property: Any physical attack directed against Jewish property, which is not life threatening                  | 0           | 0           | 0                   |
| 4. Threats: Includes only clear threats, whether verbal or written  | 0           | 0           | 0                   |
| 5. Abusive Behaviour: Face-to-face, telephone and targeted abusive/antisemitic letters  | 2           | 12          | 2                   |
| 6. Antisemitic Literature   | 0           | 0           | 1<br>possibly<br>+1 |
| 7. Changes in attitude towards Jews, their communities, organisations or their property   | 0           | 0           | 0                   |
| 8. Research Studies, reports on antisemitic Violence or opinions?   | 0           | 0           | 0                   |
| 9. Good practices   | 0           | 0           | 1                   |
| 10. Reactions by politicians and other opinion leaders including initiatives to reduce polarisation and counteract negative national trends |             |             |                     |

*Source: Jewish Representative Council (2003) Report on Antisemitism & Antisemitic Incidents in Ireland for the NCCRI, p. 6*

Given the anecdotal nature of the data on antisemitism in Ireland this report does not represent a comprehensive analysis of all such activities in 2003, but rather gives an indication of the nature of such incidents.

## A. EXTREME VIOLENCE: ANY ATTACK POTENTIALLY CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE

The Garda PULSE System has not recorded any antisemitic crimes in 2003. In addition to a motive category on ‘racism’ the PULSE system also has an option to record antisemitic crime. Other sources did not report any incidences of violence or assaults, which were motivated by antisemitism.

## B. ASSAULT: ANY PHYSICAL ATTACK DIRECTED AGAINST PEOPLE, WHICH IS NOT A THREAT TO LIFE

No such incidents were reported by the NFP.

## C. DAMAGE AND DESECRATION OF PROPERTY

According to the Jewish Representative Council in recent years there have been a few reported incidents of ‘suspicious activity’ around Jewish Community buildings and such incidents are reported to the police.

## D. THREATS, VERBAL OR WRITTEN

- **21 June 2003** a letter to the Israeli Ambassador, discussed below, states “keep your head down. We will be watching you and your murderous mossad thugs. Stay in your ‘compounds’.”
- Another anonymous letter received by the Israeli Ambassador included references to, “we will be watching you as one watches VERMIN”.

## E. ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

- **14 April 2003** and **31 May 2003** two letters were received by a high profile academic at Trinity College Dublin enclosing an excerpt from Andrea Dworkin's book 'Life and Death'. The letters described Talmudic Judaism as 'teaching filth' and quotes from the article “The Brown-Shirted Christ Killers” which “educates the world to the fact that four Christians to every one Jew were murdered by the Nazis in the concentration camps”. This individual also received an unsigned letter saying, “If you don't like our treatment of ‘refugees’ why don't you fuck off to somewhere more congenial, like Belsen”.
- **21 June 2003** a letter to the Israeli Ambassador included the reference to “your vicious, murderous, savage, inhuman race” and refers to Israelis as a “criminal race”. The letter states that for diplomatic reasons “we” have to tolerate the Embassy’s presence but that “we will be watching you”. This letter is similar in language and tone to an earlier one dated **26 March 2003**.
- **In June 2003** the Jewish Representative Council recorded an incident where a group of Jews were harassed when entering a cemetery by a number of youths.



- **In October 2003** a man shouted abuse at a group of Jews entering a synagogue.
- The Israeli Embassy receives, on average, about four or five phone calls per month, which it classifies as abusive. These are normally after hours or left on their answering machine anonymously.
- A letter purportedly from the Hebrew Congregation in Limerick, to the Editor of a major newspaper was copied to the Israeli Embassy. The letter suggests that as part of the Talmudic religion Jews are allowed to enjoy pederasty/child sexual abuse. The letter included an editorial from the same newspaper on a recent clampdown on child pornography and an extract from Andrea Dworkin's Book 'Life and Death' which refers to the use of 'Holocaust pornography' in Israel.
- In an unsigned open letter to the Israeli Ambassador to Ireland the author states: "I do not think you should be made welcome in our country... The Zionist Reich will not last 1000 years, just like the Nazi Reich did not last 1000 years. Both were built on a bad foundation."
- Another correspondence received by the Embassy in 2003 compared Israelis to the Nazi regime, and included a copy of a newspaper article with a picture of Palestinian victims of the Middle East's conflict with the word 'Israeli Justice' written on top of the article. A further letter stated that the Israeli government's behaviour towards Palestinians made it 'regrettable Hitler didn't complete his program'.
- **2 November 2003** a signed letter to the Israeli Ambassador refers to a BBC television programme 'When Killing is Easy'. The letter describes the State of Israel and its people as "a pox on the world and should be treated as such. A people and a nation to be shunned and avoided at all cost".

#### F. ANTISEMITIC LITERATURE

- The 'Aryan Nation' website, <http://www.skadi.net/forum.htm>, under the subheading 'The Celtic Realm,' included antisemitic material targeted at a specific individual.
- In 2003 the Jewish Representative Council noted the launch of Al Muhajirounf Islamic Groups, which has expressed anti-Jewish statements (<http://www.muhaajiroun.com> ). The organization does not have an Irish website, though references to its Irish representative/contact person can easily be found on the Internet.
- The Jewish Representative Council in its report on antisemitism in 2003 noted a cartoon in an Irish published magazine depicting a negative image of an orthodox Jew.
- The Israeli Embassy forwarded to the NCCRI a leaflet, which was circulated in Cork. This leaflet suggests that the Holocaust did not happen, and provides an email address for an Irish contact.

## G. CHANGES IN THE EU POPULATION ATTITUDES TOWARDS JEWS

While it is not possible to assess changes in attitudes amongst the general population with regard to antisemitism, since no such studies have been conducted in the period in question it has been acknowledged that a range of external factors impact the context of racism and xenophobia in Ireland.

The Jewish Representative Council identified a number of factors, which led to increased apprehension amongst the Irish Jewish Community in 2003, including:

- A reported increase in the number of antisemitic events across Europe.
- A recent report that the British Jewish Community has been warned by British Police of an imminent terrorist attack on synagogues or community centres.<sup>135</sup>
- The complex situation in Israel, Israel's reaction to terrorist incidents, increased hostility to Israel, the 'de-legitimisation' of the State of Israel, comparison of Israeli policies to those of Nazis, etc.
- The recent speech by Malaysia's Prime Minister in which he urged Muslims to unite against "Jews" who, he said, ruled the world by "proxy". Many Jewish leaders view such statements as an invitation to violence<sup>136</sup>.
- Posts on Internet websites and newspaper discussion forums where Israeli Security Forces are often referred to as "Jewish criminals" and "Zionist war criminals".<sup>137</sup>
- Media coverage of the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians that is perceived to be biased, unfair, and inaccurate bordering on antisemitic.
- The double suicide car bomb attack on two Synagogues in Istanbul, Turkey.<sup>138</sup>
- Difficulty in assessing where anti-Israel sentiment ends and antisemitism begins.

---

<sup>135</sup> The Irish Times (13.10.03)

<sup>136</sup> Speech by Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad at the opening of the 10th Session of the Islamic Summit Conference on Oct 16, 2003. There was widespread condemnation of these comments in Ireland.

<sup>137</sup> Indymedia Ireland Website, available at:  
[http://www.indymedia.ie/newswire.php?search\\_text=zionazis&type\\_id=all](http://www.indymedia.ie/newswire.php?search_text=zionazis&type_id=all)

<sup>138</sup> The Irish Times (17.11.03)

H. RESEARCH STUDIES OR OPINION POLLS REPORTING ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE OR ATTITUDES

The NFP did not report of any such studies conducted or published in Ireland during 2003.

I. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

In terms of positive actions/practices that assist in the efforts to combat antisemitism there was positive feedback by Jewish and non-Jewish parties following the first official annual commemoration of the Holocaust at City Hall in Dublin in January 2003 attended by the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform. He stated that Ireland had betrayed its own Constitution by failing to protect Jews during the Second World War and that it was appropriate to “formally acknowledge the wrongs that were covertly done, by act and omission” to fail to offer refuge to those who sought it and by the failure to confront those who offered justification for the racial hatred and prejudice that led to the Holocaust.<sup>139</sup>

The Jewish Community is currently implementing mechanisms of reporting antisemitic incidents, both to its members and to all the appropriate authorities in Ireland.

J. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS INCLUDING INITIATIVES TO REDUCE POLARISATION AND COUNTERACT NEGATIVE NATIONAL TRENDS

Political reaction and debate concerning antisemitism in Ireland focuses either on the domestic historical context, or on international affairs.

- Ireland traditionally sponsors a resolution on religious Intolerance at the United Nations. The resolution condemns ‘all intolerance, incitement, harassment or violence against persons or communities based on ethnic or religious belief’. Over the last twenty years the Irish Government has received many proposals to include a reference to specific instances of religious intolerance, which it has resisted on the grounds that once such a reference is included it could not, in logic, refuse other references. The Irish Government has been concerned to maintain the consensus, which underpins the value of this resolution. At the Third Committee of the General Assembly in 2003 it was proposed to include a reference to antisemitism in the religious intolerance resolution. Notwithstanding the Irish Government’s concern not to accept an amendment to the

---

<sup>139</sup> O’Halloran, M (2003) McDowell says Wartime Jews let Down, in the Irish Times, available at <http://www.ireland.com>.

resolution on the elimination of all forms of religious discrimination, it is concerned that the UN should give adequate expression to its opposition to all manifestations of antisemitism. Therefore the Irish Government was seeking support for a specific resolution on antisemitism to be tabled in the General Assembly. The motion co-sponsored, by the EU 25, Romania and Bulgaria was finally withdrawn in December 2003.

- **18 November** in a meeting with the Israeli Foreign Minister the Irish Foreign Minister assured him that Ireland is not antisemitic and promised to take an even handed approach to the Middle East crisis.<sup>140</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

Official sources in Ireland have not recorded any antisemitic incidents, and most of the information comes from Jewish organisations in Ireland. In general there is no discernable evidence of an increase in antisemitic violence or rhetoric over the period 2002 - 2003, and no evidence of systematic targeting of the Jewish community in Ireland. There were no recorded incidents of extreme violence, physical assaults, or damage to property. The bulk of the incidents in 2003 were categorised as ‘abusive behaviour’ - mainly abusive and aggressive letters and phone calls, totalling around 16 (although there may have also been unreported cases), with some further instances of antisemitic literature in the form of leaflets or on websites. As elsewhere, the discourse on antisemitism in Ireland is coloured by events in the Middle East.

---

<sup>140</sup> Stuanton, D (2003) Ireland not Antisemitic, says Cowen, in the Irish Times (19.11.03). Ireland has secured the agreement of the EU member states to co-sponsor a UN General Assembly resolution condemning antisemitism.

## 1.8. ITALY - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM

### Data and information provided for 2002 (with a special focus on the period of May – June) and 2003 by the Italian RAXEN National Focal Point

#### PREFACE

Jews have lived in Italy for more than 2,000 years. Today the Jewish communities in Italy number some 30,000 members out of a total population of 57 million. The largest communities are in Rome (approx. 15,000) and Milan (approx. 10,000); smaller communities exist in Turin, Florence, Livorno, Trieste, Genoa and several other smaller cities.

The ‘Unione delle Comunità Ebraiche Italiane’ (UCEI) is the umbrella organization representing the Jewish communities in official matters and providing religious, cultural and educational services. There are Jewish schools in the main communities and two monthly journals; ‘Shalom’ published in Rome and ‘Bollettino’ published in Milan.

#### 1.8.1. LEGISLATION WITH RESPECT TO ANTISEMITISM

- In the Italian legal framework antisemitism is basically covered by art.4 of the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination, which stipulates that “State Parties shall consider as a crime punishable by law: the dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or hatred, any incitement to racial discrimination as well as any violent acts or incitement to such acts, directed against any race or group of individuals of a different colour or ethnic origin; as well as any assistance to racist activities, including the financing of such acts”.
- ‘UCEI’ has signed an agreement with the Italian Government establishing the overall framework of activity for this institution and its relationship to the Italian authorities. This agreement is published as law (Law 08.03.1989, n.101, as amended by Law 06.11.1996, n. 637) and is linked to law 13.10.1975, n.654 against racist discrimination.
- Furthermore, Italy’s immigration law 1998<sup>141</sup> (*Testo Unico*) reconfirmed the principle of non-discrimination as defined in CERD. Accordingly racial discrimination is "any behaviour which, directly or indirectly, involves a distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference

---

<sup>141</sup> Law of July 25, 1998, official publication in *Gazzetta Ufficiale* n. 191 del 18.08.1998

based on race, colour, ancestry, national or ethnic origin, religious conventions or practices, and which has the goal or the effect to destroy or compromise the recognition, the possession or exercise, in condition of parity, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other sector of public life".

- Since 9 July 2003 the Racial Equality Directive 2000/43/EC has been transposed by Law n. 215, *Decreto legislativo*<sup>142</sup>.
- Finally, the Legislative Decree n.122, enacted on 26 April 1993 and converted into law n. 205 of 25 June 1993 on "*urgent measures on the subject of racial, national, ethnic and religious discrimination*", undersigned by then Minister of Interior Affairs Nicola Mancino and therefore known as "Mancino" law. Among other things, it provides that any one "*who disseminates, in any form, ideas based on racial or ethnic superiority or hatred, or incites to commit or commits acts of racial, ethnic and religious discrimination*" can be punished by law. Moreover, it outlaws "*any organization, association, movement or group*" characterized by or having racial, national, ethnic or religious discrimination among its aims.

## 1.8.2. SOURCES OF DATA AND INFORMATION

- Ministry of the Interior, Central Directorate of the Prevention Police, request for data of 2002 by the European Monitoring Centre on racism, xenophobia and antisemitism (EU), document No. 224/B1/16285.
- **Newspapers and magazines** ("*Il Giornale*", 5 April 2002; "*Il Corriere della Sera*", 13 April 2002; "*Il Corriere della Sera*", 13 May 2002 ; "*La Stampa*", 2 June, 2002 ; *Liberazione*, 29 October 2002; *il Manifesto*, 15 January 2003; *Agi*, 27 January 2003; *Liberazione*, 4 February 2003; *L'Unità*, 9 March 2003; *Corriere del Mezzogiorno*, 16 March 2003 (<http://www.quindici-molfetta.it>); <http://www.ilnuovo.it>; 17 March 2003; *L'Osservatore romano*, 17 March 2003; *L'Unità*, 9 June 2003; *la Repubblica* 19 and 20 November 2003; *L'Unità*, 19 and 20 November 2003; *il Manifesto*, 19 and 20 November 2003; *Il Gazzettino. Quotidiano del Nord-Est*, 23 November 2003; *L'Unità*, 23 November 2003; *Il Gazzettino di Padova*, 24 November, 2003 ; ANSA, 30 November, 2003)
- **Webpages**
  - <http://www.ucei.it/>
  - <http://www.lostranierosenzanome.bbk.org> (26/03/2002);

<sup>142</sup> Official publication in *Gazzetta Ufficiale* n. 186 del 12.08.2003, available at [http://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/guri/sommario?service=0&numgu=186&data\\_gu=12.08.2003](http://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/guri/sommario?service=0&numgu=186&data_gu=12.08.2003) (23.08.2003).

- <http://www.holywar.org>; *Oltre la Verità Ufficiale* (Beyond the Official Truth)
- <http://www.disinformazione.it/> (17/1/2002) *Radio Islam*
- <http://www.abbc2.com/> 12/11/2001, *Associazione Italia-Iraq* (Italian-Iraqi Association)
- <http://digilander.iol.it/assitaliairaq/> (24/05/2002); ADL, Anti-Defamation League
- [http://www.adl.org/PresRele/ASInt\\_13/4185\\_13.asp](http://www.adl.org/PresRele/ASInt_13/4185_13.asp)
- **Other sources**
  - B.Z.Goldberg, J.Shapiro, C.Bolado, *Promesse*, (Promises) Usa, 2000, 102' (Oscar 2002 for the best documentary film, presented in Italy for the first time, in "L'Espresso", 6 June 2002)
  - National radio and television network [TN]
  - CDEC (Centre of Contemporary Jewish Documentation) Milan.

### 1.8.3. DATA AND INFORMATION

#### I. ANTISEMITISM IN 2002

The NFP highlighted a number of incidents in its report suggesting that demonstrations, marches and other political actions reached a climax at the end of March and in April 2002 coinciding with the Israeli occupation of Bethlehem, the emergence of the issue of the Nativity Church and the attack against the Jenin refugee camp.

On the basis of the NFP inquiries and the analysis of documents mainly supplied by CDEC - Centre of Contemporary Jewish Documentation in Milan, there seems to be a sharp difference between Italy and other European States as regards antisemitic violence and aggression. The NFP did not find any reports of physical attacks on persons or property (synagogues, cemeteries, homes or shops belonging to Jews). It does, however, report on verbal threats, anonymous letters, threatening phone calls and graffiti, which reached a peak during April 2002 and relatively decreased in May and June 2002.

A. PHYSICAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE TOWARDS JEWS, THEIR COMMUNITIES, ORGANISATIONS OR PROPERTY

The NFP reports no such incidents.

B. VERBAL AGGRESSION, HATE SPEECH AND OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS JEWS

- **2 April 2002** Jews in Rome staged a peaceful protest under the headquarters of the political party 'Rifondazione Comunista'. Some passing cars reacted to the traffic jam in the subway in Corso Italia by shouting antisemitic slogans at the protesters.
- **3 April 2002** graffiti "Israelis Murderers" was smeared on the walls of a synagogue in Siena. Antisemitic graffiti was also painted two days later in several spots of the old Venice ghetto.
- **6 April, 2002** during a pro Palestinian demonstration banners and placards with slogans against Israel and Prime Minister Sharon appeared on which the "S" was replaced with swastikas or written the same way as Nazi SS.
- **In April 2002** renowned Jewish journalists received several threatening and insulting letters, some receiving up to fifty threatening e-mails. One such journalist found the walls of his home smeared with graffiti 'Zionist', after publishing an open letter in 'Il Manifesto' on April 4, 2002, entitled "The Terror You Do not Understand", where he distanced himself from what in his opinion, amounted to unilateral positions expressed by the newspaper and by the Italian peace movement on the Middle East conflict.
- **2 May 2002** the daily 'La Nazione' of Florence reported that some antisemitic graffiti was written on the wall of a Catholic Church in the town of Gavinana outside Florence, praising the Holocaust and 20 years of fascist domination.
- **6 May 2002** very large graffiti "Jews murderers" was seen in an underground pass in the city of Prato. The Centre of Contemporary Jewish Documentation in Milan also received an anonymous phone call on the same day from someone who said, "We will burn you all".
- **22 May 2002** antisemitic graffiti was smeared on walls in the town of Marrucini in Abruzzo.
- **2 June 2002** newspapers reported that two right-wing extremists were arrested for planning an attack in the Venice ghetto<sup>143</sup>. In addition, weapons and a map with the borders of the Venice ghetto clearly marked were seized by police.

---

<sup>143</sup> "La Stampa", June 2, 2002



C. STUDIES, OPINION POLLS OR OTHER REPORTS ON CHANGES IN ANTISEMITIC SENTIMENTS

- A telephone poll carried out in April 2002 by 'Ispol/ACNielsen' on a sample of 5,000 asked whether Italian Jews have characteristics that distinguish them from the rest of the population: 54% of the respondents agreed and 68% cited as "proof", the Jews "peculiar relationship with money and a mentality and life style different from those of other Italians"<sup>144</sup>.
- Another poll commissioned by the 'ADL' (Anti-Defamation League) and carried out in September 2002 highlighted the fact that 58% of the interviewees shared the opinion that Italian Jews may be more loyal to Israel than to Italy, while 42% consider them to "have too much power in the business world"<sup>145</sup>.

D. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

- **15 February 2002** an important event for historical research, but also a symbolic gesture, was the opening of some sections of the Vatican Archives shedding some light on the past and the controversial relationship between the Vatican, the Jews and the Shoah.
- In the region of Lombardy the local section of the trade union CISL promoted in Lecco, in collaboration with other associations a training project called "Considerate se questo è un uomo - Consider if this is a man" involving schools of the city and union delegates from local companies on issues of antisemitism, the Shoah, and human dignity scheduled for 2003. The project will end with trips to symbolic locations in Europe like Auschwitz and the Risiera di San Sabba in Trieste, the only Nazi concentration camp in Italy. Among the materials being used to promote the initiative are balanced images of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict, such as campaign material used by Amnesty International to raise awareness on the violations of human rights for both Israelis and Palestinians.
- The video "Promesse – Promises" on tales of Israeli and Palestinian children in the war had a remarkable impact on public opinion and the NFP considers it useful for a balanced understanding of the dramatic situation in the Middle East. The video was widely distributed as supplement to the major weekly magazine - "L'Espresso".

---

<sup>144</sup> Survey conducted between April 13 and May 13, part of which was published in "*Il Corriere della Sera*"

<sup>145</sup> Available at [http://www.adl.org/PresRele/ASInt\\_13/4185\\_13.asp](http://www.adl.org/PresRele/ASInt_13/4185_13.asp), 24/11/2002

- **19 April 2002** an event was organised at the Colosseum by the Mayor of Rome, during which Israeli and Palestinian singers performed in turn on the stage.
- During the summer of 2002 several open-air concerts were held during the venue “Summer in Roma” with the participation of Israeli, Palestinian and other Muslim artists.
- **27 June 2002** in the ‘Ghetto’ district of Rome a seminar was organised attracting a large audience with the participation of the Chief Rabbi of Rome.
- Web sites set up for countering misunderstanding and responding to media attacks against Israel. Example of such websites are <http://www.informazionecorretta.com/> providing a wide range of information, and [www.uil.it/uilscuola](http://www.uil.it/uilscuola) (the site of the confederated trade union of teachers UIL) which, since 23 May 2002, presents a position paper by the educational department of the national secretariat of the union under the title: “*Schools and the prevention of antisemitism*”.

#### E. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS

- **15 April 2002** some politicians from both the governing and opposition parties called for an “Israeli Day” in Rome; the director of the daily ‘Il Foglio’ acted as promoter of the event and about 3,000 people marched through the centre of the city carrying Israeli flags. The participants included militants of a wide range of political Parties, acting individually and irrespective of their political affiliation.

## ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

A number of racist and xenophobic sites were listed by the NFP; some are linked to Catholic fundamentalists and others may be linked to the political Party ‘Lega Nord’ (Northern League). Some of these sites have discussion fora with poor input and most likely involving a small group of participants or sympathisers communicating with one another. The only exception to this is the website by ‘Forza Nuova’,<sup>146</sup> (New Force) that can boast a larger number of participants in their discussion list.

Some of these Internet sites<sup>147</sup> display the full version of the classic antisemitic publication “I Protocolli dei savi anziani di Sion - The Protocols of the Elders of

<sup>146</sup> An extreme right-wing militant group offering political support to other groups that until lately, identified with various “skinhead” groups.

<sup>147</sup> *Lo straniero Senza Nome* (Stranger Without a Name) <http://www.lostranierosenzanome.bbk.org> (26/03/2002), *Holy War*, <http://www.holywar.org> Radio Islam <http://www.abc2.com/> (12/11/2001), *Associazione Italia-Iraq* (Italian-Iraqi

Zion". The website of 'Fronte Sociale Nazionale' (National Social Front) carries a pro-Palestinian Intifada appeal which adopts a traditional antisemitic and anti-Zionist language with hostile references to "Talmudic Judaism", the "global plutocratic cupola"<sup>148</sup>, the bleeding star of David, etc. Many other sites include references to the slander of the "ritual murder and blood shedding". On others, the denial of the Holocaust is highlighted, with images, texts and "historical" records denying the Shoah as well as numerous passages quoted from books on this subject.

Websites by left-wing groups, such as 'Che fare' (What should be done) also include elements of anti-Zionism, pro-Arab fundamentalism and recurrent slanderous stereotypes against Jews, e.g. "the Jewish lobby", the "link to the free-Masons", the "international plot", "world economic power held by Jews", "Jews circumcised with a dollar" etc. It is not possible to estimate the number of visitors to these websites.

**3 April 2002** a cartoon by Giorgio Forattini on the front page of the wide circulation national daily 'La Stampa' showed a baby Jesus in a crèche, at the sight of an Israeli tank asking: "Are they going to kill me for a second time?" This led to a heated debate and the president of the Union of Jewish Communities, Amos Luzzatto, strongly criticised the return of the accusation of deicide that was lifted by the Second Vatican Council.

## II. ANTISEMITISM IN 2003

The NFP reports in a similar way on the situation in 2003 noting that on the whole perpetrators of outrageous anti-Hebrew graffiti, threats and insults, desecration of places and symbols of Hebraism were members and groups of the radical right also responsible for organising revisionist and Holocaust denial demonstrations. In anti-immigrant demonstrations organised frequently by the 'Lega Nord' with 'Forza Nuova' and extreme right wing and neo-Nazi groups Nazi symbols are displayed together with anti-Muslim, anti-Jewish and revisionist slogans and similar references are made in speeches. But the NFP stresses that "antisemitic" feelings and attitudes are present in all political parties and in part of the public opinion, as a legacy of the past and a reflection of the polarization caused by international conflicts, especially in the Middle East.

According to Interior Ministry data on racism and antisemitism for 2001, racist crimes had decreased by 12% whereas crimes generally described as "antisemitic" had increased by 10%. These figures are not considered by the NFP as entirely reliable as they are not the outcome of a systematic and

---

Association) <http://digilander.iol.it/assitaliairaq/> (24/05/2002); *Oltre la Verità Ufficiale* (Beyond the Official Truth) <http://www.disinformazione.it/> (17/1/2002).

<sup>148</sup> This word traditionally identifies the highest decision making organo of the Mafia organised crime.

evidence-based monitoring, although the second figure could be considered indicative of the actual trend.

A. EXTREME VIOLENCE: ANY ATTACK POTENTIALLY CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE

- **In January 2003** the Court of Bergamo sentenced eight skinheads for criminal conspiracy aimed at bodily harm and aggravated by racial motivation. The group had, over the last years, organised punitive expeditions against their “enemies”, namely Jews, foreigners, policemen and drug dealers.<sup>149</sup>

B. ASSAULT: ANY PHYSICAL ATTACK DIRECTED AGAINST PEOPLE, WHICH IS NOT A THREAT TO LIFE

- **In November 2003** in Padua two students were threatened and beaten at school by their classmates because of their Jewish surname. Their father, summoned by the school principal, felt compelled to swear that he had been baptized<sup>150</sup>.

C. DAMAGE AND DESECRATION OF PROPERTY

- **In February 2003** in Cernobbio, Como the memorial monument of Giorgio Perlasca, who saved thousands of Jews from deportation in Hungary, was knocked down and stained.<sup>151</sup>
- **16 March 2003** in Senigallia, Ancona swastikas, Celtic crosses and racist graffiti appear on the monument dedicated to Anne Frank, on the walls and the door of the Jewish Museum and under the arcades where an African museum is located<sup>152</sup>.

D. THREATS, VERBAL OR WRITTEN

- **In January 2003** in Rome two youths were arrested by the police for spraying on the perimeter walls of the Faculty of Literature and Philosophy of the University of Rome antisemitic graffiti, such as “death to Zion” and “Juden raus”, signed with a swastika. The incident took place soon after other offensive and antisemitic writings appeared on the office door of a Jewish professor<sup>153</sup>.
- **In November 2003** in Treviso Piergiorgio Stiffoni, a senator from the political party ‘Lega Nord’, commenting on the eviction of immigrants

<sup>149</sup> *il Manifesto*, 15 January 2003

<sup>150</sup> “Il Gazzettino di Padova”, 24 November 2003

<sup>151</sup> *Liberazione*, 4 Feb., 2003

<sup>152</sup> <http://www.ilnuovo.it>; *L'Osservatore romano*, 17 March 2003

<sup>153</sup> *Agi*, 27 January 2003

from an occupied building said “Immigrants? Pity that the crematorium under construction at the cemetery of Santa Bona is not yet ready.”<sup>154</sup>

#### E. ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

- **In March 2003:** in Molfetta, Bari a pupil, member of “Forza Nuova”, publicly offended the Shoah during a lecture, saying that the “Holocaust of Jews is false and that the Day of Memorial is nonsense”. Although he claimed that he expressed his personal opinions and did not intend to insult, school authorities imposed a disciplinary sanction of five days of suspension with the obligation to be present at school and to do some work for the entire school community<sup>155</sup>.
- **In March 2003** in Milan a few hours after Paolo Mieli was offered the presidency of RAI<sup>156</sup>, antisemitic graffiti was sprayed on walls of RAI’s head office in Milan “Down! with Mieli raus”, “RAI for Italians, not for Jews”. The graffiti painted in gold colour, was accompanied by Celtic crosses and swastikas<sup>157</sup>.
- **6 May 2003** in Rome revisionist historian Ernst Nolte, was invited by the majority parliamentary groups of the governing coalition to hold a ‘lectio magistralis’ at the Senate of the Republic; in his lecture he compared the political identity of Nazi Germany to the Israeli State<sup>158</sup>.
- **In November 2003:** in Rome at the entrance to the building hosting the Channel 1 of RAI the national radio and TV network an antisemitic inscription appeared targeting the director<sup>159</sup>.
- **In November 2003:** in Cremona antisemitic writings including praises of Mussolini were found outside the headquarters of ‘Alleanza Nazionale’ and two yellow stars of David were painted on the door. The party leaders in Cremona condemned the incident<sup>160</sup>.

---

<sup>154</sup> Il Gazzettino. Quotidiano del Nord-Est; L’Unità, 23 November 2003

<sup>155</sup> *Corriere del Mezzogiorno*, 16 March, 2003; (<http://www.quindici-molfetta.it>)

<sup>156</sup> National radio and television network [TN]

<sup>157</sup> *L’Unità*, 9 March 2003

<sup>158</sup> <http://www.ilnuovo.it> (7.05.2003)

<sup>159</sup> ANSA, 26 November, 2003.

<sup>160</sup> ANSA, 30 November, 2003.

## F. ANTISEMITIC LITERATURE

- **In September 2003** some regional associations of ‘Alleanza Nazionale’ disseminated antisemitic propaganda and the website of Azione Giovani in Sardinia published a list of suggested readings that included books by neo-Nazi authors as reported in the world survey on antisemitism published by the Steven Roth Institute, University of Tel Aviv<sup>161</sup>.
- **In November 2003:** Rome: A few days before the visit of the Vice-Premier Gianfranco Fini to Israel Serena, member of Parliament from ‘Alleanza Nazionale’ distributed to all the members of the Parliament and the Senate, an “autobiographic” videotape of Eric Priebke, Nazi war criminal responsible for the massacre at the Fosse Ardeatine in Rome in 1944 (335 civilian hostages were executed, 75 of whom were Jews). Subsequently, he was expelled from the party.<sup>162</sup>

## G. CHANGES IN THE EU POPULATION ATTITUDES TOWARDS JEWS

The NFP does not report on any recent studies or opinion polls on antisemitic sentiments.

## H. RESEARCH STUDIES OR OPINION POLLS REPORTING ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE OR ATTITUDES

- **In June 2003** in Bologna over 150 websites belonging to extreme right organisations and praising concentration camps, selling fascist memorabilia and disseminating racist and xenophobic messages were recorded in a research project by ‘FIAP’ (Italian Federation of Partisan Associations) published as “The sites of shame”<sup>163</sup>.

## I. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

- **27 January 2003** in many Italian regions and provinces on a number of public events involving schools were organised in memory of the Holocaust.
- **24 October 2003** a public funeral service was held in the Piazza del Campidoglio in Rome, for thirteen Somalians who died after a boat full of refugees capsized off from the coast of Lampedusa. The event, supported by the Mayor of Rome, was attended by many representatives and members of Muslim and Jewish associations with the Chief Rabbi of Rome and representatives of other religious groups.

---

<sup>161</sup> 22/09/2003

<sup>162</sup> La *Repubblica*; L’*Unità*; Il Manifesto, 19 and 20 November, 2003

<sup>163</sup> L’*Unità*, (9.06.2003)

- Following the bloody attacks against Jews in Istanbul, a group of Italian intellectuals and journalists launched an appeal for solidarity with the Jewish community by going to the synagogue. The event was very successful and on 22 November many non-Jewish citizens visited the synagogues of some Italian cities.

J. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS INCLUDING INITIATIVES TO REDUCE POLARISATION AND COUNTERACT NEGATIVE NATIONAL TRENDS

No significant events are reported by the NFP.

## CONCLUSIONS

There is no official systematic monitoring of antisemitic incidents in Italy, and no reliable research or statistics. In 2002 the NFP did not find any reports of physical attacks on Jewish persons or property, and there was just one recorded assault during 2003. It did, however, find many examples of verbal threats and abuse, as well as threatening letters, phone calls and graffiti. (Like in many other countries, these reached a peak in April 2002, a time of major incidents in the Middle East.) There are also many antisemitic web sites. Although there appears to be no major problem of antisemitic violence in Italy, the NFP considers that antisemitic attitudes are widespread in all political parties and in a large section of public opinion. Opinion polls showed that a majority of Italians think that Italian Jews have distinct characteristics from the rest of the population, such as a peculiar relationship with money, and that many feel that Jews have “too much power in the business world” Anti-immigrant demonstrations organised by the Northern League frequently become sites for antisemitic as well as anti-immigrant slogans and banners.

## 1.9. LUXEMBOURG - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM

**Data and information provided for 2002 (with a special focus on the period of May – June) and 2003 by the Luxembourgish RAXEN National Focal Point.**

### PREFACE

There are some 650 persons officially registered as members of the Jewish community. Nevertheless, the number of Jews in the Grand Duchy is estimated at approximately 1,200, or 2.2% of the total population. Since the end of the Second World War, the number of Jews in Luxembourg has remained constant. It is the smallest Jewish community in Europe. Just as Luxembourg's population as a whole, the Jewish community is an aging population whose demographic gaps are filled by the inflow of young persons of various nationalities who come to Luxembourg for professional reasons. The members of the Jewish community have integrated extremely well into the social, community and cultural life of the country.

### 1.9.1. LEGISLATION WITH RESPECT TO ANTISEMITISM

Antisemitism is addressed through a variety of legislative provisions:

- Article 10 b of the constitution of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg states that "*All Luxembourgers are equal before the law. They are eligible for all public, civil and military posts; the law determines the eligibility of non-Luxembourgers*".<sup>164</sup> This constitutional provision has legal effects upon all other legislative acts - with the exception of acts concerning approval of treaties.
- The 1997 law on discrimination provides that people who commit discriminatory acts incur criminal sanctions. On occasion of the European Year against Racism, the Parliament adopted various amendments to the Penal Code, bringing in comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation. The long list of categories in Article 454 of the Penal Code refers to discrimination on grounds of, among others, race, ethnic origin, or determined religion. Article 457-1 of the Criminal Code (introduced by the Law of July 1997) creates an offence of, and sets penal sanctions for incitement to discrimination in public by verbal

<sup>164</sup> Furthermore, a ruling of the Court of Appeal acknowledged that a constitutional principle on equality was applicable to any individual affected by the Luxembourg legislation (ruling of the 15 July 1999 N° 21871 of the cause list).



means (written, painted, printed etc. or oral) “towards a natural person or legal entity, group or community”.<sup>165</sup>

## 1.9.2. SOURCES OF DATA AND INFORMATION

- Government sources
- Interviews with representatives of the Jewish community
- Newspapers (e.g. ‘Luxemburger Wort’, ‘Le Quotidien’)

## 1.9.3. DATA AND INFORMATION

### I. ANTISEMITISM IN 2002

#### A. PHYSICAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE TOWARDS JEWS, THEIR COMMUNITIES, ORGANISATIONS OR PROPERTY

In Luxembourg, incidents of physical aggression on ideological grounds are rare in a general atmosphere of tolerance. The Luxembourg model of tolerance and consensus allows different cultures, races and religions to live together in harmony and there are no extreme right-wing parties. Thus, the representative of the Jewish community and the Secretary General of the Israelite Consistory confirmed to the NFP that they have no knowledge of any acts of violence or aggression against Jewish persons or property in 2002. In fact, the representative of the Jewish community told the NFP that since the end of WWII no physical aggression has been reported against persons of Jewish faith, which was confirmed by the spokesman for the Grand Ducal Police. Amnesty International Luxembourg also confirmed the absence of such phenomena.

#### B. VERBAL AGGRESSION, HATE SPEECH AND OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS JEWS

The Jewish community and the Grand Ducal Police have no reports of any incidents of verbal antisemitic aggression in 2002.

---

<sup>165</sup> EUMC (2002): “Anti-discrimination Legislation in EU Member States. A comparison of national anti-discrimination legislation on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief with the Council Directive”, p. 15

C. STUDIES, OPINION POLLS OR OTHER REPORTS ON CHANGES IN ANTISEMITIC SENTIMENTS

The NFP reported no such studies.

D. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

Public authorities, NGOs, leaders of the Jewish community, heads of schools and youth organisations conduct information and education campaigns against antisemitism:

- **10 May 2002** the ‘Service National de la Jeunesse’ (National Youth Service) organised a “Journée du Souvenir” (Remembrance Day) on the theme “It is necessary to know history in order to prepare for the future”. In the presence of the Minister of Culture, who stressed that the Government will increase the number of such initiatives<sup>166</sup>, Luxembourg internees of concentration camps during the WWII told young people of their experiences and students of various educational institutions visited concentration camps in 2002. The media reported extensively on these initiatives and their positive effects on the youth.
- **15 May 2002** a school organised a panel dealing with the situation in the Middle East on the subject “Without justice and responsibility there will be no peace”. Representatives of religious communities, secular bodies and freemasons explained their views. This initiative was a part of the Luxembourg project “Towards a culture of peace” initiated by the school.<sup>167</sup>
- **16 June 2002** for the third consecutive year in the context of the European Day of Jewish Culture, the Jewish community invited the population of Luxembourg to discover the architectural and cultural Jewish heritage, and to learn about the traditions of Judaism. The Jewish community registered a higher number of visitors than in previous years. Against this background, several articles providing information on the Jewish community in Luxembourg have also been published in various magazines.<sup>168</sup>

E. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS

Luxembourg’s politicians have “marked their disapproval of the upsurge in racist and antisemitic attacks associated with the situation in the Near East”, as stated in a joint declaration by European Home Office Ministers issued in Luxembourg. On the same occasion, the Ministers undertook to intensify their battle against such attacks, by enhancing

<sup>166</sup> ‘Luxemburger Wort’, 11.5.2002

<sup>167</sup> ‘Luxemburger Wort’ 16.5.2002

<sup>168</sup> ‘Le Quotidien’, 16.6.2002

exchanges of information and harmonisation of legislation curbing racism, antisemitism and xenophobia.<sup>169</sup> The Luxembourg Government and the Minister of Foreign Affairs support all the efforts undertaken by the European and international communities to reactivate the peace process in the Middle East. Indeed the Minister paid a visit to the area and met both with Ariel Sharon and Yasser Arafat. Politicians traditionally attend the religious services held in synagogues for the Luxembourg National Day celebrations; the Chief Rabbi and representatives of the Jewish community attend the “Te Deum” for the National Day in the Notre Dame Cathedral, and other ecumenical services and official events.

## **ADDITIONAL INFORMATION**

The media tend to report on the Middle East situation in a rather neutral way, but the Jewish community has observed that some press comments reveal a pro-Palestine trend especially in the left-wing press condemning the current policies of the Israeli government.

In May 2002 certain associations concerned with the protection of animals raised the issue of animal slaughter in the Jewish manner (Shechitah) regarding it cruel and inappropriate. The Prime Minister remarked in a press conference that at present the practice does not occur in the Grand Duchy. This poorly interpreted religious law, which has caused some public debate, could also affect Muslims. In Luxembourg some 40 families eat kosher, but since there is no kosher butcher they buy their food in the city of Metz in France. Some readers’ letters have been published in magazines on this topic, but did not contain any antisemitic suggestions.

### **II. ANTISEMITISM IN 2003**

#### **A. A. EXTREME VIOLENCE: ANY ATTACK POTENTIALLY CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE**

The NFP has no reports of any such incident.

#### **B. ASSAULT: ANY PHYSICAL ATTACK DIRECTED AGAINST PEOPLE, WHICH IS NOT A THREAT TO LIFE**

The NFP has no reports of any such incident.

---

<sup>169</sup> Gouvernement Luxembourgeois, Service Information et Presse, Communiqué, 25.4.2002

## C. DAMAGE AND DESECRATION OF PROPERTY

The NFP has no reports of any such incident.

## D. THREATS, VERBAL OR WRITTEN

The NFP has no reports of any such incident.

## E. ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

The NFP has no reports of any such incident.

## F. ANTISEMITIC LITERATURE

- The Vice-president of the Jewish community noted that the only issue in this respect are anti-Jewish prejudices sometimes found in published caricatures, a complaint he has communicated to the Luxembourg media.
- **In June 2003**, an article appearing in the ‘Kulturissimo’, a supplement of the daily newspaper ‘Tageblatt’, on the war in Iraq commenting on American and Israeli policy was strongly criticised by the President of the Association ‘The friends of Israel’.

## G. CHANGES IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE EU POPULATION TOWARDS JEWS

The NFP has no reports of any such studies.

## H. RESEARCH STUDIES OR OPINION POLLS REPORTING ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE OR ATTITUDES

The NFP has no reports of any such studies.

## I. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

- **‘Contre l’Oubli’**<sup>170</sup> is an information and awareness-raising project coordinated by a secondary school. Almost every school organises occasionally expositions, conferences, etc. on the subject of Holocaust and antisemitism. Secondary schools organise trips to concentration camps.
- **‘Action Group Inter-Religions’**<sup>171</sup> brings together members of the Christian, Jewish, Muslim and Bahai’ community in order to enhance

<sup>170</sup> Projet ‘Contre l’Oubli’, Lycée Technique de Bonnevoie

<sup>171</sup> A.G.I.R. c/o SeSoPI- Centre Intercommunautaire, 5, avenue Marie-Thérèse, L-2132 Luxembourg

mutual understanding, develop a climate of dialogue and prayer respecting each other's traditions.

J. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS INCLUDING INITIATIVES TO REDUCE POLARISATION AND COUNTERACT NEGATIVE NATIONAL TRENDS

Politicians take a firm position against antisemitism. It is, however, rare for the Government to make statements on the subject. Following a decision of the conference of the European Ministers for Education in October 2000, the Government decided to establish in schools, a "Day of memory for the Holocaust and the prevention of crimes against humanity" on 10 October, the anniversary of the referendum of 1941. This event took place for the first time in 2003 and corresponds closely to the day of national commemoration in Luxembourg.

## CONCLUSIONS

Representatives of the Jewish community, politicians, NGOs and experts are unanimous in affirming that since the end of WWII Luxembourg has been free of antisemitic phenomenon. The absence of right-wing groups and parties, the strong stance of the Government in condemning antisemitism, the absence of an antisemitic press, and the favourable economic situation are factors which may explain this situation, as well as the presence of a number of campaigns providing information and education against racism and antisemitism. However, due to the lack of an appropriate official monitoring system of racist or antisemitic incidents it is difficult to substantiate these claims through statistical data.

## 1.10. NETHERLANDS - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM

### Data and Information provided for 2002 (with a special focus on the period of May - June) and 2003 by the Dutch RAXEN National Focal Point

#### PREFACE

Jews arrived in the ‘Low Countries’ during the Roman conquest, but reliable evidence of their presence dates from the 1100s; in 1350 Jews were violently expelled. Marranos, who initially kept their Jewish identities secret, arrived during the 16<sup>th</sup> century and during the 17<sup>th</sup> century Ashkenazi Jews came from Germany and Eastern Europe. Dutch Jews regulated autonomously their internal affairs until King William I instituted compulsory secular education for Jewish children and the use of Dutch language instead of Yiddish.

By 1933, 140,000 Jews lived in Holland. A large number of Jewish refugees came from Nazi Germany taking advantage of the Dutch “open-door policy”. In 1943 during Nazi occupation Jews were deported to Auschwitz and Sobibor, although a relatively large number survived the Holocaust in Amsterdam by either hiding with non-Jews, or forging documents with the help of non-Jews. The most famous example was the Frank family, who survived for several years in hiding. The diary kept by Anne Frank has become the most widely read account of life during the Holocaust. By 1946 only 20% of the pre-war population had survived.

Today it is estimated that the Dutch Jewish community has about 30,000 members (approx. 0,2% of the population), most of who live in Amsterdam, supporting a variety of religious and educational institutions, and a newspaper ‘Nieuw Israelitisch Weekblad’. The Jewish community is represented by three councils: the ‘Nederlands Israelitisch Kerkgenootschap’, the ‘Verbond van Liberaal Religieuze Joden’ and the ‘Portugees Israelitisch Kerkgenootschap’.

#### 1.10.1. LEGISLATION WITH RESPECT TO ANTISEMITISM

The first article of the Dutch Constitution contains both the principle of equality and the ban on discrimination.<sup>172</sup> It stipulates that all individuals living in the Netherlands are to be treated equally under equivalent circumstances.

<sup>172</sup> Van Boven et al., Het verbod van artikel 1 Grondwet: nationale en internationale perspectieven [The prohibition in article 1 of the Constitution: national and international perspectives], Leiden: Stichting NJCM-Boekerij 2003

Discrimination, including racial discrimination, is not permitted. The article provides the citizen with protection in his or her relationship with the Government, but it cannot be directly invoked in the horizontal relationships between citizens themselves. This legal relationship is provided for in the Equal Treatment Act.

The current criminal bans on discrimination are included in the Dutch legislation of 1971.<sup>173</sup> After these provisions were introduced, only a few amendments in the Penal Code (Wetboek van Strafrecht; Sr) proved necessary.

**Article 429quater** of the Penal Code, which forbids discrimination in the practice of running a business or following a profession, was tightened up in 1981<sup>174</sup> in order to bring the non-Jewish declarations that Dutch businesses were issuing to Arab countries in the Middle East under the prohibition of article 429quater.

On 1 February 1992 criminal bans on discrimination were tightened up and expanded (with new grounds for discrimination).<sup>175</sup> The basic principle is that people are not to be hindered by discrimination in carrying out their social functions. The law is meant to protect groups that have to contend with discrimination. Since that time, the following articles have been in force.

- **Article 90quater** lays down the (criminal) definition of discrimination;
- **Article 137c** forbids discriminatory defamation;
- **Article 137d** makes incitement to hatred a punishable offence;
- **Article 137e** forbids the publicising of discriminatory remarks, and since 1992 this prohibition has also applied to the unsolicited sending of discriminatory publications;
- **Article 137f** determines that since the amendment of 1992, providing support for discriminatory activities is no longer a summary offence but a crime;
- **Article 137g**, since the amendment of 1992, contains not only the ban on deliberate discrimination in the running of a business or the practice of a profession but also in the exercise of official duties;
- **Article 429quater** forbids the same offence as 137g, but without the requirement that the discrimination be deliberate.

---

<sup>173</sup> Bulletin of Acts and Decrees, 1971, p. 96

<sup>174</sup> Bulletin of Acts and Decrees, 1981, p. 306

<sup>175</sup> Bulletin of Acts and Decrees, 1991, p. 623

### 1.10.2. SOURCES OF DATA AND INFORMATION

Since the early 1990s, systematic attempts have been made to gain insight into the problem of racist violence and violence incited by the extreme right, particular through the research project ‘Monitoring racism and the extreme right’. The aim of this project (carried out by the ‘Anne Frank House’ and Leiden University) is to monitor and periodically report on public expressions of racism, extreme right-wing ideology and racial discrimination in the Netherlands, as well as responses to these phenomena.<sup>176</sup>

- Dutch Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet (Meldpunt Discriminatie Internet, MDI)
- Monitoring racism and the extreme right, project carried out by the Anne Frank House and Leiden University
- National Federation of Anti-Discrimination Agencies and Hotlines (Landelijke Vereniging van Anti-Discriminatie Bureaus en Meldpunten; LVADB)
- Israel Information and Documentation Centre (Centrum Informatie en Documentatie Israël (CIDI))

### 1.10.3. DATA AND INFORMATION

Antisemitism in the Netherlands appears in very different forms. Along with negative views, abusive language, hate (e-) mails, yelling at football-matches, chat on the internet, more serious forms can emerge such as acts of antisemitic right-wing extremist activities, persistent “historical revisionism” (such as Holocaust-denial) and acts of antisemitic violence. These manifestations are multiform.

---

<sup>176</sup> Jaap van Donselaar & Peter R. Rodrigues, Monitor racism en extreem-rechts; racistisch en extreem-rechts geweld in 2002 [Monitoring racism and the extreme right; racist violence and violence incited by the extreme right in 2002], Amsterdam 2003



| <b>Key figures on antisemitism in the Netherlands in 2002<sup>177</sup></b>   |                          |
|---|--------------------------|
| Complaints of antisemitism:<br>- National Federation of Anti-Discrimination Agencies and Hotlines<br>- Dutch Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet | <b>169</b><br><b>584</b> |
| Incidents collected by CIDI   | <b>337</b>               |
| Antisemitic violence  | <b>46</b>                |
| Registered cases by public prosecutors  | <b>60</b>                |

An overview of recent tendencies indicates an increase of antisemitism: violence, complaints of antisemitism, and registered cases by public prosecutors. The Internet has become a public stage for daily antisemitic utterances.

## **I. ANTISEMITISM IN 2002**

### **A. PHYSICAL AND VERBAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE TOWARDS JEWS**

During 2001, the investigated incidents were dominated by the effects of September 11th: a series of violent incidents aimed at Muslims and objects associated with Muslims, especially mosques, which began almost immediately after September 11th and continued until some time around December. All these incidents together amounted to about 60% of the total number in 2001. In 2002 this percentage dropped to about 47% of the total (absolute number: 68).

Approximately 46 incidents investigated incidents in 2002 are related to antisemitism. This is a striking increase in comparison with the 18 cases in 2001. In 19 of 46 cases of antisemitism in 2002 the perpetrator was believed to be a member of an ethnic minority or there was a clear connection with the Middle East conflict.

<sup>177</sup> **Nota bene:** because of some overlapping between the different databases the different key figures cannot be added up.

*Table 1 Victims and racist violence in 2002, according to ethnicity and category of the incident<sup>178</sup>*

|                   | <b>Antisemitic</b> | <b>Anti-Islamic</b> | <b>Anti-refugee</b> |
|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Targeted graffiti | <b>9</b>           | 11                  | 4                   |
| Threats           | <b>22</b>          | 19                  | 4                   |
| Bomb scares       | <b>1</b>           | 1                   | 1                   |
| Confrontation     | -                  | -                   | 3                   |
| Vandalism         | <b>3</b>           | 14                  | 8                   |
| Arson             | <b>2</b>           | 3                   | 3                   |
| Assault           | <b>9</b>           | 20                  | 8                   |
| <b>Total</b>      | <b>46</b>          | 68                  | 31                  |

Figures from the LECD show a decrease rather than an increase in the number of inter-ethnic incidents and there is also less support for the view that the main suspects in cases of antisemitism were members of ethnic minorities. In 2002 antisemitism rose to 25% of all registered discriminatory offences. This concerns antisemitic utterances and many of the incidents took place in connection with sports (65%). The context of the antisemitic incidents sometimes takes on another dimension because it has to do with animosity between football supporters. For example, many of the Ajax supporters portray their team as a ‘Jewish club’, which sometimes triggers abuse.

<sup>178</sup> Jaap van Donselaar & Peter R. Rodrigues, “Monitor racism en extreem-rechts; racistisch en extreem-rechts geweld in 2002”, (Monitoring racism and the extreme right; racist violence and violence incited by the extreme right in 2002), Amsterdam 2003

Table 2 *Grounds of discrimination per incident 1998-2002*

| <b>Grounds for discrimination</b>     | <b>1998</b> | <b>1999</b> | <b>2000</b> | <b>2001</b> | <b>2002</b> |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Several grounds present               | 25          | 27          | 23          | 22          | 54          |
| Antisemitism                          | 47          | 34          | 48          | 41          | 60          |
| Surinam / Antillean ethnic background | 7           | 13          | 11          | 6           | 7           |
| Turk / Moroccan ethnic background     | 42          | 27          | 48          | 46          | 40          |
| Blacks / Coloured                     | 47          | 33          | 40          | 52          | 47          |
| Sexual preference                     | 6           | 1           | 9           | 10          | 6           |
| Religion / personal convictions       | 5           | 4           | 3           | 4           | 3           |
| Gender                                | 0           | 0           | 1           | 1           | 0           |
| Other grounds                         | 17          | 17          | 23          | 7           | 10          |
| Unknown                               | 18          | 35          | 8           | 9           | 15          |
| <b>Total</b>                          | <b>214</b>  | <b>191</b>  | <b>214</b>  | <b>198</b>  | <b>242</b>  |

Source: National Discrimination Expertise Centre.

The Government supports a network of around 35 anti-discrimination agencies dealing with complaints of racism and discrimination. These agencies publish an annual report about the complaints they have received the previous year. This annual complaint inventory is issued by the National Federation of Anti-Discrimination Agencies and Hotlines (Landelijke Vereniging van Anti-Discriminatie Bureaus en Meldpunten; LVADB).<sup>179</sup>

In 2002 about 4% (169) of the total number of 3,902 complaints of racism and discrimination were complaints of antisemitism (same level as in 2001) and more than 100 of the 169 incidents were reported in Amsterdam.

An annual overview of antisemitic incidents is also issued by 'CIDI', the 'Israël Information and Documentation Centre' (Centrum Informatie en Documentatie Israël)<sup>180</sup>. For 2002 the data by 'CIDI' show a considerable increase on antisemitic incidents, mainly due to hate mails.

<sup>179</sup> Key figures 2002, Klachten en meldingen over ongelijke behandeling [Complaints and reports of unequal treatment], National Federation of Anti-Discrimination Agencies and Hotlines, Amsterdam: 2003, [www.lvadb.nl](http://www.lvadb.nl)

<sup>180</sup> These overviews can be found on the CIDI website, see [www.cidi.nl](http://www.cidi.nl).

We can also observe an increase of the more serious incidents in the categories physical violence, threats and abusive language.

*Table 3 Antisemitic incidents in categories, 2000-2002, collected by CIDI*

|                       | <b>2000</b> | <b>2001</b> | <b>2002</b> |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Physical violence     | 6           | 6           | <b>12</b>   |
| Threats               | 1           | 8           | <b>19</b>   |
| Abusive language      | 32          | 48          | <b>68</b>   |
| Vandalism             | -           | 2           | <b>2</b>    |
| Targeted graffiti (1) | 8           | 7           | <b>9</b>    |
| Sports                | 4           | 7           | <b>18</b>   |
| Hate e-mail           | 10          | 31          | <b>159</b>  |
| Hate mail (2)         | 18          | 16          | <b>34</b>   |
| Other (3)             | 17          | 14          | <b>16</b>   |
| <b>Total</b>          | <b>96</b>   | <b>139</b>  | <b>337</b>  |

Source: CIDI Annual Report Antisemitism 2002, available at <http://www.cidi.nl>

(1) *Synagogues, cemeteries, monuments*, (2) *letters, leaflets, fax messages, stickers*, (3) *media, books, music*.

#### B. VERBAL AGGRESSION, HATE SPEECH AND OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS JEWS

According to the 2002 Annual Report of the ‘Dutch Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet’ (Meldpunt Discriminatie Internet, MDI) antisemitism is one of the main categories of complaints on discrimination on the Internet: 584 reported expressions in 2002 (of which 54 were Holocaust denial).<sup>181</sup> About 90% of all reported antisemitic expressions were found on web forums of Muslim web sites. Part of these consisted of the recycling of classic antisemitic products such as the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion”. Another element was Holocaust denial. Apart from this so-called “new antisemitism”, traditional antisemitism was also evident on the Internet.

Since September 2000 the Belgian ‘Free Historical Research’ (‘Vrij Historisch Onderzoek’, VHO) retains on its website<sup>182</sup> a Dutch translation of the Leuchter report online<sup>183</sup>. Dissemination of the Leuchter report in the Netherlands was found in 1997 by the Supreme Court (Hoge Raad) to infringe the non-discrimination provisions of the

<sup>181</sup> <http://www.inach.net>

<sup>182</sup> <http://www.vho.org>

<sup>183</sup> Leuchter, Frederick A: *Het Leuchter Rapport*, VHO, Berchem 1990

Dutch Criminal Code and in 2003 a criminal complaint was filed against the distribution of the Leuchter report by the VHO-website.

Furthermore there are various web forums and guest books on the Internet, which are used by right-extremists to spread ideas and propaganda. Some of them, such as stormfront.org, polinco.net and the guestbooks of 'Stormfront Nederland' and 'Blood & Honour' are well known for their antisemitic content.

Considering the large number of complaints, the activities of the Public Prosecution Service to combat discrimination on the Internet are very limited. In 2001 only five cases were brought to court and in most instances, such cases do not result in convictions due to technical mistakes during prosecution.<sup>184</sup> In 2002 only six such cases were dealt with by the offices of public prosecutors.<sup>185</sup>

C. STUDIES, OPINION POLLS OR OTHER REPORTS ON CHANGES IN ANTISEMITIC SENTIMENTS

No relevant information was provided by the NFP.

D. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

No relevant information was provided by the NFP.

E. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS

The annual overview of 'CIDI' generated much public attention. The Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament adopted a motion in which the Government was asked to inform the Second Chamber about policies against antisemitism. On 24 October the Justice Minister sent a letter to the Second Chamber<sup>186</sup>. The Government is worried about the increase of antisemitism and combating antisemitism is an important part of the existing tools and policies against racism and discrimination.

---

<sup>184</sup> J. van Donselaar and P.R. Rodrigues, Monitor Racisme en Extreem Rechts [Monitoring Racism and the Extreme Right], Fifth report, Amsterdam: Anne Frank Stichting/Leiden University 2002, pp. 92-107

<sup>185</sup> Jaap van Donselaar & Peter R. Rodrigues, "Monitor racism en extreem-rechts; opsporing en vervolging in 2002", (Monitoring racism and the extreme right; investigation and prosecution in 2002), Amsterdam 2003

<sup>186</sup> Kamerstukken II, 2003/04, 29 200 VI, no. 62

## ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Antisemitism is mainly a theme in small parties and organisations, such as the openly Nazi ‘Dutch Peoples Union’ (‘Nederlandse Volks-Unie’, NVU), ‘Blood & Honour Nederland’ and the Hague based hooligan-group ‘Stormfront Nederland’ are virulently antisemitic.

### II. ANTISEMITISM IN 2003

The Dutch NFP was unable to produce similar statistical data for 2003, as they were still being compiled. However, some indicative incidents in 2003 are mentioned. The following incident cannot be categorised according to the guidelines, but is considered important.

- **In November 2003** neo-Nazis who squatted in a military building since the end of 2000, in Eindhoven organised a concert “Rock against ZOG” involving three German neo-Nazi bands. The clearly antisemitic message and texts of the bands and the fact that the concert was planned the day before the “Kristallnacht” memorial caused furious reactions by Jewish and antifascist organisations as well by local and national politicians. The concert could not be stopped and attracted a small number of visitors from Holland, Belgium and Germany. However, the resulting publicity and political pressure resulted in the neo-Nazis leaving the building.

#### A. EXTREME VIOLENCE: ANY ATTACK POTENTIALLY CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE

No relevant information was provided by the NFP.

#### B. ASSAULT: ANY PHYSICAL ATTACK DIRECTED AGAINST PEOPLE, WHICH IS NOT A THREAT TO LIFE

- **4 May 2003** on the annual commemoration of the victims of WWII, several antisemitic incidents took place in Amsterdam, which shook the public and caused intense debate in the media. There are reports that at one commemoration site, young Moroccan boys took the wreaths away and played football with them. At another site the two minutes silence was disturbed by shouting “Jews should be killed”.

C. DAMAGE AND DESECRATION OF PROPERTY

No relevant information was provided by the NFP.

D. THREATS, VERBAL OR WRITTEN

No relevant information was provided by the NFP.

E. ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

No relevant information was provided by the NFP.

F. ANTISEMITIC LITERATURE

No relevant information was provided by the NFP.

G. CHANGES IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE EU POPULATION TOWARDS JEWS

No relevant information was provided by the NFP.

H. RESEARCH STUDIES OR OPINION POLLS REPORTING ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE OR ATTITUDES

No relevant information was provided by the NFP.

I. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGO'S

In the public debate on antisemitism in the Netherlands there was a growing public concern over antisemitic reactions in schools. Teaching the Holocaust and WWII provoked in several schools harsh remarks on the Middle East conflict, predominantly from pupils with an ethnic Moroccan background. At a teacher's conference organised at the 'Anne Frank House' in October 2003, a group of 40 teachers discussed this issue and how to deal with it. Some of them said that they skipped the subject of teaching the Holocaust to avoid tension in the classroom. As a result of this conference, the 'Anne Frank House' has planned to develop educational material in order to support and help teachers confronted with antisemitism. The 'Anne Frank House' stresses the importance of treating the Holocaust in education as an integral part of history teaching.

J. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS INCLUDING INITIATIVES TO REDUCE POLARISATION AND COUNTERACT NEGATIVE NATIONAL TRENDS

No relevant information was provided by the NFP.

## CONCLUSIONS

There are several reasonably reliable sources of antisemitism statistics in the Netherlands, including official bodies, NGOs and research organisations. The data collected by the NFP show that antisemitic incidents, ranging from targeted graffiti and threats to arson and assault, significantly increased in 2002 compared to previous years, especially in Amsterdam, which has a relatively large Jewish community in comparison with the rest of the country. It seems that persons who are recognisably Jewish are especially vulnerable to verbal harassment and threats with violence. However, the data do not provide conclusive evidence regarding perpetrators. A worrying trend is the increasing dissemination of antisemitic material on Internet sites that are hosted in third countries. The judicial system has not followed up on criminal complaints against Dutch persons involved in such activities. Consequently, racist and antisemitic Internet sites have so far been able to avoid prosecution. The NFP stresses that although at the time of publication there were no statistical data on racist and antisemitic incidents for the year 2003, the impression has been that the nature and scale of the problem in 2003 would not present a radically different picture from that in 2002.



## 1.11. AUSTRIA – REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM

**Data and information provided for 2002 (with a special focus on the period of May – June) and 2003 by the Austrian RAXEN National Focal Point**

### PREFACE

There is evidence of Jewish communities in the geographical area today covered by Austria as far back as the 12th century. Most Jews established themselves in Vienna from where they were occasionally expelled to return later. In 1848 Jews were granted civil rights and the right to establish an autonomous religious community, but full citizenship rights were given only in 1867. In an atmosphere of economic, religious and social freedom, the Jewish population grew from 6,000 in 1860 to almost 185,000 in 1938.

In March 1938, Austria was annexed by Nazi Germany and thousands of Austrians and Austrian Jews who opposed Nazi rule were sent to concentration camps. Of the 65,000 Viennese Jews deported to concentration camps, only about 2,000 survived, while around 800 survived the war in hiding.

Today the Jewish community of Austria consists of about 8,000 persons<sup>187</sup>. The 'Jewish Faith' community is the fifth largest recognised religious community in Austria with the status of a corporation under public law. Its main function is to represent the religious interests of Jews living in Austria to the Austrian state.

### 1.11.1. LEGISLATION WITH RESPECT TO ANTISEMITISM

- The prevailing approach in the Austrian legal system is to see racist discrimination or racist violence as acts deriving from extreme rightwing or National-Socialist ideology. Legislation applicable to racist and xenophobic violence and crimes therefore focuses on crimes in the context of National-Socialist ideology. The Constitutional Act prohibiting the NSDAP (National-Socialist German Workers' Party) (*Verbotsgesetz*; Prohibition Statute<sup>188</sup>), which was enacted in order to comply with the international obligation resulting from Art 9 of the

---

<sup>187</sup> Statistik Austria (2000), *Volkszählung 2001. Hauptergebnisse 1 – Österreich*, Table 4 *Bevölkerung nach Religion (Population according to religion)*, pp. 58-60, and own calculations.

<sup>188</sup> Österreich, StGBI 13/1945, amended version BGBI 148/1992, (19.03.1992)

Vienna Treaty<sup>189</sup> forms the legal basis for sanctions against racist actions and incitement within the context of (neo-) Nazi ideology.

- Other racist crimes that are not linked to National-Socialist ideology cannot be subsumed under the Prohibition Statute. Sec 33 no. 5 of the Penal Code<sup>190</sup> states that in cases of offences committed for racist or xenophobic reasons, the motivation is to be investigated in court and considered as an aggravating factor in determining the particular sentence<sup>191</sup>. Section 283 of the Penal Code punishes incitement to hostile action, if someone publicly induces or incites - in a manner likely to endanger public order – the commission of a hostile act against a church or religious community existing in the state or against a group determined by appurtenance to such a church or religious community, race, nation, ethnic group or state. Furthermore, sec 283 prohibits public agitating against such a group or insulting or disparaging it in a manner violating human dignity<sup>192</sup>.
- Sec 3d Prohibition Statute applies as “lex specialis” to those incitements, which are committed on the basis of National-Socialist ideology. Sec 111 and 115 in connection with sec 117 (3) Penal Code prohibit racist or xenophobic verbal attacks directed against an individual person. The Introductory Provisions to the Code of Administrative Procedures (‘Einführungsgesetz zu den Verwaltungsverfahrensgesetzen’, *EGVG*)<sup>193</sup> provide a legal basis to punish less serious offences compared to those subject to the Prohibition Statute and the Penal Code.
- Also to be included is Section 188 of the Austrian Penal Code, which sanctions especially the degradation of religious doctrines (“Herabwürdigung religiöser Lehren”).

## 1.11.2. SOURCES OF DATA AND INFORMATION

### Government source

Federal Ministry of the Interior

### NGOs and Jewish organisation:

<sup>189</sup> Österreich, BGBl 152/1955, amended version BGBl III Nr. 179/2002, (06.06.2002)

<sup>190</sup> Österreich, Strafgesetzbuch, BGBl 60/1974 (01.01.1975), amended version BGBl I 134/2002, (13.08.2002)

<sup>191</sup> Although this provision directly applies to crimes of racist violence, it has been observed that this aggravating factor relating to racist motives is scarcely applied.

<sup>192</sup> Perpetrators can face up to two years’ imprisonment.

<sup>193</sup> Österreich, BGBl 50/1991 (31.01.1991), amended version BGBl I 97/2002, (25.06.2002)

- ‘Forum gegen Antisemitismus’ (sub-organisation of the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien);
- ‘ESRA’;
- ‘Israelitische Kultusgemeinden’ Salzburg, Innsbruck, Graz;
- ‘Israelitische Kultusgemeinde’ Styria, Carinthia and other districts;
- ‘Israelitische Kultusgemeinden’ Tyrol and Vorarlberg;
- ‘Israelitische Kultusgemeinden’ Linz;
- ‘Israelitische Kultusgemeinden’ Salzburg;
- ‘Jewish Synagogue Association of Baden’;
- ‘ZARA’;
- ‘Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstands’ [DÖW];
- ‘Ökologische Linke’ [OEKOLI];
- ‘Österreichische HochschülerInnenschaft’;
- ‘Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism’;
- Journalists.

**Media analysis of the following newspapers:**

Der Standard, Die Presse, Wiener Zeitung, Salzburger Nachrichten, Kurier, Kleine Zeitung, Oberösterreichische Nachrichten, Zur Zeit, Aula, Der Eckart and Kronen Zeitung.

The Forum against Antisemitism<sup>194</sup> (FGA) is associated to the Jewish Faith Community in Vienna and functions as a contact point concerning antisemitic incidents for Austria’s Jewish community. The FGA publishes its observations in a “Newsletter”<sup>195</sup>. It also offers victims psychological and legal counselling and support in establishing contact with specialists. In this sense, the FGA is a monitoring institution for reported cases. The cases in the data collection of the FGA overlap with those reported by the media, the database of the Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism as well as with those recorded by different regional Jewish Faith Communities.

Government reports on state security and the protection of the constitution are the official source of information on antisemitic crime in Austria. The Federal Ministry of the Interior issues data collected in connection with antisemitism under the heading “right-wing extremism” in its annual reports on the protection of the constitution<sup>196</sup>. Information provided by these reports includes qualitative

---

<sup>194</sup> Cf.: <http://www.fga-wien.at>, (09.11.2003)

<sup>195</sup> Available at: [http://www.fga-wien.at/archiv\\_nl.htm](http://www.fga-wien.at/archiv_nl.htm), (09.11.2003)

<sup>196</sup> These reports can be downloaded on the following web-site:  
<http://www.bmi.gv.at/staatsschutz/startseite.asp>, (09.11.2003)

descriptions on the structure and strategies of right-wing extremist groups as the relevant crime statistics.

Compared to governmental sources the FGA<sup>197</sup> reports far more cases of antisemitic incidents. In a press release in September 2003 the FGA reported an increase of 71.43% in antisemitic incidents compared to the same period in 2002. In 2003, 108 cases, including smearing, threats, verbal attacks and physical violence were reported to the FGA<sup>198</sup>.

### 1.11.3. DATA AND INFORMATION

#### I. ANTISEMITISM IN 2002

##### A. PHYSICAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE TOWARDS JEWS OR THEIR PROPERTY

There were no reports on acts of violence against persons in the reporting period.

- ‘ZARA’ reported that one smearing of a swastika in Vienna was reported to them within the monitoring period.
- The Federal Ministry of the Interior reports on the damage of one memorial plaque near the synagogue in St. Pölten, Lower-Austria as an alleged infringement of article 126 StGB (Criminal Code) - serious damage to property.
- **31 July 2002** serious damage was done to the synagogue in Innsbruck, a surveillance camera was destroyed, a memorial plaque torn off, and only days later the synagogue and buildings in its vicinity were smeared with antisemitic slogans<sup>199</sup>.

##### B. VERBAL AGGRESSION, HATE SPEECH AND OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS JEWS

- The ‘Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Innsbruck’ received one threatening letter addressed to the president and the individual members saying,

<sup>197</sup> Further information available at: <http://www.fga-wien.at> (22.03.2003)

<sup>198</sup> Press release of the Forum against Antisemitism on 24.09.2003

<sup>199</sup> Tiroler Tageszeitung, (31.07.2002), Vandalenakt vor der Innsbrucker Synagoge (Act of vandalism outside Innsbruck synagogue), p. 9; Tiroler Tageszeitung, (03./04.2002), Schmieranschlag auf Synagoge (Smearing-attack against synagogue); Kurier, Tyrol edition, (03.08.2002), Schmierereien an Innsbrucks Synagoge (Smearings at Innsbruck synagogue), p. 9, available at: [http://archiv.kurier.at/act/volltext.htm?schluessel=KURIER\\_200208030251500150&suche=innsbrucks+synagoge&suchedatum=20020803%7C20031109&simple=](http://archiv.kurier.at/act/volltext.htm?schluessel=KURIER_200208030251500150&suche=innsbrucks+synagoge&suchedatum=20020803%7C20031109&simple=), (07.11.2003)

“Jews were not welcome in Tyrol and should go to the USA or Israel, where they belonged”.

- The ‘FGA’ informed the NFP that the ‘Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien’ received 18 threatening letters during the period. Following their assessment most of these incidents involved people of Arabic origin.
- Two incidents of verbal aggression were reported by the Ministry of the Interior in the monitoring period: First a professor at the University of Salzburg received an antisemitic flyer from the USA – the complaint is still under investigation; second a billboard with anti-Jewish slogans was put up in Ried, Upper Austria – the complaint is also still under investigation.
- Three “letters to the editor” containing antisemitic remarks were sent in the reporting period. One accused the Israelis of being themselves responsible for the emerging antisemitism, the other two letters were related to the discussion about the memorial “Siegfriedskopf”.
- An Internet search revealed a report on a farmer in Upper Austria, who put up a billboard in front of his farm saying “Jews are blackmailing the whole world” and “Ariel Sharon is a state terrorist”.
- **13 April 2002** in a demonstration against the exhibition entitled “Crimes of the German Wehrmacht – Dimensions of a War of Annihilation, 1941-1944” half of the participants, most of them skinheads, roamed the inner-city of Vienna yelling “Sieg Heil” and “Germany to the Germans, foreigners out” as well as singing neo-Nazi songs. A video recording gave evidence of these incidents and 36 suspects were reported to the police for allegedly violating the NS-Prohibition Statute. In December 2002, a 19 year-old skinhead was found guilty of violating the Statute and was sentenced to one year suspended imprisonment under the condition of participation in a “training course against right-wing extremism”.
- The ‘Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance’ (DÖW) has observed an increasing presence of Austrian neo-Nazis and skinheads on the Internet during 2002.<sup>200</sup> DÖW regularly documents the connection between revisionism, right-wing extremism and antisemitism.<sup>201</sup>

---

<sup>200</sup> Verstärkte Internet-Präsenz von Neonazis (Increased presence of neo-Nazis on the web), in: Neues von ganz rechts – July 2002, available at: [http://www.doew.at/projekte/rechts/chronik/2002\\_07/web.html](http://www.doew.at/projekte/rechts/chronik/2002_07/web.html), (29.10.2003)

<sup>201</sup> For one case, see: Ochensberger weiter aktiv (Ochensberger continues to be active), in: Neues von ganz rechts – July 2002, available at: [http://www.doew.at/projekte/rechts/chronik/2002\\_07/ochensb.html](http://www.doew.at/projekte/rechts/chronik/2002_07/ochensb.html), (29.10.2003)

### C. STUDIES, OPINION POLLS OR OTHER REPORTS ON CHANGES IN ANTISEMITIC SENTIMENTS

The NFP did not encounter any research studies reporting antisemitic violence or opinion polls on changed attitudes towards Jews. A research study dealing with antisemitism was conducted in the second half of the 1990s by Günther Rathner and presented at a press conference in 2002. 46% of the respondents showed a low or a very low tendency towards antisemitism, 35% were neutral and 19% were strongly or very strongly inclined to antisemitism.<sup>202</sup> The NFP did not find any systematic studies or reports dealing with changes in antisemitic attitudes.

### D. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

The NFP reported a number of good practices primarily aimed at reducing prejudice as well as stimulating public debates closely connected with coming to terms with the past and awareness raising.

- The book “5 questions put to 3 generations: Antisemitism and us today”<sup>203</sup> asks three people belonging to three different generations five questions about antisemitism.<sup>204</sup> The three authors, a doctor belonging to the war-generation, a political scientist born during WWII and a young female academic specialising in civic education answer the questions in a very personal way in an attempt to explain antisemitism.
- A publication by Christoph Lind<sup>205</sup> presents Jewish fates in various districts in Lower Austria and analyses “Aryanisation”, disenfranchisement, expulsion and deportation. The book contains many individual biographies, confronts the readers with people who once belonged to their community and works against the anonymity of victims. The author sees his book as a contribution to coming to terms with the past, but also raising awareness for antisemitism.<sup>206</sup>
- The Municipal Museum in Mistelbach started its exhibition “Repressed and Forgotten - The Jews of Mistelbach” on 9 June 2002 showing the

<sup>202</sup> Compare “Fremdenfeindlichkeit in Österreich” (“Xenophobia in Austria”), available at: <http://science.orf.at/science/news/34264>, (15.06.02)

<sup>203</sup> Halhuber, M-J./A. Pelinka/D. Ingruber (2002) “5 Fragen an 3 Generationen: Antisemitismus und wir heute” (5 questions put to 3 generations: Antisemitism and us today), Wien, Czernin

<sup>204</sup> This information was taken from the publishing company’s homepage: <http://www.czernin-verlag.com/>, (15.06.02)

<sup>205</sup> Christoph Lind (2002) “... sind wir doch in unserer Heimat als Landmenschen aufgewachsen ...” (“... we have, nevertheless, grown-up in our home-country as rural people ...”), St. Pölten, Landesverlag

<sup>206</sup> *Kurier* (24.05.02)

development of Jewish settlement since 1867, the life of the former Jewish community and their extinction.

- The Jewish Museum Hohenems started its exhibition “The Rosenthals; Collage of a Family History” with stories about a Jewish family formerly living in the Hohenems region and now scattered all over the world.
- **In 2001** the municipality of Salzburg put up a memorial plaque for Theodor Herzl reading: “In Salzburg I spent some of the happiest hours of my life. Dr. Theodor Herzl, 1860-1904.” Federal President Klestil informed Heinz Schaden, the mayor of Salzburg that he would prefer to see the complete quotation from Herzl’s diary: “So I would have loved to stay in this beautiful city, but, being a Jew, I would have never been awarded with the position of a judge.” In his letter, President Klestil wrote, “especially in Austria we must treat the memory of Theodor Herzl with special sensitivity.”<sup>207</sup> This was the starting point of a debate involving the ‘Israelitische Kultusgemeinden’ of Salzburg and Vienna and ending with an agreement on completing the text on 10 June 2002.<sup>208</sup>
- **24 May 2002** Benita Ferrero-Waldner, Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, visited the former concentration camp in Auschwitz in the course of her visit to Poland.<sup>209</sup> In her speech, she stressed that “it was not easy for Austria to confess that many of our compatriots have been perpetrators, accomplices or people who shared the knowledge of what was happening (...) we must learn from Auschwitz that we cannot watch inactively where antisemitism, hatred and intolerance occur.”
- **On 12 June 2002** Ariel Muzicant, President of the ‘Israelitische Kultusgemeinde’ and Josef Pühringer, chairman of the ‘Landeshauptleutekonferenz’ (Council of the nine Governors of the federal provinces), signed a restitution treaty. The treaty states that the federal provinces will pay €18.1 million to the ‘Israelitische Kultusgemeinde’ for property belonging to the Jewish communities and expropriated or destroyed during the Nazi-regime. The treaty cannot come into force, though, before the two class-action laws in the USA are dropped.<sup>210</sup>

#### E. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS

- The president of the Parliament of the Federal Province of Vienna and representative of the SPÖ, referred to Ariel Sharon as a “state terrorist” in replying to a letter to the Israeli organisation ‘Keren Kayemeth Leisrael’, who had invited him to a ball. He was criticised for his

<sup>207</sup> *Der Standard* (05.06.02)

<sup>208</sup> *Der Standard* (11.06.02)

<sup>209</sup> *Kurier* (25.05.2002) and *Der Standard* (25/26. 05.2002)

<sup>210</sup> Compare *Der Standard* (13.06.02)

statement by senior representatives of the SPÖ, but it was also suggested that criticising Israeli politics should not be defamed as antisemitism.

## II. ANTISEMITISM IN 2003

The NFP comments on the difficulty of giving a precise picture of the situation concerning antisemitism, as there is presently no specialised body monitoring complaints about racist violence and considering that most incidents of everyday discrimination are not reported to the police. Thus, they suggest, there is a great lack of consistent and nationwide data on recorded complaints regarding racial, ethnic and religious discrimination in general and antisemitic discrimination in particular.

### A. EXTREME VIOLENCE: ANY ATTACK POTENTIALLY CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE

- **10 February 2003** the FGA recorded an attack by four skinheads on a man in the Vienna underground. They started to harass him by holding a poster with swastikas and “Heil Hitler” slogans in his face, and then one of the skinheads beat him with a belt. None of the other passengers tried to help. Luckily, the police were present, arrested the skinheads and recorded the complaint. The case is pending in court.
- **In July 2003** the FGA recorded a violent attack against an orthodox Jew in Vienna who was violently beaten to such an extent that he lost consciousness. Afterwards he asked passers by for the telephone number of the police, but received no reply. Later he went to the police to file a complaint.

### B. ASSAULT: ANY PHYSICAL ATTACK DIRECTED AGAINST PEOPLE, WHICH IS NOT A THREAT TO LIFE

- **10 May 2003** the FGA recorded an attack by skinheads against a rabbi. The attackers splashed beer on him, threw a bottle at him and kicked him. The rabbi tried to defend himself and a shopkeeper with help from another managed to take the two skinheads to a nearby restaurant and hold them until the police arrived ten minutes later and interrogated the skinheads but no further action has been taken.<sup>211</sup>
- **1 July 2003** the Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism<sup>212</sup> recorded an attack on a family identifiable as Jewish that was prevented from entering a restaurant by its Muslim owners. In the ensuing brawl

<sup>211</sup> See for example: ORF-ON, (16.06.2003), Antisemitisch motivierter Übergriff (Antisemitically motivated assault), available at:

<http://wien.orf.at/oesterreich.orf?read=detail&channel=1&id=259401>, (16.05.2003)

<sup>212</sup> Cf.: <http://www.antiSemitism.org.il/showArticle.asp?ID=5989>, (09.11.2003)



members of the family were beaten up by others customers of the restaurant. The police arrived and took statements from both sides<sup>213</sup>.

C. DAMAGE AND DESECRATION OF PROPERTY

- The Jewish Faith Community of Innsbruck and the FGA recorded a case of desecration in Western Austria concerning a shopkeeper of Jewish descent who complained about stickers covering the windows of his shop with swastikas and text reading: “We are back”; “Jews are our misfortune” and “Aryans only”. The stickers also bore the name “NSDAP-AO” (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei Aufbauorganisation), and the PO box of the organisation. The police recorded the incident.

D. THREATS, VERBAL OR WRITTEN.

**8 April 2003** the Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism recorded a bomb threat at a Jewish school<sup>214</sup>.

E. ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

The NFP suggests that abusive behaviour, including antisemitic smearing, constitutes the most frequently reported form of antisemitic incidents in Austria<sup>215</sup>.

- **In October 2002** a Jewish family complained to the FGA about constant harassment by neighbours including statements such as: “I kill you Jews” “I hate Jews” “You are supposed to be burnt” “Gypsies, fucking Jews, foreigners go home”.<sup>216</sup>
- **19 November 2002** an article on a statement by the President of the Jewish Faith Community, Ariel Muzicant, was published on the Internet edition of the daily ‘Die Presse’, the headline reading “Muzicant: we need immigrants”. Readers reacted with hundreds of antisemitic and revisionist postings. The postings remained online for four days, each

---

<sup>213</sup> Two more violent incidents during the reporting period are recorded in the database of The Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism, see the data base entries: “Austria – A Jew was Beaten in Vienna”, available at:

<http://www.antiSemitism.org.il/showArticle.asp?ID=6929>, (09.11.2003), and: “Austria – Skinheads Attack a Jew Leaving a Synagogue in Vienna”, available at:

<http://www.antiSemitism.org.il/showArticle.asp?ID=5480>, (09.11.2003)

Cf.: <http://www.antiSemitism.org.il/showArticle.asp?ID=5293>, (09.11.2003)

<sup>214</sup> The Jewish Faith Community of Graz reported no cases of abusive behaviour.

<sup>215</sup> The case is documented in: ZARA (2003), Racism Report 2002: Case Report on Racist Incidents and Structures in Austria, Focus: civil courage, Wien, available at:

[http://www.zara.or.at/download/rass\\_rep\\_2002\\_e.pdf](http://www.zara.or.at/download/rass_rep_2002_e.pdf), (14.06.2003), p. 38

day some of them were removed after the FGA and ZARA urged the editor to do so.

- **15 October 2002** antisemitic graffiti was smeared near the office of the President of the Jewish Community in Austria<sup>217</sup>.
- **Since December 2002** 19 graffiti in Vienna were reported to ZARA, most of them included a swastika, few of them “Jews out” or other antisemitic agitation<sup>218</sup>.
- Representatives of the Jewish Community are regularly targets of hate mail. The Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism reports an antisemitic letter to the Salzburg Jewish Community<sup>219</sup> in which the “world Jewish conspiracy” was blamed for “staging the attacks of 11 September” and four cases of shouting of antisemitic abuse<sup>220</sup>.

## F. ANTISEMITIC LITERATURE

Right-wing extremist groups and parties and their publications are closely monitored by DÖW<sup>221</sup> which has reported an increase in anti-American and antisemitic agitation by German and Austrian neo-Nazis since the beginning of the war against Iraq<sup>222</sup>.

### Antisemitism in the press

Statements propagating theories of a worldwide “Jewish conspiracy” and Holocaust denial are found mainly in the following publications:

- ‘Zur Zeit’ published weekly by ‘FPÖ’ members,
- ‘Aula’ edited monthly by the ‘National-freiheitliche Akademikerverbände Österreichs’, an umbrella organisation of the ‘national-liberal fraternities’,
- ‘Fakten’ published by the group ‘Die Kritischen Demokraten’,
- ‘HALT’ published by Gerd Honsik,
- ‘Der Patriot’ published by Karl Steinhauser

<sup>217</sup> Cf.: <http://www.antiSemitism.org.il/showArticle.asp?ID=3456>, (09.11.2003)

<sup>218</sup> The material was provided to the NFP by ZARA, although these incidents have not been published yet.

<sup>219</sup> Cf.: <http://www.antiSemitism.org.il/showArticle.asp?ID=4687>, (09.11.2003)

<sup>220</sup> Cf.: <http://www.antiSemitism.org.il/showArticle.asp?ID=4657>, <http://www.antisemitism.org.il/showArticle.asp?ID=4659>, <http://www.antiSemitism.org.il/showArticle.asp?ID=4685>, and <http://www.antiSemitism.org.il/showArticle.asp?ID=4551>, (09.11.2003)

<sup>221</sup> See the website defence of an arrested right wing extremist Solidarität mit Fröhlich (Solidarity with Fröhlich), in: Neues von ganz rechts – July 2003, available at: <http://www.doew.at>, (08.11.2003)

<sup>222</sup> Neonazis mobilisieren gegen Irak-Krieg (Neo-Nazis mobilise against the Iraq-war), in: Neues von ganz rechts – March 2003, available at: [http://www.doew.at/projekte/rechts/chronik/2003\\_03/antisem.html](http://www.doew.at/projekte/rechts/chronik/2003_03/antisem.html), (06.11.2003)

- ‘Der Eckart’ published monthly by the ‘Österreichische Landsmannschaften’.

### **Examples of antisemitic texts**

In June 2002, members of the University of Vienna received an antisemitic pamphlet headed “The Jewish question in America in the 20<sup>th</sup> century” containing antisemitic and revisionist references, like “the nature of the Jews”, “denial of the Holocaust”, “domination of politics and the media”, “initiators of modern art and emancipation of women”, etc. Several of the recipients informed DÖW<sup>223</sup>.

The ‘Arbeitsgemeinschaft für demokratische Politik’ edited an antisemitic pamphlet entitled “Near East crisis area”, which was disseminated by a local branch of the FPÖ in Lower Austria. The pamphlet describes Jews as “masters of loans and credits” who “profit from the wars between the world powers”<sup>224</sup>.

## **G. CHANGES IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE EU POPULATION TOWARDS JEWS**

No specific studies are mentioned by the NFP, but the experiences of the Jewish Faith Communities in Austria draw an ambivalent picture: on the one hand, the general climate is described as very positive and improving by the communities of Graz and Innsbruck; on the other hand, also in Innsbruck, they suggest that the atmosphere in discussions connected to the question of restitution is ambivalent.

The FGA suggested that three main developments influence the climate for the Jewish community of Austria:

Firstly, since the beginning of public discussion during 2003 concerning restitution and restitution payments to the Jewish Faith Community as compensation for victims of war crimes, a growing extent of antisemitic attitudes towards Jewish citizens and Jewish institutions – in particular the Jewish Faith Community – has been felt. The reactions to the negotiations are reflected both in abuse directed against “Jews” as a collective and also very often directly against Dr. Ariel Muzicant, President of the Jewish Faith Community.

Secondly, the aggravated situation in the Middle East is also contributing to a negative attitude towards Jewish citizens. The FGA assumes that this is because many still do not make the distinction

---

<sup>223</sup> Antisemitisches Pamphlet (Antisemitic pamphlet), in: Neues von ganz rechts – July 2002, available at: [http://www.doew.at/projekte/rechts/chronik/2002\\_07/uni1.html](http://www.doew.at/projekte/rechts/chronik/2002_07/uni1.html), (29.10.2003).

<sup>224</sup> FPÖ wirbt mit Antisemitismus (FPÖ promotes antisemitism), in: Neues von ganz rechts – November 2002, available at: [http://www.doew.at/projekte/rechts/chronik/2002\\_11/fpoe3.html](http://www.doew.at/projekte/rechts/chronik/2002_11/fpoe3.html), (29.10.2003).

between the state of Israel and Jews and hold their Jewish fellow citizens responsible for events in the Middle East. The FGA also argues that social acceptance of right-wing extremism is growing.

A similar observation can be made for the growing acceptance of antisemitism in all walks of life, including the scientific community. The taboo against open antisemitism is weakening, but has not disappeared, and camouflaged, “coded” antisemitism is a significant phenomenon. A book published in 2001 by the renowned Viennese academic Ruth Wodak collects personal experiences of antisemitism in everyday life, which are valid just as much today as at the time of its publication<sup>225</sup>.

#### H. RESEARCH STUDIES OR OPINION POLLS REPORTING ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE OR ATTITUDES

Two branches of research are considered: Research on current phenomena of antisemitism including recent developments and opinion polls, and historical research especially concerning the period of WWII, which plays an important role in raising awareness and combating antisemitism.

Research related to current forms of antisemitism and opinion polls

- In “Antisemitism in Austria after 1945”<sup>226</sup> different authors try to explore antisemitism and fill some gaps in existing research.
- The research institute FESSEL+GfK<sup>227</sup> has conducted an annual survey on the historical perceptions in relation to the Nazi-regime of Austrians older than 14 since 1979. The proportion of the respondents who were of the opinion that the Holocaust is “historically not proven” has rarely fallen below eight per cent during that period.
- A study commissioned by the University of Linz aimed at measuring the significance of attitudes towards antisemitism, the rebirth of Nazi ideology, right-wing extremism and other forms of deviance through the severity of their punishment. Among the 25 issues included in the survey in December 2002, the rebirth of Nazi ideology and right-wing extremism ranked tenth and antisemitism fifteenth among the offences that should be more severely punished. Almost 33% of the interviewees supported more severe punishment for rightwing extremism and almost

<sup>225</sup> Wodak, R. (ed.), (2001), “Das kann einem nur in Wien passieren” (This can only happen to you in Vienna), Vienna: Czernin Verlag

<sup>226</sup> Wassermann H. P. (ed.) (2003), Antisemitismus in Österreich nach 1945 (Antisemitism in Austria after 1945), Innsbruck: Studienverlag.

<sup>227</sup> A diagrammatic representation of these results can be found at: [http://www.gfk.at/research\\_data/free\\_download/files/DATA/holo\\_02.gif](http://www.gfk.at/research_data/free_download/files/DATA/holo_02.gif), (27.10.2003).

20% for antisemitism. The number of respondents favouring less severe punishment for both categories decreased between 1998 and 2002.

- A recent Eurobarometer survey showed that nearly 60% of Europeans thought that Israel presented a threat to world peace, which is more than for any other country in the survey<sup>228</sup>. Although the interpretation of this result is problematic<sup>229</sup> it should be noted that the percentage of Austrian respondents perceiving Israel as a threat to world peace is 69%, which is higher than the average of the EU15 and second only to the Netherlands (74%)<sup>230</sup>.

#### I. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

- The Jewish Faith Communities are engaged in combating antisemitism as civil society actors. In addition to that the Psychosocial Center 'ESRA'<sup>231</sup> founded in 1994 offers medical, therapeutic and social services to victims of the Shoah and their relatives. It also provides advice and support for Jewish people living in Vienna and tries to ease the integration process for Jewish immigrants.
- The Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture established a pool of witnesses for the period of WWII for the project 'Contemporary Witnesses – Network Service' for speakers on contemporary history<sup>232</sup>. Schools can invite victims of National Socialism to talk about the Third Reich and the Holocaust. The pool covers different victim groups: – people persecuted on political, religious and racial grounds. It should be noted that the weekly 'Zur Zeit' has started a counter-initiative setting up a pool of contemporary witnesses aiming at the dissemination of the "historical truth"<sup>233</sup>.
- **In 2003**, the large scale project 'Letter to the Stars'<sup>234</sup> tried to involve a great number of pupils with the personal history of victims of the Holocaust by distributing data on thousands of individual victims to pupils across Austria and inviting them to dedicate their time and

<sup>228</sup> In the course of this poll 7,515 EU citizens were interviewed by telephone between October 8 and the 16, 2003. In Austria 500 respondents were interviewed. EOS Gallup Europe (2003) Flash Eurobarometer 151 "Iraq and peace in the world", pp. 3, 113, available at: [http://europa.eu.int/comm/public\\_opinion/flash/fl151\\_iraq\\_full\\_report.pdf](http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/flash/fl151_iraq_full_report.pdf), (09.11.2003)

<sup>229</sup> For different reactions see: BBC News (03.11.2003) Israeli anger over EU 'threat' poll, available at: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/3237277.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3237277.stm), (09.11.2003)

<sup>230</sup> EOS Gallup Europe (2003) op. cit., p. 81

<sup>231</sup> For more information see: <http://www.esra.at>, (09.11.2003)

<sup>232</sup> ZeitzeugInnen – ReferentInnenvermittlungsdienst zur Zeitgeschichte, for more information see: <http://www.bmbwk.gv.at/start.asp?OID=1938&isIlink=1&bereich=2&gwort=>, (09.11.2003)

<sup>233</sup> Die „historische Wahrheit“ von Zur Zeit (The „historical truth“ of Zur Zeit), Zur Zeit (21/2003) cited in: Neues von ganz rechts – June 2003, available at: [http://www.doew.at/projekte/rechts/chronik/2003\\_06/zurzeit.html](http://www.doew.at/projekte/rechts/chronik/2003_06/zurzeit.html), (06.11.2003)

<sup>234</sup> Cf. <http://www.lettertothestars.at>, (13.03.2003). [ACTAT0002]

thoughts to the fates of these individuals; 15,000 pupils in 500 schools participated in the project that received a lot of public attention as one of the biggest school projects in relation to the Holocaust, but was criticised for its superficiality and accused of sensationalism<sup>235</sup>.

- **6 November 2003** the Protestant Academy held a seminar “Antisemitism; old – new” on in connection with the memorial week of the November Pogrom of 1938<sup>236</sup>. The programme included an interactive part on stereotypes and prejudices in relation to Jews, a lecture on old and new antisemitism as well as secondary antisemitism and an interactive group activity concerning the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes.

#### J. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS INCLUDING INITIATIVES TO REDUCE POLARISATION AND COUNTERACT NEGATIVE NATIONAL TRENDS

In May 2003 a public debate on the financial contribution of the Austrian Republic to the Jewish Faith Community arose. Presently, only 8%–9% of the Community’s activities are supported by state funding<sup>237</sup> whereas in Germany around 80% of the Jewish Faith Community costs are funded by the state<sup>238</sup>. Due to the Community’s high level of debts, Ariel Muzicant, President of the Community, claims additional subsidies of €2.7 million a year. A governmental proposal linked the payment of subsidies with the restitutions claims of the Community against the Federal Provinces which would have resulted in the payment of €9 million out of the €18.2 millions the Community is entitled to. As legal issues are still pending, several provinces did not agree on a advanced payment.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. the discussion conducted at <http://www.diejuedische.at>, (06.05.2003). [PUBAT0047]

<sup>236</sup> E-mail from the *Evangelische Akademie*, October 28, 2003.

<sup>237</sup> Grissemann, S., Horowitz, N. (2003) Auf Messers Schneide (Balancing on a knife’s edge), in: *profil*, (21.07.2003), p. 122.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*

## CONCLUSIONS

The NFP describes the difficulty in giving a precise overview of antisemitism as there is no specialised body to record incidents and a lack of consistency in recording complaints of racial discrimination in general and antisemitism in particular. One NGO source reports more cases than official sources, with an apparent increase of over 70% of antisemitic incidents in 2003 compared to the same period in 2002. Altogether 108 cases were reported in 2003. There were two recorded cases of extremely violent attacks in 2003, and two other less serious assaults. There were several other incidents of damage to synagogues, and vandalism to cemeteries, but the most frequent type of antisemitic incident appears to be abusive behaviour and graffiti. The publication of a study on Austrian opinions carried out in the late 1990s showed that 19% were strongly or very strongly inclined to antisemitism. The NFP concludes that in Austria the taboo against antisemitism is weakening, but has not disappeared, and a kind of camouflaged, encoded antisemitism is now common. Acts of violence are relatively rare. It seems that Austrian antisemitism is characterised by diffuse and traditional antisemitic stereotypes rather than by acts of physical aggression.

## 1.12. PORTUGAL - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM

### Data and information provided for 2002 (with a special focus on the period of May – June) and 2003 by the Portuguese RAXEN National Focal Point

#### PREFACE

There is evidence that Jews lived in Portugal since the Visigoth and Muslim periods from the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Several Jewish communities were active and when the kingdom of Portugal was founded in the 12th century they enjoyed relative protection. It is estimated that by the early 14th century, more than 200,000 Jews lived in Portugal (20% of the total population) sustaining synagogues, slaughter houses, hospitals, jails, bath houses and other institutions. Jews were involved in the explorations, financing sailing fleets, making scientific discoveries in mathematics, medicine and cartography and thus received preferential treatment by successive kings.

After the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492 more than 150,000 Spanish Jews came to Portugal, but in 1497 they were either enslaved or forcibly converted to Christianity, most of them practicing Judaism secretly; they became known as Marranos or crypto-Jews. In order to evade the Inquisition many “Marrano” Jews fled to Amsterdam, Thessalonica and elsewhere; in 1654, 23 arrived in New Amsterdam (New York) to allegedly become the first Jewish settlers in the United States.

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Portugal invited Jews to return and official recognition of the Jewish community was granted in 1892, while in 1912 the new Portuguese Republic allowed the Jewish community to maintain places of worship, a cemetery, and slaughter animals in accordance to Jewish law, register births, deaths, and marriages and collect charity.

At the beginning of World War II Portugal adopted a liberal visa policy allowing thousands of Jewish refugees to enter the country, excluding, however, those of Russian origin<sup>239</sup>. Restrictions were applied in late 1940 to 1941, but later Portugal reissued entry visas and more than 100,000 Jews and refugees were able to flee Nazi Germany via Lisbon. All Portuguese Jews and Jewish refugees living there survived the war.

---

<sup>239</sup> Pimentel, I. F. (1999) *O antisemitismo em Portugal no século XX* [antisemitism in Portugal in the twentieth century] Unpublished paper. This paper is a longer version of an article published in the journal *História*, Year XXI (new series), Nº 15, dated June 1999 with the title “Marginal and Imported. Portuguese Antisemitism in the first half of the twentieth century.”



After the 1974 revolution and the establishment of democracy in Portugal Jews were fully accepted as a religious minority and protected under the law of religious plurality, but many emigrated to Israel, Brazil, Canada and the U.S.

### 1.12.1. LEGISLATION WITH RESPECT TO ANTISEMITISM

There are several provisions addressing antisemitism in the Portuguese legislative frame. Most important of all is **Law no. 16/2001 of 22 June on Religious Freedom** establishing that the freedom of belief, religion and worship is inviolable and guaranteed to all, in accordance with the Constitution, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the applicable international law and the present law. Aside from defining several principles, like the principles of equality, non-discrimination, tolerance and cooperation between the state and religious communities, it also establishes a set of common rights for all religious beliefs and defines the status of religious convictions and communities.

Furthermore, several provisions laid down in the Portuguese Constitution cover inter alia antisemitic acts and events.

- **Art. 13, no. 2:** this constitutional principle establishes that no person can be privileged, favoured, injured, deprived of any right or exempted from any duty, by reason of ancestry, gender, race, language, territory of origin, religion, political or ideological convictions, education, economic situation or social situation.
- **Art. 26, no. 1:** establishes that every person has the right to her/his personal identity, personality development, civil capacity, citizenship, good name and reputation, image, the right to speak out and the right to the protection of the privacy of her/his personal and family life and to legal protection against any forms of discrimination.
- **Art. 46, no. 4:** prohibits the creation of armed, quasi-military, militarised or paramilitary associations, or organisations that adopt fascist ideology.

The other main legislative instruments are Penal Code provisions. A wide set of provisions are laid down here covering a large ground.

- **Art. 132, no. 2 e)**<sup>240</sup> (introduced by Law no. 65/1998 of 2 September) identifies any murder instigated by racial, religious or political hatred as

---

<sup>240</sup> Art. 132 of the Criminal Code — Aggravated Homicide: ‘1. If death is caused in circumstances revealing particular reproachfulness or malice, the agent will incur a prison sentence of 12 to 25 years. 2. Particular severity or viciousness, as referred to in the above, are liable to be caused, among others, by the circumstance that the agent: [...] a) is motivated by racial, religious, or political hatred.’

aggravated homicide, whilst considering this kind of motivation to involve particular severity and viciousness. This kind of crime carries with it a sanction ranging from 12 to 25 years in prison.

- **Art. 146, no. 2**<sup>241</sup> (introduced by Decree-Law no. 48/1995 of 15 March) referring to article 132, no. 2, it identifies any offence determined by racial, religious or political hatred as a serious offence against physical integrity. This kind of crime carries with it the sanction ascribed to the particular crime, increased by a third in its minimum and maximum limits.
- **Art. 239**<sup>242</sup> (introduced by Decree-Law no. 400/1982 of 3 September) covers the crime of genocide.
- **Art. 240**<sup>243</sup> (introduced by Decree-Law no. 65/1998 of 2 September) defines the crime of racial or religious discrimination.

A 1998 amendment in Art. 240 increased the range of factors of discrimination, by making discrimination based on religious factors a crime and considering the hypothesis of negation.<sup>244</sup>

**Law no. 134/1999 of 28 August** prohibits discrimination in the exercise of rights on grounds of race, colour, nationality or ethnic origin. Any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference in the exercise of rights based on race, colour, ancestry, nationality or ethnic origin will be considered discrimination. The objective of this law is to prevent and prohibit all forms of racial discrimination and punish the practice of acts that represent a breach of any economic, social or cultural rights on grounds of race, colour or ethnic origin. As an example, this law includes a list of discriminatory practices (art. 4) that are regarded as misdemeanours and punishable with fines and other adequate sanctions.

<sup>241</sup> Art. 146 of the Criminal Code — Offence Causing Serious Bodily Harm: *'If any of the offences indicated in articles 143, 144 or 145 are caused in circumstances which reveal particular reproachfulness or malice on part of the agent, the latter shall receive the punishment ascribed to the particular crime, increased by a third in its minimum and maximum limits.'* 2. *Particular reproachfulness or malice are liable to be caused, among others, by the circumstances designated in article 132, no. 2.'*

<sup>242</sup> Art. 239 of the Criminal Code — Genocide: '1) Any person who, with the specific intent to destroy, in whole or substantial part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group as such, is guilty of: a) the murder of members of the group; b) an offence causing serious bodily harm to any of the members of the group; c) subjecting the group to cruel, degrading or inhuman treatment, intended to cause the destruction of the group in whole or in part; d) transferring by force children of the group to another group; e) the imposition of measures intended to prevent procreation or births within the group, shall incur a prison sentence of 12 to 25 years. 2. Any person who, publicly and directly incites to genocide shall incur a prison sentence of 2 to 8 years. 3. The agreement to perpetrate genocide shall be punished with imprisonment of 1 to 5 years.'

<sup>244</sup> Van Dunem, Francisca (2001) *A Discriminação em Função da Raça na Lei Penal*, [Discrimination based on race in the Criminal Law] in *Estudos em Homenagem a Cunha Rodrigues* (org.) Jorge Figueiredo Dias (et. al.) Coimbra Editora, 2001, pp. 939-956, p.948

## 1.12.2. SOURCES OF DATA AND INFORMATION

Regarding data collection there are serious difficulties in assessing antisemitism on the basis of official statistics since no ethnic or religious categorizations are allowed by the Portuguese Constitution. Therefore, the NFP could only rely on books, media (including Internet) sources and information from representative organisations, such as the Israelite Community of Lisbon.

### Books

- Pimentel, I. F. (1999) “*Antisemitism in Portugal in the 20<sup>th</sup> century*”, unpublished paper. This paper is a longer version of an article published in the journal *História*, Year XXI (new series), N° 15, dated June 1999 with the title “Marginal and Imported. Portuguese Antisemitism in the first half of the twentieth century.”
- Van Dunem, Francisca (2001) “Discrimination based on race in the Criminal Law” in “Estudos em Homenagem a Cunha Rodrigues” (org.) Jorge Figueiredo Dias (et. al.) Coimbra Editora, 2001, pp. 939-956 & p.948.

### Websites

- ‘Lisbon Israelite Community’: <http://www.cilisboa.org>
- Daily newspaper ‘Público’: <http://www.publico.pt/>
- ‘Movimento da Reconstrução Nacional Socialista Atlântico’ (Atlantic Movement for the National Socialist Reconstruction) – [www.mnsa-portugal.com](http://www.mnsa-portugal.com) (25-05-2002)

### Newspapers

Daily ‘Público’ 3 March, 24 March, 26 March and 14 April 2003.

### Interviews

Dr. Esther Mucznick -Vice-President of the Lisbon Israelite Community- 8/10/2003.

### 1.12.3. DATA AND INFORMATION

#### I. ANTISEMITISM IN 2002

The NFP reports that in Portugal there is no evidence of antisemitism in the second half of the twentieth century and the size of the Jewish community is very small<sup>245</sup>. In 1995 the President of the Republic Mário Soares apologised formally for the persecution and expulsion of Jews from Portugal in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

##### A. PHYSICAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE TOWARDS JEWS

The NFP does not report of any incident.

##### B. VERBAL AGGRESSION/HATE SPEECH AGAINST JEWISH PEOPLE

The Embassy of Israel reported receiving slanderous telephone calls and e-mails with offensive content. Furthermore, the Embassy of Israel reported that the position of their flag in the “Nations Park” was vandalized by several swastikas and other insults. No other complaints were reported.

##### C. STUDIES, OPINION POLLS OR OTHER REPORTS ON CHANGES IN ANTISEMITIC SENTIMENTS

The NFP reported no relevant research studies or opinion polls in the research period.

##### D. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS

The President of the Republic participated in the celebrations of the 100 years of the Lisbon Synagogue stating that Portugal should pay more attention to Jewish culture, which is an integral part of Portuguese history. The event was mentioned in the press

##### E. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS

No such practices were reported by the NFP.

---

<sup>245</sup> Ethnic categorizing is not practised in Portuguese statistics. According to the Jewish community, it can be said that the number of Jewish individuals living in Portugal lies somewhere between 2,000 and 3,000.

## ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

The Israelite community told the NFP that the main antisemitic event in the research period was an e-mail by a professor of the 'Trás-os-Montes University'. Commenting on the Middle East conflict the e-mail contained the sentence, "If there are any good Jews (which I doubt)..." The community considered this statement published later in the newspaper 'Público' as antisemitic.

Additionally, a newspaper article written by Nobel Prize winner José Saramago stirred a controversy as the writer suggested that there was no difference between Auschwitz and what Ariel Sharon was doing to the Palestinians. The Israelite community replied in protest. Several Portuguese Nazi sites appeared in 2002 on the Internet, some of which carry antisemitic statements and translations of mainly American antisemitic texts. No explicit threats to the Portuguese Jewish Community were found in any of these sites.

## II. ANTISEMITISM IN 2003

No violent antisemitic incidents were reported in Portugal during 2003 as confirmed by the NFP's interview with Dr. Esther Mucznik, Vice-President of the Lisbon Israelite Community<sup>246</sup> and spokesperson for the Portuguese Jewish community<sup>247</sup>. However, incidents that do not constitute a threat to a person's life can go unnoticed, since victims often choose not to report them.

### A. EXTREME VIOLENCE: ANY ATTACK POTENTIALLY CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE

No such incidents were reported by the NFP.

### B. ASSAULT: ANY PHYSICAL ATTACK DIRECTED AGAINST PEOPLE, WHICH IS NOT A THREAT TO LIFE

No such incidents were reported by the NFP.

### C. DAMAGE AND DESECRATION OF PROPERTY

No such incidents were reported by the NFP.

---

<sup>246</sup> The website of the Lisbon Israelite Community is: <http://www.cilisboa.org>

<sup>247</sup> Dr. Mucznik has a column, once every two weeks, in one of the most widely read Portuguese quality papers, 'Público'. She writes often about Jewish cultural heritage, on subjects related to Jewish history and religion, as well as on the Middle-East conflict. She also appears on TV as spokesperson for the Jewish community in Portugal.

## D. TREATS, VERBAL OR WRITTEN

No such incidents were reported by the NFP.

## E. ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

No such incidents were reported by the NFP.

## F. ANTISEMITIC LITERATURE

- **In March 2003** a series of articles by Pedro Melo de Almeida defending historical revisionism and citing well-known revisionists such as Robert Faurisson and Roger Garaudy in the newspaper ‘Público’,<sup>248</sup> stirred a debate<sup>249</sup>. In these articles, the term Holocaust was written in lower case and in inverted comas: according to the author, the root of such a “historical deception” is a Jewish conspiracy geared towards victimizing Jews and thus reinforcing the current political claims of Israel. Other overtly antisemitic remarks were also contained in the articles, such as the stereotype of Jews’ excessive attachment to money. The articles were published in the context of an exchange of opinions with the Vice-President of the Lisbon Israelite Community, Dr. Esther Mucznik. Others, such as the novelist and literary critic Mafalda Ivo Cruz<sup>250</sup> and the historian Irene Pimentel<sup>251</sup> have also made public their indignation vis-à-vis the content of the article. On 5 August 2003 Publico’s editorial board issued an apologetic note acknowledging their mistake in publishing the articles and noting that they had done so without warning the readers as to their revisionist content and recognising that some passages crossed the line between anti-Zionism and antisemitism, and should therefore not have been published.

## G. CHANGES IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE EU POPULATION TOWARDS JEWS

No such studies were reported by the NFP.

## H. RESEARCH STUDIES OR OPINION POLLS REPORTING ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE OR ATTITUDES

No such studies were reported by the NFP.

---

<sup>248</sup> <http://www.publico.pt/>

<sup>249</sup> The articles appeared in ‘Publico’ during 2003: 03/03, 24/03 and 14/03.

<sup>250</sup> This article was published on 26 March 2003 in ‘Público’.

<sup>251</sup> This article was published in ‘Público’ on 14 April 2003.

I. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

No such practices were reported by the NFP.

J. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS INCLUDING INITIATIVES TO REDUCE POLARISATION AND COUNTERACT NEGATIVE NATIONAL TRENDS

Dr. Esther Mucznik, Vice-President of the Lisbon Israelite Community indicated her concern in several articles in the Daily 'Público' about the possible emergence, in Portugal, of antisemitism related to the perception of the Israel-Palestine conflict by the general public. Her fear is that the legitimate critique of Israel's politics may become a cover for antisemitism. However, the NFP considers the possibility serious antisemitic incidents in Portugal as very remote.

## CONCLUSIONS

The small Portuguese Jewish Community is very well integrated in society, having little visibility as a community and attracting little attention. The representative of the Jewish community described relations with the Islamic Community as "very good", while on some occasions leaders of the Jewish community were present at important religious celebrations of the Islamic community and vice-versa.

Antisemitism in Portugal can be considered as a marginal phenomenon reflecting debates in other countries, notably in France.

## 1.13. FINLAND REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM

**Data and information provided for 2002 (with a special focus on the period of May – June) and 2003 by the Finnish RAXEN National Focal Point.**

### PREFACE

The geographical territory covered today by Finland was until 1809 part of the Kingdom of Sweden and Jews were only allowed to reside in three major towns of Sweden, none of them in the territory of Finland. After 1809 and the establishment of the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland within the Russian Empire the prohibition on Jewish settlement in Finland continued.

In the first half of the 19th century Russian military authorities allowed soldiers serving in the Russian Army in Finland to remain in Finland with their families following their discharge without regard to their religion. In 1889 an administrative decree allowed a specific number of Jews to stay in certain towns under temporary visit permits with a validity of up to six months. Jews were forbidden to attend fairs or perform any activities outside their town of residence.

By the end of the 1880s there were about a thousand Jews resident in Finland. In 1917, when Finland became independent, Jews received full civil rights and on 22 December 1917, the Finnish Parliament approved the Law on “Mosaic Confessors” under which, Jews could acquire Finnish nationality.

Finnish Jews fought in the Finnish-Russian War of 1939-40 and Finnish-Russian War of 1941-44. During WW II and despite strong German pressure, Finland refused to take action against Finnish Jews.

After the end of the War a significant number of Finnish volunteers fought in the war of independence for the state of Israel. Today, the Jewish community in Finland is small numbering some 1,500 persons, 1,200 in Helsinki, 200 in Turku, and about 50 in Tampere. There are organised Jewish communities in Helsinki and Turku with their own synagogues. The communities are members of the Central Council of Jewish Communities in Finland, a consultative body dealing with matters of general interest concerning Jews in Finland. This body is in its turn a member of the European Council of Jewish Community Services and of the World Jewish Congress.

The NFP reports that today Jews are well integrated maintaining organised Jewish social and educational activities. In the Jewish Community Centre in Helsinki, there is a Jewish kindergarten, a comprehensive school and a geriatric



hospital. There are also other Jewish organisations dealing with social welfare, youth and sports.

### **1.13.1. LEGISLATION WITH RESPECT TO ANTISEMITISM**

The Finnish constitution lays down the fundamental rules on non-discrimination and equality. According to Section 6 of the Constitution, discrimination shall not be tolerated. Moreover, Section 17 of the Constitution guarantees that Sami, Roma and other minorities have the right to develop and maintain their language and culture.

The Constitution sets out a general framework that places an obligation upon Parliament and the authorities not to enact legislation that is discriminatory in nature. Although constitutional provisions can be interpreted in many ways, subsidiary legal norms have to be interpreted in a way that best fulfils the fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution.

According to the Penal Code ‘Rikoslaki’, from 1889; amended 21.4.1995/578), incitement towards an ethnic group is prohibited. Chapter 11, Section 8 of the Penal Code states: “A person who spreads statements or other notices among the public in which a certain race or national, ethnic or religious group or a comparable group is threatened, slandered or insulted shall be sentenced for agitation against an ethnic group to a fine or to imprisonment for the maximum of two years.”

The Penal Code also contains a provision that criminalizes discrimination *inter alia* on the basis of ethnic origin, race, and religion. There is also a similar prohibition concerning labour discrimination.

### **1.13.2. SOURCES OF DATA AND INFORMATION**

In view of the absence of any official monitoring system, the NFP relied primarily on interviews with public authorities, representatives of the Jewish community and the media and internet:

- Interview with the Ombudsman for ethnic minorities on 11 June 2002;
- Interview with the ‘Finnish Jewish Community’ on 4 June 2002;
- Interview with the ‘Friends of Israel’ association on 11 June 2002;
- Interview with the ‘Finnish Jewish Community’ on 3 December 2003;
- Interview with the ‘Friends of Israel’ association on 3 December 2003;

- Interview with the Ombudsman for Minorities on 3 December 2003;
- Internet chat rooms and discussion groups (2002):
  - <http://www.kpnet.com/ajanfakta/>
  - <http://netlari.econnection.fi/forum/forum.php?viesti=1510>
  - <http://www.usko.net>
  - <http://groups.google.com/groups?hl=fi&lr=&group=sfnet.keskustelu.uskonto.kristinusko>
- Chat rooms and discussion groups (2003):
  - <http://groups.google.com/groups?q=juutalaisuus&hl=fi&lr=&ie=UTF8&selm=b8f4146e.0309260600.dcee0c3%40posting.google.com&rnum=2>
  - <http://groups.google.com/groups?q=antisemitismi&hl=fi&lr=&ie=UTF8&selm=8n73a.603%24jd5.9673%40news.kpnqwest.fi&rnum=5>
  - The web page of Finnish Jewish Community:  
<http://www.jchelsinki.fi>
- Articles and news in the newspapers:
  - Two articles about the bomb threat in the beginning of April 2002
  - Articles that criticize Israel's actions
  - Articles that express concern over the recent increase in anti-Israel expressions
  - Articles concerning the recent development of extreme right wing groups
  - [http://www.yle.fi/aohjelmat/astudio\\_f.html](http://www.yle.fi/aohjelmat/astudio_f.html)
  - Helsingin Sanomat 30.11. 2003, Editorial
  - Helsingin Sanomat 3.12. 2003, Editorial
  - <http://www.keskipohjanmaa.net/doris/doriswww22817.asp>
  - Finnish Broadcasting Company, Channel 1 news, 01.11. 2003  
<http://www.yle.fi/uutiset/>
  - <http://www.helsinginsanomat.fi/haku/?haku=Elina+Sana>

### 1.13.3. DATA AND INFORMATION

#### I. ANTISEMITISM IN 2002

In its attempt to collect relevant data and information and assess the situation the NFP uses the broad definition of “hatred and hostile attitudes towards Jewish people”, but carefully distinguishes between criticism of the Government of Israel and antisemitism noting the possibility that anti-Israel demonstrations and movements may lead to extreme expressions of opinions and lead to a black-and-white frame of thinking leading to antisemitism.

Due to the absence of an official monitoring system all reported events are based on a telephone interview with the representative of the Jewish community on 4 June 2002. The Office of Ombudsman for Ethnic Minorities has not received any reports of antisemitic incidents.

A. PHYSICAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE TOWARDS JEWS

- **In April 2002** there were two bomb threats; one not reported in the media and the other one reported extensively in tabloids and mentioned in the evening news.
- **In April 2002** the windows of the Jewish synagogue in the centre of Helsinki were broken and eggs were thrown on the walls of the synagogue.

B. VERBAL AGGRESSION, HATE SPEECH AND OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS JEWS

The representative of the Jewish Community in Helsinki complained that local Jews are blamed for the situation in Israel by some people. He was also concerned that the recent rise of antisemitism in Europe may lead to an increase in antisemitic acts in Finland and noted the anti-Israel and anti-Jewish tone of some media reports.

The Jewish community in Helsinki received threatening letters in the spring of 2002. At the time of the invasion of the city of Jenin, the Finnish Jewish community began to receive threatening phone calls on a daily basis.

In some of the Internet's news groups and chat rooms comments about the situation in Israel included occasionally antisemitic stereotypes such as the charge of deicide. There has been some antisemitic graffiti on the walls of buildings in different parts of Helsinki and pro-Palestine movements have distributed leaflets some of which ask for a boycott of Israeli products.

C. STUDIES, OPINION POLLS OR OTHER REPORTS ON CHANGES IN ANTISEMITIC SENTIMENTS

The NFP reported no relevant research studies or opinion polls in the research period.

D. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

The Friends of Israel Association has organized awareness raising events on Israel and the Jewish culture with speakers from Israel.

E. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS

Politicians and all the major political parties have commented on the increased support of extreme right wing parties in Europe stating that this is not acceptable and work must be done in Finland to prevent such a development.

## II. ANTISEMITISM IN 2003

The events were reported by the representative of the Finnish Jewish Community. The Office of Ombudsman for Minorities has not received any reports of anti-Semitic incidents or acts. The representative of the Friends of Israel Association had nothing to report to any of the issues.

A. EXTREME VIOLENCE: ANY ATTACK POTENTIALLY CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE

No incidents are reported in 2003.

B. ASSAULT: ANY PHYSICAL ATTACK, WHICH IS NOT A THREAT TO LIFE

No incidents are reported in 2003.

C. DAMAGE AND DESECRATION OF PROPERTY

One incident is reported in 2003: a Star of David located in the Old Jewish graveyard in the town of Hämeenlinna was broken.

D. THREATS, VERBAL OR WRITTEN

The Finnish Jewish community mentioned a few threatening letters and phone calls.

E. ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

The Ombudsman for Minorities reported that one person has contacted the office claiming that he has faced discrimination because of his Jewish background. However, the case was not substantiated.

F. ANTISEMITIC LITERATURE

No incidents are reported in 2003.

G. CHANGES IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE EU POPULATION TOWARDS JEWS

The NFP reported no relevant research studies or opinion polls in 2003.

H. RESEARCH STUDIES OR OPINION POLLS REPORTING ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE OR ATTITUDES

- **In November 2003** in the book by Elina Sana “Extradited” it was reported that, according to her historical research, Finland extradited 74 Jews to Nazi-Germany during WWII. This information is contrary to the traditionally held view that only eight Jews were extradited from Finland during the war. The information aroused strong national and international media attention. The Simon Wiesenthal Centre has requested an official report about WW II extraditions from the Finnish Government who nominated Professor Heikki Ylikangas to prepare a full report on this issue expected to be published in 2004.

I. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

**10 December 2003** the Hakunila International Association has arranged a Jewish-Muslim Forum in Helsinki to improve intercultural exchange between Jewish and Muslim scholars through dialogue and music.

J. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS INCLUDING INITIATIVES TO REDUCE POLARISATION AND COUNTERACT NEGATIVE NATIONAL TRENDS

There has been little debate on antisemitism, but more generally politicians have expressed their concern over development in Middle East. All parliamentary parties signed the Charter of European Political parties for a Non-Racist Society in 1998.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Finnish Jewish community is extremely small, and there are no official monitoring bodies for racism and antisemitism in Finland. The Office of the Ombudsman for Ethnic Minorities did not receive any reports of antisemitic incidents during 2002 - 2003. However, in 2002 there were two bomb threats, and at the same time the windows of the synagogue in the centre of Helsinki were broken and eggs thrown against the walls. Around the time of increased tension in the Middle East in 2002, members of the Jewish community began to receive threatening letters and phone calls. There has been some antisemitic graffiti in different parts of Helsinki, and in 2003 a Star of David in a cemetery was broken. Representatives of the Jewish community did not think that antisemitic incidents were increasing, and there has been very little public debate on antisemitism.

## **1.14. SWEDEN - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM**

### **Data and information provided for 2002 (with a special focus on the period of May – June) and 2003 by the Swedish RAXEN National Focal Point**

#### **PREFACE**

The Jewish community was officially established at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but until 1860, the around 900 Jews were only allowed to live in Stockholm, Göteborg, Norrköping, Karlskrona and Marstrand. Although antisemitism per se was very rare, the last prohibition -against Jews holding a political office- was only removed in 1951. The Jewish population increased between 1850 and 1920 due to immigration from Russia and Poland reaching an estimated 6,500 in 1920.

During the inter-war period around 3,000 German, Austrian, and Czech Jews were allowed to come to Sweden, but fears of large-scale Jewish immigration led to student demonstrations at Uppsala and Lund universities in 1938.

However, once the horrors of the Nazi regime in Germany became known, Sweden became involved in efforts to save Jews from the Holocaust giving asylum in 1942 to 900 Norwegian Jews and in 1943 to more than 8,000 Danish Jews, the entire Danish Jewish community.

In 1956 and 1968 Sweden received hundreds of Jewish refugees fleeing the communist regime of Hungary and Czechoslovakia respectively. Between 1945 and 1970 the Jewish population of Sweden almost doubled in size.

Today Jews are estimated to be 18,500 in a total population of 9 million in Sweden. Around half of the Jewish population are members of the main Jewish communities in Stockholm (5,500), Göteborg (1,800) and Malmö (1,200). Jewish communities are independent and represented by the umbrella organization of the Council of Jewish Communities in Sweden. There are also branches of 'WIZO', the 'General Organization of Jewish Women', 'Emunah', 'B'nai Brith' and 'B'nai Akiva'.

#### **1.14.1. LEGISLATION WITH RESPECT TO ANTISEMITISM**

Crimes of antisemitic nature are defined by the Protection of the Constitution Section as crimes against individuals of Jewish descent, against Judaism as a religion or against Jewish property etc. To be classified as an antisemitic crime

it is not necessary for the victim to be Jewish; it is defined as antisemitic, if the perpetrator believed the victim to be Jewish or for expressing specific anti-Jewish sentiments, for instance when arrested by the police etc.

The ‘Instrument of Government’ is one of the four fundamental laws of the Swedish Constitution: Chapter 1, Section 2 states that: “Public power shall be exercised with respect for the equal worth of all and the liberty and dignity of the private person.” It also states that: “Opportunities should be promoted for ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities to preserve and develop a cultural and social life of their own.”

The Instrument of Government in Chapter 2 deals with fundamental freedoms and rights: Section 6 decrees freedom of worship that is, the freedom to practise one's religion either alone or in the company of others. Furthermore, every citizen is protected in his relations with public institutions: “...against any coercion to divulge an opinion in any political, religious, cultural or other such connection, against any coercion to participate in a meeting for the formation of opinion or a demonstration or other manifestation of opinion, or belong to a political association, religious community or other association for the manifestation of opinion.”

The ‘Act on Agitation against a National or Ethnic Group’ (Jews are defined as a “national minority”) is regulated in parallel in the Penal Code Chapter 16, section 8, the Freedom of the Press Act Chapter 7, section 4 and the Fundamental Law on Freedom of Expression Chapter 5, section 1.

The main difference between these laws is basically that the ‘Freedom of the Press Act’ and the ‘Fundamental Law on Freedom of Expression’ protects the freedom of opinions and consequently they target deeds committed in printed matter and media such as film, radio, television or sound recordings such as CD-discs. The Penal Code targets all other deeds. These laws also define the perpetrator of the deed in different ways.

One problem is that the regulations on responsibility differ for different websites on the Internet. For example, web sites of newspapers and other media are subject to the regulations stipulated by the ‘Freedom of the Press Act’ and the ‘Fundamental Law on Freedom of Expression’; that is their web pages have the same liability as the printed or broadcasted editions. However, other web pages produced by private companies or individuals are regulated by ordinary legislation such as the Penal Code.

In 1948 the ‘Act on Agitation against a National or Ethnic Group’ was transferred from the 1864 Penal legislation to the Penal Code. Accordingly, anyone who publicly threatens slanders or insults a population group of certain origins or beliefs faces imprisonment for a maximum of two years and/or fines. In 1970 the area of legal application for the above Act was expanded with the purpose to align national legislation to the UN Convention on Racial



Discrimination: according to Article 4 of the Convention on Racial Discrimination all organisations and all propaganda based on views or theories that any race or group of people of certain ethnic origin or colour of skin are superior to any other, or those who strive to justify or promote racial hatred and discrimination in any form should be condemned. However, states must also consider the principles expressed in the general declaration on human rights, which means that freedom of opinion and assembly must not be infringed upon by applying Article 4.

In order to consider a deed as “agitation against a national or ethnic group” the deed must contain “threat” or express “disdain”; threats are to be understood by the common use of language, which means a wider definition than those of unlawful threat or unlawful coercion, and disdain refers not only to smearing or slanders, both punishable by law, but also other abusive expressions which degrade or ridicule the group concerned. However, criticism based on facts is allowed.

For the threat or disdain to be considered as agitation against a national or ethnic group it must also be presented in a statement or otherwise be distributed as a message. It is not a prerequisite that these statements or messages are spread among the public or made public and the spreading of statements not only includes personal views but also the spreading of hearsay.

The Act does not protect individuals but only groups of people defined as a collective. Therefore the person aggrieved cannot file complaints under this act. In January 2003 the Act partly changed. Among else it is now possible to define incitement as a serious crime with a penal scale ranging from 6 months to four years imprisonment depending on the “degrading or threatening content” and the extent of its dissemination.

Medias regulated by the ‘Freedom of the Press Act’ and the ‘Fundamental Law on Freedom of Expression’ have special rules of limitation. A periodical and a radio programme must be prosecuted within six months after the message was printed or spread, while other media have mainly limitations of one year. These short time limits create difficulties to the prosecuting authorities and a proposal to change them has been put forward.

The Penal Code punishes with fines or imprisonment for a maximum of one year any discrimination in the provision of services in Chapter 16, sentence 9, “...a businessman who in the conduct of his business discriminates against a person on grounds of that person's race, colour, national or ethnic origin or religious belief by not dealing with that person under the terms and conditions normally applied by the businessman in the course of his business with other persons, shall be sentenced for unlawful discrimination. The provisions also apply to a person employed in a business or otherwise acting on behalf of a businessman and to a person employed in public service or having a public duty.”

It is also punishable for any organiser of a public assembly or gathering, and any collaborator of such organiser, to discriminate against a person on grounds of his race, colour, national or ethnic origin or religious belief by refusing him access to the public assembly or gathering under the terms and conditions normally applied to other persons.

According to the Penal Code 29:1 in assessing the penal value of a crime special consideration shall be given to the damage, wrong or danger occasioned by the criminal act and to what the accused realised or should have realised about this, and to the intentions or motives he may have had.<sup>252</sup> Among the aggravating circumstance are "...a motive for the crime was to aggrieve a person, ethnic group or some other similar group of people by reason of race, colour, national or ethnic origin, religious belief or other similar circumstance."<sup>253</sup>

In the past the 'Uniforms Act' did not allow the wearing of uniforms or any outfits expressing political opinions. The ban also includes parts of uniforms, armbands with insignias or other comparable and noticeable signs. However, subsequently two Supreme Court rulings in reference to the act acquitted people wearing nazi symbols considering that the act is in conflict with the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of expression and opinion. The Uniforms Act was thus repealed on July 1, 2002, after it was established that the wearing of emblems or certain clothing may be regarded as a message and therefore a violation of the Act on Agitation against National or Ethnic Groups. Thus public wearing of certain neo-Nazi symbols (e.g. swastikas) may be punishable as incitement of racial hatred. In practical terms there are a number of other symbols in a grey legal area. This includes for instance certain runes, the sun cross etc, which may or may not carry racist connotations; one such example is "Thor's hammer", an ancient Swedish symbol worn by many youngsters, but which has also been picked up by skinheads and several neo-Nazi groups.

Legislation on hate speech is also often in conflict with the Fundamental law of Freedom of expression.

## 1.14.2. SOURCES OF DATA AND INFORMATION

The public body compiling a formal index of antisemitic incidents is the Swedish Security Police, 'Säpo'; however, such statistics are only published for the year following the data collection. Therefore, statistical data for the year 2003 are not yet available. To compile this report the NFP used its contacts with the Jewish communities and individual researchers. Information about Internet activities and press reports are routinely collected by the NFP on a daily basis.

---

<sup>252</sup> SFS 1988:942

<sup>253</sup> SFS 1994:306

Although the NFP argues that there is a clear connection between the situation in the Middle East and the level of antisemitic activities, it points out that cases of criticism of Israeli politics must be distinguished from antisemitism. However, the NFP believes that those cases where anti-Israeli slogans and other similar criticism are directed at individuals or groups, simply because they are Jews, should be characterised as antisemitic.

### **1.14.3. DATA AND INFORMATION**

In its appraisal of the situation concerning antisemitism in Sweden the NFP adopted the definition of Helen Fein: “A persisting latent structure of hostile beliefs towards Jews as a collectivity manifested in individuals as attitudes, and in culture as myth, ideology, folklore and imagery, and in actions – social or legal discrimination, political mobilisation against the Jews, and collective or state violence – which results in and/or is designed to distance, displace, or destroy Jews as Jews.”

## I. ANTISEMITISM IN 2002

*Types of crime 1997-2002: total number of recorded antisemitic crimes<sup>254</sup>  
(White power and non-white power related)*

| Type of crime               | 1997      | 1998       | 1999       | 2000       | 2001       | 2002       |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Gross assault (a)           | 1         | 0          | 1          | 0          | 1          | 1          |
| Assault                     | 9         | 7          | 10         | 8          | 7          | 5          |
| Harassment                  | 35        | 41         | 39         | 43         | 41         | 47         |
| Slander                     | 3         | 5          | 10         | 9          | 9          | 9          |
| Vandalism                   | 10        | 13         | 9          | 3          | 8          | 11         |
| Graffiti                    | 5         | 6          | 17         | 8          | 12         | 10         |
| Incitement of racial hatred | 27        | 36         | 32         | 50         | 33         | 42         |
| Illegal discrimination      | 0         | 0          | 0          | 1          | 0          | 1          |
| Other crime                 | 9         | 7          | 3          | 8          | 1          | 4          |
| No specific crime category  | 0         | 4          | 4          | 1          | 3          | 1          |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                | <b>99</b> | <b>119</b> | <b>125</b> | <b>131</b> | <b>115</b> | <b>131</b> |

*(a) Includes crimes defined as attempted murder or attempted manslaughter.*

For 2002 the NFP sources report a low level of antisemitic incidents for both Stockholm and Göteborg during the research period, whereas Malmö has had a constant high level since the autumn of 2000. It should be noted that many of the sources used by the NFP, especially officials within the Jewish communities, feel that incidents are under-reported.

### A. PHYSICAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE TOWARDS JEWS

Police statistics presented at the end of 2003 list six assaults for 2002 which occurred outside the research period. Also, several cases of vandalism and disparagement were recorded:

- **19 May 2002** vandalism of the Jewish cemetery in Rosengård;
- **3 June 2002** burglary and vandalism of the funeral chapel at Föreningsgatan;

<sup>254</sup> Protection of the Constitution Branch of the National Police Board, Report 1997, 1998, 2001 and 2003.

- **4 June 2002** burglary and vandalism of the Jewish cemetery in Rosengard;
- **6 June 2002** burglary and vandalism of the Jewish cemetery in Rosengard;

B. VERBAL AGGRESSION/HATE SPEECH AGAINST JEWISH PEOPLE

- Police figures for 2002 indicate that the number of graffiti incidents decreased slightly (2001:12 cases; 2002:10 cases), but increased for “incitement of racial hatred” (2001: 33 cases; 2002: 41 cases), the same as in 2000.
- **April 18 2002** a small public meeting with approximately 100 participants protesting against both antisemitism and Islamophobia took place in central Stockholm. The organisers expressed that the rally was non-partisan and did not take sides in the Mid East conflict. The rally was organised by a branch of the Liberal Party youth organisation, and several participants were Jews. At the end of the meeting a much larger anti-Israeli march was passing nearby, when 100-150 young demonstrators broke out and charged into the small crowd of the rally - most of them Jews. The attacking group was rather threatening and some violence was witnessed. Individual attackers were heard shouting “Kill the Jews” and “We’ll blow you up”. Some attackers also went around aggressively asking people if they were Jewish.
- **21 May 2002** a group of juveniles (judging by appearances as immigrants from the Middle East) were reported shouting at the entrance of a Jewish Community Centre “Jew Devil” and making obscene gestures at a woman.
- **In May – June, 2002** the website “Focus Israel” run by an official of the Malmö community received repeated hate-mail with antisemitic content.
- **3 June 2002** graffiti on the wall of the Jewish cemetery at Föreningsgatan “Fuck the pigs”, “Smash Israel” and “Never forget Jenin”.
- **6 June 2002** the local daily ‘Sydöstran’ reported finding in the library of the town of Karlskrona large amounts of antisemitic propaganda slipped into shelves, books and papers over the last year. The library has decided to forbid people with open racist views to visit the premises.
- **14 June 2002** several Swedish newspapers report that four leading Nazis, two of them living in Karlskrona, have been convicted to six months imprisonment for re-publishing a 1930s antisemitic book entitled “The Jewish Question”.
- **29 May 2002** in the town of Gävle a man was convicted to two years imprisonment for releasing racist and antisemitic CDs, some of them in

German through a record company called Sniper Records. The man admitted passing the profit on to the National Socialist Front.

C. STUDIES, OPINION POLLS OR OTHER REPORTS ON CHANGES IN ANTISEMITIC SENTIMENTS

The NFP did report any relevant research in 2002.

D. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

- Holocaust survivors related their experiences in schools.
- An educational tool called “Abraham's children”, pointing out similarities between Christianity, Islam and Judaism, has been successfully used in schools with a high percentage of immigrants. Along with this, teachers in some schools have reported that a generally increased vigilance against racist and antisemitic expressions has been a successful method in curbing such sentiments.
- The Swedish Committee against antisemitism has published articles and conducted seminars in various cities and towns entitled “Stereotyping immigrants, Jews and Muslims in media and debate”.

E. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION MAKERS

The NFP did not report of any such reactions.

F. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

There have been some examples of references to traditional anti-Jewish prejudices in the media, where references have been made to concepts like “an eye for an eye”, “child killers” and “Christ killers” and where Israeli politics have been directly compared to Nazi politics. In the early spring of 2002 the daily ‘Aftonbladet’ carried an article criticising Israeli politics with the headline “The crucified Arafat”, reproducing the antisemitic stereotype of deicide.

Internet homepages of both the extreme right and the radical left have contained antisemitic material in reference to the Middle East conflict. Indymedia, featured an antisemitic cartoon, the Grim Reaper, sporting a hat with a Swastika and the Star of David. The Indymedia chat page has also featured statements referring to well-known conspiracy themes of “New World Order” and “Zionist Occupation Government – ZOG”.

## II. ANTISEMITISM IN 2003

The NFP could not provide police statistics for 2003 and the figures are from reports to the Jewish communities whose reliability cannot be guaranteed.

*Antisemitic incidents reported to the Jewish Communities of Sweden, 2003<sup>255</sup>*

| Type of crime                      | Cases |
|------------------------------------|-------|
| Extreme violence                   | 0     |
| Assault                            | 3     |
| Damage and desecration of property | 10    |
| Threats                            | 7     |
| Abusive behavior                   | 37    |
| Literature                         | 3     |
| TOTAL                              | 60    |

*The above data are based on reports to the Jewish Communities and not comparable to the annual police statistics.*

### A. EXTREME VIOLENCE: ANY ATTACK POTENTIALLY CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE

The NFP reports of no such incidents in 2003.

### B. ASSAULT: ANY PHYSICAL ATTACK DIRECTED AGAINST PEOPLE, WHICH IS NOT A THREAT TO LIFE

- **In September 2003** a 13-year-old Jewish boy was assaulted by two older boys, when leaving the Gothenburg synagogue, and harassed with abusive words, depreciatory and threatening statements on Jews. The victim physically prevented from going to a tram stop and one of the attackers hit him in the chest; when he tried to do it again, the Jewish boy hit back and the attackers ran away.
- **In September 2003** another 13-year-old Jewish boy wearing a Star of David was harassed on a Gothenburg tram by an older boy, who called him a “dirty Jew” and demanded that he should kneel in front of him; when getting off the tram he was pushed to the ground by the older boy.

<sup>255</sup> These figures refer to 1 January 2003 to 10 December 2003. Apart from these incidents another 20 to 30 incidents have been reported to the Jewish community, but these reports have not been processed yet.

- **In October 2003** a young Jewish man was attacked at a Stockholm football match by a man shouting “get out of the way bloody Jew”. He then pushed and kicked him.

#### C. DAMAGE AND DESECRATION OF PROPERTY

The Jewish communities report a number of damages and desecration in synagogues and Jewish cemeteries in the three metropolitan areas of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö during 2003.

#### D. THREATS, VERBAL OR WRITTEN

- **In September 2003**, a group shouted “Sieg Heil” outside a synagogue.
- **In September 2003**, a female teacher working at a school in Rinkeby, one of Stockholm’s disadvantaged and segregated areas was verbally abused at a staff party by a person who accused her of hating Arabs, since she was a Jew. When other teachers intervened on her behalf, the man said that “Jews with their money rule” and that he could “show lists”. At a meeting with the deputy headmaster the man argued that this was a political discussion.

#### E. ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

- **In January 2003** a Jewish Centre received a telephone threat by a person claiming to be a reporter saying: “If the USA enters Iraq, Jewish families in Sweden will be attacked”.
- **In February 2003** allegedly the same person telephoned again threatening Jewish families in case of a war in Iraq.

#### F. ANTISEMITIC LITERATURE

With the exception of ongoing traditional antisemitic propaganda published by extreme right and ultra nationalist groups, published statements with a specific anti-Jewish or antisemitic content are rare in mainstream media.

- **25 October** the daily ‘Dagens Nyheter’ published an article by Jan Samuelsson, expert on Islam, arguing that “Muslim hatred of Jews is justified”. Samuelsson argued that based on his 30 years as an Islamologist he could confirm the existence of a strong hatred or animosity against Jews among Arab Muslims in Sweden which he described as “understandable, reasonable and justified”, because of the occupation of Palestinian land and the continuing Israeli violence against Arabs. Former deputy Prime minister Per Ahlmark, historians Helene Lööw, Sverker Oredsson and Henrik Bachner, and a number of



other prominent scholars responded commenting not only on Samuelsson's arguments, but also questioning if such statements should be published.

#### G. CHANGES IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE EU POPULATION TOWARDS JEWS

No studies or reports are presented by the NFP, which notes that antisemitism remains a cornerstone of ultranationalist ideology represented by two different groups: on the one hand neo-Nazi propaganda and on the other hand historical revisionists. As example the NFP cites the recently established Nordic Publishing House selling antisemitic literature, such as old copies of the magazine Salt, revisionist literature, such as new age guru Lars Adelskog's book "An empty bag cannot stand" and other similar publications.

The NFP also cites examples of neo-Nazi activities: On 6 December 2003 more than 2,000 neo-Nazis carried out the so called Salem March to commemorate the 17-year-old skinhead Daniel Wretström, who was killed by a youth gang in December 2000. Participants in the Salem March included neo-Nazi organisations ('National Socialist Front', 'Blood & Honour', 'Swedish Resistance') and others ('National Democrats', 'Salt' etc). The December 2003 rally was one of the largest Nazi events in Europe.

Furthermore the NFP reports that Lena Jersenius, office manager at the SKMA ('Swedish Committee against Antisemitism') stated in an interview that attitudes towards the Jewish community have deteriorated and threats have increased. She noted a tendency in Swedish society to become more lenient towards the expression of antisemitic attitudes that could be related to the Middle East conflict.

According to the NFP, the chairman of the Jewish Community in Sweden, Lena Posener-Körösi, also believes that the climate has become harsher making particularly older members and parents of the Jewish community to feel more vulnerable. She described the situation in Malmö as the worst regarding antisemitic incidents in the country and pointed out that the atmosphere in schools has also become more difficult for Jewish pupils.

#### H. RESEARCH STUDIES OR OPINION POLLS REPORTING ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE OR ATTITUDES

The NFP reports on one research study "The denied hatred: Antisemitism among Arabs and Muslims in Sweden" by Mikael Tossavainen, which was released in the autumn of 2003. The study reports an increase in antisemitic sentiments among Muslim school children living in Sweden, in particular in the disadvantaged suburban

areas of the metropolitan cities. The study relies on interviews with teachers working in schools in the disadvantaged suburban areas of the three metropolitan regions in Sweden, where the majority of Swedish Muslims live. The report states that according to the Jewish communities in Sweden the number of antisemitic attacks on both Jews and Jewish property by people of Middle Eastern origin has increased. In 2002 17 of the 95 antisemitic incidents that were reported to the Jewish community could be attributed to Arab or Muslim perpetrators, although the motives for most of the 95 reported incidents are not known. The author believes that increased antisemitic sentiments among Muslims in Sweden, as well as in other parts of Europe, are related to the conflict in the Middle East and the war in Iraq.

However, as the NFP stresses, the author admits that the basis for the conclusions of the report is limited, due to the size of the sample (ten teachers). Mehmet Kaplan, Press Secretary of “Sweden’s Young Muslims” agreed in an interview that there are elements of what he described as “vulgar antisemitism” among young Muslims, which he thinks can be related to the frustration and anger of the Arab world.

#### I. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

- The ‘Swedish Committee against Antisemitism’ is an NGO that organizes educational seminars mainly for teachers, study tours to Holocaust sites in Poland and seminars in Israel. They also arrange debates and hearings for MPs, journalists and others. Their main objective is to combat antisemitism and racial prejudice in Sweden. The SKMA has filed several complaints to the Attorney-General regarding anti-Jewish, racist and Nazi propaganda.
- The ‘Living History Forum’ was established in July 2003 as a governmental body with the aim to support equality, and initiate discussions on democracy, tolerance and human right starting with the Holocaust, genocide and assaults on humanity. Their work mainly regards arranging seminars, debates, lectures, courses, exhibitions and cultural events.
- ‘Expo Foundation’, RAXEN NFP, is a non-aligned private research institute with the aim to defend “democracy and the freedom of expression against racist, antisemitic, extreme right and totalitarian tendencies in society”. Expo Foundation focuses on extreme right and neo-Nazi groups and expressions of organised race hate working closely with both pro-Muslim and pro-Jewish groups who support its aims by organising seminars, lectures in schools and education for political groups regardless of party affiliation.
- ‘Tsimmes’ is a cultural association with the aim to inform the Swedish public on Jewish culture and develop it further in interaction with

Swedish culture organising cultural events and debates on current themes related to Jews in Swedish society.

- 'Studieförbundet Vuxenskolan' has for six years carried out 'Zisel' a project with a Jewish theme. In 2003, they have arranged seminars on Sweden's five national minorities; the Sami, the Sweden-Finns, the Tornedal-Finns, the Roma and the Jews and also cultural events, such as a klezmer marathon, which was organised in cooperation with the Stockholm Music Museum.

#### J. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS INCLUDING INITIATIVES TO REDUCE POLARISATION AND COUNTERACT NEGATIVE NATIONAL TRENDS

The NFP reports that Lena Jersenius of 'SKMA' and Lena Posener-Körösi of the Jewish Community consider that the main positive initiative in 2003 was the establishment of the new governmental body, the 'Living History Forum' which will carry out a follow-up survey to investigate school children's attitudes to racism, xenophobia and antisemitism with the 'National Council for Crime Prevention'. They both stress that they would like to see more action and positive statements from leading politicians on antisemitism.

Another governmental initiative is the establishment of a council for the different religious bodies in Sweden. The council consisting of representatives from the Swedish, Orthodox and Catholic Churches as well as the Jewish and Muslim Communities, non-conformist denominations, and two Members of Parliament will meet five times a year. The council discussed the issue of the effect of the conflict in the Middle-East on the inter-religious relations in Sweden and both the Jewish and the Muslim communities agreed to write a joint debate article on how to counteract both antisemitism and Islamophobia in Swedish society.

## CONCLUSIONS

Each year the Swedish security police compile a formal record of antisemitic incidents. However, these statistics were not available for 2003, and so further information was taken from contacts with Jewish organisations, and from researchers. Police statistics show that antisemitic crimes were at a similar level for the previous few years, with 131 in 2002, the same as in 2000, and 115 in 2001. The cases in 2002 include assaults (6), harassment (47), hate speech (42) and vandalism (11). The cases of vandalism often occurred in Jewish cemeteries. For 2003, in the absence of police statistics, the 60 incidents reported to the Jewish Communities included 3 of assault, 37 of abusive

behaviour and 10 of damage and desecration of property. Articles with antisemitic content are rare in the Swedish media, but traditional antisemitic propaganda by extreme right and ultra nationalist groups can be found. On two occasions in 2002 Swedish courts handed out prison sentences to people distributing antisemitic books and CDs.

## **1.15. UK - REPORT ON ANTISEMITISM**

### **Data and information provided for 2002 (with a special focus on the period of May – June) and 2003 by the British RAXEN National Focal Point**

#### **PREFACE**

In 1066 William the Conqueror encouraged Jewish merchants and artisans to come to England and gradually communities were established in London, York, Bristol, Canterbury and other major cities by Jews coming mostly from France and some from Germany, Italy and Spain. Henry I later granted the Jews a charter of liberties, but they were not fully protected. In 1290 Edward I expelled the Jews from England, but they were slowly readmitted in 1494 under Henry VIII and Edward VI, although Judaism was practised only in secret.

In 1656, Cromwell allowed the Conversos of England to practice their faith openly and other Jews immigrated to England from Holland, Spain and Portugal. In the late 17<sup>th</sup> century royal declarations of protection confirming the safety of Jews and in 1698, the Act for Suppressing Blasphemy granted recognition to the legality of practicing Judaism in England. By 1734 it is estimated that 6,000 Jews lived in England.

Jews were emancipated in 1858 when the Jewish Baron, Lionel de Rothschild, took his seat in the House of Commons; in 1874, Benjamin Disraeli became the first Jewish Prime Minister. By 1882, it is estimated that 46,000 Jews lived in England and by 1914 250,000 largely immigrants from Russia.

During the 1930s approximately 90,000 refugee Jews came from Germany, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy and other countries. Smaller numbers came after the war from Eastern Europe, the Middle East and elsewhere.

The size of the Jewish population is difficult to estimate because national censuses, except in Northern Ireland, do not include a question on religion or ethnicity. The Board of Deputies of British Jews estimates the “core Jewish population” (for which the organized Jewish community provides services) was in 1996 283,000 with 72% living in the London area. The umbrella organisation of the Jewish communities is the Board of Deputies of British Jews with more than 500 member organisations and considered as the governing body of Anglo-Jewry. The organised Jewish communities provide a wide range of educational, religious and social services for their members.

### 1.15.1. LEGISLATION WITH RESPECT TO ANTISEMITISM

Until recently the Race Relations Act (RRA) did not make provision for protection against religious discrimination or incitement to religious hatred.<sup>256</sup> However, in 1980 it was established through case law, (*Seide v Gillette Industries Ltd*) that because they are able to trace their descent to a common origin, Jews could be defined as an ethnic group or a race as well as a religious group. In this way discrimination against Jews has fallen within the scope of the RRA, where discrimination against Muslims, for example, has not.<sup>257</sup> However, in December 2003, as part of the implementation of the EU equal treatment directive, legislation on religious discrimination entered into force. This. The legislation adopts the concepts of direct and indirect discrimination as well as of victimisation and harassment, which are given, are statutory definition.

Incitement to racial hatred is prohibited, although its threshold is higher than, for example, incitement to racial antipathy or dislike, and there is no single criminal offence of racist or religious crime. There is a range of statutes that effectively prohibit ‘hate crime’, a term that is being used increasingly by the police and other agencies although it is not defined in English law. Amongst the relevant legislation the crucial piece is the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act (CDA) that defines the offence of ‘racial aggravation’ of a range of basic offences and specifies additional sentencing tariffs where this is proven. The 2001 Anti-Terrorism Act extended the laws against racially aggravated crimes to a new category of religious crime. There is a wide range of legislation dealing with hate crime and various orders and constraints that can be imposed on violent and anti-social behaviour, arising from the CDA. These are part of the criminal justice ‘toolkit’ for dealing with racially motivated offenders. The wearing of neo-Nazi symbols itself is not considered a crime though paramilitary uniforms were banned by an Act of 1936.

In March 2003, the Crown Prosecution Service, the national agency responsible for bringing criminal cases to court and prosecuting them, began a consultation exercise to prepare for the launch later in the year of a policy statement on the prosecution of racially and religiously aggravated crime.<sup>258</sup> The document seeks to explain to public prosecutors, victims and the public the changes in legislation in recent years, which allow the prosecution of hate crime.<sup>259</sup> This

---

<sup>256</sup> In Northern Ireland there has been legislation against religious discrimination since 1976 but this was designed principally with Catholics and Protestants, and not other ethnic/religious groups, in mind.

<sup>257</sup> Sikhs are also covered under the RRA through case law in this way.

<sup>258</sup> Racially aggravated crime exists where can be shown that it was *motivated* either wholly or partly by racism or, if it can be shown that even though the motivation for the attack was not racist, racist *hostility* was demonstrated during the course of the offence or immediately before or after it. Conviction of a racially aggravated crime carries increased tariff where both the underlying offence and the aggravation are proven.

<sup>259</sup> Hate crime exists where victims are selected for physical or verbal abuse grounds of disability, sexuality, gender identity, race or religious belief. A crucial factor is that hatred of

will accompany a new system of public accountability with the introduction of a monitoring scheme. Currently, it involves recording decisions made in prosecution cases but in due course will also include statistics on the ethnicity of defendants and victims.

### **1.15.2. SOURCES OF DATA AND INFORMATION**

The NFP report relied quite heavily on newspaper and other press reports. The NFP contacted several Jewish organisations for information, including the Jewish Institute for Policy Research, The Office of the Chief Rabbi and the British Board of Jewish Deputies, but they were of limited help and all immediately suggested contacting the Community Security Trust (CST), an independent Jewish organisation, headed by the defence chief of the British Board of Jewish Deputies, rather than give out information themselves.

National statistics are provided by the ‘CST’, which, with police approval, provides physical protection to synagogues and other Jewish buildings and areas at risk from vandalism. The ‘CST’ provides security advice for the Jewish Community throughout Britain and represents the Jewish community on police, legislative and policy-making bodies. It was granted charitable status in 1994 with the backing of the Home Office and the London Metropolitan Police and is the only organisation in the UK recording data on antisemitic incidents nationwide in a systematic and comprehensive manner.<sup>260</sup>

The statistics for Greater London are provided by the Metropolitan Police. As yet police forces in Manchester and Leeds, the other cities with large Jewish communities in Britain, do not break down hate crime statistics into categories such as “antisemitic”, although there are plans to begin this kind of monitoring in the near future.

---

the group, culture, life-style or identity of the victim motivates the crime. In the UK such crimes are prosecuted as aggravating factors from a basic offence.

<sup>260</sup> More information available at <http://www.thecst.org.uk>

### 1.15.3. DATA AND INFORMATION

#### I. ANTISEMITISM IN 2002

*National figures of incidents of antisemitism for 2002 with a breakdown by type are as follows:*

| <b>Antisemitic Incidents 2002</b> |                         |                |               |                |              |                   |              |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|
|                                   | <b>Extreme violence</b> | <b>Assault</b> | <b>Damage</b> | <b>Threats</b> | <b>Abuse</b> | <b>Literature</b> | <b>Total</b> |
| <b>January</b>                    | 1                       | 1              | 2             | 0              | 9            | 2                 | 15           |
| <b>February</b>                   | 0                       | 0              | 1             | 0              | 9            | 1                 | 11           |
| <b>March</b>                      | 0                       | 4              | 3             | 2              | 15           | 2                 | 26           |
| <b>April</b>                      | 0                       | 13             | 8             | 0              | 24           | 2                 | 47           |
| <b>May</b>                        | 2                       | 4              | 12            | 0              | 28           | 1                 | 47           |
| <b>June</b>                       | 0                       | 6              | 3             | 3              | 14           | 0                 | 26           |
| <b>July</b>                       | 1                       | 0              | 5             | 4              | 19           | 2                 | 31           |
| <b>August</b>                     | 0                       | 1              | 3             | 3              | 7            | 1                 | 15           |
| <b>September</b>                  | 0                       | 3              | 3             | 2              | 37           | 2                 | 47           |
| <b>October</b>                    | 1                       | 6              | 4             | 3              | 30           | 1                 | 45           |
| <b>November</b>                   | 0                       | 3              | 6             | 1              | 18           | 0                 | 28           |
| <b>December</b>                   | 0                       | 1              | 5             | 0              | 6            | 0                 | 12           |
| <b>Total</b>                      | <b>5</b>                | <b>42</b>      | <b>55</b>     | <b>18</b>      | <b>216</b>   | <b>14</b>         | <b>350</b>   |

These figures are included in order to demonstrate the dramatic drop from a two-year high of 47 incidents in April, the month of the controversial Israeli army incursion. After that peak, incidents declined, to rise again in September (47) and October (48) apparently illustrating the relationship of such incidents to events in the Middle East (Source 'CST').

In general, data from the 'CST' indicates a rise in reporting of antisemitic incidents and some evidence of a broader climate of hostility towards Jews. The 'CST' recorded in total 350 antisemitic incidents in 2002, an increase of 13% on the 2001 total of 310 incidents. The 'CST' argues that there is a consistent link between the increase in the number of antisemitic incidents in Britain and the heightening of tensions in the Middle East. For example, out of the 350 incidents recorded in 2002, 100 involved reference to Israel or the Middle East, or displayed strong anti-Israeli motivation on the part of the perpetrator.



A. PHYSICAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE TOWARDS JEWS

- **27 April 2002** a synagogue in Finsbury Park, North London was attacked. Windows were smashed, excrement was smeared on the floor, and swastikas painted on the lectern, beneath the Star of David.<sup>261</sup>
- **In May 2002** in Cricklewood, North London, a fist-sized rock was thrown through the window of a car containing a woman and four children, outside the Jewish Avigdor Hirsch Primary School.<sup>262</sup>
- **11 July 2002** a synagogue in Swansea sustained considerable damage, including smashed windows, scattered books, a precious scroll dating back to 18<sup>th</sup> century Spain burned and destroyed, and a display case of Judaica, used to teach visiting school groups destroyed along with its contents. The floor of the synagogue was covered with a flammable substance, suggesting a failed or abandoned attempt at arson.<sup>263</sup>

B. VERBAL AGGRESSION, HATE SPEECH AND OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS JEWS

- A teaching assistant at Birmingham University is alleged to have threatened two Jewish students, telling one that, as a Jew, he was infringing the rights of Palestinians, and warning "you'd better watch your back". The same assistant is also said to have threatened another Jewish student when he saw her taking down a poster advertising a meeting about the Middle East.<sup>264</sup>
- Posters promoting a Holocaust-related play in Hampstead, North London, were ripped down, and others had swastikas scrawled across them.<sup>265</sup>
- A Rabbi from Mill Hill, North London, suffered verbal racial abuse from three men in a car, as he walked home from Synagogue with his sons.<sup>266</sup>
- A race-hate letter intended for the Chief Rabbi, Dr Jonathan Sacks, was sent by mistake to a synagogue in North London. The letter said "You could leave England for your fatherland taking the children with you. Sharon would make room by bulldozing more Palestinian land for you all. You should all remember that when God presents his bill for what you have done in Palestine for the last - at least - 35 years, what Hitler did will seem like a wet winter weekend in Blackpool."<sup>267</sup>

---

<sup>261</sup> The Jewish Chronicle 03/05/02 p2 "'Sickening attack' defiles North London synagogue"

<sup>262</sup> The Jewish Chronicle 24/05/02 p. 1 "Rock attack on school mum's car"

<sup>263</sup> The Independent 13/07/02 p. 3 "Burnt scrolls, broken windows and vicious graffiti: a synagogue is desecrated again"

<sup>264</sup> The Jewish Chronicle 14/07/02 p. 3

<sup>265</sup> The Jewish Chronicle 17/05/02 p. 2

<sup>266</sup> The Jewish Chronicle 24/05/02 p. 17

<sup>267</sup> The Jewish Chronicle 07/07/02 p. 2

C. STUDIES, OPINION POLLS OR OTHER REPORTS ON CHANGES IN ANTISEMITIC SENTIMENTS

In 2002 the US-based Anti-Defamation League published a survey of European attitudes towards Jews, Israel and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict.<sup>268</sup> The survey, conducted in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany and the United Kingdom, found that almost one in three of the 2,500 polled harboured some anti-Jewish feelings, but showed the UK to be the least prejudiced of the five countries by a substantial margin:

- 10% of UK respondents agreed with the statement that “Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind”;
  - 11% agreed that “Jews are more willing to use shady practices to get what they want”;
  - 34% believed that “Jews are more loyal to Israel than to this country”;
  - 21% believed that “Jews have too much power in the business world”.
- The figures for the countries overall were 19%, 16%, 45% and 30% respectively.

D. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

- Jewish primary pupils have been performing a musical play “Turning Green” to local schools. The play promotes racial harmony and warns about the dangers of racism and bullying.<sup>269</sup>
- Israeli Jewish and Arab artists in Trafford, near Manchester, have joined together to create a mosaic on the theme of “A future without fear”. The project will also involve other community groups such as an Asian women's group, the Black Jewish Forum and African and Caribbean groups.<sup>270</sup>
- Britain's four largest religious groups have united to open the UK's first Multi-faith school. Leading figures from Christianity, Hinduism, Judaism and Islam are supporting the initiative, which will see children learning, eating and playing together, but splitting up for prayers and some of the religious education element.<sup>271</sup>
- Jewish and Hindu students in Manchester joined together at an event designed to foster closer links between the two communities and in particular between Jewish and Hindu students, two groups that experience harassment on campus. The event, hosted by the Indian-

<sup>268</sup> Full survey -available at [http://www.adl.org/Anti\\_semitism/European\\_Attitudes.pdf](http://www.adl.org/Anti_semitism/European_Attitudes.pdf)

<sup>269</sup> The Jewish Chronicle 26/07/02 p 18 “Pupils' act of harmony”

<sup>270</sup> The Jewish Chronicle 19/07/02 p20 “Faiths unite to create mosaic”

<sup>271</sup> The Guardian 08/07/02 p6 “Four religions' plan for multi-faith school aims to establish a trend”

Jewish Association, provided a forum for dialogue and increased understanding.

#### E. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS

- The former Transport Minister Stephen Byers and the Shadow Home Secretary, Oliver Letwin, visited the Finsbury Park Synagogue with the Chief Rabbi, Jonathan Sacks, following the previous weekend's attack. Mr. Byers voiced his “solidarity with the community, to let them know they are not standing alone”, and went on to say that “Any right thinking member of the country would condemn these acts as barbaric. They have no place in civilised society.” Mr. Byers also said that the Home Secretary was well aware of the need to establish better security measures for synagogues.<sup>272</sup>
- Jack Straw, the Foreign Secretary, assured the Board of Jewish Deputies that he is pressing Arab governments “about antisemitic articles in their media and will continue to do so.” Many of the publications to which Mr Straw was referring are available in the UK. Mr. Straw also said that Britain is committed to tackling antisemitism.<sup>273</sup>
- Ian Duncan Smith, when Leader of the Conservative party, spoke out against the phenomenon that has come to be known as “salon antisemitism”. Speaking at a Conservative Friends of Israel reception Mr. Duncan Smith condemned those who think it clever to criticize Jews and who are hijacking the situation in the Middle East and using it as an opportunity to express anti-Jewish sentiments. He promised that the Conservative party “would not countenance anti-Jewish intolerance”.<sup>274</sup>

#### F. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- **In August 2002** Antony Lerman, a former Director of the ‘Institute for Jewish Policy Research’, wrote in Prospect magazine that fears of a rise in antisemitism in Europe are exaggerated. He discussed first the paranoia evident in US publications, and points out that such fears have been publicly rebutted, for example by Rabbi David Goldberg who wrote in The Guardian “The alleged recrudescence of antisemitism strikes me as paranoid and exaggerated ... By any objective criteria, the modern, acculturated, broadly successful Jew in the western world has never had it so good.” Lerman points further to the apparent contradiction on this point between the former Chief Rabbi, the late Lord Jacobovits, and his successor, Dr Jonathan Sacks.

---

<sup>272</sup> The Jewish Chronicle 10/05/02 p 17 “Byers and Chief Rabbi Sacks in ‘solidarity’ visit to Finsbury Park”

<sup>273</sup> The Jewish Chronicle 28/07/02 p 10 “UK takes Arab nations to task on antisemitism”

<sup>274</sup> The Jewish Chronicle 03/05/02 p13 “Duncan Smith attacks ‘salon antisemitism’”

- Lord Jacobovits, in 1998, said at a commemoration ceremony for Kristallnacht, “For the first time in over 2,000 years of the Jewish experience, there is not a single Jewish community anywhere in the world where Jews are officially persecuted because they are Jews.” Dr. Sacks, on the other hand, has argued strongly that antisemitism is on the increase. Moreover, Dr. Sacks told the ‘Parliamentary Committee against Antisemitism’ - a members' special interest group - that to accuse Israel of “racism, ethnic cleansing, attempted genocide [and] crimes against humanity” is antisemitic. By that token, Lerman argues, many loyal Israeli citizens could be deemed antisemitic, for there is plenty of criticism of Israel from within. This, as Lerman points out, makes the notion of antisemitism almost meaningless and consequently devalues it as a currency - a dangerous game if antisemitic attacks are on the rise. Furthermore, he points out that there have always been upsurges of antisemitism linked to periods of violence and unrest during the Arab-Israeli conflict - what is happening at the moment is not a new phenomenon. Significantly, Lerman suggests that there is no necessary contradiction between a rise in antisemitic incidents and a decrease in anti-Jewish feeling generally.<sup>275</sup>

## II. ANTISEMITISM IN 2003

The information on incidents in 2003 is taken from the websites of groups such as the Anti-Defamation League and <http://www.totallyjewish.com> and does not claim to give a complete overview of this form of antisemitic incidents during 2003. For the first quarter of 2003, the CST recorded a 75 per cent increase on the first quarter of the previous year. The CST annual report on 2003, to be published February 20, 2004, will provide further information.<sup>276</sup>

### A. EXTREME VIOLENCE: ANY ATTACK POTENTIALLY CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE

No such information was provided by the NFP.

### B. ASSAULT: ANY PHYSICAL ATTACK DIRECTED AGAINST PEOPLE, WHICH IS NOT A THREAT TO LIFE

- **10 January 2003:** in Bushey a group of around 40 young men, shouting racial abuse, punched and kicked four Jewish boys in what police

<sup>275</sup> Prospect magazine August 2002 “Sense on antisemitism”- Antony Lerman <http://www.prospect-magazine.co.uk/ArticleView.asp?accessible=yes&P>

<sup>276</sup> Cf. The Community Security Trust (2003) Increase in antisemitic incidents during the war in Iraq, Press Release (02.05.2003); Community Security Trust (no date) Antisemitic Incident Report 2002, p. 6 (restricted circulation). For annual incident figures from 1984 to 2001 see Michael Whine (2002) Antisemitism on the streets, available at: [www.axt.org.uk/essays/Whine.htm](http://www.axt.org.uk/essays/Whine.htm) (17.10.2003)

described as “racially aggravated common assault”. Describing the attack as part of a pattern of “persistent hooliganism”, the local Rabbi said that this has been a problem especially around half term and on Friday and Saturday evenings.<sup>277</sup>

### C. DAMAGE AND DESECRATION OF PROPERTY

- **11 April 2003** a fire broke out a Jewish wedding in the city centre Jarvis Piccadilly hotel at around 10.30 pm. More than 300 guests hurriedly left the building after the fire broke out near a central heating boiler in an electrical plant room. Manchester police confirmed that the cause of the fire was arson.<sup>278</sup>
- **21 November 2003** a total of 21 headstones were knocked over in the Jewish section of the municipal Chatham Cemetery in Kent, causing extensive damage. This represented the latest in a spate of attacks against British graveyards in 2003.<sup>279</sup>
- **7 November 2003** the Hillock Hebrew Congregation synagogue in Whitefield, near Manchester, was severely damaged by fire. Police said they believed the fire, which damaged one side of the synagogue and its roof, had been started deliberately.<sup>280</sup>
- **5 August 2003** vandals smashed and toppled 20 headstones in an attack at a Jewish cemetery in Prestwich, Greater Manchester, causing more than £10,000 worth of damage. Police are treating the incident at Rainsough Hebrew Burial Ground as a racially motivated. The cemetery has been targeted in the past.<sup>281</sup>
- **8 July 2003** eleven tombstones in the Jewish section of the Hollybrook cemetery in Southampton were desecrated with Nazi slogans and swastikas. Six others were toppled. A spokesman for the CST said it was the second attack on Jewish graves in Southampton in seven months. Police were investigating<sup>282</sup>
- **15 May 2003** police discovered the desecration of 386 Jewish graves at the Plashet Cemetery in Newham, London. The gravestones had been pushed over. Police are treating the incident as a racially motivated attack. In addition to three youths, all under 17 and who were

<sup>277</sup> [http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp\\_type=0&disp\\_story=0SADNA](http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp_type=0&disp_story=0SADNA) (10.12.2003)

<sup>278</sup> [http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp\\_type=3&disp\\_story=R34LX9](http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp_type=3&disp_story=R34LX9) (03.12.03)

<sup>279</sup> [http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp\\_type=3&disp\\_story=Qw6nKD](http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp_type=3&disp_story=Qw6nKD) (03.12.2003)

<sup>280</sup> [http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp\\_type=3&disp\\_story=HfBIXJ](http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp_type=3&disp_story=HfBIXJ) (03.12.2003)

and [http://www.adl.org/Anti\\_semitism/antisemitism\\_global\\_incidents\\_2003.asp](http://www.adl.org/Anti_semitism/antisemitism_global_incidents_2003.asp) (03.12.03)

<sup>281</sup> [http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp\\_type=3&disp\\_story=qrZbk0](http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp_type=3&disp_story=qrZbk0) (03.12.2003)

and [http://www.adl.org/Anti\\_semitism/antisemitism\\_global\\_incidents\\_2003.asp](http://www.adl.org/Anti_semitism/antisemitism_global_incidents_2003.asp) (03.12.03)

<sup>282</sup> [http://www.adl.org/Anti\\_semitism/antisemitism\\_global\\_incidents\\_2003.asp](http://www.adl.org/Anti_semitism/antisemitism_global_incidents_2003.asp) (03.12.03) and [http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp\\_type=0&disp\\_story=PupVaA](http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp_type=0&disp_story=PupVaA) (10.12.2003)

subsequently released on bail, four more youths have been arrested and were being held in custody.<sup>283</sup>

#### D. THREATS, VERBAL OR WRITTEN

- **In November 2003** police were called to Wolfson Hillel school in Edmonton after staff received a malicious phone call. Employees and pupils evacuated the building but after investigation, the call was found to be a hoax.<sup>284</sup>

#### E. ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

- **In October 2003** a man was seen shouting antisemitic slogans at security team members outside Borhamwood synagogue (Hertfordshire) on Yom Kippur. The suspect drove past and shouted: “F\*\*\* off Jews, go back home.” The case has been reported to the crown prosecution service for consideration.<sup>285</sup>

#### F. ANTISEMITIC LITERATURE

In general, the distribution of targeted antisemitic literature, mostly a feature of far-right activism, continued to decline in 2002 as a consequence of successful prosecutions.<sup>286</sup> Information on developments in 2003 will be available from the ‘CST’s annual report 2003.

#### G. CHANGES IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE EU POPULATION TOWARDS JEWS

- The ‘new antisemitism debate’ continued in 2003. Most national newspapers published editorials condemning antisemitism and drawing attention to its new features. A recent example is the editorial in the Daily Telegraph on 18 November 2003 criticising a Guardian columnist who blamed Israel for the heightened threat to Jewish people around the world - most recently in Istanbul.
- A recent article published by the Institute of Jewish Policy Research argues that the rise in hate crimes against Jews in the last two years (which are low compared to overall racially motivated incidents) is "a very weak indicator of the prevailing national climate of antisemitism, as the relative invisibility of Jews compared with Black and Asian minority ethnic communities, for instance, provides comparatively

<sup>283</sup> [http://www.adl.org/Anti\\_semitism/antisemitism\\_global\\_incidents\\_2003.asp](http://www.adl.org/Anti_semitism/antisemitism_global_incidents_2003.asp) (03.12.03)

<sup>284</sup> [http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp\\_type=0&disp\\_story=cDWII0](http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp_type=0&disp_story=cDWII0) (10.12.2003)

<sup>285</sup> [http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp\\_type=0&disp\\_story=AQMVOw](http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp_type=0&disp_story=AQMVOw) (10.12.2003)

<sup>286</sup> M. Whine (2002) Antisemitism on the streets, article published by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research, available at: [www.axt.org.uk/essays/Whine.htm](http://www.axt.org.uk/essays/Whine.htm) (17.10.2003)

fewer opportunities for victimization."<sup>287</sup> Rather, it claims that there is a "new antisemitism" that does not primarily manifest itself on British streets, nor is it a genocidal, deep-seated, visceral hatred of individual Jews. But it has taken hold among "cognitive elites" within the news media, churches, universities, and trades unions. Couched as criticism of Israel's treatment of Palestinians, this Judeophobia is nonetheless an assault on the essence of the Jewish collectivity, and deploys disparaging stereotypes about Jews that are a throwback to the old antisemitism.

H. RESEARCH STUDIES OR OPINION POLLS REPORTING ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE OR ATTITUDES

See above: Paul Iganski, Barry Kosmin (eds.) (2003) "A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Britain", Institute of Jewish Policy Research: London

I. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS

- **The 'Maimonides Foundation'** is a joint Jewish-Muslim interfaith organisation committed to building bridges between the two communities in the UK and abroad. It has been running academic, cultural and educational projects for the last ten years, such as an annual Jewish-Muslim lecture series, a Saturday football club for children from Jewish and Muslim schools, a students' dialogue forum, events around art and music, and other projects.
- **The 'Connecting Futures' project**<sup>288</sup> is one of a number of organisations and projects that have been established in the UK to promote greater interfaith activity. This five-year initiative from the British Council aims to build deeper mutual understanding, learning and respect between young people from different cultural backgrounds, by working in new ways and with extended communities in the UK and overseas.
- **The 'Council of Christians and Jew's (CCJ)** is an organisation that runs interfaith activities for specific faiths.<sup>289</sup> Founded in 1942 by the then Archbishop of Canterbury and the Chief Rabbi, the Council aims to educate the two communities about each other. CCJ works on the assumption that racism and prejudice can often be prevented when people meet and talk to each other. CCJ has branches all over the UK and has a youth section - 'YES!' – that is open to anyone, regardless of their faith, who is interested in pursuing dialogue and working towards

<sup>287</sup> Iganski, P., Kosmin, B. (eds.) (2003) "A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21<sup>st</sup>-century Britain" Institute for Jewish Policy Research: London, p.284.

<sup>288</sup> <http://www.connectingfutures.com>

<sup>289</sup> <http://www.ccj.org.uk>

an inclusive society. CCJ and associated groups operate at several universities in the UK including Oxford, Cambridge, London and Southampton.

- **The ‘Racism Tears Britain Apart’ campaign (RTBA)** was launched in 2002 by the Union of Jewish Students and the National Union of Students Anti-Racism Campaign. After a positive start, it is going to be re-launched throughout the academic year September 2003 -June 2004. It is the belief of the campaign that education is the key to success in order to combat the cause rather than the symptoms of racism on campus. The first months were spent raising awareness through promotion of the logo, and using specific events to test what things are well received by students.
- **Initiatives to Deal with Antisemitism in schools**<sup>290</sup> - The Home Office and the Department for Education and Skills have worked closely in the preparation of Holocaust Memorial Day, which in addition to commemorating the victims of the Holocaust also seeks to address and confront the dangers of prejudice and discrimination today. The Department for Education and Skills produces free resources for schools for Holocaust Memorial Day, which amongst other issues addresses antisemitism. The resources are promoted with the support and co-operation of both Departments.

#### J. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS INCLUDING INITIATIVES TO REDUCE POLARISATION AND COUNTERACT NEGATIVE NATIONAL TRENDS

At the Labour Party’s annual conference on 28 September 2003, the Minister for Europe Denis MacShane attacked the racist factions of the far right, emphasising that 'the politics of hate is dead end politics'. Alan Travis, writer for *The Guardian* and Clauden Moraes, MEP supported Mr MacShane's denunciation of the British National Party and UK Independence Party. Their activities gave particular concern when considering the rising presence of right wing parties in local government. National Front activity and incidents of hate marches, combined with articles in the *Daily Telegraph* with racist connotations, had left Europe with the challenge to face up to what the Minister called, 'the nastiest and most dishonest politics in history'. An 'organised system of hate' was increasingly emerging in the wake of increasing Islamophobia and cases of antisemitism, he said. This problem of antisemitism was heightened by it being 'validated by attacks in Israel', said Mr MacShane, which were 'wholly unacceptable'. He opposed the use of language implying an individual was a 'paki' or 'Muslim terrorist' or 'Islamic terrorist'.

In Parliament an Early Day Motion was put down on 26 November 2003 by Linda Perham, MP, “That this House condemns the terrorist, antisemitic attacks

---

<sup>290</sup> House of Commons - Written Answer, Column 326W, 09.09.2003



on the two Istanbul synagogues...; recognises that the last three years have seen a dramatic increase in antisemitic incidents against the UK Jewish community and the rise in support for the BNP; notes that there is no conflict between Judaism, Islam and Christianity; rejects those who cynically exploit differences of opinion over Israel and Palestine to promote antisemitism; and calls upon the Government to institute a zero tolerance policy to combat antisemitism, Islamophobia and racism in all its forms by raising the issue at the UN and in Europe and encouraging firm action by the police and the Crown Prosecution Service.”<sup>291</sup>

Charles Kennedy MP, the Liberal Democrat Leader, met with The Board of Deputies of British Jews in May 2003 and expressed his concern at the present rise in antisemitic views<sup>292</sup>. The Liberal Democrat leader explained that his presence at a Stop The War rally in February had been an extremely difficult decision: he did not support the anti-Israel slogans prevalent at the rally, but had felt it right to take the opportunity to spell out his party's opposition to war in Iraq. He confirmed: 'Liberal Democrats do not support calls for the destruction of Israel. But without a solution to the issue of Israel and the Palestinians, there is no way of getting peace in the region.

## CONCLUSIONS

The perceived rise in antisemitism has been a recent topic of discussion in the British press. The statistics available suggest that there has been a recent increase in both physical and verbal attacks against Jews. Statistics on antisemitism in London are provided by the Metropolitan police and for the rest of the country by an independent Jewish organisation. National statistics show a total of 350 reported antisemitic incidents in 2002, constituting a 13% rise from the previous year, and statistics for the first quarter of 2003 already show a 75% increase in incidents compared to the same quarter of 2002. In 2002 there were violent attacks on two synagogues, and in 2003 there were two cases of suspected arson and several attacks on Jewish cemeteries. The relevance to the Middle East conflict is shown by the fact that the worst month for attacks was April 2002. However, from the nature of the attacks within the period 2002 - 2003, the NFP states that it seems likely that the majority were carried out by far-right extremists whose political agenda is the intimidation of ethnic minorities, not the criticism of Israel's perceived human rights abuses. Nevertheless, the climate of hostility towards Israel provides such groups with a convenient cover.

---

<sup>291</sup> [http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp\\_type=0&disp\\_story=Y1pKWe](http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/stories/?disp_type=0&disp_story=Y1pKWe)  
(10.12.2003)

<sup>292</sup> Board of Deputies of British Jews, press release 20.05.2003, available at: [www.bod.org.uk](http://www.bod.org.uk)  
(04.12.2003)

# **EVALUATION OF NATIONAL EUMC-RAXEN DATA ON ANTISEMITISM**

## **AUTHORS**

Alexander Pollak  
Alexander Joskowitz



## **2. EVALUATION OF NATIONAL EUMC-RAXEN DATA ON ANTISEMITISM**

### **2.1. CONTEXTUAL AND CONCEPTUAL MATERIAL**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

This part of the report has several aims. One of them is to develop a theoretical and conceptual foundation as basis for both the evaluation of present data collection processes and for proposals for future data collection on antisemitism. In doing so, we will refer to the debates on recent claims that a “new antisemitism” has emerged and we will approach the question of whether and when anti-Zionism and “unbalanced” criticism of Israel is to be regarded as antisemitism.

Another aim of this part of the report is to describe the present situation in the European Union with regard to the availability and quality of data on antisemitism. This includes a summary and critical appraisal of the reports provided by the fifteen NFPs and, on the basis of the contents of these reports, of an identification of problem areas and gaps regarding the present processes of data collection and the presently available data in the 15 EU Member States. Finally, proposals for improvement of monitoring activities regarding antisemitism in the European Union are made, as well as proposals for future research in this area.

The first section of Chapter 2 provides a brief historical overview of antisemitism in the EU countries since 1945, a short discussion of terminology, and a summary of the main positions within the “new antisemitism” and “anti-Zionism equals antisemitism” debates. In addition, on the basis of the elaboration of a working definition of “antisemitism”, it attempts to clarify some of the controversial issues underlying these debates.

The second section of Chapter 2 evaluates the present situation in the European Union with regard to the availability and quality of data on antisemitism. A county by county evaluation is conducted, which is based on the reports of the fifteen National Focal Points (NFPs) for the years 2002 and 2003.

Finally, the third section of Chapter 2 will provide a summary of the main conclusions and an identification of the main problem areas with regard to the

present monitoring of antisemitism in the EU 15 and will furthermore provide proposals for research and action concerning future data collection on antisemitism.

## **METHODS AND DATA**

The following questions guide the analysis within the present report:

### **SECTION 1 - CONTEXTUAL AND CONCEPTUAL MATERIAL**

- How can the history of antisemitism in Europe be outlined in brief? What conclusions can be drawn concerning the density and transnational comparability of research on antisemitism in Europe after 1945?
- What terminology is used in the literature to refer to phenomena of anti-Jewish thinking and acting? What are the problems related to different terminologies?
- What definitions of antisemitism are used in the literature? What are the problems related to defining antisemitism? How can these problems be solved?
- How does the literature refer to question of equalling or distinguishing anti-Zionism from antisemitism? When is anti-Zionism conceived as antisemitic and when not?
- How is the term “new” in “new antisemitism” defined in recent debates? What evidence (and counter-evidence) is provided to prove the emergence of a “new antisemitism”?
- What reference is given to the role, the Middle East conflict plays as an identity constituting point of reference in contemporary Europe?

### **SECTION 2 - APPRAISAL OF EUMC RAXEN NETWORK DATA**

- What sorts of definitions are referred to and/or used by the fifteen NFPs? What sorts of definitions (if any) are applied by (other) data collecting bodies? What problems are mentioned by the NFPs with regard to defining antisemitism?
- Who collects – according to the NFP-reports – data on antisemitism in the EU? What kind of data is collected by the different data collecting bodies? How is the data categorised/analysed by the NFPs? What can be said about the representativity, reliability, validity and comparability of the data presented in the NFP reports? What can be said with regard to the phenomenon of under- and overreporting? Is there any data that contributes to answering the question whether a new antisemitism has evolved or not?

## SECTION 3 - CONCLUSIONS

- What are the main problem areas that can be identified – on the basis of the NFP-reports – with regard to the availability and quality of data on antisemitism in the EU? Where are the main gaps in the presently available data?
- Do the definitions, concepts, and structures used by the NFPs and by other data collecting bodies contribute to the meaningfulness/significance and comparability of the surveys/reports published in the EU?
- What proposals for future data collection can be given in order to contribute to the establishing of a more comprehensive, more reliable and valid, and better comparable data base on antisemitism in the EU?

## METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATION

### **Study of literature**

The section “Definitions, Concepts and Theories” is based in particular on a study of past and present literature, papers, and articles on the issue of antisemitism in Europe and on the possible development of a “new antisemitism” during the last years.

### **Content analysis**

The basic methodological tool underlying the report will be an examination of the content surface – the topics, definitions, concepts, background information, etc. – of the NFPs’ reports and their underlying data material. The analysis of the content surface will serve as a vantage point for summarizing and critically evaluating the reports and the data material they rely on.

### **Gap analysis**

Of importance for this report is not only the question of what data and concepts are represented in the reports, but also an analysis of data and conceptualisations that are missing in the reports (either because such data does not exist or because existing data had not been incorporated into the reports).

### **Comparative analysis**

Finally, of central importance for the development of proposals for all future data collection processes is the comparison of the data and information collection processes and methodologies in the EU member states with regard to antisemitism.

### **Proposals**

On the basis of the analytical tools outlined above, proposals for future data collection on antisemitism, particularly regarding the ensuring of basic principles of basic principals of reliability and validity, are elaborated. Furthermore, the present lack of empirical foundation in the field of contemporary antisemitism is taken as cause for the proposal of topics for future research projects.

### **SOURCES OF DATA**

The analysis in this report was based on the following sources of data:

Reports by the National Focal Points of the RAXEN network:

- RAXEN3 reports (delivered by all NFPs);
- RAXEN4 reports (delivered by all NFPs)
- Rapid Response report on antisemitism 2002 – (provided by all NFPs except The Netherlands);
- Rapid Response report on antisemitism 2003 – (provided by all NFPs).

EUMC documents

- Documents corresponding with the round table discussion on antisemitism of December 5, 2002;
- EUMC strategy paper 2003;
- Proposals of and for the EUMC on combating Antisemitism (May 2003);
- Background paper on EUMC strategies to address antisemitism in the EU (June 2003);
- EUMC statement (December 2003).

Additional documents, Web pages and literature on antisemitism - See Annex I

## 2.1.1. ANTISEMITISM IN THE EU COUNTRIES SINCE 1945

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter cannot give a comprehensive account of antisemitism in all countries currently constituting the EU, nor can it discuss all relevant discursive and political formations to be found in these countries since 1945. Rather, it will present a selective description of developments that can inform our assessment of contemporary antisemitism.

Current historical scholarship focuses almost exclusively on a few countries and comparative studies examining antisemitism since the World War II in a broader European or trans-national perspective<sup>293</sup> are still lacking. An extensive scholarly literature exists only for Germany, Austria and France. For the former two the focus is the result of the special attention paid by the international community to possible continuities between National Socialism and the post-war regimes, the development of a national discourse on guilt (in Germany since the 1960s and in Austria since the 1980s), and the greater awareness towards antisemitism in these countries. Scholarship on the history of French post-1945 antisemitism is not as dense as for Germany and Austria, but is considerable. It has been stimulated since the late 1980s, among other things, by the discussions about collaboration and the Vichy regime, a perceived resurgence in antisemitic acts, and the electoral successes of the right-populist *Front National*.

### ASPECTS OF POST-1945 ANTISEMITISM

#### Post-war antisemitism and the establishment of an anti-antisemitic consensus

In spite of the general impression that 1945 constitutes the major break in the history of European antisemitism, antisemitic attitudes remained prevalent in many European countries in the immediate post-war period. Jewish displaced persons (DPs) in Germany and Austria faced, often, hostile local populations. Furthermore, accusations of Jewish black market trade led to tensions between Jewish DPs and non-Jewish residents. As several empirical studies showed for the immediate post-war period in Germany, antisemitic attitudes were still widespread after the war.<sup>294</sup>

<sup>293</sup> A notable exception is Fredrick D. Weil, "Umfragen zum Antisemitismus: Ein Vergleich zwischen vier Nationen," in *Antisemitismus in der politischen Kultur nach 1945*, ed. Werner Bergmann and Rainer Erb (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990), pp. 131-178.

<sup>294</sup> Frank Stern, *The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge: Antisemitism and Philosemitism in Postwar Germany*, translated by William Templer (Oxford, New York: Pergamon Press,



Antisemitism was not only restricted to the countries of the former “Third Reich” though. Jewish returnees and DPs in Western European countries were often confronted with bureaucratic measures, which did not take into account their special needs and history of persecution – resulting in the Netherlands even in a situation where for a short while stateless Jewish DPs were interned together with former SS soldiers and members of the Dutch Nazi Party (NSB). Popular reactions to DPs in Western European countries were also often antisemitic.<sup>295</sup>

Nevertheless, due to the association of antisemitism with National Socialism a taboo of expressing open antisemitism in the public sphere emerged in all European societies within a few years after the war. This conventional prohibition against the expression of open antisemitism was not established with the same strength in all levels of public discourse. For Germany, we can detect an increasing broadening of this anti-antisemitic consensus since the 1950s, first being mainly limited to high politics and since the 1960s including ever-wider parts of civil society.<sup>296</sup>

Whereas in Germany, the establishment of such a consensus was seen as the test for the country's democratic development and its break with the National Socialist past, in most other European countries the above mentioned association of antisemitism with National Socialism, led to a similar public rejection of any expression of antisemitism. The different scandals that shook Germany and to a minor degree also Austria, France, and the Netherlands were both part of a process of establishing such an anti-antisemitic consensus, and attest to its existence.<sup>297</sup>

---

1992); Constantin Goschler, "The attitude towards Jews in Bavaria after the Second World War," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 36 (1991), pp. 443-58. On polls: Werner Bergmann and Rainer Erb, *Antisemitismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Ergebnisse der empirischen Forschung von 1946-1989* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1991) pp. 11f.

<sup>295</sup> Bureaucratic and popular reactions are especially well documented for the Netherlands: Dienke Hondius, *Return: Holocaust survivors and Dutch anti-Semitism* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003) and Evelien Gans, "Vandaag heben ze niets--maar morgen bezitten ze weer tien gulden. Antisemitische stereotypen in bevrijd Nederland," in *Polderschouw: Terugkeer en opvang na de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Regionale verschillen*, ed. Conny Kristel (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2002), pp. 313-353. On interning DPs together with SS men, see Philo Bregstein, "Le paradoxe néerlandais," in *Histoire de l'antisémitisme, 1945-1993*, ed. Léon Poliakov (Paris: Seuil, 1994), pp. 97-120, p. 100. On DPs in Europe and particularly the policies of the British government: Bernard Wasserstein, *Vanishing Diaspora: the Jews in Europe since 1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996), chap. 1 on „Displaced Persons“. On the situation in France: Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II*. Tauber Institute for the Study of European Jewry series (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2001), pp. 462-466.

<sup>296</sup> See Werner Bergmann, *Antisemitismus in öffentlichen Konflikten: kollektives Lernen in der politischen Kultur der Bundesrepublik 1949-1989* (Frankfurt a. M., New York: Campus, 1997); Werner Bergmann, "Aus der Geschichte gelernt? Konflikte über Antisemitismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1949-2000)," in *Neuer Antisemitismus--alte Vorurteile?*, ed. Christina Tuor-Kurth (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), pp. 11-31.

<sup>297</sup> This process has been described in a thorough social scientific manner only for Germany, see fn. 4. On France: Christian Delacampagne, "L'antisémitisme en France (1945-1993)," in

Werner Bergmann has described this growing consensus that was formed and articulated around these scandals as a learning process. The scandals and discussions in Germany, from the debates on the trials of National Socialist war criminals in the 1950 and 60s to the debates on the German attitude toward the past (such as the Historikerstreit in the 1980s and the Walser-Bubis affair and the Goldhagen controversy in the 1990s), all mark moments where this consensus has been challenged and re-established.<sup>298</sup> Similarly, in France, events like de Gaulle's 1967 comment that the Jews are an "elite people, self assured and domineering," which was mostly rejected in the press, can be seen as part of a history of establishing an anti-antisemitic consensus, as much as a challenge to this consensus.<sup>299</sup>

Although systematic trans-national research on the development of antisemitism is lacking, the available incomplete data from polls conducted since 1945 indicate that antisemitic attitudes have continually become more rare in most EU countries.<sup>300</sup>

### Secondary antisemitism

Since open antisemitism, in the sense of the often self-declared antisemitism from before the Second World War, was now associated with "Auschwitz" (the main metaphor up to the 1970s for the genocide against the European Jews) and was censored, antisemitic statements had to be recoded so as to avoid being labelled as such. Although antisemitism in politics can be found in different European countries, political antisemitism based on parties, organizations and newspapers has been pushed to the margins of the public sphere. The result of this transformation is that post-1945 antisemitism can be characterized as an "antisemitism without antisemites."<sup>301</sup>

Antisemitism since 1945 is not just characterized by the absence of self-labelled antisemites, but also by "secondary antisemitism," which, broadly defined, is any form of antisemitism that is itself a reflection of the establishment of the taboo of expressing antisemitism. The notion is commonly used primarily to describe antisemitism in Austria and Germany, where secondary antisemitism is

---

*Histoire de l'antisémitisme, 1945-1993*, ed. Léon Poliakov (Paris: Seuil, 1994), pp. 121-164. On the Netherlands: Bregstein, *Le paradoxe néerlandais*. On Austria: Alexander Pollak, "Vergangenheit und Reflexion: Konsens- und Streitlinien im Umgang mit der NS-Vergangenheit in Österreich," in *Zeitgeschichte als Streitgeschichte*, ed. Martin Sabrow, Ralph Jessen, and Klaus Große Kracht (München: C. H. Beck, 2003), pp. 322-342. No historical research on scandals touching on the taboo of expressing open antisemitism for the Nordic or Mediterranean countries (excluding France) could be identified.

<sup>298</sup> Bergmann, *Antisemitismus in öffentlichen Konflikten*.

<sup>299</sup> Cf. Delacampagne, *L'antisémitisme*. The full statement read: „Les Juifs sont restés ce qu'ils avaient toujours été de tout temps, c'est-à-dire un peuple d'élite, sûr de lui-même et dominateur.”

<sup>300</sup> Bergmann, *Antisemitismus in der Bundesrepublik*, pp. 57-65.

<sup>301</sup> Bernd Marin, "Ein historisch neuartiger 'Antisemitismus ohne Antisemiten?'," in *Antisemitismus in Österreich: sozialhistorische und soziologische Studien*, ed. John Bunzl and Bernd Marin (Innsbruck: Inn-Verlag, 1983), pp. 171-192.

usually considered as a reaction to the debates on national identity and National Socialism. Drawing on older stereotypes about Jewish power and influence in the media, a typical claim of secondary antisemitism is, for example, that Jews are manipulating Germans or Austrians exploiting feelings of guilt. The term has proliferated in scholarly analyses particularly to explain the debates on National Socialism and antisemitism in Germany in the 1980s.<sup>302</sup>

Characteristic of all forms of “secondary antisemitism” is that they relate directly to the Holocaust allowing speakers to avoid expressing open antisemitism by addressing the taboo itself. It is thus a form of recoding antisemitism so that it can be expressed without appearing antisemitic. Secondary antisemitism also has a psychological component. Rather than constituting a form of antisemitism that exists in spite of National Socialism, it exists because of it: in the context of the German debates of the 1980s, Henryk Broder coined the aptly provocative phrase: “Germans will never forgive the Jews the existence of Auschwitz.”<sup>303</sup>

Since the concept of secondary antisemitism, including the historical and psychological analysis that comes with it, has been developed mostly for Germany and Austria, it remains open if this term can also adequately describe antisemitism outside of these countries. Particularly, its application to France, the debates about Vichy and collaboration with the National Socialists and the emergence of “revisionist” literature on the Holocaust that denies or minimizes the genocide against the European Jews should be further examined.<sup>304</sup>

The concept of secondary antisemitism is also related to philosemitism, which is also a reaction to the Holocaust in the post-1945 period. Like secondary antisemitism, philosemitism has been studied primarily in the German case.<sup>305</sup> As antisemitic stereotypes after 1945 have been reproduced to a large extent through philosemitism, it would be important to study the phenomenon more extensively for other countries as well and also in comparative perspective.<sup>306</sup>

---

<sup>302</sup> For a recent overview on the literature on “antisemitism after Auschwitz” and “secondary antisemitism,” see Thomas Haury, *Antisemitismus von links: Kommunistische Ideologie, Nationalismus und Antizionismus in der frühen DDR* (Hamburger: Hamburger Edition, 2002), pp. 122-157. See also: Lars Rensmann, *Kritische Theorie über den Antisemitismus: Studien zu Struktur, Erklärungspotential und Aktualität* (Berlin: Argument Verlag, 1998), chapter 3.

<sup>303</sup> “Die Deutschen werden den Juden Auschwitz nie verzeihen.” Henryk M Broder, *Der ewige Antisemit: über Sinn und Funktion eines beständigen Gefühls* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1986), p. 125.

<sup>304</sup> See e. g. Valérie Igounet, *Histoire du négationnisme en France* (Paris: Ed. du Seuil, 2000).

<sup>305</sup> The most important empirical study on the subject remains Frank Stern’s analysis of German philosemitism in the immediate post-war period: Stern, *Whitewashing*.

<sup>306</sup> For a theoretical approach to the subject see Thomas Altfelix, “The ‘Post-Holocaust-Jew’ and the Instrumentalization of Philosemitism,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 34 (2000) 2, pp. 41-56.

### Israel, the left and anti-Zionism

A second major aspect of post-1945 antisemitism is its transformation through the existence of Israel. This topic, which is currently intensely debated, while being insufficiently researched, will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter on definitions.

Although there is a consensus that European opinions about Israel since its founding were connected to those about Jews and were a reflection of the perception of the Holocaust and National Socialism, the exact relationship between the image of Israel and the image of Jews remains unclear. According to a study by Bergmann and Erb, which was based on a poll they conducted in Germany in 1987, “nearly two third of those, who find the word ‘Israel’ unsympathetic, also say the same about the word ‘Jew’, whereas for the inverse case only half of the latter also declare the word ‘Israel’ to be unsympathetic.”<sup>307</sup> Another study on Austria by Hilde Weiss has similarly found a significant correlation between negative images of Israel and Jews, but could not find anything close to an overlap.<sup>308</sup>

These studies cannot answer the question of the antisemitic nature of different anti-Israeli statements, but they can draw attention to the importance of empirical research that is sensitive to context. The correlation between negative images of Israel and Jews may differ for each country, milieu, and for different historical moments.

Emotional and ideological investments in the image of Israel were particularly strong in Germany after 1945, where a positive relationship to the newly founded state was seen as a crucial test case for Germany’s ability to break with its past and resulted also from a culture of philosemitism that emerged in the post-war period.<sup>309</sup> Conscious efforts to create connections to Israel were particularly strong in parts of the political left.<sup>310</sup>

The year 1967 marked a central turning point for the development of the image of Israel. The immediate effect of the Six Day War and the crisis that preceded it was a wave of solidarity throughout Europe, particularly in Germany, which eventually faded in the following years as more focus was given to the political and humanitarian situation of the Palestinians.<sup>311</sup>

<sup>307</sup> Bergmann, *Antisemitismus in der Bundesrepublik*, pp. 179.

<sup>308</sup> Hilde Weiss, *Antisemitische Vorurteile in Österreich: theoretische und empirische Analysen* (Wien: W. Braumüller, 1987), pp. 102f.

<sup>309</sup> Stern, *Whitewashing*

<sup>310</sup> Martin W Kloke, *Israel und die deutsche Linke: zur Geschichte eines schwierigen Verhältnisses* (Frankfurt am Main: Haag + Herchen, 1990), pp. 41-64.

<sup>311</sup> This support is supported also by polls of the time: Emanuel de Kadet, "What People Thought of the Middle East War: Verdict of the Gallup Polls," *Patterns of Prejudice* 1 (1967), pp. 10-13. See also: Howard M. Sachar, *Israel and Europe: An Appraisal in History* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), pp. 207f; Margit Reiter, *Unter Antisemitismus-Verdacht: die*

Although most parts of the left (excluding the communists) had a positive relationship to Israel before the Six Day War, the conflict led to a general intra-left split between pro-Israeli and anti-Israeli factions in many European countries. While in Germany, France and in Italy, small factions within the left became more critical of Israel, major parts of the left also put an even stronger emphasis on their solidarity with Israel. Outside of the Western communist parties, which were mostly oriented solidly towards Moscow's anti-Zionism, a fully articulated anti-Zionism appeared only in the early 1970s with the formation of the so-called New Left, which interpreted the Middle-East conflict in terms of its anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist rhetoric.<sup>312</sup> As many authors have shown since, the anti-Zionism of the 1970s was largely not just ideological criticism of Israel, but a form of secondary antisemitism. The rhetoric of these organizations, whose remnants survive into the present day, often indicates the antisemitic nature of their criticism.<sup>313</sup>

Much of the existing scholarship deals with these shifts in the left, because the anti-Zionism of the New Left constituted the clearest change from a positive identification with Israel to a complete rejection not just of its policies, but also often of its very existence. Consequently, the 1970s also saw the beginning of a larger literature on anti-Zionism as well as on "antisemitism and the left" (often from within the left), which grew further in the early 1980s.<sup>314</sup> Particularly in Germany the substantial criticism of anti-imperialism and the anti-Israel rhetoric of many groups in the context of the new social movements led to a decrease in more vocal leftist anti-Zionism during the 1980s.

In contrast to the New Left, which has evoked much scholarly interest, the position of the largest part of the left, which has not moved in an anti-Zionist direction, is much less researched. According to Bergmann and Erb, supporters of German social democracy, who were stronger than average supporters of Israel before 1967, seem to have merely moved closer to the opinion of other parts of the population on Israel after 1967.<sup>315</sup> The only social democratic party,

---

*österreichische Linke und Israel nach der Shoah* (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2001), 110-113.

<sup>312</sup> Reiter, *Antisemitismus-Verdacht*; Kloke, *Israel und die deutsche Linke*; François Bondy, "Communist Attitudes in France and Italy to the Six Day War," in *The Left against Zion*, ed. Robert S. Wistrich (London: Vallentine, Mitchell, 1979), pp. 166-190.

<sup>313</sup> See e. g. Thomas Haury, "Der Antizionismus der Neuen Linken in der BRD: Sekundärer Antisemitismus nach Auschwitz," in *Antisemitismus - die deutsche Normalität: Geschichte und Wirkungsweise des Vernichtungswahns*, ed. Arbeitskreis Kritik des deutschen Antisemitismus (Freiburg: ça ira-Verlag, 2001), pp. 217-229; Willi Bischof and Irit Neidhardt, *Wir sind die Guten: Antisemitismus in der radikalen Linken* (Münster: Unrast, 2000).

<sup>314</sup> For others: Robert S. Wistrich, "The 'Jewish Question': Left-wing Anti-Zionism in Western Societies," in *Antisemitism in the contemporary world*, ed. Michael Curtis (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986), pp. 51-60; Broder, *Der ewige Antisemit*; Detlev Claussen, "Ein kategorischer Imperativ: Die politische Linke und ihr Verhältnis zum Staat Israel," in *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland seit 1945*, ed. Micha Brumlik (Frankfurt a. M.: Jüdischer Verlag bei Athenäum, 1986), pp. 230-242.

<sup>315</sup> Bergmann, *Antisemitismus in der Bundesrepublik*, p. 194f.

whose functionaries have on occasions expressed an antisemitic anti-Zionism, has been the Greek PASOK,<sup>316</sup> although lately (in 2003) this has changed.

A dramatic change in public opinion came with Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982, when criticism of Israel's policies intensified and the image of Israel deteriorated substantially.<sup>317</sup> According to an Austrian poll the image of Jews also deteriorated immediately after this war (though this says nothing about long term effects).<sup>318</sup>

Summarising, it could be said that, whereas the debate about antisemitism and anti-Israel sentiments in the late 1960s and 70s had been confined mostly to the anti-Zionism of the New Left and of the Communist parties, a broader debate about antisemitism and anti-Zionism emerged in the early 1980s.<sup>319</sup> Leftist anti-Zionism and antisemitism has received less attention in the European mass media and in scholarship since the late 1980s, as the antisemitism of right populist and right extremist parties and organizations seemed more urgent – only to move to the centre of debates again with the recent wave of antisemitism, beginning with the breakdown of the Oslo Peace process and the Al-Aqsa Intifada. The precise relationship of the anti-Zionism of the New Left to anti-Israeli sentiments and antisemitism after 2000 remains unclear in the existing literature on the subject.

### **Antisemitism, 'revisionism', and right-wing extremism**

The more open and often violent antisemitism of the extreme right has been given more attention than leftist antisemitism for most of the period since 1950 and particularly in the 1990s. The renewed interest that rose in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was mainly due to two phenomena: the electoral success of right-wing populist parties and a new wave of right extremist violence, particularly in Germany since the late 1980s.

The renewed formation of right-wing extremism after 1945 was different in each EU country and cannot be summarised easily. Rather than make broad cross-country generalizations, only some selected important features that relate to the history of antisemitism will be discussed.

---

<sup>316</sup> Daniel Perdurant, *Antisemitism in contemporary Greek society* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, 1995), pp. 8-12.

<sup>317</sup> Bergmann, *Antisemitismus in der Bundesrepublik*.

<sup>318</sup> John Bunzl and Bernd Marin, *Antisemitismus in Österreich: sozialhistorische und soziologische Studien* (Innsbruck: Inn-Verlag, 1983).

<sup>319</sup> See e. g. Michael Curtis, *Antisemitism in the contemporary world* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986), part 3 on „Israel and Zionism“; Wistrich, The 'Jewish Question'; Michael R. Marrus, "Are the French Antisemitic?: Evidence in the 1980s," in *The Jews in Modern France*, ed. Frances Malino and Bernard Wasserstein (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1985), pp. 224-242.

First, it is important to note that far-right and right-extremist parties did have some minor electoral successes in several countries before their massive growth in the 1980s. In France, for example, the anti-capitalist, anti-urban and antisemitic ‘Poujadist’ movement sent 50 deputies to the National Assembly in 1956 and was involved in an antisemitic campaign against the Jewish Prime Minister Pierre Mendès France.<sup>320</sup> Some ideological elements of this movement have been adopted by ‘Front National’ under the leadership of Jean-Marie Le Pen, which has been highly successful since the 1980s.<sup>321</sup>

Whereas in France, the right-extremist scene is more focused on a strong party, Germany had and still has a more fragmented right-wing extremist party spectrum. Some of the more successful parties were the ‘Deutsche Gemeinschaft’ (DG) in the early 1950s, the ‘Nationaldeutsche Partei Deutschlands’ (NPD) in the late 1960s, and since the late 1980s the ‘Republikaner’. However, particularly since the 1980s, the great unifying feature of the right-wing spectrum was xenophobia, rather than antisemitism. For some parties, though, as the ‘Deutsche Volksunion’ (DVU) and the ‘NPD’, antisemitism remains a significant feature of their propaganda.<sup>322</sup> Far-right and right-extremist parties remain weak in Germany compared, for example, to France, Italy, or Austria, but there is a large right extremist subculture, which is often ready to resort to violence.<sup>323</sup>

Both secondary antisemitism and the use of anti-Zionism as a form of getting around the antisemitism taboo are prevalent among the extreme and far right in Europe. Particularly, Holocaust denial or ‘revisionism’ has become a central part of the propagandistic repertoire of parties and organizations on the right fringe of the political spectrum.<sup>324</sup> Although “revisionism” is not restricted to the right, it has become a central unifying feature of different right extremist movements – both between the often-divided groups within one country and

<sup>320</sup> Pierre Birnbaum, *Anti-Semitism in France: a political history from Leon Blum to the present* (Oxford, UK, Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 247-252.

<sup>321</sup> William Safran, "The National Front in France: From Lunatic Fringe to Limited Respectability," in *Encounters with the contemporary radical right*, ed. Peter H. Merkl and Leonard Weinberg (Boulder : Westview Press, 1993), pp. 19-49.

<sup>322</sup> Juliane Wetzel, "Antisemitismus: Ideologische Grundlage und Bindeglied des Rechtsextremismus," in , ed. Jens Mecklenburg (Berlin: Elefant Press, 1996), pp. 692-708.

<sup>323</sup> For a comparison between the structures of the right-wing spectrum in France and Germany, see Michael Minkenberg, *Die neue radikale Recht im Vergleich: USA, Frankreich, Deutschland* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1998).

<sup>324</sup> On Germany and Austria: Brigitte Bailer-Galanda, "'Revisionism' in Germany and Austria: The Evolution of a Doctrine," in *Antisemitism and Xenophobia in Germany after Unification*, ed. Hermann Kurther, Werner Bergmann, and Rainer Erb (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 174-189. On Belgium: Manuel Abramowicz, *Extrême-droite et antisémitisme en Belgique: de 1945 à nos jours* (Bruxelles: EVO, 1993) On Spain: José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez, *Antisemitism and the Extreme Right in Spain (1962-1997)* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, 1999) On the Netherlands: Jaap van Donselaar, *Fout na de oorlog: fascistische en racistische organisaties in Nederland, 1950-1990* (Amsterdam: B. Bakker, 1991).

beyond national borders. Unlike for the extreme and far left, antisemitism forms a core element in the formation and networking of right extremist groups.

### **Christian antisemitism**

The notion of Christian antisemitism<sup>325</sup> can pertain to antisemitism that (a) is motivated by Christian beliefs, that (b) is expressed by members of one of the Christian churches, or that (c) draws on images and stereotypes, which originated in religiously motivated antisemitism. Although there are individual reports of Christian antisemitism in all three meanings of the term, it appears that Christian antisemitism in the meanings (a) and (b) is a significantly lesser problem since 1945 compared to the pre-1945 period. This could be due to an increasing secularisation of Christian populations, but also the progress made by both Protestant and Catholic churches in addressing antisemitism – both processes peaking in the 1960s.

This does not mean that there is no Christian antisemitism in senses (a) and (b). Christian antisemitism has been associated with forms of Catholic anti-Zionism since the 1960s in France and the Netherlands, even though it is unclear how prevalent such opinions are.<sup>326</sup> In one famous scandal in France in the early 1950s – the Finaly affair – two Jewish children, who were taken in by a devout Catholic when their parents were deported to their death, were not returned into the custody of their Jewish relatives, were hidden in Catholic convents, and secretly brought to Franco's Spain before eventually handed over to their family in 1953. This affair also led to an antisemitic campaign in the Catholic press.<sup>327</sup> Moreover, a recent report on antisemitism in Greece stresses the importance not only of antisemitism with a religious language, but also of some clerics of the Greek Orthodox Church.<sup>328</sup> Finally, antisemitism that uses Christian symbolism (c) has hardly been studied as a historical phenomenon since 1945.

## **SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH: ASPECTS OF A EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE ON ANTISEMITISM**

The greatest challenge to an overview of antisemitism after 1945 for the EU countries is the lack of trans-national scholarship. Although the nation state remains the most important context for analysis, a trans-national perspective is necessary to explain for example the importance of revisionism for right-

---

<sup>325</sup> The term antisemitism, rather than anti-Judaism is used here, to indicate that this refers to a form of hostility that is already informed by the turn to modern, political antisemitism of the 1870s.

<sup>326</sup> Delacampagne, *L'antisémitisme*, pp. 139f; Bregstein, *Le paradoxe néerlandais*, p. 106.

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129f.

<sup>328</sup> *Perdurant, Antisemitism*, pp. 1-4.



extremist groups throughout Europe or the similarities and dissimilarities in the responses to events in Israel.<sup>329</sup>

Throughout this chapter, aspects of the history of antisemitism since 1945 have been pointed out that would particularly merit comparative or trans-national research. Among those are secondary antisemitism, philosemitism, and Christian antisemitism. The greatest impediment to a larger European perspective is the lack of scholarly literature on antisemitism since 1945 for many EU countries – particularly the Nordic and Mediterranean countries (excluding France). Also, the comparative study of antisemitism between Western and Eastern (former communist block) European countries should be high on the research agenda in future.<sup>330</sup>

---

<sup>329</sup> For an attempt to understand common European features to the reaction to events in the Middle East see e. g. Mark Lilla, "The End of Politics: What the crisis of the European nation-state has to do with the crisis in Israel," *The New Republic* ( June 23, 2003).

<sup>330</sup> Such studies have been pioneered in Germany, which is the only country of the current EU to include a part that was in the Soviet sphere of influence. See e. g. Hermann Kurthen, Werner Bergmann, and Rainer Erb, *Antisemitism and Xenophobia in Germany after Unification* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

## 2.1.2. DEFINITIONS, CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

### INTRODUCTION

Since phenomena of discrimination are always bound to certain social and historical contexts, and by no means self-evident, the question of defining their content and scope is one of fundamental importance for any data collection and evaluation process. In this case, the quality – i.e. the comparability and comprehensibility – of any systematic examination of the phenomenon of antisemitism and its diverse manifestations depends on two basic requirements:

Firstly, a common understanding of terminology and definition and secondly, an agreement on terminology and definition designed in such a way that it structures and frames all relevant elements and aspects of the phenomenon monitored.

In order to fulfil the second requirement, a proper and valid definition of antisemitism needs to communicate with both the historical roots and occurrences of the phenomenon and with the task behind the monitoring and evaluation process. This is defined by the EU Council Regulation establishing the EUMC: “Prime objective of the EUMC is to provide the Community and its Member States with objective, reliable and comparable data at the European level on the phenomena of racism, xenophobia and antisemitism”.<sup>331</sup> That means that one feature of the definition of antisemitism should be its applicability in data collection processes, that is, it should not only be a definition that is able to describe the phenomenon on a meta-level, but also one that bears the possibility of identifying and allocating concrete instances of occurrences of the phenomenon.

### PROBLEMS RELATED TO DEFINING ANTISEMITISM

If we look into the literature dealing with the phenomenon of antisemitism, it becomes evident that several problems relate to the usage of the term “antisemitism”. The first problem is a terminological one. Is “antisemitism” the right term to describe those attitudes and acts that are seen as a threat to Jews and to society as a whole? In the literature on antisemitism a broad range of different terms are used to name and subsume attitudes and acts of prejudice and/or hostility against Jews (as Jews). The second problem refers to the question of how those terms that are in use shall be defined: When exactly can a certain a belief, attitude, or act be called “anti-Judaist”, “antisemitic”, or

---

<sup>331</sup> Council Regulation (EC) No 1035/97 of 2 June 1997 establishing a European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, EC Official Journal L 151, 10/06/1997.

“Judeophobe”? And not least, there are the questions of whether a “new antisemitism” has emerged in recent years and of whether anti-Zionism and/or an unbalanced criticism of Israel and/or the equation of Israel and Jews represents per se a form of antisemitism or not.

### Terminology

In the literature we find terms such as “antisemitism”, “anti-Judaism”, “anti-Hebraism”, “Judeophobia”, “Jew-hatred”, “Jew-hostility”, “opposition to Jews” and different word constructions with “antisemitism”, such as “Christian antisemitism”, “ancient antisemitism”, pre-modern antisemitism”, “modern antisemitism”, “post-modern antisemitism”, “new antisemitism”, not to forget the distinctive use of either “anti-Semitism” or “antisemitism”. Some of these terms are associated with certain periods of history and/or certain concepts of belief. Moreover, some authors use “antisemitism” as an all-embracing term for all kinds of “negative stereotypes about Jews, for resentments and actions that are directed against individual Jews as Jews, or against Jewry as a whole, or against phenomena presumed to be Jewish.”<sup>332</sup>

Literature that explicitly deals with questions of terminology suggests a distinctive use of certain terms for different epochs and forms of anti-Jewish thinking and activity. A clear line is drawn between, on the one hand, the terms “anti-Judaism”, “Jew-hatred”, “Christian antisemitism” and “ancient” or “pre-modern antisemitism”, which are used to describe a hostility against the religious “otherness” of Jews, and, on the other hand, the terms “modern antisemitism”, “racist antisemitism”, “nationalist antisemitism”<sup>333</sup> or the general term “antisemitism”, which are used to describe a system of beliefs as well of hostile actions directed against “the Jew” as a member of “the Jewish/Semitic race”.<sup>334</sup> In addition, most of the literature refers to a “post-modern” or “post-racist antisemitism”, an “antisemitism without antisemites” that has after 1945 tended to become rather a culturalist than a racist phenomenon and that has been accompanied by new points of reference (such as the Holocaust or Israel) and by a new language, which aims at avoiding a blatantly antisemitic rhetoric. Finally, some of the most recent literature speaks of a “new antisemitism”, which is defined as a form of post-post-National Socialist antisemitism that has evolved in the context of the conflicts in the Middle East. This “new

<sup>332</sup> Olaf Blaschke: *Katholizismus und Antisemitismus im Deutschen Kaiserreich*. In: *Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft* 122, Göttingen 1997, p. 23. Translated from German by Alexander Pollak.

<sup>333</sup> Michael Ley emphasises the interconnectedness between antisemitism and nationalism. He terms the two phenomena as two sides of one coin. He therefore concludes that with the end of the age of nationalism there will also come the end of political/ideological antisemitism. Remaining negative attitudes towards Jews would then be have to considered as individual prejudice. See Michael Ley: *Kleine Geschichte des Antisemitismus*. München: Fink, 2003, pp. 103ff.

<sup>334</sup> See Georg Christoph Berger Waldenegg: *Antisemitismus: “Eine gefährliche Vokabel?”* Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau 2003.

antisemitism” is termed by some of its main proponents as “Judeophobia”<sup>335</sup> and described as an antisemitism masqueraded as anti-racism or anti-imperialism and based mainly on the “fear”<sup>336</sup> of a Jewish world conspiracy.

The examination of the different terms that exist in order to describe the attitudes and acts of prejudice and/or hostility against Jews (as Jews) clearly shows that there is no ideal terminological solution that could resist any criticism. The most common term for referring to 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century anti-Jewish thinking and acting is undoubtedly “antisemitism”; a term, which should not be abandoned too hastily as a conventionalised general term. The term, which is a neologism of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>337</sup> is particularly contested for the fact that the term “Semitic”, used as reference to a certain language group, is not restricted to Jews, and that “Semitic races” have only existed in racist ideologies that aimed at depreciating the “Semitic nations” compared to the “Indogerman nations”.<sup>338</sup> However, the term “antisemitism” (or “antisemitism”) has been invented in order to refer to Jews and since its invention has been commonly used solely in this way. Therefore, there it is more or less common sense in the terminological literature that the fuzziness of the term “Semitic” alone should not be the reason for discarding the term.

In the present report, the term “antisemitism” will be used when referring to anti-Jewish thinking as well as attitudes and acts of prejudice and/or hostility against Jews (as Jews) after 1945, and the notation “antisemitism” will be given preference to the notation “anti-Semitism”. The former shall allow for the fact that there has been a change from a racist to a culturalist antisemitism and shall in this context help avoiding the problem of reifying (and thus affirming) the existence of races in general and a “Semitic race” in particular.

---

<sup>335</sup> Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin point out “contemporary use of the term ‘antisemitism’ more closely describes ‘Judeophobia’. [...] Judeophobia might be regarded as referring to both the fear and dislike of Jews: just as xenophobia is used to refer to the fear and dislike of foreigners.” See Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin (eds.): *A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Britain*. London: Profile, 2003, p. 8.

<sup>336</sup> Georg Christoph Berger Waldenegg points out that the term “phobia” does not refer to the normal kind of fear, all human beings feel in certain situations, but to an abnormal, neurotic, pathological fear, which is characterised by psychological obsessions. See Georg Christoph Berger Waldenegg: *Antisemitismus: “Eine gefährliche Vokabel?”* Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau 2003, p. 104.

<sup>337</sup> See Werner Bergmann: *Geschichte des Antisemitismus*. München: Beck 2002, p. 6f.

<sup>338</sup> Ibid.

### **The debate on antisemitism and anti-Zionism<sup>339</sup>**

Another issue, particularly prevalent in recent debates about antisemitism, is whether anti-Zionism represents per se a form of antisemitism or not. Closely connected to this question are two other questions: Where is the borderline between a “justified” criticism of Israel and an “antisemitic” criticism? In how far do Jewish communities and institutions outside Israel see themselves as representatives of Israel and is it per se antisemitic, if Jewish communities and institutions become a target of protests against Israel and/or its politics?

In order to answer these questions, it is clear that we first need to ask for a definition of antisemitism and of the other relevant terms used (such as “Zionism” and “anti-Zionism”). The following section will therefore present an overview of the positions (and their underlying definitions) in the debate on the relation between, on the one hand, anti-Zionism and criticism of Israel (and criticism of Jews for Israel) and, on the other, antisemitism.

Abraham Foxman, national director of the US based ‘Anti-Defamation League’ (ADL), represents one pole of the spectrum of opinions, upholding a clear view that “what some like to call anti-Zionism is, in reality, antisemitism – always, everywhere, and for all time.”<sup>340</sup> For Foxman, anti-Zionism has nothing to do with a legitimate point of view, but represents “an expression of bigotry and hatred.”<sup>341</sup> In his view, “most of the current attacks on Israel and Zionism are not, at bottom, about the policies and conduct of a particular nation-state. They are about Jews.”<sup>342</sup> Foxman defines Zionism as “Jewish nationalism, comparable to the nationalism espoused by most other ethnic groups around the world”.<sup>343</sup> According to Foxman, anti-Zionists exclusively attack Jewish nationalism as racist, but do not condemn other nationalisms.

Those who equate anti-Zionism with antisemitism often cite Martin Luther King Jr. He is quoted with his “Letter to an anti-Zionist friend” as saying: “[...] And what is anti-Zionism? It is the denial to the Jewish people of a fundamental right that we justly claim for the people of Africa and freely accord all other nations of the globe. It is discrimination against the Jews, my friend, because they are Jews. In short, it is antisemitism.

The anti-Semite rejoices at any opportunity to vent his malice. The times have made it unpopular, in the West, to proclaim openly a hatred of the Jews. This being the case, the anti-Semite must constantly seek new forms and forums for

---

<sup>339</sup> The section “The debate on anti-Zionism and antisemitism” outlines some of the main corner stones of the recent debate on the question of the relationship between anti-Zionism and antisemitism. Therefore, not all contributions to this debate are mentioned, but rather a selective description of different positions.

<sup>340</sup> Abraham H. Foxman: *Never Again?* New York: HarperCollins 2003, p. 18.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid* p. 18

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid* p. 21

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid* p. 17

his poison. How he must revel in the new masquerade! He does not hate the Jews, he is just 'anti-Zionist!'”<sup>344</sup>

Antony Lerman, the former executive director of the ‘Institute for Jewish Policy Research’ in London, argues that to equate anti-Zionism with antisemitism “drains the word antisemitism of any useful meaning”.<sup>345</sup> For Lerman, when examining the character of instances of anti-Zionism, it is indispensable to consider “those things which historians have traditionally regarded as making up an antisemitic world view: hatred of Jews per se, belief in a worldwide Jewish conspiracy, [...]”.<sup>346</sup> According to Lerman, “the mix of antisemitism and anti-Zionism in the Arab and Muslim worlds is different from traditional European antisemitism in two respects. First, the hostility towards Jews is grounded in a real political grievance and second, as a result, the antisemitic form in which this grievance is sometimes expressed is mutable: it can increase or decrease according to events.”<sup>347</sup>

Peter Pulzer, Chairman of the ‘Leo Baeck Institute’ in London, attempted to define and operationalise the dividing line between criticism of Israel and antisemitism in media research on the basis of a list of seven questions. According to Pulzer, one should examine, whether anonymous collectivities such as “the Jewish community”, “the Jewish lobby”, or “the Jewish vote” are attacked; whether the ethnic or religious affiliation of the subjects are emphasized; whether the power or economic status of Jews is exaggerated; whether the complaint is launched so that every criticism of Israel is automatically denounced as antisemitism, or whether every denunciation of antisemitism or suicide bombing is qualified with a “but ...”; whether Israel, its Government and its policies are compared to Nazism and the South African apartheid policy; and finally whether any boycotts or sanctions proposed are directed only against Israel, but not against any other country violating human rights and international law. Pulzer adds that the decision whether to qualify a particular criticism as antisemitic or not is context dependent and, furthermore, distinguishes between explicitly antisemitic intentions and cases where the effect is antisemitic, without the intention of the writer or speaker.<sup>348</sup>

Jonathan Freedland, a British journalist, deals in Iganski’s and Kosmin’s book “A New Antisemitism?” with the question of whether anti-Zionism can be considered as antisemitism. He starts his argument by referring to the Collins Dictionary definition of an antisemite (“a person who persecutes or

<sup>344</sup> Martin Luther King Jr.: “Letter to an anti-Zionist friend”. *Saturday Review*, 47, August 1967, p. 76. Reprinted in M. L. King Jr., *This I Believe: Selections from the Writings of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.* (New York, 1971), pp. 234-235.

<sup>345</sup> Antony Lerman: Sense on antisemitism. In: Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin (eds.): *A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Britain*. London: Profile, 2003, p. 59.

<sup>346</sup> *Ibid* p. 59

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid* p. 60f

<sup>348</sup> Peter Pulzer: The new antisemitism, or when is a taboo not a taboo? In: Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin (eds.): *A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Britain*. London: Profile, 2003, pp. 96f.

discriminates against Jews”) and Zionism (“a political movement for the establishment and support of a national homeland for Jews in Palestine”). He concludes from the latter definition that an anti-Zionist opposes the Jewish state’s right to exist (in Palestine). According to Freedland, the clearest collision between antisemitism, as hatred of Jews, and anti-Zionism, as opposition to a specific idea, comes “when anti-Zionists, inadvertently or otherwise, deploy antisemitic language or imagery to press their case.”<sup>349</sup> Freedland describes as “the most problematic of all anti-Zionist expressions” the equation of Israel, Zionism and/or Jews with Nazism. Furthermore, Freedland expounds the implications of the notion that anti-Zionism is automatically antisemitism, namely that “if anti-Zionism can be identified with antisemitism, then that makes Jews and Zionism identical, too.”<sup>350</sup> Freedland indeed refers to a survey conducted by the ‘Institute for Jewish Policy Research’ in 1995, which came to the conclusion that for the overwhelming majority of British Jews “the Jewish state has become inseparable from their Jewishness. [...] This should at least give the anti-Zionist pause: much as they may insist that they condemn only Zionists, not Jews, this is not how Jews themselves experience it.”<sup>351</sup> Freedman’s overall argument is that anti-Zionism becomes antisemitism when it singles out Israel and its politics from all other countries (with similar histories). He concludes that some anti-Zionists are antisemites, but that others “are presenting us with a cogent challenge to our core values.”<sup>352</sup>

According to Werner Bergmann, of the ‘Centre of Research on Antisemitism’ in Berlin, antisemitism can, after 1945, take on the form of anti-Zionism and make “Jews” collectively liable for Israeli politics. Bergmann points out that, particularly in the successor states of Nazi Germany, some kind of guilt-rejecting antisemitism evolved, which aimed at neglecting or diminishing guilt through attributing guilt to “Jews”.<sup>353</sup> Bergman furthermore points out that the Six-Day War in June 1967 led to a change in the perception of Israel. Particularly, communist countries, countries of the Third World and the radical left in Western Europe reacted, according to Bergmann, with a sharp turn towards an anti-Zionism that was not free of antisemitism.<sup>354</sup>

Zeev Sternhell, political scientist at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, points to the necessity of making a distinction between antisemitism, anti-Zionism, and criticism of Israel and its policies. According to him, “anti-Zionism, in the form of ‘a-Zionism’ and in the form of anti-nationalism, is not an antisemitic phenomenon”. However, he points out that anti-Zionism becomes immoral

<sup>349</sup> Jonathan Freedland: Is anti-Zionism antisemitism? In: Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin (eds.): *A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Britain*. London: Profile, 2003, p. 119.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid p. 122

<sup>351</sup> Ibid. p. 122.

<sup>352</sup> Ibid. p. 129.

<sup>353</sup> See Werner Bergmann: *Geschichte des Antisemitismus*. München: Beck 2002, pp. 117f.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid. p. 127

when it is expressed with the intention to de-legitimise the existence of the state of Israel.<sup>355</sup>

According to Brian Klug, associate Professor of Philosophy at Saint Xavier University, Chicago, some of the proponents of the view that “one cannot be against Israel or Zionism [...] without being anti-Semitic” do exactly, what some say is antisemitic, namely equal Israel with ‘the Jews’; quoting Hillel Harkin: “Israel is the state of the Jews. [...] To defame Israel is to defame the Jews. To wish it never existed, or would cease to exist, is to wish to destroy the Jews.”<sup>356</sup>

Klug argues in his paper that anti-Zionism and antisemitism are independent variables, that is, antisemitism can take the form of anti-Zionism, but there is also anti-Zionism, which is not based on antisemitism. In order to support his argument, Klug emphasizes that the term “anti-Zionism” refers to several different positions with regard to Israel and its status as a Jewish state: “These include the view that the state of Israel has no right to exist; that it should not have been created in the first place; that it ought not continue to exist at all; or that it should not continue to survive as a specifically Jewish polity.”<sup>357</sup> For Klug, “there is nothing inherently or inevitably antisemitic” about these anti-Zionist positions. Moreover, Klug points out that even in the case of Israel being singled out unfairly, it does not automatically follow that the hostility towards Israel is antisemitic. While Palestinians have become a symbol of third-world struggle for self-determination, Israel is perceived by many people as a European creation and as the result of a colonialist movement. Therefore, according to Klug, hostility towards Israel reflects in many cases “territorial, economic and political interests along with general principles of justice and human rights; not antisemitic prejudice”.<sup>358</sup> Klug sees his view supported by the fact that hostility towards Israel fluctuates relative to the political situation in the Middle East. He furthermore points to the difficulty “to assess the extent to which the new wave of hostility towards Jews, radiating out from the Middle East, is antisemitic.” The main question here is, according to Klug, whether the false belief that all Jews are Zionists, or that all Jews identify with Israel, or that all Jews who identify with Israel support all its politics, reflects antisemitic attitudes (based on an a priori prejudice) or rather a generalisation (based on ad hoc conclusions that exceeds the evidence). The latter is in Klug’s view reprehensible, but not antisemitic.<sup>359</sup>

<sup>355</sup> Zeev Sternhell: L’antisémitisme: un problème Européen. Conference Presentation at Tel Aviv University, November 2002. In: *Is there a New Anti-Semitism?* Tel Aviv, 2003, pp. 66-70.

<sup>356</sup> Hillel Harkin: The return of anti-Semitism. *Wall Street Journal*, 5 February 2002. Quoted in Brian Klug: *The collective Jew: Israel and the new antisemitism*. In: *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 37, No. 2, June 2003, Routledge, p. 125.

<sup>357</sup> Brian Klug: *The collective Jew: Israel and the new antisemitism*. In: *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 37, No. 2, June 2003, Routledge, p. 129.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid* p. 132

<sup>359</sup> *Ibid* p. 137



On the other hand, Klug stresses that all this does not mean that antisemitism “cannot and does not enter into anti-Zionism”.<sup>360</sup> For him, antisemitism in the Arab and Muslim world is, however, a “secondary formation”, which has not had a history of tradition before the political conflict with Israel made it opportune to start using and ideologically incorporating antisemitism as a discursive resource – a process that has during the time more and more taken on a life on its own.<sup>361</sup>

### **The debate on “new antisemitism”<sup>362</sup>**

Almost all contributions to the recent debate on antisemitism in Europe either claim or refer to the claim that a “new antisemitism” has evolved during the past years. Again, a brief outline of the positions with regard to the “new antisemitism” debate shall be given here, before going into deeper analysis in the next section. However, one fundamental question shall already be answered here: What does the term “new” stand for in the accounts of the proponents (and also the opponents) of the concept “new antisemitism”?

The notion of a “new antisemitism” is not only recent. Robert Wistrich, one of the proponents of the recent debate,<sup>363</sup> has already in 1984 spoken of the “new antisemitic anti-Zionism” as “one that inverts all our assumptions and therefore deserves special attention”.<sup>364</sup> According to Wistrich, anti-Zionism and antisemitism have become interrelated. He emphasised in this context that “this does not mean that we should therefore stick the label of antisemitism on all forms of anti-Zionism, let alone on all criticisms of the State of Israel and its policies.”<sup>365</sup> There are, however, certain differences between the “new antisemitism” Wistrich referred to in 1984 and the one discussed today. While recent debates are fed by actual acts of hostility against Jews and Jewish institutions in Europe, Wistrich’s remarks in the 1980s referred to the ideological and symbolic level of “antisemitic anti-Zionism”. Wistrich

<sup>360</sup> Ibid. p. 134

<sup>361</sup> Bernard Lewis: *The Arab world discovers anti-Semitism*. In: Sander L. Gilman and Steven T. Katz (eds.): *Anti-Semitism in Times of Crises*. New York: New York University Press, 1991. Quoted in: Brian Klug: *The collective Jew: Israel and the new antisemitism*. In: *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 37, No. 2, June 2003, Routledge, p. 134. See also Michael Kiefer: *Antisemitismus in islamischen Gesellschaften*. Düsseldorf: Verlag für gleichberechtigte Kommunikation, 2002.

<sup>362</sup> The section “The debate on ‘new antisemitism’” follows the task to outline some of the main corner stones of the recent debate on the question whether a new antisemitism has emerged or not. Therefore, not all contributions to this debate are mentioned, but rather a selective description of different positions.

<sup>363</sup> See Robert Wistrich: *Muslim Anti-Semitism: A Clear and Present Danger*. On: <http://www.ajc.org/InTheMedia/Publications.asp?did=503>, May 2002. See also: Robert Wistrich: *Muslims, Jews and September 11: the British case*. In: Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin (eds.): *A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Britain*. London: Profile, 2003, pp. 169-191.

<sup>364</sup> Robert Wistrich: *Anti-Zionism as an Expression of Anti-Semitism in Recent Years*. Lecture hold on 10 December, 1984 at Study Circle on World Jewry. In: Yehuda Bauer (ed.): *Study Circle on World Jewry, Series 14, 1984-85*. Jerusalem: SICSA and ICJ, 1985.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid

identified as the main goal of “the anti-Zionist drive” of the eighties to “encourage a process of alienation between Israel and the nations” and to divide “the Jewish State and its exposed Diaspora hinterland”<sup>366</sup> – a conclusion, differing somewhat from the ones drawn in recent debates.

In 1986, Michael R. Marrus, Professor of Holocaust Studies at the University of Toronto, rejected the argument that there is a “new antisemitism,” which (a) now pertains to Israel or (b) has new motivations arguing: First, people will always use the immediate past historical experience to make arguments about politics – be they prejudiced or not. The fact that people use the history of National Socialism for analogies is, according to Marrus, not in itself antisemitic. He pointed out that it was, after all, Begin who “set the tone, publicly imagining himself before Beirut in the summer of 1982, for example, about to destroy ‘Hitler’ in his ‘bunker deep beneath the surface’ in ‘Berlin’.”<sup>367</sup> Second, media coverage might sometimes draw on antisemitic stereotypes, to a large degree though it follows a simple logic of depicting villains and victims. Israel profited from this framing for a long time and now sees antisemitism when the table is turned. Thirdly, Marrus saw little possibility of proving the assumption that attacking Israel alleviates residual guilt. He argued that today most people were born after the event and there is no indication that they feel guilty (for example for not helping the Jews). He finally pointed to polls, which show that antisemitism is diminishing and which are, in his view, still more credible than anecdotal evidence about incidents. Marrus concluded: “The anti-Israel sentiment that has arisen in recent years does possess a sense of novelty, and it is, indeed, linked to some factors utterly extraneous to the conflict in the Middle East. It is conditioned by the structure of the electronic and print media, as well as by the particular rhetoric of some Jewish leaders. It is sometimes unfair, exaggerated, and defamatory. But it is neither generally antisemitic nor illuminated by that term.”<sup>368</sup>

We shall now turn to the contemporary debate on the existence and characteristics of “new antisemitism”. For Michael Whine, Communications Director of the ‘Community Security Trust’<sup>369</sup>, the new aspect with regard to antisemitism is the present trend towards “temporary fluctuations that have their origins in Middle East tension or the continuous media criticism of Israel”.<sup>370</sup>

---

<sup>366</sup> Ibid

<sup>367</sup> Marrus, Michael R. "Is There a New Antisemitism?" In: Michael Curtis (ed.) *Antisemitism in the contemporary world*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1986, pp. 172-181, here: p. 174.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid p. 180

<sup>369</sup> See the evaluation of the UK NFP report.

<sup>370</sup> Michael Whine: *Antisemitism on the streets*. In: Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin (eds.): *A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Britain*. London: Profile, 2003, p. 31.

Jonathan Sacks, Chief Rabbi of the 'United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth', points out that the "new antisemitism" is a "global phenomenon conveyed by Internet, e-mail, television and video".<sup>371</sup>

According to Abraham Foxman, the "new antisemitism" combines traditional hatred with modern resentments in an unprecedented way and is put forward by a combination of "traditional elements of the extreme right and the extreme left [...], immigrants of Arab descent and terrorist organizations based in the Middle East."<sup>372</sup> In Foxman's view, "new antisemitism", "cloaked" in the rhetoric of anti-imperialism, anti-racism and anti-Americanism, "is capable of reaching people who would be unmoved by such traditional anti-Semitic themes as xenophobia and religious prejudice."<sup>373</sup>

Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin, editors of "A New Antisemitism?" identify the "new antisemitism" as "Judeophobia" among certain elites in Britain: "Left-liberal elites in the media, churches, universities and trade unions"<sup>374</sup>. According to Iganski and Kosmin, the "core characteristic of the elite Judeophobia involves a campaign of vilification against Israel as a state: evident in an obsessive focus on Israel's culpability for human rights and civil rights abuses in its conflict with the Palestinians. Israel is singled out for opprobrium whilst gross violations of human and civil rights elsewhere [...] go relatively unnoticed as they are not subject to the same scrutiny."<sup>375</sup>

According to Pierre-André Taguieff, scientific director at the French 'National Center for Scientific Research' (CNRS), the "new Judeophobia" aims at blaming and accusing the Jews of being racists. It is founded on a polemic amalgamation accusing Jews, Israelis and Zionists of representing "evil". The basic characteristics of the "new Judeophobia" are, in Taguieff's view<sup>376</sup>, among else: a massive and virulent instrumentalisation of anti-racism with an anti-Jewish purpose, illustrated during the UN conference against racism in Durban (2001), where "Zionism" has been assimilated into "racism and discrimination"; a trivialization of representations and arguments of revisionist ideas, and doubts about the "Shoah-business" and the number of Jewish victims; the legitimating of a new anti-colonialism, anti-Americanism, anti-imperialism and new liberal globalization; the massive diffusion of the myth of "good Palestinians" as innocent victims.

Taguieff points out that a "Judeophobia" based on anti-racism, anti-nationalism and anti-globalization has followed the racist and nationalist antisemitism of the

<sup>371</sup> Jonathan Sacks: A new antisemitism? In: Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin (eds.): A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Britain. London: Profile, 2003, p. 38.

<sup>372</sup> Abraham H. Foxman: Never Again? New York: HarperCollins 2003, p. 7.

<sup>373</sup> Ibid. pp. 10f

<sup>374</sup> Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin: Globalized Judeophobia and its ramifications for British society. In: Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin (eds.): A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Britain. London: Profile, 2003, p. 284.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid p. 285

<sup>376</sup> Pierre-André Taguieff: La nouvelle judéophobie. Paris: Mille et une nuits, 2002, p. 130.

last 30 years. He sees a tragic reversal of the “fight against racism”, which has for a long time also included the fight against antisemitism.<sup>377</sup>

Dina Porat of the ‘Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism’ at the University of Tel Aviv points out that “this is the first time in the history of antisemitism that the main arena is not the Christian, but the Muslim world.”<sup>378</sup>

Julius Schoeps, Professor at the University of Potsdam and Director of the ‘Moses Mendelssohn Centre’, points out that he has not been able to detect a “new antisemitism” in Germany, and that we should rather speak of a continuity of antisemitic prejudice. Schoeps sees it as a misleading view to distinguish between an “old” and a “new” antisemitism. According to him, the negative images of Jews have remained almost the same over the last decades. However, what is in Schoeps view new is the fact that the Middle East conflict has become a catalyst for the “old” antisemitism. In the context of the Israeli policy towards the Palestinians, many dare now to say what they have always wanted to criticise about Jews.<sup>379</sup>

Christian Sterzing, former member of the German Bundestag, confirms the view of Julius Schoeps, suggesting that current antisemitism in Germany could be described as old antisemitism in new clothing. In this sense he points to the so-called “secondary antisemitism”<sup>380</sup>, an antisemitism that does not exist despite the Holocaust, but because the Holocaust does not allow for the construction of a purely positive German past and German identity. Therefore, in Sterzing’s view, some of the critical statements about Israel by Germans give the impression of being attempts to exculpate the Nazi past.<sup>381</sup>

On the other hand, Elie Barnavi, Professor at Tel Aviv University, asserts that “old style antisemitism” has ceased to exist in France and has been replaced by “a virulent anti-Zionism as relayed in the discourse of the extreme Left”.<sup>382</sup>

However, Barnavi’s and also Taguieff’s views are questioned by the outcome of the analysis by Nonna Mayer, Research Director at the ‘Centre for the Study of French Political Life’ (CEVIPOF), of the recent survey conducted by the

<sup>377</sup> Ibid. p. 233

<sup>378</sup> Dina Porat: (Title in Hebrew). Conference Presentation at Tel Aviv University, November 2002. In: Is there a New Anti-Semitism? Tel Aviv, 2003, p. 29.

<sup>379</sup> Julius Schoeps: Die Gewalt im Nahen Osten und der wachsende Antisemitismus in Deutschland. Conference Presentation at Tel Aviv University, November 2002. In: Is there a New Anti-Semitism? Tel Aviv, 2003, pp. 21-28.

<sup>380</sup> See the chapter on “Antisemitism in the EU countries since 1945”.

<sup>381</sup> Christian Sterzing : Aktuelle Entwicklungen antisemitischer Tendenzen in Deutschland. Conference Presentation at Tel Aviv University, November 2002. In: Is there a New Anti-Semitism? Tel Aviv, 2003, pp. 89-97.

<sup>382</sup> Elie Barnavi: Le nouvel antisémitisme en France. Conference Presentation at Tel Aviv University, November 2002. In: Is there a New Anti-Semitism? Tel Aviv, 2003, pp. 61-65.

‘National Human Rights Commission’ (CNCDH).<sup>383</sup> Mayer points out that the results of the survey, although they should be treated with caution with respect to their significance, show that antisemitic attitudes in France did not increase significantly in the period from 1988 to 2002 nor have they changed their character. Those, who deny Jews the status of being “French as others”, are also the ones, who are most likely to deny this status to Arabs, Muslims, and immigrants.<sup>384</sup> Mayer concludes that most racists and antisemites are still to be found at the extreme right.<sup>385</sup>

## DEFINING AND CONCEPTUALISING ANTISEMITISM

### A working definition of antisemitism

If we look for commonalities between different approaches to defining antisemitism, we find two recurring aspects:

- 1) almost all definitions of antisemitism refer to hostile attitudes and/or activities towards Jews and
- 2) a significant number of definitions contain the additional remark that the hostility is directed towards Jews “as Jews”<sup>386</sup>, or towards Jews “because they are Jews”<sup>387</sup>, or towards Jews “because of their actual or perceived religious or racial background or identification”.

While the first of the above-mentioned aspects is prevalent in definitions of antisemitism, it is the second aspect that is in fact the key premise for an accurate definition and identification of antisemitism. **It is not until the remark “as Jews” is added that we come to the basic conclusion that one can only speak of antisemitism, if Jews (or non-Jews) are attacked because they are (perceived as) Jews.** We will further elaborate on this below, but two important implications are obvious: First, not every hostility towards Jews is to be classified as antisemitic; and second, non-Jews can also become the target of antisemitism.

---

<sup>383</sup> Nonna Mayer : Antisémitisme et judéophobie en France en 2002. In : Commission Nationale Consultative des Droits de l’Homme: La lutte contre le racisme et la Xénophobie. Rapport d’activité 2002, Paris 2003, pp. 97-107.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid. pp. 103f

<sup>385</sup> Ibid. p. 104

<sup>386</sup> Helen Fein: Dimensions of Antisemitism: Attitudes, Collective Accusations and Actions. In: Helen Fein (ed.): The Persisting Question. Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Antisemitism. (Current Research on antisemitism, vol. 1, ed. by Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Bergmann). Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1987, p. 67.

<sup>387</sup> Martin Luther King Jr.: “Letter to an anti-Zionist friend”. *Saturday Review*, 47, August 1967, p. 76. Reprinted in M. L. King Jr., This I Believe: Selections from the Writings of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (New York, 1971), pp. 234-235.

In order to develop the point further, and to construct a definition, which can (as far as possible) be applicable in processes of registering and analysing data on antisemitism, we refer to some of Brian Klug's remarks with regard to defining antisemitism.

Klug offers the following working definition of antisemitism: "a form of hostility towards Jews as Jews, in which Jews are perceived as something other than what they are".<sup>388</sup> This definition contains an important amendment to our initial definition "hostility towards Jews as Jews", for Klug emphasises that antisemitism is not hostility towards Jews as what they really are, but rather towards the image of 'Jews' constructed by antisemitic ideology. In other words, we talk about hostility towards Jews as 'the Jew', whereby 'the Jew' is not a real person, but an imagined one with imaginary characteristics. In the past, some traits commonly attributed to Jews have become for the antisemites a constituent part of their (imaginary) 'Jew'. In an analysis of German antisemitic literature of the 1930s and 1940s, i.e. of the period of National Socialism, which provides a condensed image of the ideological system of racist antisemitic beliefs, Nina Eger and Alexander Pollak established six categories of the racist antisemitic stereotyping of 'the Jew'<sup>389</sup>:

- antisemitic stereotypes concerning his 'deceitful', 'crooked', 'artful' nature;
- antisemitic stereotypes concerning his 'foreign' and 'different' essence;
- antisemitic stereotypes concerning his 'irreconcilability', 'hostility', 'agitation';
- antisemitic stereotypes concerning his 'commercial talent' and 'relation to money' (construction of "the Jew" as the worst possible incarnation of a capitalist);
- antisemitic stereotypes concerning his 'corrupt' nature;
- antisemitic stereotypes concerning the Jewish 'power and influence' and the Jewish 'world conspiracy'.

To these six categories of racist antisemitic beliefs one could add a seventh category, the Christian anti-Judaist myth of 'the Jew' as "Christ-Killer",<sup>390</sup> a myth that was not explicitly incorporated in National Socialist racist antisemitism. Nevertheless, as the historians Marvin Perry and Frederick M.

<sup>388</sup> Brian Klug: The collective Jew: Israel and the new antisemitism. In: *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 37, No. 2, June 2003, Routledge, pp. 122f.

<sup>389</sup> See Alexander Pollak and Nina Eger: *Antisemitismus mit Anspielungscharakter*. In: Anton Pelinka, Ruth Wodak (ed.): *Politik der Ausgrenzung*. Vienna: Czernin, 2002, pp. 187-210.

<sup>390</sup> The myth of "the Jew" as "(bloodthirsty) Christ Killer" has been perpetuated to the present through the myth of Jewish ritual murder. See Marvin Perry and Frederick M. Schweitzer: *Antisemitism: Myth and Hate from Antiquity to the Present*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp. 2ff.

Schweitzer point out, the Nazi definition of “the Jew”, as an alien Other, built upon views and myths passed on by early Christian anti-Judaism.<sup>391</sup>

For the antisemite, the imaginary figure of ‘the Jew’ is the only real one. Therefore, according to Klug, antisemitism “is best defined not by an attitude towards Jews [as real persons], but by a definition of ‘the Jew’”, because antisemitism is not only expressed by only one attitude, such as, for example, hostility. As Klug points out, “envy and admiration can also go along with an antisemitic discourse.” In this sense, antisemitism is, in short, “the process of turning Jews into ‘Jews’”.<sup>392</sup> We would add here that antisemitism is not just the process of turning Jews [real persons] into ‘Jews’ [imaginary figures], but of turning anybody (whether Jewish or not) into ‘the Jew’. We could then understand the core of antisemitism to be:

**Any acts or attitudes that are based on the perception of a social subject (individual, group, institution, or state) as “the (‘deceitful’, ‘corrupt’, ‘conspiratorial’, etc.) Jew”.**

It has to be pointed out that antisemitism is not a simple form of everyday stereotyping that can be easily addressed. The perception of a social subject as ‘the Jew’ (characterised by the six or seven categories of stereotypical beliefs outlined above) goes far beyond the categorisations and generalisations we all do in everyday life. To believe in the stereotypical construction of ‘the Jew’, means, at its extreme, appropriating a closed belief system about how ‘the Jew’ is and about how he manipulates the world. The danger here is that this closed belief system has no exit door, precisely because all arguments against antisemitism can be interpreted and dismissed as the result of “Jewish power” and the “Jewish world conspiracy”.

---

<sup>391</sup> Perry and Schweitzer 2002, p. 7.

<sup>392</sup> Brian Klug: The collective Jew: Israel and the new antisemitism. In: Patterns of Prejudice, Vol. 37, No. 2, June 2003, Routledge, p. 124.

### **“New antisemitism”**

From an analytical perspective we can distinguish between two possible aspects of change from an “old” to a “new” antisemitism:

- 1) “Internal” changes concerning the nature of antisemitism, through redefining ‘the Jew’ (for example, by adding new characteristic to the imaginary ‘Jew’);
- 2) “External” changes concerning the manifestations of antisemitism in politics, media, and everyday life, or concerning new ways of disseminating antisemitism, new groups of (active) antisemites, or a new quality or quantity of antisemitic acts.

Concerning the second aspect there is practically a consensus among almost all participants in the current debate on the “new antisemitism” that there has been a significant increase in verbal and physical attacks directed against Jews or Jewish institutions since the year 2000. Most of them also agree that this increase should be seen in the context of political developments in the Middle East. Furthermore, particularly the proponents of the view that there is indeed a “new antisemitism”, point to new sources of antisemitism, new groups of offenders, or to new coalitions formed between extremist organisations that have discovered antisemitism as a common point of reference. Moreover, a new public manifestation of antisemitism is noted by most of the “new antisemitism” proponents who claim that the last decades have brought a masquerading of antisemitism as anti-Zionism or as critique of Israel, or behind anti-ideologies such as anti-racism or anti-imperialism. Others point to new communication channels, particularly the Internet, responsible for the rapid spread of conspiracy theories. So far, all of these “new aspects” of contemporary antisemitism regard “external” aspects; i.e., they concern the public appearance and the “new face” of antisemitism.

Concerning the first aspect, however, very few participants in the debate deal with any possible changes concerning the very nature of antisemitism. The question here is, whether the antisemitic stereotypical trait of ‘the Jew’ as “racist” or “imperialist” appearing in contemporary antisemitic ideology, constitutes a new trait in the construction of the imaginary ‘Jew’. Although, it is very difficult to give any conclusive answer, as this is still an ongoing debate, we would argue that the “old” antisemitic stereotypes of “the Jew” – at least implicitly – already contained these traits.



### Antisemitism and anti-Zionism

Let us now again turn to the crucial question of defining the point where anti-Israeli and anti-Zionist expressions are to be considered as antisemitism. If we follow our definition of antisemitism, this is not an arduous task. According to our definition, anti-Israeli or anti-Zionist attitudes and expression are in those cases antisemitic, where Israel is seen as being a representative of “the Jew”, i.e. as a representative of the traits attributed to the antisemitic construction of “the Jew”.<sup>393</sup> If this is the case, we can talk of antisemitic hostility towards Israel as representing the stereotypical ‘Jew’.

But what if the opposite is the case and Jews are perceived as representatives of Israel? What if Jews are criticised or offended for Israel’s policies toward the Palestinians? If we stick to our definition, then, strictly speaking, we would have to qualify hostility towards Jews as “Israelis” only then as antisemitic, if it is based on an underlying perception of Israel as “the Jew”. If this is not the case, then we would have to consider hostility towards Jews as “Israelis” as *not* genuinely antisemitic, because this hostility is not based on the antisemitic stereotyping of Jews. However, this does not mean that such a hostility towards Jews should be excluded from monitoring. There are three good reasons why hostility towards Jews as “Israelis” should in any case be carefully monitored:

- First, for the victims of such hostility, it does not make an immediate difference, if they are attacked as “the Jew” or as “an Israeli”.
- Second, it is a very difficult – and in most cases an impossible task – to look into peoples’ heads and grasp their thinking and their “real” intentions behind launching hostile activities against Jews.
- Third, those attacks on Jews, which are based not on antisemitic stereotyping but on the (false) generalisation of Jews as “Israelis”, are to be regarded, in the words of the EUMC-, as “attitudes and social behaviours that constitute a serious threat to basic European values and democracy”.

What should not be considered as antisemitic and therefore does not need to be monitored as such is hostility towards Israel as a country that may be criticised for its concrete policies. For our purpose of correctly attributing the label of “antisemitism”, it is not important whether the criticism of Israel for what it is and what it does is fair or unfair, balanced or unbalanced. It is an inherent part of most political cultures that political representatives primarily focus on representing their case as convincingly as possible – and not as balanced as possible. Therefore, it may, for example, be in the interest of a Palestinian representative to provide an unbalanced criticism of Israel and draw an exaggerated image of human rights violations, without such an unbalanced

---

<sup>393</sup> The antisemitic view of Israel as being representative for the (stereotypical) “Jew” is not to be confused with the view of Israel as a Jewish state, which is, in fact, the way, Israel defines itself.

criticism being per se antisemitic. It becomes antisemitic, only if its underlying reference point is the view of Israel as the (stereotypical) ‘Jew’.

The criticism of Israel for its policies might be of concern to both Israel itself and those who wish Israel a good reputation. However, there is one important exception: Criticism of Israel should then become a matter of public concern, when there is explicit evidence that it produces attacks on Jews.

Concerning the problem of clearly identifying whether, for example, an attack on Israel in the press is aimed at Israel as “the Jew” or Israel as a state it should be noted that there would always be cases, where no clear analytical distinction can be made. Some suggestions and guidelines for analytical tools and indicators, like Jonathan Freedland’s and Peter Pulzer’s, may help, however, one should always keep in mind that concrete instances of verbal attacks on Israel can, in fact, only be judged according to the historical, political, and situational context in which they are launched – and according to who launches them. Pulzer recognises this, when he states that the decision whether to qualify a particular criticism as antisemitic or not is context dependent.<sup>394</sup> Therefore, in order to be able to draw any valid conclusions about texts that criticise Israel, we need to conduct thorough and systematic analyses that will highlight different possible interpretations, account for their context of production as well as their context of reception, and make systematic use of the methodological tools provided by different social scientific disciplines.

---

<sup>394</sup> Peter Pulzer: The new antisemitism, or when is a taboo not a taboo? In: Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin (eds.): *A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Britain*. London: Profile, 2003, pp. 96f.

## **2.2. APPRAISAL OF EUMC RAXEN NETWORK DATA**

### **2.2.1. BELGIUM**

#### **I. DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM**

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS ARE REFERRED TO AND/OR USED BY THE NFP?

The Belgian NFP-report refers to the fact that within the Belgian legal framework there exist two laws dealing – at least to some extent – with the fight against antisemitism: the general anti-racism law of 1981 and the law of the denial of the Holocaust of March 1995.

The Belgian National Focal Point does not present a definition of antisemitism on its own. It rather uses the definition(s) provided by these two laws as the basis for their report. While the general anti-racism law, as it is quoted in the Belgian NFP report, does not make use of the term antisemitism or of any other term explicitly referring to the phenomenon of antisemitism, the law of the denial of the Holocaust, deals with one specific aspect of antisemitic ideology, namely the denial of the genocide committed by the German national-socialist regime. The latter law, despite its refusal to restrict itself to the genocide against the European Jews, broadly covers an aspect that can be subsumed under the heading of “secondary antisemitism”.

With respect to the “last years upsurge in antisemitism that could mainly be attributed to international events such as the second Intifada”, the Belgian NFP, talks in its 2003 report of a “new type of antisemitism”. This “new type of antisemitism” manifested itself, according to the NFP, “as isolated acts against members of the Jewish community”. In this context, the CEOOR in its function as the Belgian NFP points out

“that the association between the repressions of the Israeli army in the occupied territories with genocide is not correct and very dangerous. This kind of confusion of concepts stimulates the ideas of Holocaust denial and might incite to racial discrimination. At the same time, the CEOOR disapproves the occurrence of extreme and xenophobic discourses that come from some members of the Jewish community and that are disseminated via the Internet.”

## WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS (IF ANY) ARE APPLIED BY THE DATA COLLECTING BODIES MENTIONED IN THE NFP REPORTS?

As noted above, the Belgian NFP mentions two legal definitions regarding racism and the denial of the German genocide.

## ARE THERE ANY PROBLEMS ARTICULATED WITH REGARD TO DEFINING ANTISEMITISM?

The Belgian NFP does not refer to any problem related to defining antisemitism. There is, however, the allusion to the fact that the NFP cannot guarantee the reliability and validity of the data on antisemitic incidents and acts received by other data collecting bodies.

## II. SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF EXISTING DATA ON ANTISEMITISM

### WHO COLLECTS – ACCORDING TO THE NFP-REPORTS – DATA ON ANTISEMITISM IN BELGIUM?

The Belgian NFP mentions a public body ‘COOR’ and five NGOs as bodies that collect data on antisemitism. However, only three of these, the ‘CEOOR’ itself, ‘B.E.S.C (Bureau Exécutif de Surveillance Communautaire)’, and ‘CKJGA’ (Coördinatie comité van de joodse gemeenten van Antwerpen)’, are explicitly referred to in connection with concrete data on antisemitism presented in the NFP-reports. There is no evaluation/examination of the external data received and processed by the CEOOR (as Belgian NFP). Therefore, CEOOR does distance itself from possible non-reliability and non-validity of the external data, particularly the data provided by ‘BESC’, included in the NFP-reports.

#### **CEOOR**

The Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism (CEOOR) was established on February 15<sup>th</sup>, 1993 “as a specialised public body fighting racism and xenophobia, replacing the Royal Commission on Migrant Policy.” The CEOOR publishes an annual report on recent developments in the field of racism, antisemitism and xenophobia and on the complaints that are registered (See <http://www.diversite.be>).

#### **MRAX**

MRAX is mentioned in the Belgian NFP RAXEN-reports as “a French-speaking non-governmental Brussels organisation fighting racism, antisemitism and xenophobia” that also registers complaints. However, no further reference is made to MRAX with regard to the delivery of concrete data on antisemitism for the years 2002 and 2003.

**www.antisemitisme.be by the and CKJGA (Coördinatie comité van de joodse gemeenschap van Antwerpen)**

This Internet site is mentioned in the NFP-reports as offering “an interesting overview of antisemitic acts in Belgium” and is used by the Belgian NFP as a major source on antisemitic incidents and acts in the years 2002 and 2003. However, the NFP points to the fact that it cannot guarantee the reliability and the validity of the information provided by this site.

**Forum of Jewish Organizations of Antwerp**

The Forum of Jewish Organizations of Antwerp reported several antisemitic incidents mentioned in the NFP-reports to the CEOOR.

**www.resistances.be**

There is a file on antisemitic incidents that was launched by the Internet magazine “RésistanceS” (<http://www.resistances.be/antisem01.html>). No further reference is made to this magazine in the Belgian NFP-report.

**WHAT KIND OF DATA IS COLLECTED BY THE DIFFERENT DATA COLLECTING BODIES?**

**a) Data on antisemitic acts**

With regard to the availability and quality of concrete data on acts of antisemitism, the Belgian NFP points to the fact that there exists presently no monitoring system that could provide reliable and valid data on antisemitism. Thus, an objective estimation of the extent of antisemitism in Belgium cannot be established at the moment.

**2002**

The CEOOR registers individual complaints about all forms of racism. Furthermore, the organisation employs trained staff (lawyers and social scientists), which deal directly with the individual complaints. A total number of complaints accruing to 1316 on racism were registered by the CEOOR in the year 2002. The CEOOR labelled one out of four cases as ‘racism’.

The 2003 NFP report states that the number of antisemitic incidents has been increasing since the year 2000. Of the 1316 complaints that were registered at the CEOOR in 2002, 30 concerned antisemitism (of which two were labelled as ‘unfounded’ by the CEOOR).

In addition to the complaints filed with the CEOOR, the Belgian NFP registered for 2002 a list of incidents classified as antisemitic including 4 attacks on synagogues labelled as “extreme violence”, acts of harassment against a Jewish family classified as “extreme violence & damage and desecration of property”, and a case of insults and threats against a Jewish teacher. Furthermore, the CEOOR registered “the presence of anti-Semitic banners and the chanting of anti-Semitic slogans during several demonstrations sympathising with the Palestine people or protesting against the war in Iraq (e.g. in April and November 2002).” In this context, the CEOOR points out “that the association between the repressions of the Israeli army in the occupied territories with genocide is not correct and very dangerous.” The CEOOR reports that it started in 2002 a liability action with respect to five antisemitic acts and that these cases are still being treated.

For the period of May 15 to June 15 the CEOOR delivered, in the course of a “Rapid Response Activity” on antisemitism, the following additional data compilation: physical acts of violence towards Jews: 4 incidents; Verbal aggression/hate speech against Jewish people: 4 incidents.

Sixty-two hostile acts towards the Jewish Community were registered on <http://www.antisemitisme.be> in 2002. Of the 62 registered acts a major part (45) was situated in Brussels. 39 antisemitic acts were targeted on individuals and 23 on buildings of the Jewish community.

### **2003**

For its listing of antisemitic acts in 2003 the CEOOR relied mainly on information collected and published by [www.antisemitisme.be](http://www.antisemitisme.be). The information provided by [www.antisemitisme.be](http://www.antisemitisme.be) was structured by the CEOOR according to the 2003 EUMC guidelines.

The following data on antisemitic acts in 2003 was collected and published by [www.antisemitisme.be](http://www.antisemitisme.be) and categorized by the CEOOR according to the EUMC guidelines:

- Extreme Violence: 1 incident.
- Assault: 5 incidents.
- Damage and Desecration of Property: 4 incidents.
- Threats: 2 incidents.
- Abusive behaviour: 4 incidents.

b) Data on victims and perpetrators of antisemitic acts

Within the NFP reports there are several instances, where perpetrators are named in connection with antisemitic acts. However, it was only in two of these cases that some evidence is given in order to support the reliability of the data. With regard to victims of antisemitic incidents the NFP points to the general fact that in 2002 several institutions and persons of the Jewish community had been the target of antisemitic violence.

The NFP concludes with regard to perpetrators of antisemitic acts:

“On the whole, antisemitism is mainly to be situated in the context of political minorities or political-religious integrist movements, who also spread it among groups of youngsters with Arabic-Islamic origins. Extreme right organisations are seen to exploit the tensions between Israel and the Palestinian authority in order to set both parties against each other in Belgium as well.”

Furthermore, the following general statement is made by the CEOOR in its function as Belgian NFP regarding the registration and validation of data on victims and perpetrators:

“Due to the lack of systematic data on racial violence, it is very difficult to make an analysis of the personal characteristics of victims and perpetrators of racial violence. To this day we do not have the required information to perform such an analysis.”

c) Data on the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes in the media

The Belgian NFP has registered no such data.

d) Data on antisemitic organisations and parties (and their activities)

**Vrij Historisch Onderzoek**

The extreme right organisation ‘Vrij Historisch Onderzoek’<sup>395</sup> (VHO) is named in the NFP-reports as actively disseminating

“the negation of the war crimes and crimes against humanity during WWII, aided by different French speaking groups, among which the Neo-Nazi organisation l’Assaut.”

However, the ‘VHO’ is reported to have substantially reduced its activities due to the law of March 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1995 against the denial of the Holocaust, as well as due to complaints filed against the ‘VHO’s opening of a judicial investigation

---

<sup>395</sup> Translation: Free Historic Research.

by the public prosecutor of Antwerp. Moreover, in October 2000, a ‘Vlaams Blok’ militant was convicted for the first time for disseminating Holocaust denial material.

### **Arabian European League (AEL)**

On June 6<sup>th</sup>, 2002, a complaint was lodged with the CEOOR against Dyab Abou Jahjah, president of the Arabian European League (AEL) claiming that the Internet site operated by his organization “incites openly to hatred, discrimination and/or violence towards the Jewish community.”

#### **e) Data on antisemitic literature**

The NFP reports mention one court case on the dissemination of texts denying the Holocaust in 2002 and nine further cases of either court convictions or complaints filed with CEOOR in 2003 regarding negationist or antisemitic contents in texts disseminated to the public. Of these nine cases in 2003, one regards a conviction of two major proponents of the organisation ‘VHO’ to one year suspended imprisonment and a penalty of 2500 € for offences against the 1995 Holocaust denial law and the 1981 anti-racism law; another case regards complaints filed with CEOOR concerning antisemitic statements in a schoolbook for teaching Flemish in secondary education - with the result that “the publisher immediately destroyed the existing stock of the handbook and printed an adapted version”; in another court case the judge agreed with a complaint filed by the CEOOR on the grounds of infringements of the 1981 anti-racism law because of antisemitic and racist statements in a book; furthermore,

“the CEOOR received in 2003 (until November) three additional complaints on anti-Semitic elements in texts (e-mail, local newspapers), and three complaints on anti-Semitic texts on Internet sites.”

#### **f) Data on social scientific research or opinion polls on antisemitism**

The Anti-Defamation League conducted in June 2002 a survey on “European Attitudes toward Jews”. 500 telephone interviews “among the general public” were conducted in Belgium: 50% of the respondents believed that it is “probably true” that Jews are “more loyal to Israel than to Belgium”; 44% said that it is “probably true” that “Jews have too much power in the business world”; 38% affirmed the view that “Jews still talk too much about the Holocaust”.<sup>396</sup>

<sup>396</sup> See [http://www.adl.org/anti\\_semitism/European\\_Attitudes.pdf](http://www.adl.org/anti_semitism/European_Attitudes.pdf); page viewed on February 16, 2004.



#### HOW IS THE DATA CATEGORISED/ANALYSED BY THE NFP?

The data is categorised according to the two schemes developed by the EUMC. Some of the data is provided with comments regarding its potential lack of reliability and validity. No further analysis of the data was conducted by the NFP in its reports.

#### WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE REPRESENTATIVENESS, RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND COMPARABILITY OF THE DATA PRESENTED IN THE NFP REPORTS? WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE PHENOMENON OF UNDER- AND OVERREPORTING?

##### a) Representativeness

From what is stated in the NFP-reports and from the data itself it seems to be clear that the data collected and presented does not cover all of the cases of antisemitism in Belgium in the reporting period and can particularly, due to a lack of existing information and evidence, not be regarded as representative concerning the identity of perpetrators. The data only gives some indications regarding perpetrators and possible political and social backgrounds of antisemitic incidents – indications that have to be taken serious, but that also demand for further, more detailed, data collection and analysis and particularly for social scientific research projects in order to obtain reliable and valid results.

##### b) Reliability and Validity

Particularly the reliability and validity of the data from sources other than the CEOOR cannot be guaranteed.

##### c) Comparability

The comparability of the data collected by different organisations is not warranted, however, the common structuring and clustering of data from the diverse organisations according to the EUMC guidelines represents a valuable approach towards establishing common analytical grounds for the evaluation of the data.

##### d) Under- and overreporting

The NFP refers in its reports explicitly to the problem of underreporting:

“Neither complaints that are filed by organisations as the CEOOR, nor the racial violence acts that are registered by the police provide a representative image of the real amount of racial violence.”

However, the Belgian NFP-reports also provide, implicitly, evidence for the existence of the phenomenon of overreporting. A significant proportion of the complaints filed with the CEOOR are either labelled as “unfounded” or are not

directly categorized as “racist” or “antisemitic”. This also points to the fact that a certain proportion of the incidents reported to and by organisations other than the CEOOR might, after an evaluation, be labelled as “unfounded” or not attributable the label of “antisemitism”.

DOES THE EXISTING DATA CONTRIBUTE TO ANSWERING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A NEW TYPE OF ANTISEMITISM HAS EVOLVED OR NOT?

Though the Belgian NFP refers to a “new type of antisemitism” related to the “last years upsurge in antisemitism that could mainly be attributed to international events such as the second Intifada”, no sufficient evidence is given and no deeper analysis is conducted in the report in order to support this view.

## 2.2.2. DENMARK

### I. DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS ARE REFERRED TO AND/OR USED BY THE NFP?

The following working definition of antisemitism is used in the Danish NFP report:

“Hostile activities and utterances towards Jews, the Jewish faith and its institutions in Denmark. Antisemitism does not in this report include critical comments directed at the policies of the state of Israel.”

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS (IF ANY) ARE APPLIED BY THE DATA COLLECTING BODIES MENTIONED IN THE NFP REPORTS?

No reference to any other definition of the term “antisemitism” is made in the NFP report. However, there is a reference to the Danish Penal Code, prohibiting racist speech. According to the NFP, section 266 b of the Penal Code was introduced to protect society from antisemitic statements. Section 266 b of the Danish Criminal Code prohibits dissemination of expressions of racial prejudice. Section 266 b, subsection 1, contains a definition of racial discrimination.<sup>397</sup>

ARE THERE ANY PROBLEMS ARTICULATED WITH REGARD TO DEFINING ANTISEMITISM?

The Danish NFP does not refer to any problem related to defining antisemitism.

---

<sup>397</sup> Section 266b of the Penal Code: “(1) Any person who publicly or with the intention of dissemination to a wide circle of people makes a statement or imparts other information threatening, insulting or degrading a group of persons on account of their race, colour, national or ethnic origin, belief or sexual orientation, shall be liable to a fine, simple detention or imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.”

## II. SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF EXISTING DATA ON ANTISEMITISM

WHO COLLECTS – ACCORDING TO THE NFP-REPORTS – DATA ON ANTISEMITISM IN DENMARK?

### **The Danish Civil Security Service (PET)**

According to the NFP, the Police record all complaints concerning section 266 b (see above), however, the number of initiated court cases and convictions is not published.

### **Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination (DACoRD)**

The ‘Danish Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racist Discrimination’ is an NGO, registering acts of discrimination. It runs a telephone service for free legal advice to people who claim they have been discriminated against. All cases are registered on DACoRD’s database. According to the NFP’s assessment, DACoRD is a small organisation with very limited resources and is therefore far from well known in Denmark. Thus, although DACoRD’s material supplements PETs figures, when added together they are still far from an accurate and complete representation of the incidences of racist violence in Denmark.

### **The Jewish Community in Denmark**

The Jewish Community in Denmark records antisemitic acts that are reported to it including incidents not recorded by other institutions.

WHAT KIND OF DATA IS COLLECTED BY THE DIFFERENT DATA COLLECTING BODIES?

a) Data on antisemitic acts

### **Official records on racist crimes by governmental authorities**

The NFP notes that the records provided by the PET do not have the category “antisemitism”. However, the records do provide information on each specific event, so that crimes may with some uncertainty, as the information at times is sparse, be categorised post facto. The NFP stresses in this context that some of the crimes fall into more than one of the categories. According to PET records, in 2002 22 crimes fall under the category “antisemitism”, while in 2003 (January – September) 9 crimes come under this category.

One of the incidents, which is potentially to be qualified as “extreme violence” is the attack of a Jewish shop owner on April 21, 2002. During 2002 and 2003 PET has registered two incidents that may be categorised as “assaults” against Jews.

### Unofficial records of racist crimes

As mentioned above, records on antisemitic acts are produced by the Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination (DACoRD) and by the Jewish Community.

Of the 50 incidents registered by the Jewish Community and reported to DACoRD in 2002 only 5 overlap with the official PET record of 2002. The following incidents have been categorised according to the categories provided by the PET.

| Nature of Incidents | Number of Incidents |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| Arson               | 0                   |
| Harassment          | 21                  |
| Vandalism           | 8                   |
| Propaganda          | 3                   |
| Threats             | 9                   |
| Unrest              | 0                   |
| Physical attacks    | 9                   |
| Total               | 50                  |

*(Jewish Community record January-November 2002)*

The Jewish Community registered a total of 35 incidents<sup>398</sup> in the year 2003, including mainly incidents of threats and abusive behaviour against Jews. Four incidents may be categorised as damage or desecration to property.

#### b) Data on victims and perpetrators of antisemitic acts

According to the NFP, the perpetrators of antisemitic acts in Denmark are traditionally to be found amongst the groups of the so-called “Racist revolutionaries”. However, for the years 2001/2002, following the reports of the Jewish Community in Denmark, the picture has changed somewhat. Victims and witnesses of antisemitic acts now describe “young males with Arabic/Palestinian/Muslim background” as being the main perpetrators.

<sup>398</sup> This figure is not final, as information about other incidents during 2003 may be added in 2004, when it comes to the knowledge of the Jewish Community.

## c) Data on the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes in the media

The Danish NFP has recorded no data on the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes in the media.

## d) Data on antisemitic organisations and parties (and their activities)

**Hizb-ut-Tahrir**

According to the NFP, a fervent political debate sparked in Denmark around a “flyer” distributed by the Islamic political organization ‘Hizb-ut-Tahrir’ with an apparent call for Muslims to kill all Jews. The NFP reports on the judgement of the Eastern High Court according to which “the leader of the Danish branch of the organization ‘Hizb-ut-Tahrir’ was sentenced for disseminating a flyer containing degrading, insulting and threatening remarks about Jews”.

## e) Data on antisemitic literature

The NFP points out that, due to the quite liberal legislation and practice on racist speech in Denmark, the Danish Neo-Nazi organisation is quite openly disseminating anti-Semitic and racist literature, and other forms of propaganda. According to the NFP, the distribution of such material, broadcasting etc. is free and neither PET nor the Jewish Community monitors it.

For the case of the flyer distributed by ‘Hizb-ut-Tahrir’ see above. In addition, ‘Hizb-ut-Tahrir’ also maintains an Internet webpage.

According to the NFP, about half of all incidents recorded by PET during 2002 and 2003 may be categorised as “threats” towards individuals (because they are Jews) or towards Jews as a group. In this context, the internet and other electronic possibilities are now being used to forward or display threats against Jews, which can be illustrated with a number of Danish court decisions from 2003.

DACoRD reported on a large quantity of Danish revisionist material disseminated via the Internet.

## f) Data on social scientific research or opinion polls on antisemitism

The Anti-Defamation League conducted in June 2002 a survey on “European Attitudes Toward Jews”. 500 telephone interviews “among the general public” were conducted in Denmark; 45% of the respondents believed that it is “probably true” that Jews are “more loyal to Israel than to Denmark”; 13% said that it is “probably true” that “Jews have too much power in the business

world”; 30% affirmed the view that “Jews still talk too much about the Holocaust”.<sup>399</sup>

#### HOW IS THE DATA CATEGORISED/ANALYSED BY THE NFP?

Some of the data was listed by the NFP without categorisation, some of the data was categorised according to the PET-categories and some of the data was structured according to the EUMC guidelines.

The NFP discusses different approaches to data collection and categorisation. It distinguishes between perpetrator-oriented and victim-oriented approaches. While it assigns the perpetrator-oriented approach to official authorities, like the police, it feels more committed to the victim-oriented perspective, as this is the main perspective of NGO’s working in the area of racism (but to some degree also the perspective of the PET).

#### WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE REPRESENTATIVENESS, RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND COMPARABILITY OF THE DATA PRESENTED IN THE NFP REPORTS? WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE PHENOMENON OF UNDER- AND OVERREPORTING?

##### a) Representativeness

According to the NFP, “the only systematic approach presently available is the guidelines from the PET to the local police, on how to report, what may be considered racist motivated crimes. The figures from the PET, consequently, show what is perceived as discriminatory acts by the victims (those who report to the police), but not the actually figure on the level of racist violence in Denmark.” Therefore, the victims’ reports to NGOs gain a specific importance as complementary material, despite their lack in validity.

##### b) Reliability and Validity

Since there is no uniform method of categorising and evaluating data and since no common definition of antisemitism is applied, the reliability and validity of the collected data cannot be guaranteed.

##### c) Comparability

See above “Reliability and Validity”.

---

<sup>399</sup> See [http://www.adl.org/anti\\_semitism/European\\_Attitudes.pdf](http://www.adl.org/anti_semitism/European_Attitudes.pdf); page viewed on February 16, 2004.

## d) Under- and overreporting

The NFP points to the fact that, on the one hand, far from all antisemitic incidents are reported to official institutions and that, on the other hand, not all incidents reported may be motivated by antisemitism.

## DOES THE EXISTING DATA CONTRIBUTE TO ANSWERING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A NEW TYPE OF ANTISEMITISM HAS EVOLVED OR NOT?

The Danish NFP does not discuss explicitly the “new antisemitism” issue, however, it conducts a kind of “cause and effect analysis” with regard to the diagnosis of a change in the perpetrators of antisemitic crimes:

“The 11.9 and the political developments in Israel have led to increased attacks on the Jewish community in Denmark. However, these attacks were already taking place before the 11.9. The victims have consistently described the perpetrators as being young males with a Palestinian/Arab/Muslim background, though girls were identified in a few incidents. However, Neo-nazis were suggested as the possible perpetrators in the vandalized cemetery incident. The attacks are isolated and tend to occur when the opportunity arises as opposed to the youths actively looking for them. In that sense the attacks resemble many of the attacks on Muslims after 11.9. The reason for this hostility seems to be a mixture of reactions to the political situation in Israel, which is then further fuelled by certain fundamental Islamic groups’ anti-Semitic literature and rhetoric here in Denmark, which legitimizes the attacks. However, the youths’ own marginalized position in Danish society, which reflects the marginalized position of Palestinians vis-à-vis Israel, must also contribute to the build up of frustrations that lead to these attacks.”

The NFP points to the tentative and speculative character of these analytical comments and the fact that they should be treated as open questions for research than firm conclusions.



## 2.2.3. GERMANY

### I. DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS ARE REFERRED TO AND/OR USED BY THE NFP?

The German NFP refers to two definitions of antisemitism:

- “Antisemitism is directed at the debasement of people of the Jewish faith and of Jewish origin as well as their cultural symbols” (cf. Heitmeyer 2002).
- Antisemitism is „the religious, cultural, and racial prejudice towards the minority of the Jews“. (Wolfgang Benz, FR, 05/28/02)

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS (IF ANY) ARE APPLIED BY THE DATA COLLECTING BODIES MENTIONED IN THE NFP REPORTS?

The German NFP points out that, according to the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the Federal Ministry of Justice, no official legal definition exists. The classification as “antisemitic“ in the crime statistics is oriented towards the perpetrator’s motives and towards the attacked people or objects.

ARE THERE ANY PROBLEMS ARTICULATED WITH REGARD TO DEFINING ANTISEMITISM?

The German NFP does not refer to any problem related to defining antisemitism, except, that the definition has to include also more subtle forms of antisemitism.

### II. SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF EXISTING DATA ON ANTISEMITISM

WHO COLLECTS – ACCORDING TO THE NFP-REPORTS – DATA ON ANTISEMITISM IN GERMANY?

**KPMD-PMK: "Kriminalpolizeilicher Meldedienst – Politisch motivierte Kriminalität"**

This new register has been in operation since 1<sup>st</sup> January 2001 and is based on the perpetrators' motivation. It offers the chance to clearly assign crimes by right-wing perpetrators, which were previously insufficiently reflected in the statistics.

### **Police Crime Statistics (PKS)**

The most important data sources that register racist crimes are the Police Crime Statistics as extreme right wing, xenophobic and antisemitic criminal offences are only recorded by the official authorities systematically and extensively. The Police Crime Statistics register the number of cases investigated by the police and forwarded to the federal prosecutor.

WHAT KIND OF DATA IS COLLECTED BY THE DIFFERENT DATA COLLECTING BODIES?

#### a) Data on antisemitic acts

##### **2002**

In 2002, whilst the total number of criminal offences with an antisemitic background dropped slightly, the number of antisemitic violent crimes rose from 18 in 2001 to 28 in 2002. A closer look at the antisemitic criminal acts in the first six months of 2002 shows that these were mainly “incitement of the people” (about 2/3) and “propaganda crimes” (almost 1/5). In this period also 8 violent crimes were recorded. An East-West comparison shows that – in contrast to the total of criminal acts with an extreme right-wing background – the number of antisemitic criminal acts is not over-proportionally frequent in the new federal states, in relation to the respective population.

##### **2003**

In the first six months of 2003, 467 antisemitic criminal acts were recorded, including 16 violent crimes. 14 people were injured as a result of these crimes.

#### b) Data on victims and perpetrators of antisemitic acts

##### **Data on victims of racist violence and racist crimes**

According to the NFP, few data is available on victims of racist violence. Official statistics only provide information on the number of injured people as a result of extreme right wing "politically motivated criminality". In a study in Frankfurt around 800 people with a migrant background were asked whether they had personally experienced racism due to their migrant origins or their skin colour. 36.1% reported that they had already been verbally insulted and 10% said they had even been physically attacked (cf. in more detail table 9 in the annex).<sup>400</sup>

---

<sup>400</sup> Gaby Straßburger: Evaluation von Integrationsprozessen in Frankfurt am Main. Studie zur Erforschung des Standes der Integration von Zuwanderern und Deutschen in Frankfurt am Main am Beispiel von drei ausgewählten Stadtteilen im Auftrag des Amtes für multikulturelle Angelegenheiten der Stadt Frankfurt am Main, Bamberg 2001.

### Data on Perpetrators of racist violence and racist crimes

Data on perpetrators are provided by the official police statistics, which are mainly quantitative in character and also by sociological studies, which, in addition to quantitative evaluations, also offer qualitative analyses and thus are in a position to provide additional background information on the perpetrators.

Several studies are mentioned by the NFP with regard to the background and motivation of perpetrators of racist crimes.<sup>401</sup> Based on the results of these empirical studies, a profile of xenophobic offenders was compiled. The majority of offenders are male and between 15 and 24 years old. In addition, their educational achievements are lower than those of respective age groups within the general population. The majority of suspects or perpetrators are not first-time offenders, but has already been registered as criminal offenders, for politically motivated as well as other offences. This state of affairs indicates a significant overlap between politically motivated and general youth criminality. Concerning the affiliation of offenders with extremist organisations, it can be stated that 50% of offenders in West Germany, but only 10% in East Germany, have been registered as skinheads. It can therefore be concluded that many offenders, particularly in the "new" German states, are not affiliated with organised right-wing extremist groups, but rather with informal or spontaneous peer groups, i.e. groups of young people spending their free time together. Antisemitic criminal acts, however, are committed by a relatively high number of single perpetrators. The crimes were primarily committed at or near the place where the perpetrator lives.

The findings with reference to antisemitic attitudes reveal differences between East and West German perpetrators. While two thirds of Eastern German perpetrators agree with antisemitic statements, the Western German perpetrators display 100% antisemitic attitudes.

According to the NFP, in some antisemitic incidents the perpetrators were reported as having a migrant/Muslim background.<sup>402</sup>

---

<sup>401</sup> Christian Peucker, Martina Gaßebner, Klaus Wahl: Analyse polizeilicher Ermittlungsakten zu fremdenfeindlichen, antisemitischen und rechtsextremistischen Tatverdächtigen. In: Klaus Wahl (ed.): *Fremdenfeindlichkeit, Antisemitismus, Rechtsextremismus. Drei Studien zu Tatverdächtigen und Tätern*. Berlin 2001, pp. 12-88; Martina Gaßebner, Christian Peucker, Nikola Schmidt, Klaus Wahl: *Analyse von Urteilsschriften zu fremdenfeindlichen, antisemitischen und rechtsextremistischen Straftätern*. In: Wahl 2001, pp. 89-161; Landeskriminalamt Baden-Württemberg: *Der politisch motivierte Gewalttäter in Baden-Württemberg. Eine tat-/täterorientierte Untersuchung der Jahre 1999 bis 2001*. Stuttgart 2002; W. Frindte, J. Neumann: *Fremdenfeindliche Gewalttäter - Biografien und Tatverläufe*. Wiesbaden 2002.

<sup>402</sup> Although some studies have been conducted in Germany on attitudes of migrants and their integration into German society, antisemitism was not a major focus within these studies. See for example Wilhelm Heitmeyer, Joachim Müller, Helmut Schröder: *Verlockender Fundamentalismus. Türkische Jugendliche in Deutschland*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 1997.

## c) Data on the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes in the media

No such data has been collected by the NFP.

## d) Data on antisemitic organisations and parties (and their activities)

See below “Data on antisemitic literature”.

## e) Data on antisemitic literature

According to the NFP, antisemitic or racist publications appear occasionally. One must, however, distinguish between publications from independent publishers and publications, which appear periodically and are produced by particular organisations. Examples of the former are particularly the party organs of the three extreme right-wing parties. The ‘Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschland’ (German National Democratic Party) (NPD) publishes on a monthly basis the ‘Deutsche Stimme’ (German Voice) with a circulation of 10,000 copies. The ‘Republikaner’ (the Republicans) (REP) publishes a journal bearing the same name every two months with a circulation of 12,000. The weekly paper ‘National-Zeitung/Deutsche Wochen-Zeitung’ (NZ) is the organ of the ‘Deutsche Volkunion’ (Union of German People) (DVU) and with approximately 44,000 copies is the extreme right-wing publication with the highest circulation in Germany. These publications are reported by the NFP to contain either “latent or obvious anti-Semitic tendencies”.

In addition to openly antisemitic literature that is monitored by the Verfassungsschutz (Federal Office for Internal Security), the NFP refers to repeated cases of publications where controversial discussions break out in German society as to their possibly antisemitic tendencies.

## f) Data on social scientific research or opinion polls on antisemitism

**Brähler/Niedermayer (2002)**

In the survey carried out by Niedermayer und Brähler, 1,050 Western and 1,001 Eastern Germans were interviewed. 25% of the interviewees displayed xenophobic and 12% antisemitic attitudes. Antisemitism was elicited by the items “the Jews still have too great an influence today”, “Jews use dirty tricks more often than other people do in order to get their way” and “Jews are rather peculiar and odd and don’t really fit into our society”. According to this survey, Western Germans displayed stronger antisemitic tendencies than Eastern Germans (14% compared with 5%).<sup>403</sup>

---

<sup>403</sup> E. Brähler, O. Niedermayer: Rechtsextreme Einstellungen in Deutschland. Berlin/Leipzig 2002.

**Fuchs/Lamnek/Wiederer (2003):**

Within the framework of this study, 5,042 Bavarian pupils were asked in written questionnaires on xenophobic and antisemitic attitudes (see the table below).<sup>404</sup>

| Anti- Semitism  | degree of agreement in % |                            |           |                               |                        |
|---|--------------------------|----------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------|------------------------|
|   | downright agreement      | tendency towards agreement | undecided | tendency towards disagreement | downright disagreement |
| <b>Jews try to profit from the past.</b>                  | 18.7                     | 14.9                       | 30.1      | 19.7                          | 16.7                   |
| <b>Humiliation due to German crimes towards the Jews.</b> | 45.9                     | 23.3                       | 16.0      | 6.6                           | 8.2                    |
| <b>Lack of understanding towards anti-Semites.</b>        | 43.8                     | 20.4                       | 20.1      | 8.0                           | 7.8                    |
| <b>Jews partially to blame for persecution.</b>           | 6.4                      | 7.5                        | 21.2      | 23.0                          | 41.8                   |
| <b>Jews have too much influence.</b>                      | 5.8                      | 5.1                        | 16.6      | 26.2                          | 46.3                   |
| <b>Christians and Jews can get along well.</b>            | 40.7                     | 21.3                       | 26.9      | 5.5                           | 5.7                    |

Source: Fuchs/Lamnek/Wiederer 2003

**GMF-Survey (Heitmeyer 2002)**

In the course of the GMF-Survey 3,000 members of the German-speaking population were interviewed in May and June 2003 on a representative basis.<sup>405</sup> The project is a long-term observation of misanthropic attitudes in the population (running from 2002 until 2011). The study points out that women are more xenophobic or racist than men (38,1% to 30,5% and 10,0% to 4,6% respectively). In contrast, men display more frequently negative tendencies

<sup>404</sup> M. Fuchs, S. Lamnek, R. Wiederer: Querschläger. Jugendliche zwischen rechter Ideologie und Gewalt. Opladen 2003.

<sup>405</sup> GMF stands for Group-related Misanthropy. It should be pointed out that people with a migrant background were not included in the results so that the sample survey was reduced to 2,722 people.

towards Jews (14,7% to 10,9%) and towards Islam (26,6% to 20,1%) than women do.<sup>406</sup>

### **American Jewish Committee (AJC)**

On May 31, 2002 the American Jewish Committee (AJC) released a study in Berlin about the reporting of German print media on four important incidents in the Middle East during the second Intifada between September 2000 and August 2001. The study, which was conducted by the Linguistic and Social Research Institute in Duisburg (*Institut für Sprach- und Sozialforschung*), concluded that the reporting of the examined newspapers and magazines about the Middle East conflict was biased and contains antisemitic elements, which could (re) produce existing antisemitic and racial prejudice.<sup>407</sup>

The study was criticised by the weekly newspaper “*Die Zeit*”, because it did not provide “verifiable proof”, as to how news reporting actually affects the audience.<sup>408</sup>

### **Jüdische Allgemeine**

The *Jüdische Allgemeine* quotes an opinion poll, which came to similar conclusions concerning the increase of anti-Jewish attitudes between 1999 and 2002: 1999 “only” 19% of the Germans could “well understand that some people feel unpleasant about Jews”; this number has risen to 33% in 2002. In 2002 only 37% could not understand these “unpleasant feelings” towards Jews; while in 1999, 55% stated a “lack of understanding”.<sup>409</sup>

### **NfO Infratest**

A recently released poll conducted by ‘*NfO Infratest*’ came to different results: Generally speaking, the given answers lead to the conclusion that antisemitic resentments have been slightly decreasing in Germany over the past 11 years. In June 2002, 68% of the asked people rejected the statement “The Jews are partly responsible for being hated and persecuted“, 29% confirmed the statement. In 1991, the percentage for the confirmation was 32%. In the question “How many Germans have an anti-Jewish attitude?” 2% answered “most Germans” and 26% “hardly anyone”. Nevertheless, 29% confirmed the statement that “Jews have too much influence on the world“. This number is lower than in the 1991 poll, when 36% confirmed the statement.<sup>410</sup>

<sup>406</sup> Wilhelm Heitmeyer (ed.): *Deutsche Zustände - Folge 1*. Frankfurt am Main 2002.

<sup>407</sup> See [https://www.ajc.org/upload/pdf/German\\_media\\_survey.pdf](https://www.ajc.org/upload/pdf/German_media_survey.pdf), viewed on January 20, 2004.

<sup>408</sup> See „*Die Zeit*“, May 29, 2002; also: Spiegel online, May 30, 2002.

<sup>409</sup> See “*Jüdische Allgemeine*”, July 6, 2002.

<sup>410</sup> See “*Der Spiegel*”, June 11, 2002.

## **ADL**

The Anti-Defamation League conducted in June 2002 a survey on “European Attitudes toward Jews”. 500 telephone interviews “among the general public” were conducted in Germany: 55% of the respondents believed that it is “probably true” that Jews are “more loyal to Israel than to Germany”; 32% said that it is “probably true” that “Jews have too much power in the business world”; 58% affirmed the view that “Jews still talk too much about the Holocaust”.<sup>411</sup>

## **FORSA poll**

In the ‘FORSA’ poll commissioned by ‘Stern’ magazine a catalogue of questions and statements on attitudes towards Jews was sent to 1,301 German citizens in mid-November 2003: in 23% of those interviewed “latent antisemitic” tendencies were present; in 1998 this percentage was 20%. Furthermore, 61% agreed with the statement “58 years after the end of the war, the persecution of the Jews should not be talked about so much any more, but that a line ought to be finally drawn under the past”. In 1998, 63% were of this opinion. Whilst the agreement with the question as to whether “Jews had too much influence in the world” rose from 21% (1998) to 28%, the proportion of those who thought that “Jews tried to gain advantages from their past and were making the Germans pay” dropped from 41% (1998) to 36%.<sup>412</sup>

## **EMNID Institute**

The ‘EMNID’ Institute carried out a similar survey in early November 2003 on behalf of the daily newspaper “Die Welt”. The representative survey revealed that 79% of the 1,006 people who were interviewed were of the opinion that in Germany “hardly anyone” or “only a low number” of citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany were “against Jews”; only 12% of the interviewees perceived an anti-Jewish attitude in the case of a “large number” of citizens and only 1% perceived this feeling amongst “most” citizens of Germany. 85% of Germans do not care whether they have “a fellow citizen of the Jewish faith” as a neighbour or not and 13% even wish they had a Jewish neighbour. 2% of those interviewed said that they did not want a Jew as a neighbour. However, 24% of the interviewees also agreed with the statement “The Jews, now as well as in the past, have too much influence on events happening in the world” (8% “agreed strongly”; 17% “rather agreed”).<sup>413</sup>

---

<sup>411</sup> See [http://www.adl.org/anti\\_semitism/European\\_Attitudes.pdf](http://www.adl.org/anti_semitism/European_Attitudes.pdf); page viewed on February 16, 2004.

<sup>412</sup> See [www.stern.de](http://www.stern.de) on November 19, 2003; “taz” on November 20, 2003; “Financial Times Deutschland” on November 20, 2003.

<sup>413</sup> See “Die Welt” November 10, 2003.

#### HOW IS THE DATA CATEGORISED/ANALYSED BY THE NFP?

The data is structured according to the EUMC guidelines.

WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE REPRESENTATIVENESS, RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND COMPARABILITY OF THE DATA PRESENTED IN THE NFP REPORTS? WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE PHENOMENON OF UNDER- AND OVERREPORTING?

##### a) Representativeness

The NFP emphasizes that the criminal acts registered by the police only represent a part of the incidents of racist, xenophobic and antisemitic violence and do not record more subtle forms, such as social exclusion or discrimination.

##### b) Reliability and Validity / Under- and overreporting

The official statistics report very comprehensively and in a detailed manner about extreme right wing and xenophobic criminal offences in Germany. Nevertheless, deficiencies occur in the official data due to misjudgements and differing interpretations in the categorisation of criminal acts as well as a low rate of reporting such offences. These deficiencies can, in part, be met by unofficial reports, such as those appearing in the media or via victim support centres.

DOES THE EXISTING DATA CONTRIBUTE TO ANSWERING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A NEW TYPE OF ANTISEMITISM HAS EVOLVED OR NOT?

The German NFP makes no explicit reference to the question of a possible “new antisemitism”.



## 2.2.4. GREECE

### I. DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS ARE REFERRED TO AND/OR USED BY THE NFP?

The Greek NFP refers to the following definition of antisemitism:

“The term antisemitism denotes racial discrimination and all forms of hostility and violence against Jews as such, and as a minority throughout history. It categorizes attitudes that have evolved since the early centuries of the current era towards the Jews and Judaism as a religious faith and people or race. A contemporary definition, adapted to more recent developments and circumstances, is to be found in Webster's third new international dictionary: "hostility towards the Jews as a religious or racial minority group, often accompanied by social, economic and political discrimination; Opposition to Zionism.”<sup>414</sup>

The NFP points out that the above definition does not include actions against either the Government or the state of Israel.

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS (IF ANY) ARE APPLIED BY THE DATA COLLECTING BODIES MENTIONED IN THE NFP REPORTS?

ARE THERE ANY PROBLEMS ARTICULATED WITH REGARD TO DEFINING ANTISEMITISM?

The Greek NFP mentions the problem of equating opposition to and protest against the policies of Israeli governments with antisemitism. For the NFP, the distinction between Jews and Israel is “frequently blurred both by Jews who identify with the state of Israel and non Jews who identify all Jews with Israelis and furthermore by considering that all Israelis identify with their government”. The NFP points out that it would regard it as wrong to record all anti-Israeli protests as antisemitic incidents. However, those cases, where the dividing line between anti-Israel and anti-Jewish manifestations was not drawn clearly, are considered by the NFP as antisemitic.

---

<sup>414</sup>. <http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/go.asp?MFAH0kdm0> (“Antisemitism Today” by E. Zev Sufot, Ambassador (ret.)

## II. SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF EXISTING DATA ON ANTISEMITISM

### WHO COLLECTS – ACCORDING TO THE NFP-REPORTS – DATA ON ANTISEMITISM IN GREECE?

The NFP points out that due to the absence of any monitoring agency, press reports are the main sources of information. The press is regularly monitored through a press clipping service.

#### **Central Board of Jewish Communities**

The umbrella organisation of the Greek Jewry is the Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece<sup>415</sup>. The Central Board was established by law in 1945 as a Legal Entity under Public Law, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs. The aim of the Central Board is to co-ordinate the activities and to represent the Greek Jewish Communities to the authorities and other organisations.

#### **Greek Helsinki Monitor**

The Greek Helsinki Monitor is part of the International Helsinki Federation, which is a community of 42 human rights NGO's in the OSCE region, working together internationally to insist on compliance with human rights standards. This NGO collects primarily information reported in the press.

### WHAT KIND OF DATA IS COLLECTED BY THE DIFFERENT DATA COLLECTING BODIES?

#### a) Data on antisemitic acts

A number of 11 incidents, one concerning an offensive graffiti and ten concerning damage and desecration of property, have been recorded by the Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece and by other NGOs between May 15<sup>th</sup>, 2002 and December 5<sup>th</sup>, 2003.

#### b) Data on victims and perpetrators of antisemitic acts

No specific data on victims or perpetrators of antisemitic acts was reported.

#### c) Data on the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes in the media

The Greek Helsinki Monitor and occasionally the Central Board of Jewish Communities have made allegations of antisemitism against large circulation dailies, such as “Kathimerini”, “Eleftherotypia”, “Apogeymatini”, etc. usually concerning their reference to or cartoons about the Middle-East conflict. The

---

<sup>415</sup>. <http://www.kis.gr>

NFP points out that these allegations, although mostly justified in its view, should be viewed against a country specific background, which has never adhered to rules of political correctness. There were also protests of the Central Jewish Board against the public dissemination of rumours that 4000 Jews had been warned by the Israeli Secret Service MOSAD and did not go to their offices on September 11<sup>th</sup>, the day of the terrorist attack in New York. Here, the NFP points out that it should also be noted that most newspapers reported this rumour ironically and not in an antisemitic way.

d) Data on antisemitic organisations and parties (and their activities)

No such data is reported by the NFP.

e) Data on antisemitic literature

According to the NFP, antisemitic literature consisting of books such as “*The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*” and other antisemitic texts contained in ultranationalist or extreme right wing publications are to be found primarily in fringe bookstores specialized in such literature.

f) Data on social scientific research or opinion polls on antisemitism

There are no studies on antisemitism in Greece or reports concerning the period in question. Nevertheless, opinion polls carried out after the September 11 terrorist attacks showed that a significant proportion of the Greek public accepted readily conspiratorial rumours implicating the Israeli secret services in the attack.

HOW IS THE DATA CATEGORISED/ANALYSED BY THE NFP?

The existent and non-existent data was structured according to the EUMC guidelines.

WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE REPRESENTATIVENESS, RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND COMPARABILITY OF THE DATA PRESENTED IN THE NFP REPORTS? WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE PHENOMENON OF UNDER- AND OVERREPORTING?

According to the NFP, the relative absence of both official statistical data and primary scientific research on the topic of antisemitism in Greece as well as problems with the quality of the data provided by NGOs do not allow a comprehensive analysis and interpretation of the phenomenon of antisemitism.

DOES THE EXISTING DATA CONTRIBUTE TO ANSWERING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A NEW TYPE OF ANTISEMITISM HAS EVOLVED OR NOT?

The NFP mentions a report by The Steven Roth Institute for the study of contemporary antisemitism and racism “Greece 2002/2003”<sup>416</sup>, saying: “A sharp rise in antisemitic activity was reported in Greece in 2002, which, in part, may be attributed to the strengthening of anti-Israel sentiments in recent years. A spate of vandalistic attacks on cemeteries and Holocaust memorials was recorded in spring 2002, probably instigated by a plethora of editorials, cartoons, articles and letters to the editor which appeared in the press at that time.”

---

<sup>416</sup> Available at <http://www.tau.ac.il/Anti-Semitism/asw2002-3/greece.htm> , on November 28, 2003.

## 2.2.5. SPAIN

### I. DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS ARE REFERRED TO AND/OR USED BY THE NFP?

The Spanish NFP provides the following definition of antisemitism: “We understand antisemitism as hostility towards Jews.”

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS (IF ANY) ARE APPLIED BY THE DATA COLLECTING BODIES MENTIONED IN THE NFP REPORTS?

With regard to the legal framework that governs the events which are the object of this study, it is mentioned that acts of racism are provided for in the Spanish Criminal Code: “Those who incite discrimination, hate or violence against groups or associations, of a racist or antisemitic cause, or other causes related to ideology, religion or belief, family situation, belonging to an ethnic group or race, nationality of origin, sex, sexual tendency, illness or disability, shall be sentenced to imprisonment for one to three years or a fine for six to twelve months”. (Criminal Code, Chapter IV, Section 1. Reference 2B0012).

ARE THERE ANY PROBLEMS ARTICULATED WITH REGARD TO DEFINING ANTISEMITISM?

No such problems are articulated by the NFP.

### II. SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF EXISTING DATA ON ANTISEMITISM

WHO COLLECTS – ACCORDING TO THE NFP-REPORTS – DATA ON ANTISEMITISM IN SPAIN?

In view of the lack of data supplied by the different Government Ministries, the NFP used data published in newspapers and magazines that quoted government institutions as their information sources.

For the preparation of its reports and to determine how the Spanish Jewish community feels, the NFP asked for information from the associations listed below:

- Centre of Jewish-Christian Studies, managed by Sor Ionel, Sisters of Our Lady of Zion<sup>417</sup>,
- Guesher Association<sup>418</sup>, association of Spanish Jews<sup>419</sup>

---

<sup>417</sup> <http://www3.planalfa.es/cejc>

- B'nai B'rith Spain, Public Action and Human Rights Centre<sup>420</sup>

What kind of data is collected by the different data collecting bodies?

a) Data on antisemitic acts

The only reference to verbal aggression/hate speech and other subtler forms of discrimination towards Jews concerns one graffiti-attack on the synagogue of Madrid, whose author was retained by police. In addition, the NFP reports on the fact that there have been some cases of abusive behaviour in the streets, so that members of the Jewish community have been advised to avoid external signs that may identify them as Jews.

Finally, the NFP points to the fact that colloquial language in Spain is 'peppered' with abusive terms against the Jews, of which the most common is the word 'judiada', meaning something offensive, damaging or treacherous. Another example of abusive language is the use of the word 'Jew' to accuse someone of being tight fisted. According to the NFP, 'political correctness' has not quite pushed its way in Spain to the same extent as it has in other European countries

b) Data on victims and perpetrators of antisemitic acts

No such data is reported by the NFP.

c) Data on the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes in the media

The NFP refers to interviews conducted with members of the Jewish community, who claim that (1) mass Media gives partial information about the Israel vs. Palestinian conflict, (2) this partial information have many mistakes in concepts like Jew and Israel, (3) that there is a problem with the concept foreigner and Jew, treating both like the same meaning, and (4) that the mass media uses to confuse Israel and Jew community. See below "Data on social scientific research or opinion polls on antisemitism".

d) Data on antisemitic organisations and parties (and their activities)

No such data is provided by the NFP for the reporting period.

e) Data on antisemitic literature

Monitoring of information available on the Internet has, according to the NFP, revealed a large number of pages of extreme right wing or neonazi groups,

---

<sup>418</sup> <http://www.guesherweb.com>

<sup>419</sup> In Hebrew, 'guesher' means 'bridge'.

<sup>420</sup> <http://www.bnaibrith-spain.org>

which make racist-type proclamations on their web pages. The majority of these groups take their ideological sources from “national-unionism” and fascism in order to proclaim the dominance of their “race” over others that they consider to be “inferior”. The majority of the racist propaganda was focused on immigrant groups; some also made reference to Jews.

According to the sources informing the NFP, there have been no mass distributions of antisemitic pamphlets aimed at Jews.

f) Data on social scientific research or opinion polls on antisemitism

The NFP reports of a study of caricatures published in the Spanish press between 2000 and 2003 that has been carried out by the Guesher<sup>421</sup> association. According to this study, caricatures use stereotypes, generalisations, simplifications, parodies and exaggerations. Jewish characters are usually depicted to look sinister, with a big nose, big ears and a perverse stare.

In addition, the NFP refers to a book written by Gonzalo Alvarez Chillida, entitled “Antisemitism in Spain, 1812 –2002”<sup>422</sup>, which was criticised by some of the interviewees of the NFP for not considering anti-Zionism as a form of antisemitism.

The Anti-Defamation League conducted in September 2002 a survey on “European Attitudes Toward Jews”. 500 telephone interviews “among the general public” were conducted in Spain.<sup>423</sup> 72% of the Spanish respondents believed that it is “probably true” that Jews are “more loyal to Israel than to Spain”. 71% affirmed the view that “Jews have too much power in the international financial markets”. 63% said that it is “probably true” that “Jews have too much power in the business world”. As an overall result, 34% of the interviewees were considered as “most antisemitic”<sup>424</sup>.

HOW IS THE DATA CATEGORISED/ANALYSED BY THE NFP?

The existent and non-existent data is structured according to the EUMC guidelines.

---

<sup>421</sup> <http://www.lateral-ed.es/>, November 2003 issue.

<sup>422</sup> Publisher Marcial Pons, ISBN: 84-95379-44-9

<sup>423</sup> See [http://www.adl.org/anti\\_semitism/EuropeanAttitudesPoll-10-02.pdf](http://www.adl.org/anti_semitism/EuropeanAttitudesPoll-10-02.pdf); page viewed on February 16, 2004.

<sup>424</sup> ADL qualified those as “most antisemitic”, who are “most likely to believe that Jews stick together more than others, have too much power in the business world and international financial markets, and tht they are not loyal to their country. See [http://www.adl.org/anti\\_semitism/EuropeanAttitudesPoll-10-02.pdf](http://www.adl.org/anti_semitism/EuropeanAttitudesPoll-10-02.pdf).

WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE REPRESENTATIVENESS, RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND COMPARABILITY OF THE DATA PRESENTED IN THE NFP REPORTS? WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE PHENOMENON OF UNDER- AND OVERREPORTING?

Since no monitoring system exists in Spain, the representativeness, reliability, and validity of the few data presented cannot be guaranteed.

Does the existing data contribute to answering the question of whether a new type of antisemitism has evolved or not?

There is some reference to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the report, however, no explicit reference is made to the question of whether a new type of antisemitism has emerged or not.



## 2.2.6. FRANCE

### I. DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS ARE REFERRED TO AND/OR USED BY THE NFP?

The French NFP does not provide a definition of the term “antisemitism”, however, it refers to the problems and discussions around this term.

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS (IF ANY) ARE APPLIED BY THE DATA COLLECTING BODIES MENTIONED IN THE NFP REPORTS?

The French NFP notes the law against Holocaust denial and the anti-racism laws. The latter distinguishes offences that are racist by nature, like racial insults and defamation in public and private, which are accounted for by law provisions, and offences that are racist by object, like attacks on synagogues, which are not considered by law provisions. The NFP points out that “in the end, on an *ad hoc* basis, the Ministry of Justice may have to acknowledge a certain type of facts with a racist connotation, beyond the classifications that have been chosen.”

ARE THERE ANY PROBLEMS ARTICULATED WITH REGARD TO DEFINING ANTISEMITISM?

The NFP refers to the discussions on the classification of different forms of anti-Israeli expressions as antisemitic, or as not antisemitic. The NFP refrains from including protest against Israeli policy and “anti-Zionism” as antisemitic acts. However, antisemitic or anti-Jewish acts and insults identifiable as such, uttered during protests, are included in the report.

### II. SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF EXISTING DATA ON ANTISEMITISM

WHO COLLECTS – ACCORDING TO THE NFP-REPORTS – DATA ON ANTISEMITISM IN FRANCE?

#### CNCDH

The National Human Rights Commission (*Commission Nationale Consultative des Droits de l'Homme*, CNCDH) has a central role in the collection and analysis of data on racism, xenophobia and antisemitism in France. It is a public authority with independent status. In order to improve the understanding of racism and xenophobia and improve measures implemented by public authorities and actions of civil society to address them, the annual report of the CNCDH gives information and analyses on the situation of racism in France, using four indicators:

- statistics of racist and antisemitic acts of the Ministry of the Interior;
- statistics of sentences regarding racial discrimination of the Ministry of Justice;
- results of an opinion poll carried out by the ‘SOFRES’ or ‘Louis Harris Institutes’ for 10 years; replaced by a qualitative survey in 2001;
- observations of organizations which are close to victims.

### **Ministry of the Interior and Ministry of Justice**

Statistical data on racism, xenophobia, and antisemitism have been collected since 1978 by the Central Board of the security branch of the French police force of the Ministry of the Interior (“Direction Centrale des Renseignements Généraux”, DCRG). This aims at giving the Government information on racist, xenophobic and antisemitic phenomena, and also on their evolution, in order to prevent social unrest. The method used remains empirical, as it consists in recording all acts that can be identified by the regional departments of the DCRG across France, from attacks to racist graffiti.

### **National Observatory of the CRIF**

The CRIF (*Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juives en France* – The Representative Council of Jewish Institutions in France) collects a broad range of information on antisemitic violence in France. It is the only NGO in France to have developed its own reporting system. Since October 2000, the services of the Jewish community have installed a help-line to collect victims’ testimony on antisemitic threats and actions. These calls are systematically verified and the facts confirmed before figuring into monthly totals<sup>425</sup>.

### **WHAT KIND OF DATA IS COLLECTED BY THE DIFFERENT DATA COLLECTING BODIES?**

#### **a) Data on antisemitic acts**

Concerning acts of violence counted in the CNCDH report, antisemitic violence was most prevalent in 2002 (193 acts), while during the 10 previous years (except 2000), other forms of racism and xenophobia predominated. Antisemitic violence accounted for 62% of all racial violence in 2002. The number of victims of antisemitism (17 injuries in 2002), however, proves inferior to the number of immigrant victims.

In 2002, a total number of 992 racist and antisemitic threats and acts of intimidation were reported, the highest level since 1992. There has been a marked increase in reported threats since 2000, and the Jewish community has again been the principal target (731 threats in 2002).

---

<sup>425</sup> CNCDH, op cit, p 89.

However, considering the development throughout the year 2002, the CRIF reports a (more or less) steady decrease in antisemitic threats and incidents, aside from a single peak in the month of April, again corresponding with heightened Israeli Palestinian tensions. The CRIF suggests that these events may have inspired antisemitic violence in France.

Furthermore, the CRIF attributes this decrease in antisemitic incidents to different factors<sup>426</sup> :

The results of the first round of presidential elections;

- The Ministry of the Interior's resolution to re-establish security and authority;
- The harsh sentences (two to four years in prison without bail) issued to those convicted of attempting arson on a synagogue in Montpellier;
- A flurry of international events which served to divert attention away from the Israeli Palestinian conflict;
- A moderation of the tone in which the media reports on the conflict.

The CRIF also offered additional data on different types of antisemitic incidents.<sup>427</sup>

- Graffiti: 79 incidents
- Physical Aggression: 69 incidents
- Letters: 66 incidents
- Insults: 59 incidents
- Threats: 49 incidents

#### b) Data on victims and perpetrators of antisemitic acts

##### **Victims**

According to the CNCDH, Antisemitic violence constituted 62% of all incidents tolled in 2002, compared with 45% in 2001, but down from 80% in 2000.

---

<sup>426</sup> CNCDH, op cit, p 90.

<sup>427</sup> CNCDH, op cit, p 91.

## Perpetrators

The NFP points out that the CNCDH notes that the percentage of antisemitic violence attributable to the extreme right is only 9% in 2002 (against 14% in 2001 and 68% in 1994). The upsurge in racist violence and antisemitism is ascribed by the CNCDH to current national and international events (September 11th terrorist attacks, war in Afghanistan, and the fight against terrorism). The CNCDH concludes that the revival of antisemitism can be attributed to the worsening of the Israeli Palestinian conflict, notably in the spring of 2002, corresponding with the Israeli army offensive in the West Bank and the return of suicide bombings to Israel. Antisemitic acts are ascribed by the CNCDH to youth from neighbourhoods sensitive to the conflict, principally youth of North African heritage.<sup>428</sup>

### c) Data on the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes in the media

The French NFP has collected no data on antisemitic press articles, radio or TV programmes.

### d) Data on antisemitic organisations and parties (and their activities)

The *Front National* is mentioned a few times by the NFP with regard to antisemitism. No further data on antisemitic parties or organisations is provided.

### e) Data on antisemitic literature

The French NFP has collected no data on antisemitic literature.

### f) Data on social scientific research or opinion polls on antisemitism

## Survey by the Sofres Institute

The NFP examines a survey conducted by the 'Sofres' Institute, which surveyed between 28 January and 1 February 2002 400 people aged between 15 and 24 living in France. The results were published in the book *Les Antifeujs*<sup>429</sup>. A majority of 87% rejected antisemitic acts. 77% of the young people questioned answered that they "rather disagree" or "do not agree at all" to the question "*Do the Jews have too much influence in France?*" These figures are much weaker than those collected by the Sofres during a previous survey, which covered the whole population, conducted in May 2000 for the '*Nouveau Mensuel*' magazine. The survey presented also separate data on the attitudes on antisemitism of youth of North African origin: Compared with the whole group of people between 15 and 24, the answers tend to show that the youth of North African origin is in fact more tolerant than the average. However, the tendency

<sup>428</sup> CNCDH, op cit, p 24-25.

<sup>429</sup> Paris, UEJF-S.O.S Racism, Calmann-Lévy, 2002.

is reversed concerning traditional antisemitic prejudices. According to Philippe Méchet from the Sofres Institute, the question relating to the Jews' alleged influence shows that

“respectively 35%, 38% and 24% of the youth of North African origin (against only 22%, 21% and 18% of the whole group of young people) completely or rather think that the Jews have too much influence in the economic and political fields and in the media.”<sup>430</sup>

### The BVA Opinion Poll on Racism

An opinion poll produced by the BVA Institute (*Institut d'études de Marché et d'Opinion* – The Institute for Market and Public Opinion Studies) in November 2002<sup>431</sup> on xenophobia, antisemitism, racism and anti-racism issues, produced results that at first seem to contradict statistics concerning actual racist and antisemitic behaviour. According to this poll, French public opinion does not appear to consider antisemitism as an important social concern; out of fifteen potentially worrying issues, racism was 6th, selected first by only 6% of those polled. In this survey, there were also four questions on the way people perceive the Jews in France: Almost all people (89%, including 63% who “totally agree”) have the feeling that the Jews are “as French as others”. And almost all people (87%, including 63% who totally agree) think that the Jews should be given back what the French state robbed them during the second World War. The feeling that people talk “too much” about the extermination of the Jews by the Nazis is shared by 17% of the sample, as 80% think that people talk “normally” or even “not enough” about it.<sup>432</sup>

The Anti-Defamation League conducted in June 2002 a survey on “European Attitudes Toward Jews”. 500 telephone interviews “among the general public” were conducted in France: 42% of the respondents believed that it is “probably true” that Jews are “more loyal to Israel than to France”; 42% said that it is “probably true” that “Jews have too much power in the business world”; 46% affirmed the view that “Jews still talk too much about the Holocaust”.<sup>433</sup>

Jean-Pierre Allali published in 2002 a book, based on the interviewing of both leading members of the Jewish community as well as well known intellectuals in France. The book does not represent a systematic survey, but gives an impression of the perception of what is called by Allali “les habits neufs de

<sup>430</sup> Philippe Méchet: Les jeunes et l'image des juifs. In : Union des Etudiants Juifs de France, SOS-Racisme: Les Antifeujs. Paris : Calmann-Lévy, 2002, pp. 163f.

<sup>431</sup> *Xenophobia, Anti-Semitism, Racism and Anti-racism in France*, Institute BVA - March 2003, 35 p. Study conducted upon the joint request of the CNCDH and the Government Information Service, using one-on-one surveys, based on a representative sample of the French Population (1010 people ; figure base on quota method), between November 29 and December 6 2002.

<sup>432</sup> CNCDH, op cit, p 98.

<sup>433</sup> See [http://www.adl.org/anti\\_semitism/European\\_Attitudes.pdf](http://www.adl.org/anti_semitism/European_Attitudes.pdf); page viewed on February 16, 2004.

l'antisémitisme" (*the new habits of antisemitism*) by members of the Jewish community in France and discusses also the fears related to the recent upsurge in incidents directed against Jews.

#### HOW IS THE DATA CATEGORISED/ANALYSED BY THE NFP?

There is no consistent categorisation of the data within the report.

#### WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE REPRESENTATIVENESS, RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND COMPARABILITY OF THE DATA PRESENTED IN THE NFP REPORTS? WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE PHENOMENON OF UNDER- AND OVERREPORTING?

The NFP points to the fact that the official statistics of the Ministry of the Interior are not exhaustive, however, they do indicate some trends and evolutions.

The figures provided by the CRIF are higher than those provided by the Ministry of the Interior, because not all victims alerting the help-line notify the police of their complaint, or because certain complaints are not accounted for by the police. The NFP points out that the CRIF data strengthens and complements the data from the Ministry of the Interior.

#### DOES THE EXISTING DATA CONTRIBUTE TO ANSWERING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A NEW TYPE OF ANTISEMITISM HAS EVOLVED OR NOT?

The French NFP refers to the intellectual discussion about the emergence of a "new antisemitism", however, neither a firm conceptualisation of the term "new antisemitism" nor sufficient empirical evidence are provided for proving (or rejecting) the existence of such a development. On the contrary, the CNCDH states in its report on 2002 that, according to their opinion poll, it does not seem that antisemitism in France has either significantly increased or changed its nature.<sup>434</sup>

---

<sup>434</sup> CNCDH: La lutte contre le racisme et la Xénophobie. Rapport d'activité 2002, Paris 2003, p. 18.

## 2.2.7. IRELAND

### I. DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS ARE REFERRED TO AND/OR USED BY THE NFP?

The NFP report refers to a victim and witness-oriented approach and defines antisemitism “as any action, which has been identified as such by a member of the Jewish community, a member of the Garda Siochana, a witness, the victim or a person acting on behalf of the victim. This includes both personal and specific actions as well as more broad attacks such as those targeting the Israeli people which have been identified as anti-Semitic.”

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS (IF ANY) ARE APPLIED BY THE DATA COLLECTING BODIES MENTIONED IN THE NFP REPORTS?

There is no reference to any other definition of the term “antisemitism”, than the one given above, in the report.

ARE THERE ANY PROBLEMS ARTICULATED WITH REGARD TO DEFINING ANTISEMITISM?

The NFP points to the fact that defining antisemitism has become increasingly complex in recent years. In particular rising hostility to particular policies of Israel, rather than hostility towards Israel per se, has proved a significant factor, and this development is reflected in this discussion of the Irish context. The NFP stresses that defining criticism of Israeli Government policy as antisemitic is problematic, and a careful and measured approach needs to be taken in categorizing such expressions as antisemitic.

### II. SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF EXISTING DATA ON ANTISEMITISM

WHO COLLECTS – ACCORDING TO THE NFP-REPORTS – DATA ON ANTISEMITISM IN IRELAND?

#### **NCCRI Voluntary Reporting System.**

In 2001 the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) established a procedure for reporting racist incidents in Ireland. It publishes a report every six months of the incidents logged. The aim of these reports is:

- To provide an overview of racist incidents reported to the NCCRI in the six months covered by each report.

- To draw out the key issues, including discernable trends arising from the incidents logged.
- To outline how the NCCRI has responded to the key issues identified in this report.

#### **‘An Garda Síochána’ (Irish Police)**

The new Garda information system, PULSE has the capacity to record antisemitic incidents, though this appears to be under utilized.

#### **The Jewish Representative Council**

This report has been compiled through a consultation process with the Jewish community in Ireland. This includes individuals, academics, the Jewish Representative Council and the Israeli Embassy in Dublin. In addition this report reflects research initiatives that sought to identify antisemitism on the Internet and in the mainstream media in 2003.

#### **WHAT KIND OF DATA IS COLLECTED BY THE DIFFERENT DATA COLLECTING BODIES?**

##### **a) Data on antisemitic acts**

A few cases of mainly harassment and abusive behaviour were reported to the NFP.

##### **b) Data on victims and perpetrators of antisemitic acts**

No such data are provided by the NFP.

##### **c) Data on the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes in the media**

The Jewish Representative Council in its report on antisemitism in 2003 noted a cartoon in an Irish published magazine depicting a negative image of an orthodox Jew.

##### **d) Data on antisemitic organisations and parties (and their activities)**

The Aryan Nation website, [www.skadi.net/forum](http://www.skadi.net/forum), under the subheading ‘The Celtic Realm,’ included antisemitic material targeted at a specific individual.

In 2003, the Jewish Representative Council noted the launch of ‘Al Muhajirounf’ Islamic groups, which has expressed anti-Jewish statements (<http://www.muhammad.com>). The organization does not have an Irish website, though references to its Irish representative/contact person can easily be found on the Internet.



e) Data on antisemitic literature

See above (Web site with antisemitic content).

f) Data on social scientific research or opinion polls on antisemitism

Reports or studies focusing on antisemitism have not been conducted.

HOW IS THE DATA CATEGORISED/ANALYSED BY THE NFP?

The existent and non-existent data is structured according to the EUMC guidelines.

WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE REPRESENTATIVENESS, RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND COMPARABILITY OF THE DATA PRESENTED IN THE NFP REPORTS? WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE PHENOMENON OF UNDER- AND OVERREPORTING?

It is not possible to discern whether there has been an increase or a decrease in antisemitism in Ireland in 2003. Both formal and informal reporting systems are still in the very early stages and do not represent a substantive overview of antisemitic activities in Ireland. In a report submitted to the NCCRI in 2003 the Jewish Representative Council concluded that: "While there does not appear to be any concerted campaign of antisemitic activity against the Irish Jewish Community, there are numerous events that demonstrate a certain degree of overt and/or latent antisemitism in Ireland."

Given the anecdotal nature of the data on antisemitism in Ireland this report does not represent a comprehensive analysis of all such activities in 2003 but rather gives an indication of the nature of such incidents.

DOES THE EXISTING DATA CONTRIBUTE TO ANSWERING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A NEW TYPE OF ANTISEMITISM HAS EVOLVED OR NOT?

The NFP states that its report demonstrates that incidents of antisemitism in Ireland in 2003 have tended to be placed in the context of Israeli Government policy. Not all criticism of the Israeli state can, or should be, identified as antisemitic, however a measured and careful approach should be taken in analysing material which uses such an approach to justify statements and views against the Israeli people. The NFP refers to the Jewish Representative Council who states that 'anti-Zionist and anti-Israeli sentiment has facilitated and in some instances, made more acceptable, the expression of antisemitic sentiment'. The Irish situation - with a very small Jewish population - demonstrates that anti-Semitism can exist whether a Jewish community is active and visible or not and poses a challenge with regard to how to deal with this form of racism under those circumstances.

## 2.2.8. ITALY

### I. DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS ARE REFERRED TO AND/OR USED BY THE NFP?

The NFP of Italy provides no definition of antisemitism. However, it deals extensively with the question of using the right terminology with regard to anti-Jewish attitudes or behaviour. The NFP suggests the use of terms like “anti-Judaism”, “anti-Hebraism”, or “anti-Hebrew”, instead of the current terms “antisemitism” and “anti-Semite”.

The NFP argues that the terms currently in use would presuppose the existence of the old theory of races and the racialist distinction between “Semitic races” and “Arian races” or “Indo-European”, a distinction, which does not have any scientific foundation. Moreover, the NFP argues that the ideology at the origin of “post-Nazi anti-Judaism” and “anti-Hebraism” does not always refer to that biological type of anti-thesis established at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Beside its argumentation that the term “antisemitism” is misleading, the NFP sees also a danger that

“an improper use of these terms in public debate, their subordination to ideological and political aims in the struggle between the political right and left, between pro-Palestinian and Pro-Israeli groups, may end up by making them common and normal. This process could in turn, contribute to further obscure both anti-Jewish prejudices deeply present in Italian culture and real episodes of Judeophobia. [...] In order to determine if and how diffuse anti-Hebraism is in this or that political direction, in our opinion, the inclination on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict cannot be used neither as an exclusive nor predominant parameter of measurement. Criticism, however bitter, of the present Israeli Government and its policies and support for the Palestinian cause cannot, *per se*, be included in the category of “antisemitism”.”

The Italian NFP identifies a “manipulation of this category” and “the increasing tendency to define as ‘anti-Semite’ anyone who disagrees with the current Israeli policies”, which, in the perception of the NFP, could “lead to a contrary effect to the one apparently desired [...]”.

In addition, the NFP points out that not all pro-Palestinian orientations can be identified as anti-Zionist positions, i.e., hostile towards the very existence of the State of Israel. We can, according to the NFP, legitimately speak of “antisemitism” or, as the NFP prefers, of “Judeophobic anti-Zionism”, only when referring to political positions and forms of discourse, which, in an unfounded, anti-historical and arbitrary way, make reference to an allegedly

unchangeable “evil essence of Israel”, and which affirm or suggest that the Jews are collectively responsible for the policies of the Israeli government. Those kinds of positions and articulations compare Israeli policies to those of Nazi Germany and this association could contribute to minimizing Nazism and the Shoah, and increase in revisionism and Holocaust denial.

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS (IF ANY) ARE APPLIED BY THE DATA COLLECTING BODIES MENTIONED IN THE NFP REPORTS?

There is no reference to any definition of the term “antisemitism” other than the discussion of the terminology and definition by the NFP itself (see above).

ARE THERE ANY PROBLEMS ARTICULATED WITH REGARD TO DEFINING ANTISEMITISM?

The NFP refers to the problem of defining antisemitism with regard to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (see above).

## **II. SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF EXISTING DATA ON ANTISEMITISM**

WHO COLLECTS – ACCORDING TO THE NFP-REPORTS – DATA ON ANTISEMITISM IN ITALY?

### **CDEC - Centre of Contemporary Jewish Documentation**

The NFP was provided with documents by the CDEC - Centre of Contemporary Jewish Documentation in Milan.

#### **Newspapers**

Since there is no systematic data collection on antisemitic acts, the NFP relies mainly on newspaper coverage as source for the detection of antisemitic incidents.

WHAT KIND OF DATA IS COLLECTED BY THE DIFFERENT DATA COLLECTING BODIES?

#### **a) Data on antisemitic acts**

The NFP offers in its two “Rapid Response” reports an unstructured chronology of verbal and physical acts that could be related to antisemitism. No claim of comprehensiveness with regard to the events listed is raised.

## b) Data on victims and perpetrators of antisemitic acts

**Victims**

According to the perception of the NFP, the individuals and groups most exposed to verbal and physical racist violence are: foreign citizens from third countries (migrants and refugees), especially those practising the Moslem religion; Roma and Sinti; Jews.

According to a quantitative outline of the cases collected by the NFP through the screening of newspapers (September 2002-Sept. 2003): The most hit categories are: Immigrants and refugees (in general): 64 cases, Roma and Sinti: 15 cases, Jews: 12 cases.

**Perpetrators**

From the research carried out for its report and based on a number of cases drawn from the press, it has emerged, in the perception of the NFP, that individuals and groups belonging to several formations of the far-right (generally anti-Jewish, negationist, racist; in some cases pro-Palestinian, in others anti-Muslim) constitute the most numerous and aggressive category of perpetrators of racist and anti-Jewish acts. Their action is characterized by the fact that they carry out both direct violent acts as well as symbolic and verbally violent acts.

## c) Data on the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes in the media

The NFP refers in its reports to three instances of (Christian) antisemitism: one in a cartoon on the front page of the national daily newspaper “*La Stampa*” and two articles published in the Vatican daily “*L’Osservatore Romano*”<sup>435</sup>.

## d) Data on antisemitic organisations and parties (and their activities)

The NFP points out that the main authors of antisemitic writings, threats and insults, desecration of Jewish places and symbols are members and groups of the radical right. They are also the main organisers of revisionist and pro-denial political demonstrations. It would be appropriate to point out that the Northern League organises street demonstrations “against immigration” increasingly frequently with *Forza Nuova* and other right-wing groups; and that these demonstrations offer occasions for the display of Nazi symbols and anti-Muslim, anti-Jewish and revisionist public speeches. However, the NFP feels obliged to stress that antisemitic feelings and attitudes are present in all the political parties and in part of public opinion, as a legacy of the past and a reflection of the polarization caused by international conflicts, especially in the Middle East.

---

<sup>435</sup> A daily newspaper owned by the Vatican City.

### **Skinheads**

The racist acts of aggression and violence as well as anti-Hebrew intimidation by groups of skinheads are, according to the NFP, innumerable, especially in the Centre and North of Italy. The main driving factor of the movement is the hatred against immigrants, which succeeds in merging the two trends of the movement: the “spontaneous”, racist and chauvinist one, distinguished by its hooligan behaviour, and the politicised militant one, attracted by nazi-style symbols and stereotypes, and linked to the traditions of the radical right.

### **Fronte sociale nazionale**

The website of *Fronte sociale nazionale* (National Social Front) carries a pro-Palestinian Intifada appeal which adopts a traditional antisemitic, anti-Zionist and anti-American language with hostile references to “Talmudic Judaism”, the “global plutocratic *cupola*”<sup>436</sup>, the bleeding star of David.

### **Northern League**

In areas of the North-East of Italy, especially those governed by the Northern League, racism against Jews and immigrants are often intertwined. A recent example is the statement by a Northern League senator, who after the forced eviction of immigrant workers from an occupied building in Treviso, expressed regret that the crematorium of Santa Bona which is under construction, was not yet ready<sup>437</sup>.

Furthermore, the official website of the Northern League contains not only a wide range of racist fliers, but also a “library” which highly recommends reading revisionist and Holocaust denial books.

### **Sinergie Europee**

There are also radical right wing groups in which a fierce anti-Hebraism goes hand in hand with the support of extremist Palestinian movements and fundamentalist terrorism. Among these is the Italian network *Sinergie Europee*, with its publication “Orion”.

#### **e) Data on antisemitic literature**

For the website of *Fronte sociale nazionale* see above “Data on antisemitic organisations and parties”.

Websites by far left-wing groups like the site *Che fare* (What should be done) deserve, according to the NFP, special attention, because they include elements

---

<sup>436</sup> This word traditionally identifies the highest decision making organ of the Mafia.

<sup>437</sup> “Il Gazzettino. Quotidiano del Nord-Est” 22 November, 2003; “L’Unità” 23 November 2003

of anti-Zionism, pro-Arab fundamentalism, anti-Americanism and recurrent stereotypes against Jews both in the past and at the present; the Jewish lobby, the relationship with the masonry, the international plot, world economic power held by Jews, Jews circumsised with a dollar etc. are all examples of the most repeated slogans.

f) Data on social scientific research or opinion polls on antisemitism

According to a study promoted by the Union of the Italian-Jewish Communities at the faculty of Sociology of the University of La Sapienza, on 2,200 youths from 14 to 18 years in 110 Italian municipalities, 23.8% state that “the first to make racial discrimination are the Jews”.

A survey carried out by Ispo/ACNielsen CRA, on a sample of 5000 telephone interviews, whose data have not been fully processed yet, asked respondents whether Italian Jews have common characteristics distinguishing them from the rest of the population: 54% of the interviewed still believes that Italian Jews have distinct characteristics and 68% cited as proof, a peculiar relationship with money and a mentality and life style which are different from those of other Italians. In addition, there is growing number of people who think that Italian Jews are not real Italians and that they should stop playing the victims for persecutions dating back to fifty years ago.

A poll commissioned by the Anti Defamation League (ADL) and carried out in September 2002 highlighted the fact that 58% of the interviewees shared the opinion that Italian Jews may be more loyal to Israel than to Italy; 42% considers them to “have too much power in the business world”. As an overall result, 23% of the interviewees were considered as “most antisemitic”<sup>438</sup>.

HOW IS THE DATA CATEGORISED/ANALYSED BY THE NFP?

There is only a very raw structuring of the data on antisemitism in the reports of the Italian NFP – most of the data is unsystematically listed by the NFP.

WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE REPRESENTATIVENESS, RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND COMPARABILITY OF THE DATA PRESENTED IN THE NFP REPORTS? WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE PHENOMENON OF UNDER- AND OVERREPORTING?

a) Representativeness

The NFP points to the fact that the data obtained from its monitoring is merely indicative. The information from the daily newspapers should be considered as

---

<sup>438</sup> ADL qualified those as “most antisemitic”, who are “most likely to believe that Jews stick together more than others, have too much power in the business world and international financial markets, and tht they are not loyal to their country. See [http://www.adl.org/anti\\_semitism/EuropeanAttitudesPoll-10-02.pdf](http://www.adl.org/anti_semitism/EuropeanAttitudesPoll-10-02.pdf).

a limited sample. It obviously represents only the “tip of the iceberg” of a deeper and vaster phenomenon, which rarely succeeds in making its appearance on the daily news. This is why some categories of racist, verbal and symbolic violence, like graffiti on walls, which in reality are very common, are rarely present in the listing of the NFP, as they are considered unimportant by the press.

b) Reliability and Validity

The NFP refers to an instant, where, following a precise request by COSPE on behalf of the EUMC, the Ministry of the Interior supplied data on racism and antisemitism relative to 2002: according to this data which referred to 2001, racist crimes had decreased by 12% whereas the crimes generally described as “antisemitic” had increased by 10%. The NFP comments that these figures cannot be considered reliable as they are not the outcome of a systematic and evidence-based monitoring.

c) Under- and overreporting

In the absence of a systematic monitoring, reliable research and statistics, the tendencies indicated in the NFP’s reports can only be taken as “circumstantial”. Cases of antisemitism do not always manage to reach the press. Hence, antisemitism, which is often expressed in terms of verbal and symbolic violence, is understated.

DOES THE EXISTING DATA CONTRIBUTE TO ANSWERING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A NEW TYPE OF ANTISEMITISM HAS EVOLVED OR NOT?

The NFP refers to the discussion of how to deal with the influence of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on the perception of and actions against Jews in Europe. However, there is no explicit reference to the question of whether a new type of antisemitism has evolved or not.

## 2.2.9. LUXEMBOURG

### I. DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS ARE REFERRED TO AND/OR USED BY THE NFP?

The NFP of Luxembourg provides no definition of antisemitism.

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS (IF ANY) ARE APPLIED BY THE DATA COLLECTING BODIES MENTIONED IN THE NFP REPORTS?

No definitions of antisemitism are mentioned by the NFP.

ARE THERE ANY PROBLEMS ARTICULATED WITH REGARD TO DEFINING ANTISEMITISM?

No such problems are articulated by the NFP.

### II. SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF EXISTING DATA ON ANTISEMITISM

WHO COLLECTS – ACCORDING TO THE NFP-REPORTS – DATA ON ANTISEMITISM IN LUXEMBOURG?

Since, according to the NFP, “the Jewish community, politicians and experts are unanimous in confirming that since the end of the Second World War Luxembourg has been spared any sort of anti-Semitic phenomenon”, no official or unofficial body exists that deals with registering acts of antisemitism.

#### **Jewish Community**

For the purpose of the reports on antisemitism members of the Jewish community in Luxembourg have been interviewed by the NFP.

WHAT KIND OF DATA IS COLLECTED BY THE DIFFERENT DATA COLLECTING BODIES?

#### a) Data on antisemitic acts

Only very few cases of (minor) incidents with a possible antisemitic background have been reported by the Jewish community in Luxembourg to the NFP.

#### b) Data on victims and perpetrators of antisemitic acts

See below “Data on social scientific research or opinion polls on antisemitism”.



c) Data on the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes in the media

According to the NFP, the absence of extreme right parties in Luxembourg fundamentally explains the absence of any xenophobic, racist or antisemitic press.

d) Data on antisemitic organisations and parties (and their activities)

The NFP points to the absence of extreme right parties in Luxembourg.

e) Data on antisemitic literature

No such data has been registered by the NFP.

f) Data on social scientific research or opinion polls on antisemitism

**European survey on discrimination in Europe<sup>439</sup>**

The NFP refers to a survey conducted by the European Commission regarding discrimination in the 15 EU member states. The survey enquired about racial, ethnic, religious, physical and other types of discrimination. According to this survey, 6 % of Luxembourg citizens with ethnic minority background, say that they suffered from discrimination. Only the Netherlands has a higher percentage: 7%. According to the NFP, Luxembourg also differs regarding religious intolerance, which is twice as present as in most of the other European countries. The report distinguishes between experienced and perceived discrimination: 6 % say they experienced discrimination, but 20 % say that they perceived it.

There have not been any studies undertaken regarding antisemitism in Luxembourg. The NFP points in this context out: “Neither Jewish circles nor Jewish officials consider it useful for the moment to do so, and for that reason perhaps to initiate a false and inappropriate debate.”

**HOW IS THE DATA CATEGORISED/ANALYSED BY THE NFP?**

The existent and non-existent data is structured according to the EUMC guidelines.

---

<sup>439</sup> EB57.0 ; Discrimination in Europe : Executive summary [350kb] 02-04/ date of publication 0205/03

WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE REPRESENTATIVENESS, RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND COMPARABILITY OF THE DATA PRESENTED IN THE NFP REPORTS? WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE PHENOMENON OF UNDER- AND OVERREPORTING?

The NFP reports a major problem concerning the existence of data. Due to lack of figures, statistics and reports, the NFP had to base its search for data mainly on an interview, which was carried out with the Vice-president of the Jewish consistory.

DOES THE EXISTING DATA CONTRIBUTE TO ANSWERING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A NEW TYPE OF ANTISEMITISM HAS EVOLVED OR NOT?

No reference to the possible emergence of a new type of antisemitism has been made by the NFP.

## 2.2.10. THE NETHERLANDS

### I. DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS ARE REFERRED TO AND/OR USED BY THE NFP?

No definition is provided by the NFP of the Netherlands. There is only a general explanation of what “racial violence” is.

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS (IF ANY) ARE APPLIED BY THE DATA COLLECTING BODIES MENTIONED IN THE NFP REPORTS?

No definitions of antisemitism are mentioned by the NFP.

ARE THERE ANY PROBLEMS ARTICULATED WITH REGARD TO DEFINING ANTISEMITISM?

No such problems are articulated by the NFP.

### II. SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF EXISTING DATA ON ANTISEMITISM

WHO COLLECTS – ACCORDING TO THE NFP-REPORTS – DATA ON ANTISEMITISM IN THE NETHERLANDS?

**AIVD (the Dutch Intelligence Service, or Algemene Inlichtingen- en Veiligheidsdienst)**

Concerning the collection of data on racial violence and violence incited by the extreme right in 2002, the AIVD (formerly the BVD)<sup>440</sup> asks the 25 police regions to collect data on the basis of a certain pattern on racial violence and violence incited by the extreme right. These data are put by the AIVD into a central databank.

**National Discrimination Expertise Centre (LECD) of the Public Prosecution Service**

No detailed information is given by the NFP on the (LECD).

The NFP points out that national coverage of antisemitism is problematic. For this reason it has been decided to draw on a number of other sources:

---

<sup>440</sup> The name change of the AIVD is a result of the new Intelligence and Security Services Act that became effective on 29 May 2002. Also see [www.aivd.nl](http://www.aivd.nl)

- the annual overview of antisemitic incidents issued by the Israel Information and Documentation Centre (Centrum Informatie en Documentatie Israël; CIDI) for 2002;<sup>441</sup>
- figures for racial violence and violence incited by the extreme right in 2002 issued by the Kafka Anti-Fascist Research Group;
- the Anne Frank House documentation, especially the media reports of racial violence and violence incited by the extreme right in 2002.
- requests from the DUMC were made to Anti-Discrimination Agencies and Hotlines for information on violent, racially-motivated incidents.

The Dutch Government supports a network of around 35 anti discrimination agencies. These organisations deal with complaints of racism and discrimination in the Netherlands. Each year, the anti discrimination agencies publish a report about the complaints they had received. This annual complaint inventory is issued by the National Federation of Anti-Discrimination Agencies and Hotlines (Landelijke Vereniging van Anti-Discriminatie Bureaus en Meldpunten; LVADB). About 4% (169) of the total number of 3902 complaints of racism and discrimination were complaints of antisemitism (the same level as in 2001). More than 100 of the 169 incidents were reported in Amsterdam.

#### WHAT KIND OF DATA IS COLLECTED BY THE DIFFERENT DATA COLLECTING BODIES?

##### a) Data on antisemitic acts

The NFP refers to a specific annual overview of antisemitic incidents, which is issued by CIDI, the Israel Information and Documentation Centre. The overview of the CIDI shows a considerable increase on antisemitic incidents in 2002 (with a total number of 337 cases), mainly due to numerous hate mails. There is also an increase of the more “serious” incidents in the categories physical violence, threats and abusive language.

According to the figures from the LECD, antisemitism rose to 25% of all registered discriminatory offences in 2002. This concerns particularly antisemitic utterances. Many of the incidents took place in connection with sporting competitions (65%). The number of Internet cases remained very low in 2002 (6 cases). This number is in sharp contrast to the increase of discrimination and antisemitism on the Internet in 2002, reported by the Dutch Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet (see below “Data on antisemitic literature”).<sup>442</sup> Approximately 46 of the investigated incidents of 2002 had to do with antisemitic violence. This is a striking increase in comparison with antisemitic violence in 2001, which figured 18 cases.

<sup>441</sup> These overviews can be found on the CIDI website, see [www.cidi.nl](http://www.cidi.nl).

<sup>442</sup> Annual report 2002, Internet Discrimination Hotline ([www.meldpunt.nl](http://www.meldpunt.nl))

The NFP points out that 19 of the 46 cases of antisemitic violence in 2002 can be labelled “new antisemitism”, because either the perpetrator was believed to have been an ethnic minority or there was a clear connection with the violence between the Israelis and the Palestinians.

b) Data on victims and perpetrators of antisemitic acts

**Perpetrators**

The NFP refers to the fact that the LECD refined its Discrimination Registration Code in 2001 in order to offer more insight into inter-ethnic incidents. According to the NFP, there are two observations worth mentioning. First, the small number of ethnic minority perpetrators (5%) involved in racial violence in 2002 is striking. In 2001 this percentage was still 20%. Second, only a very limited number (5) of the large amount of antisemitic incidents (60) registered by public prosecutors in 2002 was caused by ethnic minority perpetrators. The idea that it is mostly certain groups of Moroccan young people who are guilty of antisemitism is not corroborated by the figures from the LECD. Closer analysis by the LECD shows that in 80% of the cases of anti-Semitic violence, the perpetrator was ‘white’. Still, according to the NFP, in a number of cases the perpetrators proved to be persons from Islamic circles, and in a number of other cases there was evidence to that effect.

The NFP points furthermore to the participation of the extreme right in antisemitic violence, as was, for example, the case in September 2000, when a Jewish boy was assaulted in Woudenberg by extreme right-wing youths who were connected to the neo-Nazi group known as the Netherlands People’s Union (NVU).

Data on the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes in the media  
No data on media coverage has been reported by the NFP:

c) Data on antisemitic organisations and parties (and their activities)

**Stormfront Netherlands**

According to the NFP, the “Stormfront Netherlands”, which splintered off from the NVU (Nederlandse Volks-Unie, Dutch Peoples Union) and is that group’s rival, “shot up like a mushroom in 2001 and showed itself to be a platform of violence and antisemitism”. At the end of April 2001, just before the annual Dutch Remembrance Day, the Storm Front were responsible for the desecration of another Jewish cemetery, this time in Oosterhout in Brabant. However, in the course of 2002, the “Stormfront Netherlands” lost some weight because of confrontations with the police, with political opponents, and through lack of coordination and leadership.

#### d) Data on antisemitic literature

According to the Annual Report on 2002 of the Dutch Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet (Meldpunt Discriminatie Internet, MDI) antisemitism is one of the main categories of complaints on discrimination on the Internet: 584 reported expressions in 2002 (of which 54 Holocaust denial).<sup>443</sup> About 90% of all reported antisemitic expressions were found on Web forums of Muslim Web sites. Part of these consisted of the recycling of classic antisemitic products such as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Another component was Holocaust denial (54 complaints in 2002).

#### Data on social scientific research or opinion polls on antisemitism

The Anti-Defamation League conducted in September 2002 a survey on “European Attitudes Toward Jews”. 500 telephone interviews “among the general public” were conducted in The Netherlands.<sup>444</sup> 48% of the Dutch respondents believed that it is “probably true” that Jews are “more loyal to Israel than to The Netherlands”; 18% affirmed the view that “Jews have too much power in the international financial markets”; 20% said that it is “probably true” that “Jews have too much power in the business world”. As an overall result, 7% of the Dutch interviewees were considered as “most antisemitic”<sup>445</sup>.

#### HOW IS THE DATA CATEGORISED/ANALYSED BY THE NFP?

The data is mainly categorised according to the structure of the different data reporting bodies.

#### WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE REPRESENTATIVENESS, RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND COMPARABILITY OF THE DATA PRESENTED IN THE NFP REPORTS? WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE PHENOMENON OF UNDER- AND OVERREPORTING?

According to the NFP, one major problem concerns the arbitrariness of the assessment of concrete cases by the data collecting bodies. What one person may regard as a neo-Nazi activity may not be similarly identified by someone else, who simply dismisses the activity as ‘youthful pranks’. Then there’s the counting. What is seen in one police district as a single threat – such as sending ten copies of the same threatening letter – may be seen in another district as ten different threats. But this does not solve the problem of *degree of coverage*, of course.

<sup>443</sup> <http://www.inach.net>

<sup>444</sup> See [http://www.adl.org/anti\\_semitism/EuropeanAttitudesPoll-10-02.pdf](http://www.adl.org/anti_semitism/EuropeanAttitudesPoll-10-02.pdf); page viewed on February 16, 2004.

<sup>445</sup> ADL qualified those as “most antisemitic”, who are “most likely to believe that Jews stick together more than others, have too much power in the business world and international financial markets, and that they are not loyal to their country. See [http://www.adl.org/anti\\_semitism/EuropeanAttitudesPoll-10-02.pdf](http://www.adl.org/anti_semitism/EuropeanAttitudesPoll-10-02.pdf)

Furthermore, the NFP points out that its view of the problem of racial violence and violence incited by the extreme right in the Netherlands is seriously limited by two kinds of underreporting:

- the vast majority of violent incidents are not reported to the police;
- some of the incidents that are reported to the police are not adequately organized in a central data file, which means that some incidents remain hidden.

DOES THE EXISTING DATA CONTRIBUTE TO ANSWERING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A NEW TYPE OF ANTISEMITISM HAS EVOLVED OR NOT?

With regard to the connection between the *Intifada* and antisemitic incidents, the NFP points out that one could speak of a “new antisemitism” in the Netherlands. According to the NFP, 19 of the 46 cases of antisemitic violence in 2002 could be labelled “new antisemitism”, because either the perpetrator was believed to have been an ethnic minority or there was a clear connection with the violence between the Israelis and the Palestinians.

However, the NFP alludes to the fact that it is not in itself new that anti-Israeli attitudes can lead to expressions of antisemitism. What is perceived as new is the scale and intensity with which this has occurred in recent years.

## 2.2.11. AUSTRIA

### I. DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS ARE REFERRED TO AND/OR USED BY THE NFP?

In the Austrian NFP reports antisemitism is defined “as political, social, and economic agitation and activities directed against Jews. It denotes speech and behaviour that is derogatory to people of Jewish origin and is apt to publicly divest them of their dignity.”

In addition, the Austrian NFP refers to the fact that antisemitism in Austria is influenced by the country's history as part of former Nazi-Germany. The perception of Jews after 1945 is thus often connected to the handling of alleged or actual guilt.

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS (IF ANY) ARE APPLIED BY THE DATA COLLECTING BODIES MENTIONED IN THE NFP REPORTS?

No reference is made to any definition applied by data collecting bodies other than the NFP. However, the law against the denial of the Holocaust (Auschwitzlüge), which covers at least one aspect of contemporary antisemitism, is mentioned in the Austrian NFP-report.

ARE THERE ANY PROBLEMS ARTICULATED WITH REGARD TO DEFINING ANTISEMITISM?

The NFP refers to the fact that the question, of how to define antisemitism, is a topical and much debated one. Particularly, the NFP regards it as an open question, whether it was an act of antisemitism “to criticise or offend individual Jews or Israeli politics”. In this context, the NFP refers to the quality media, who had provided a “rather clear answer” to this open question, telling that “criticising or defaming Jews for being Jewish or playing with long-standing antisemitic stereotypes was indeed an act of antisemitism, whereas criticism of the work or behaviour of people with Jewish background was not.”

### II. SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF EXISTING DATA ON ANTISEMITISM

WHO COLLECTS – ACCORDING TO THE NFP-REPORTS – DATA ON ANTISEMITISM IN AUSTRIA?

#### **Ministry of the Interior**

The Federal Ministry of the Interior issues data collected in connection with antisemitism under the heading “right-wing extremism” in its annual reports on



the protection of the constitution<sup>446</sup>. Information provided by these reports includes qualitative descriptions on the structure and strategies of right-wing extremist groups and on the relevant crime statistics.

### **Forum against antisemitism**

The Forum against Antisemitism is a sub-organisation of the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien. The Forum describes as one of its major tasks the registering of antisemitic incidents. In order to do so, the Forum uses information coming from the media as well as information directly communicated by victims or witnesses of such acts. The Forum publishes its observations in its "Newsletter"<sup>447</sup>.

### **Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance**

The Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance was founded in 1963 by ex-resistance fighters and anti-Fascist historians and became a foundation in 1983. Part of its activities concerns the collection of data on right-wing extremism after 1945.

WHAT KIND OF DATA IS COLLECTED BY THE DIFFERENT DATA COLLECTING BODIES?

a) Data on antisemitic acts

### **2002**

The Ministry of the Interior recorded in 2002, according to the crime statistics listed in its Report on National Security, 20 racist crimes, motivated by antisemitism.<sup>448</sup> Most of these crimes concerned damage and desecration of property.<sup>449</sup>

According to the ZARA<sup>450</sup> racism report, 21 cases of antisemitic smearing, 17 defamations and three assaults on Jews were reported in the year 2002<sup>451</sup> to the NGO Forum against Antisemitism. In September 2003 the Forum informed the public of an increase of antisemitic incidents by 71.43 percent compared to the same period of last year. A total number of 108 cases (including smearings,

---

<sup>446</sup> These reports can be downloaded on the following web-site:  
<http://www.bmi.gv.at/staatsschutz/startseite.asp>, (09.11.2003).

<sup>447</sup> Available at: [http://www.fga-wien.at/archiv\\_nl.htm](http://www.fga-wien.at/archiv_nl.htm), (09.11.2003).

<sup>448</sup> Bundesministerium für Inneres, Bundesministerium für Justiz (2003), op.cit., p. 203.

<sup>449</sup> The NFP points to the fact that "one act can fulfill the corpus delicti of several offences; a criminal activity can therefore lead to several complaints which will be dealt with subsequently."

<sup>450</sup> ZARA (Verein für Zivilcourage und Anti-Rassismus-Arbeit) is an organization that offers Counseling for Victims and Witnesses of Racism.

<sup>451</sup> ZARA, Racism Report 2002, op. cit., p. 41.

threats, verbal attacks and even physical violence) were registered by the Forum in 2003.<sup>452</sup>

The NFP further mentions that the Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism of the Israeli Government recorded in its internet data base several antisemitic incidents in 2002 including antisemitic graffiti, a conference of Holocaust deniers in Salzburg and two physical attacks on Jewish persons in Vienna.<sup>453</sup>

### **2002/2003**

For the period of June 2002 to October 2003 the following numbers of antisemitic incidents, classified according to the EUMC guidelines<sup>454</sup>, were provided by the Forum against Antisemitism to the Austrian NFP. The NFP stresses the fact that the data “can by no means be interpreted in a quantitative way”:

- Extreme violence: 1 case
- Assault: 8 cases
- Damage to and desecration of property: 8 cases
- Threats: No specific threats
- Abusive behaviour: 345 cases
- Distribution of antisemitic literature: 16<sup>455</sup>.

#### **b) Data on victims and perpetrators of antisemitic acts**

##### **Victims of antisemitic acts**

The NFP points to the fact that there is some awareness in Austrian society of the vulnerability of Jews. Some media attention is given to acts of antisemitism and there exists a legal framework to combat crimes deriving from National-Socialist ideology in Austria. However, there is no detailed information on the particular vulnerability of certain groups of Jews, for example Orthodox Jews, and there exist no studies dealing systematically with Jews as victims of acts of antisemitism.

##### **Perpetrators of antisemitic acts**

Regarding potential and actual perpetrators of antisemitic acts, right-wing extremist organisations are closely monitored by both governmental and non-

<sup>452</sup> Press release of the Forum against Anti-Semitism on 24.09.2003.

<sup>453</sup> The database is online available at: <http://www.antisemitism.org.il/search.htm>, (09.11.2003).

<sup>454</sup> For the guidelines see Annex II.

<sup>455</sup> The RAXEN Focal Point re-classified two of the example cases because their description seemed to fit into other categories better than the ones chosen in the Forum’s report.

governmental organisations. Also, left-wing extremists are observed by the state. There is, however, no systematic data collection on perpetrators and their backgrounds and motives with regard to antisemitic incidents. The NFP quotes a very general appraisal by the Forum against Antisemitism, according to which most of the attacks are committed by right and left wing extremists as well as by members of the Islamic scene. Contrary to this appraisal, information provided by governmental sources, indicates that perpetrators of antisemitic crimes predominantly stem from skinhead groups.<sup>456</sup>

c) Data on the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes in the media

The NFP conducted some media analysis of mainstream newspapers, which “disclosed three letters to the editor containing antisemitic language.”<sup>457</sup> Furthermore, the NFP states that their analysis of the right-wing papers has shown “how anti-Israeli statements from right wing politicians and journalists are linked to antisemitism and draw from the repertoire of antisemitic stereotypes.”

d) Data on antisemitic organisations and parties (and their activities)

The Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance publishes regularly a newsletter in which information on racist groups are provided (see below “Data on antisemitic literature”).

e) Data on antisemitic literature

**Internet**

The NFP reports that the Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance (DÖW) has observed an increasing presence of Austrian neo-Nazis and skinheads on the web during 2002 as well as antisemitic tendencies on Web sites of right-wing extremist organisations.<sup>458</sup>

**Antisemitism in right-wing and other papers**

The NFP also refers to antisemitic statements propagating theories of world-wide Jewish conspiracy and denying the Holocaust to be found in various right-wing extremist papers like ‘Zur Zeit’, ‘Aula’, ‘fakten’, ‘HALT’, ‘Der Patriot’,

<sup>456</sup> Ibidem. See also: Bundesministerium für Inneres (2003) Verfassungsschutzbericht 2002. Staats-, Personen- und Objektschutz. (Report on the Protection of the Constitution 2002. Security of the state, people, and objects). Wien, p. 31, available at: <http://www.bmi.gv.at/downloadarea/staatsschutz/VS-Bericht2002.pdf>, (02.12.2003).

<sup>457</sup> *Kronen Zeitung* (23.05.02) and *Kleine Zeitung* (07.06.02).

<sup>458</sup> Schutzbündnis Soldatengrab mobilisiert beim RFJ (Defensive alliance in favour of Walter Nowotny’s grave mobilises on the webpage of the RFJ), in: Neues von ganz rechts – July 2003, available at: [http://www.doew.at/projekte/rechts/chronik/2003\\_07/grab1.html](http://www.doew.at/projekte/rechts/chronik/2003_07/grab1.html), (08.11.03).

and ‘Eckart’. The NFP points out that the weekly ‘Zur Zeit’ with a circulation of about 25,000 copies, received a press subsidy of € 64,174.80<sup>459</sup> for the financial year of 2003.

### Antisemitic writings

The NFP refers for 2002 and 2003 to several instances of antisemitic pamphlets as well as publications containing antisemitic statements, particularly related to notions of a Jewish world conspiracy.

#### f) Data on social scientific research or opinion polls on antisemitism

The Anti-Defamation League conducted in September 2002 a survey on “European Attitudes Toward Jews”. 500 telephone interviews “among the general public” were conducted in Austria<sup>460</sup>: 54% of the respondents believed that it is “probably true” that Jews are “more loyal to Israel than to Austria”; 39% affirmed the view that “Jews have too much power in the international financial markets”; 40% said that it is “probably true” that “Jews have too much power in the business world”. As an overall result, 19% of the interviewees were considered as “most antisemitic”<sup>461</sup>.

#### HOW IS THE DATA CATEGORISED/ANALYSED BY THE NFP?

The NFP structured its data according to the EUMC guidelines.

#### WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE REPRESENTATIVENESS, RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND COMPARABILITY OF THE DATA PRESENTED IN THE NFP REPORTS? WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE PHENOMENON OF UNDER- AND OVERREPORTING?

The NFP points to the fact that there exists presently “no specialised body for complaints about racist and antisemitic incidents, which would provide for a sound system of data collection”. Therefore, “it would seem irresponsible to indicate any developments or to provide any definitive numbers regarding antisemitic incidents at this point.”

<sup>459</sup> Ansuchen um Allgemeine Förderung im Finanzjahr 2003 gemäß dem Abschnitt I des Presseförderungsgesetzes 1985 (Petition for a general subsidy in the financial year of 2003 according to section I in the Press Subsidy Act in 1985), cited in ‘Der Standard’, available at: <http://derstandard.at/?id=1354266>, (09.11.2003).

<sup>460</sup> See [http://www.adl.org/anti\\_semitism/EuropeanAttitudesPoll-10-02.pdf](http://www.adl.org/anti_semitism/EuropeanAttitudesPoll-10-02.pdf); page viewed on February 16, 2004.

<sup>461</sup> ADL qualified those as “most antisemitic”, who are “most likely to believe that Jews stick together more than others, have too much power in the business world and international financial markets, and that they are not loyal to their country. See [http://www.adl.org/anti\\_semitism/EuropeanAttitudesPoll-10-02.pdf](http://www.adl.org/anti_semitism/EuropeanAttitudesPoll-10-02.pdf).

a) Representativeness

The data listed by the NFP does not raise a claim of comprehensiveness and representativeness. However, the data collected shows that antisemitism is present in Austria.

b) Reliability and Validity

The NFP points to the fact that “neither governmental reports nor information provided by NGOs are structured according to the categories provided by the EUMC.”

The Austrian NFP had to re-classify two of the example cases provided by the Forum against antisemitism, “because their description seemed to fit into other categories better than the ones chosen in the Forum’s report”.

c) Comparability

The NFP points out that “given the fact that presently there is no specialised body for complaints about racist violence and considering that most incidents of everyday discrimination are not reported to the police there is a great lack of consistent and nationwide data on recorded complaints regarding racial, ethnic and religious discrimination in general and antisemitic discrimination in particular”.

d) Under- and overreporting

It becomes clear from the NFP’s reports that the existing reporting by official and unofficial bodies in Austria is by no means sufficient in order to provide a comprehensive picture of the situation with regard antisemitism. The NFP refers to the fact that particularly “minor” incidents are in many cases not reported to the police. Hence, the discrepancy between the data recorded by the Forum against Antisemitism and the state official records. The NFP had to face again both the problem of underreporting (by and to the police) and the possible problem of under- and overreporting (by and to unofficial organisations).

DOES THE EXISTING DATA CONTRIBUTE TO ANSWERING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A NEW TYPE OF ANTISEMITISM HAS EVOLVED OR NOT?

The Austrian NFP makes no reference to the question of a possible „new antisemitism“.

## **2.2.12. PORTUGAL**

### **I. DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM**

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS ARE REFERRED TO AND/OR USED BY THE NFP?

The Portuguese NFP provides no definition on antisemitism.

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS (IF ANY) ARE APPLIED BY THE DATA COLLECTING BODIES MENTIONED IN THE NFP REPORTS?

No definitions of antisemitism are mentioned by the NFP.

ARE THERE ANY PROBLEMS ARTICULATED WITH REGARD TO DEFINING ANTISEMITISM?

No such problems are articulated by the NFP.

### **II. SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF EXISTING DATA ON ANTISEMITISM**

WHO COLLECTS – ACCORDING TO THE NFP-REPORTS – DATA ON ANTISEMITISM IN PORTUGAL?

No data collecting bodies are mentioned in the report.

WHAT KIND OF DATA IS COLLECTED BY THE DIFFERENT DATA COLLECTING BODIES?

a) Data on antisemitic acts

A single case of an e-mail with antisemitic content is reported by the NFP.

b) Data on victims and perpetrators of antisemitic acts

No such data is provided by the NFP.

c) Data on the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes in the media

The NFP refers to a polemic that arose on the pages of one of the leading Portuguese quality newspapers, *Público*, concerning a series of Articles by Pedro Melo de Almeida, who identifies himself as a professor and researcher with a degree in Philosophy, defending revisionist thesis on the Holocaust, namely that the number of Jewish victims was not as high as is usually claimed,

but the result of historians mystification.<sup>462</sup> The articles intended also to present a number of historical works who defend such revisionist thesis. Several answers to this articles displayed their indignation at what they considered the antisemitism of the author. After the polemic the newspaper issued an editorial note excusing themselves for the publication of the articles and stating that today such publication would have to be accompanied by a contextualization of the position of the author in the revisionist historiographical debate.

d) Data on antisemitic organisations and parties (and their activities)

No such data is provided by the NFP.

e) Data on antisemitic literature

**Internet sites**

Several Portuguese Nazi sites appeared this year in the Internet. Some of them do have antisemitic declarations and articles. However, according to the NFP, these are translations of antisemitic foreigner articles, mainly Americans. No explicit threats to the Portuguese Jewish Community were found in any of these sites (at least in the period we monitored).

f) Data on social scientific research or opinion polls on antisemitism

According to the NFP, there are no studies or reports dealing with changes in antisemitism in Portugal.

**HOW IS THE DATA CATEGORISED/ANALYSED BY THE NFP?**

The existent and non-existent data is categorised according to the EUMC guidelines.

**WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE REPRESENTATIVENESS, RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND COMPARABILITY OF THE DATA PRESENTED IN THE NFP REPORTS? WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE PHENOMENON OF UNDER- AND OVERREPORTING?**

The NFP points to the fact that it is extremely difficult in Portugal to analyse the phenomena of racial violence and discrimination, due to an almost total absence of data and sources, either of a quantitative or qualitative nature. The impossibility of gathering data on discrimination acts is, in a certain way, aggravated by the absence of a specialised body coordinating all the existing, and non-existing, information. There are no statistics identifying the variable race, ethnic origin, ascendancy or any other category allowing some ethnic

---

<sup>462</sup> The first article appeared in Publico, 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 2003, the second on the 24<sup>th</sup> of March and the third on the 14<sup>th</sup> of April.

differentiation of the population. The only statistic category that is to be found in all sources is the nationality.

DOES THE EXISTING DATA CONTRIBUTE TO ANSWERING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A NEW TYPE OF ANTISEMITISM HAS EVOLVED OR NOT?

The NFP refers to Dr. Esther Mucznick, who is Vice-President of the Lisbon Israelite Community, and who claims that a change in the attitude towards Jews is occurring throughout Europe, with Portugal being no exception. That change of attitude was brought about by the developments in the middle-eastern Israel-Palestinian conflict, a phenomenon also referred in the paper by Michael Whine. According to Dr. Mucznick sympathizers with the Palestinian cause tend to be tolerant with antisemitic attitudes.



## **2.2.13. FINLAND**

### **I. DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM**

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS ARE REFERRED TO AND/OR USED BY THE NFP?

The Finnish NFP defines antisemitism in very general terms as “hatred towards Jewish people”. In addition, it points out that it has decided to include “the most important anti-Israel expressions of opinions to this report, because the anti-Israel and anti-Sharon movement may increase antisemitism and citizens might not even be aware of this kind of changes in general attitudes.”

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS (IF ANY) ARE APPLIED BY THE DATA COLLECTING BODIES MENTIONED IN THE NFP REPORTS?

No reference to any other definition of the term “antisemitism” is made in the NFP report.

ARE THERE ANY PROBLEMS ARTICULATED WITH REGARD TO DEFINING ANTISEMITISM?

The Finish League for Human Rights (FLHR), in its function as Finnish NFP, refers to the issue of including anti-Israeli expressions into the reporting on antisemitism (see also above) and highlights the difficulty of drawing a line between anti-Semitic opinions and anti-Israel opinions. The NFP sees the possibility that demonstrations and movements directed against the Government of Israel and its actions could “create extreme expressions of opinions and lead to a black and white-frame of thinking. If this kind of development happens, people might not distinguish the Israeli Government from Jewish people and this might increase anti-Semitic thoughts and acts.”

### **II. SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF EXISTING DATA ON ANTISEMITISM**

WHO COLLECTS – ACCORDING TO THE NFP-REPORTS – DATA ON ANTISEMITISM IN FINLAND?

The NFP points to the problems it had with finding accurate information on antisemitism in Finland. One reason for this may be, according to the NFP, the small size of the Jewish community in Finland. Another reason may be that the Jews are so well integrated into Finnish society that no anti-Semitic acts or thoughts occur. According to the NFP, the last hypothesis proved to be wrong.

The NFP states that it has no knowledge about the existence of any other monitoring centre for racism and xenophobia in Finland in addition to the NFP itself. The resources used by the NFP were thus interviews with the

representative of the Finnish Jewish community, the representative of the Friends of Israel Association and the Ombudsman for Ethnic Minorities' office. Furthermore, all available material from newspapers and the Internet was gathered.<sup>463</sup>

#### WHAT KIND OF DATA IS COLLECTED BY THE DIFFERENT DATA COLLECTING BODIES?

##### a) Data on antisemitic acts

All incidents reported by the NFP are based on the interviews mentioned above. These incidents included acts of vandalism and disparagement, physical threat, verbal aggression/hate speech, direct verbal threat, threats by telephone, insults, and antisemitic graffiti/inscriptions.

##### b) Data on victims and perpetrators of antisemitic acts

No specific data on victims or perpetrators has been reported by the NFP.

##### c) Data on the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes in the media

The NFP critically refers to the perception of the representative of the Jewish Community in Helsinki, who states that the media coverage of the situation in Israel hasn't been neutral. The NFP stresses the subjective position of the interviewee.

##### d) Data on antisemitic organisations and parties (and their activities)

No specific data on antisemitic organisations and parties has been reported by the NFP.

##### e) Data on antisemitic literature

The NFP refers to the fact that some of the leaflets distributed at pro-Palestine manifestations contain (extreme) anti-Israel material (without categorising these leaflets explicitly as antisemitic).

##### f) Data on social scientific research or opinion polls on antisemitism

No studies or reports dealing with changes in antisemitic sentiments have been registered by the NFP.

---

<sup>463</sup> RRA 2002 report.

HOW IS THE DATA CATEGORISED/ANALYSED BY THE NFP?

The existent (and also the non-existent) data is structured according to the EUMC guidelines.

WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE REPRESENTATIVENESS, RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND COMPARABILITY OF THE DATA PRESENTED IN THE NFP REPORTS? WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE PHENOMENON OF UNDER- AND OVERREPORTING?

Since there is no systematic reporting and registering of data on antisemitism, the NFP had to rely on the data collected by the Jewish community. The reliability and validity of the data cannot be guaranteed.

DOES THE EXISTING DATA CONTRIBUTE TO ANSWERING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A NEW TYPE OF ANTISEMITISM HAS EVOLVED OR NOT?

The Finnish NFP makes no reference to the question of a possible “new antisemitism“.

## 2.2.14. SWEDEN

### I. DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS ARE REFERRED TO AND/OR USED BY THE NFP?

The Swedish NFP refers to two different definitions of antisemitism. In its RAXEN reports it defines antisemitism as “crime based on hatred or animosity against Jewish people or religion, or ideologically related crimes against Jewish property”. In its Rapid Response Reports on antisemitism it uses the definition of Helen Fein according to which antisemitism is “a persisting latent structure of hostile beliefs towards *Jews as a collectivity* manifested in *individuals* as attitudes, and in *culture* as myth, ideology, folklore and imagery, and in *actions* – social or legal discrimination, political mobilisation against the Jews, and collective or state violence – which results in and/or is designed to distance, displace, or destroy Jews as Jews.”<sup>464</sup>

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS (IF ANY) ARE APPLIED BY THE DATA COLLECTING BODIES MENTIONED IN THE NFP REPORTS?

The NFP refers to the Protection of the Constitution Section, which defines crimes of antisemitic nature as crimes against individuals of Jewish descent, against Judaism as a religion or against Jewish property etc. To be classified as an antisemitic crime it is, however, not necessary for the victim to be Jewish; it is decisive that the perpetrator believes the victim to be Jewish or that he committed the crime for expressing specific anti-Jewish sentiments.

ARE THERE ANY PROBLEMS ARTICULATED WITH REGARD TO DEFINING ANTISEMITISM?

Although the NFP draws a clear connection between the situation in the Middle East and the antisemitic activities, it sees it as important to separate criticism against Israeli politics from antisemitism. The NFP points out that its reports deal only with incidents defined as specifically antisemitic – not with general anti-Israeli sentiments or legitimate criticism of Israeli Government policy. However, directing anti-Israeli slogans and other criticism at Jewish individuals or Jews as a group, just because they are Jewish, must be seen as an antisemitic act. There are several cases where anti-Israeli propaganda or sentiments have crossed the line into anti-Jewish propaganda, and where anti-Israeli propaganda has been directed at Jews only because they are Jews.

---

<sup>464</sup> Helen Fein: Dimensions of Antisemitism: Attitudes, Collective Accusations and Actions. In: Helen Fein (ed.): The Persisting Question. Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Antisemitism. (Current Research on antisemitism, vol. 1, ed. by Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Bergmann). Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1987, p. 67.

## II. SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF EXISTING DATA ON ANTISEMITISM

### WHO COLLECTS – ACCORDING TO THE NFP-REPORTS – DATA ON ANTISEMITISM IN SWEDEN?

Protection of the Constitution Section (PCS) of the Swedish Security Police (Säpo)

The only Swedish institution compiling a formal index of antisemitic incidents is the Swedish Security Police (Säpo). The PCS annual report is also the only comprehensible source available that is also meeting standard guidelines for scientific accuracy. PCS guidelines for racially motivated crimes include xenophobia, antisemitism, homophobia and general “white power scene” related crimes.<sup>465</sup>

#### *Jewish communities*

The Jewish communities in Sweden register all incidents reported to them.

### WHAT KIND OF DATA IS COLLECTED BY THE DIFFERENT DATA COLLECTING BODIES?

#### a) Data on antisemitic acts

#### **2002**

The NFP points out that incitement of racial hatred are the two most common antisemitic crimes. Listed in detail, the PCS data on 2002 incidents are categorised as follows: gross assault (1 case), assault (5 cases), harassment (47 cases), slander (9 cases), vandalism (11 cases), graffiti (10 cases), incitement of racial hatred (42 cases), Illegal discrimination (1 case), other crime (4 cases), lacking specific crime category (1 case). Almost all antisemitic crimes are perpetrated in the large city areas of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö, which also harbour the largest Jewish groups in Sweden. The single case of gross assault was committed by a so-called “white power activist” (see below “Data on antisemitic organisations and parties”).

In its Rapid Response Report on antisemitism in the period between May 15<sup>th</sup> and June 15<sup>th</sup>, the NFP reports of four cases of vandalism and disparagement, two cases of insults, and one case of Graffiti and antisemitic inscriptions.

The NFP also referred to the documents published by the European Jewish Congress, which reports for April 2002 of antisemitic incidents when two demonstrations, one against both antisemitism and Islamophobia and one anti-

---

<sup>465</sup> For a definition of the term “white power scene” see below “Data on antisemitic organisations and parties”.

Israeli march, clashed. According to the European Jewish Congress about 100-150 young demonstrators of the pro-Palestinian manifestation broke out and (verbally) attacked participants of the other demonstrations.

## 2003

*Below, there is a listing of antisemitic acts reported by the Jewish communities for 2003<sup>466</sup>*

| Type of crime                      | Reported cases |
|------------------------------------|----------------|
| Extreme violence                   | 0              |
| Assault                            | 3              |
| Damage and desecration of property | 10             |
| Threats                            | 7              |
| Abusive behaviour                  | 37             |
| Literature                         | 3              |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                       | <b>60</b>      |

### b) Data on victims and perpetrators of antisemitic acts

The NFP points out that, although the absolute number of antisemitic cases is much smaller than the number of xenophobic incidents, which make statistical comparison uncertain, it should be noted that the percentage of white power related incidents are higher than for xenophobic incidents: “White power” xenophobic crimes account for an average of 15%, while “white power” antisemitic crimes account for 21.5%.

The reported incidents concern, according to the NFP, assailants connected to the extreme right as well as people connected to anti-Israeli or pro-Palestine movements. In a reported case of harassment in Gothenburg, also in September 2003, the assailants had obvious connections to the extreme right; this concerns a group of people shouting Sieg Heil outside the synagogue.

### c) Data on the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes in the media

The NFP refers to several cases of antisemitism in the media, connected with conspiracy theories and Holocaust denial, and partly connected with Christian antisemitism.

### d) Data on antisemitic organisations and parties (and their activities)

<sup>466</sup> These figures refer to the data processed by the Jewish community for the period of January 1, 2003, and to December 10, 2003.

### **White power scene**

According to the NFP, the term “white power” is used to describe crimes relating to activists or adherents to the ideological supremacist subculture including neo-Nazi organisations, skinheads, certain antisemitic conspiracy theory groups etc. Crimes committed under the auspices of the white power scene are not only related to members of specific racist or neo-Nazi groups, but also to the milieu as such; this includes crimes committed at for instance a white power rock concert etc, by individuals who can not be linked to specific groups by membership cards etc.

The NFP reports of quarrels within the right-wing extremist scene on taking a certain position with regard to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: “While the national socialist groups, in particular the National Socialist Front, have expressed understanding for “anti-American sentiments in the Islamic world” and claimed the United States only had itself to blame for years of support to Zionism, the Sweden Democrats used the event to foster additional suspicion about Islam. Following 11 September, party organiser Tommy Funebo has also written a few texts broadly supporting Israel in the ongoing conflict in the Middle East; his position has been ridiculed on various extreme right chat sites on the Internet, as being ‘pro-Zionist’.”

#### **e) Data on antisemitic literature**

The NFP reports of antisemitic pamphlets slipped into shelves, books and papers, of a publishing house, selling old copies of an antisemitic up-market magazine, and of court convictions for republishing antisemitic books.

#### **f) Data on social scientific research or opinion polls on antisemitism**

A research report, *Det förnekade hatet: Antisemitism bland araber och muslimer i Sverige* (The denied hatred: Antisemitism among Arabs and Muslims in Sweden) by Mikael Tossavainen, was released in autumn 2003. The report deals with the issue of antisemitism among Muslims and Arabs living in Sweden and points to an increase in antisemitic sentiments among Muslim school children living in Sweden, in particular in the disadvantaged suburban areas of the metropolitan cities. The study is based on interviews with teachers working in schools in the disadvantaged suburban areas in the three Metropolitan regions in Sweden, where the majority of the Swedish Muslims lives. It should be pointed out that although the content of the report is accurate, the author admits that the basis for the conclusions of the report is limited. Only ten teachers in schools have participated. The report further states that the number of antisemitic attacks on both Jews and Jewish property by people of Middle Eastern origin has increased. In 2002 17 of the 95 antisemitic incidents that were reported to the Jewish community could be referred to the Arabic and or Muslim environment. The motives to the reported incidents are for the majority of the

reported 95 incidents not known. Of these incidents, very few regarded smaller assaults, the larger number regarded harassments and threats.

The NFP emphasises in this context that there is no reason to believe that antisemitic sentiments are shared by a majority of the Muslim population. Indications only seem to show that such sentiments are more common there than among the rest of the population. According to the NFP, Mehmet Kaplan, press secretary, of Sveriges Unga Muslimer, (Sweden's Young Muslims), agreed in an interview that there are traces of what he calls a vulgar antisemitism among young Muslims, which he thinks can be related to the frustration and anger that exists in the Arab world over being refused to have an opportunity to speak.

#### HOW IS THE DATA CATEGORISED/ANALYSED BY THE NFP?

The data on antisemitic incidents is structured partly according to the PCS categories and partly according to the EUMC guidelines.

#### WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE REPRESENTATIVENESS, RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND COMPARABILITY OF THE DATA PRESENTED IN THE NFP REPORTS? WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE PHENOMENON OF UNDER- AND OVERREPORTING?

The NFP stresses that there are only a few independent sources in Sweden, which are all from local media or local activist groups and usually not reliable in terms of scientific accuracy or definitions and sources.

One methodological problem with regard to compilation of statistics is that in some cases a single incident may generate a large number of complaints or criminal charges. This was the case, for instance, of a May Day rally in the mid-Swedish town Nora in 1998, where an illegal National Socialist Front rally developed into a small-scale riot, which left 73 individuals arrested. One single incident, for that reason, accounted for 73 cases in the statistics.

As in the case of xenophobia, there is an unknown amount of hidden statistics. Violent crimes against Jews or Jewish property are usually reported, while cases of harassment, intimidation or threats may sometimes be played down for fear of encouraging other anti-Semites or copycats through media publicity.

##### a) Under- and overreporting

Scientific methods used for the annual police compilation, which is the basis for conclusions in this paper, have improved markedly in recent years. The police compilation includes a majority of crimes with a racial or extreme right motivation reported to local police authorities during the previous year. The largest fault is that far from every crime is actually reported, and will therefore constitute an unknown amount of hidden statistics. Although an unknown amount of hidden statistics can be expected, even a large amount of hidden



statistics for certain types of crimes, the existing compilation is broad and accurate enough to indicate changes in trends and developments.

DOES THE EXISTING DATA CONTRIBUTE TO ANSWERING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A NEW TYPE OF ANTISEMITISM HAS EVOLVED OR NOT?

There is some reference to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the report, however, no explicit reference is made to the question of whether a new type of antisemitism has emerged or not.

## 2.2.15. UK

### I. DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS ARE REFERRED TO AND/OR USED BY THE NFP?

According to the UK NFP, antisemitism refers to anti-Jewish prejudice and racism. Antisemitism is based upon an unfounded hostility towards Jews and expressions of Jewish identity. It may be directed against individuals or groups because of their actual or perceived religious or racial background or identification.

Concerning the terminology, the NFP alludes to the fact that some regard the term “antisemitic” as ambiguous because ‘Semitic’ refers only to a group of languages including Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic rather than a religious or ethnic identity. The term Judeophobia therefore is sometimes preferred.

WHAT SORTS OF DEFINITIONS (IF ANY) ARE APPLIED BY THE DATA COLLECTING BODIES MENTIONED IN THE NFP REPORTS?

The NFP points out that the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2003 does not make provisions for protection against religious discrimination or incitement to religious hatred. However, in 1980 it was established through case law that because Jews are able to trace their descent to a common origin, Jews could be defined as an ethnic or racial group as well as a religious group. In this way, discrimination against Jews falls within the scope of the Race Relations Act, whereas discrimination against Muslims, for example, does not.

ARE THERE ANY PROBLEMS ARTICULATED WITH REGARD TO DEFINING ANTISEMITISM?

No such problems are articulated by the NFP.

### II. SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF EXISTING DATA ON ANTISEMITISM

WHO COLLECTS – ACCORDING TO THE NFP-REPORTS – DATA ON ANTISEMITISM IN THE UK?

#### **Official Data**

The NFP points to the fact that there are forms of racism that are not clearly represented in UK official data, because systems of classification are closely tied to the ‘colour line’ and insufficiently sensitive to the multiple dimensions of ‘race’ and ethnicity’. The classification of ethnicity for the 2001 Census did, for example, not include religion or ethnic groups whose identity derives in

whole or in part from religion. Therefore, according to the NFP, neither 'Islamic' nor 'Jewish' appear in official systems of classification and neither antisemitic nor Islamophobic incidents are recorded as such.

### **The Board of Deputies of British Jews**

The Board of Deputies of British Jews monitors antisemitic incidents through the Community Security Trust (CST), which works closely with the Institute of Jewish Policy Research. The CST provides security advice for the Jewish Community throughout Britain and represents the Jewish community on police, legislative and policy-making bodies. It was granted charitable status in 1994 with the backing of the Home Office and the London Metropolitan Police and is the only organisation in the UK recording data on antisemitic incidents in a systematic and comprehensive manner.

### **Institute of Jewish Policy Research**

The Institute of Jewish Policy Research is an independent research centre (details at <http://www.jpr.org.uk/>). It has published a series of studies on racism and antisemitism, examining the manifestations of racism, xenophobia and, especially, antisemitism, against a backdrop of the more general social and political contexts in which such manifestations occur.

WHAT KIND OF DATA IS COLLECTED BY THE DIFFERENT DATA COLLECTING BODIES?

a) Data on antisemitic acts

#### **2002**

National figures of incidents of antisemitism by 'CST' are provided. They show a peak in April and May of 2002 and another upsurge in September and October of the same year illustrating, according to the NFP, "the relationship of such incidents to events in the Middle East".

#### **2003**

For information on antisemitic incidents in 2003, the NFP relies mainly on information provided by the website of [totallyjewish.com](http://totallyjewish.com) and by the Web site of the Anti Defamation League and does not claim to give a complete overview of this form of antisemitic incidents during 2003. Two cases of assault, five cases of damage and desecration of property, one threat, and one case of abusive behaviour are reported for 2003 by the two Web sites mentioned above. For further information on 2003, the NFP refers to the CST annual report on 2003, which will be published in February 2004.

## b) Data on victims and perpetrators of antisemitic acts

According to the NFP, as in other areas of racist violence, there is little data on perpetrators of antisemitism. Although the figures show an increase in victimisation in September-October 2001, more data would be needed to show an independent effect of September 11<sup>th</sup>. Michael Whine points to a ‘spill over’ effect from events in the Middle East into relations between Jews and Muslims. According to him, despite the incompleteness of the available data, CST records show “that an increasing number of incidents [...] are caused by Muslims or Palestinian sympathizers, whether or not they are Muslims. This visible trend suggests that surges of antisemitic incidents may be visible manifestations of political violence, perpetrated against British Jews in support for the Palestinians.”<sup>467</sup> Whine refers to an attempt by the CST to investigate the perpetrators of attacks during the first five months of 2002, using its own information and police data. Of the 20 incidents in the categories “Extreme violence” and “Assault” five of the perpetrators were described as white, five as Arabs, three as Asian, and seven as unknown.<sup>468</sup> Robert Wistrich (2002) argues this case more overtly. In a piece based primarily on newspaper reports, he alleges that it is specifically Islamist antisemitism that has become increasingly intense since September 11<sup>th</sup>, poses an increasing threat to Jews in the UK.

In a survey conducted in 2002 by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research on the perception of the situation with regard to antisemitism by British Jews (as potential victims of antisemitism), 7,4 per cent of the 2665 respondents reported that they had been called Jew in an insulting way during the last twelve months and about 20 per cent reported that they had heard somebody making derogatory remarks about Jews generally. The survey points out that visible (ultra-Orthodox) Jews are much more likely to become a victim of insulting than the average.<sup>469</sup>

## c) Data on the reproduction of antisemitic stereotypes in the media

The NFP points out that it goes beyond its scope to carry out a comprehensive review of, for example, newspapers and other media reports to collect data on antisemitic incidents during 2003, especially as a lot of the information would come from local sources. However, the NFP refers to cases of antisemitic cartoons in UK magazines and newspapers.

---

<sup>467</sup> See Michael Whine: Antisemitism on the streets. In: Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin (eds.): A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Britain. London: Profile, 2003, pp. 31f.

<sup>468</sup> Ibid. p. 34

<sup>469</sup> Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin: Globalized Judeophobia and its ramifications for British society. In: Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin (eds.): A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Britain. London: Profile, 2003, pp. 282f.

d) Data on antisemitic organisations and parties (and their activities)

Michael Whine mentions in his article “Antisemitism on the streets” the following right-extremist and “Hitlerite” parties and organisations active in the UK: the National Front (NF), the British National Party (BNP), and Combat 18.<sup>470</sup>

e) Data on antisemitic literature

The NFP reports that until its dissolution in mid-2003, the Islamic Party of Britain, mostly composed of converts to Islam, continued to publish its antisemitic, occasional journal *Common Sense*.<sup>471</sup> In general, the distribution of targeted antisemitic literature, mostly a feature of far right activism, continued to decline in 2002 as a consequence of successful prosecutions.<sup>472</sup> Information on developments in 2003 will be available from the CST's annual report 2003, to be published in February 2004.

f) Data on social scientific research or opinion polls on antisemitism

The Anti-Defamation League conducted in June 2002 a survey on “European Attitudes Toward Jews”. 500 telephone interviews “among the general public” were conducted in the UK. 34% of the British respondents believed that it is “probably true” that Jews are “more loyal to Israel than to the UK”. 21% said that it is “probably true” that “Jews have too much power in the business world”. 23 affirmed the view that “Jews still talk too much about the Holocaust”.<sup>473</sup>

Paul Iganski, Barry Kosmin published in 2003 their book on “Judeophobia in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Britain” through the Institute of Jewish Policy Research: London. In their book, they refer to a survey conducted by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research on the perception of the present situation with regard to antisemitism by British Jews (see above “Data on victims and perpetrators of antisemitic acts”).<sup>474</sup>

HOW IS THE DATA CATEGORISED/ANALYSED BY THE NFP?

The data is categorised according to the EUMC guidelines.

---

<sup>470</sup> Ibid. p. 27f

<sup>471</sup> Stephen Roth Institute (2003) Anti-Semitism Worldwide 2002/3 - United Kingdom, available at: [www.tau.ac.il/Anti-Semitism/asw2002-3/uk.htm](http://www.tau.ac.il/Anti-Semitism/asw2002-3/uk.htm) (16.10.2003)

<sup>472</sup> M. Whine (2002) Antisemitism on the streets, article published by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research, available at: [www.axt.org.uk/essays/Whine.htm](http://www.axt.org.uk/essays/Whine.htm) (17.10.2003)

<sup>473</sup> See [http://www.adl.org/anti\\_semitism/European\\_Attitudes.pdf](http://www.adl.org/anti_semitism/European_Attitudes.pdf); page viewed on February 16, 2004.

<sup>474</sup> Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin: Globalized Judeophobia and its ramifications for British society. In: Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin (eds.): A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Britain. London: Profile, 2003, p. 282.

WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE REPRESENTATIVENESS, RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND COMPARABILITY OF THE DATA PRESENTED IN THE NFP REPORTS? WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE PHENOMENON OF UNDER- AND OVERREPORTING?

The NFP points to the following gaps in the data:

- The Classification of victims and analysis of the problem is too closely tied to the colour line while the issues of asylum seeking, antisemitism, Islamophobia render the problem more complex than this.
- There is still no official recording of Islamophobic or antisemitic incidents as such.
- Data is insufficiently detailed on perpetrators – in particular their relationship to victims (if any). More detailed data would enable better understanding of the background, triggers and motives for racist violence and what the patterns of victimization are. More data is needed on repeat victimization and why certain people are targeted.

In his recent paper on “Antisemitism on the streets”, Michael Whine points to the fact that the absolute total figures of the Community Security Trust tend to be constantly lower than those reported to the Metropolitan Police Service:

“That the CST under-reports is suggested by the fact that it records the mass distribution of a single leaflet as one incident although there may be hundreds of recipients, whereas police forces may each record the receipt of that item as a separate incident.”<sup>475</sup>

DOES THE EXISTING DATA CONTRIBUTE TO ANSWERING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A NEW TYPE OF ANTISEMITISM HAS EVOLVED OR NOT?

The NFP refers to Iganski and Kosmin (2003), who argue that the rise in hate crimes against Jews in the last two years (which are low compared to overall RMIs) is ‘a very weak indicator of the prevailing national climate of antisemitism’. Rather, they claim that there is a ‘new antisemitism’ that does not primarily manifest itself on British streets, nor is it a genocidal, deep-seated, visceral hatred of individual Jews. But it has taken hold, they argue, among “cognitive elites” within the news media, churches, universities, and trades unions. Couched as criticism of Israel’s treatment of Palestinians, this Judeophobia is nonetheless an assault on the essence of the Jewish collectivity, and deploys disparaging stereotypes about Jews that are a throwback to the old antisemitism.

---

<sup>475</sup> See Michael Whine: Antisemitism on the streets. In: Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin (eds.): A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Britain. London: Profile, 2003, pp. 24f.

## 2.3. CONCLUSIONS

### 2.3.1. GENERAL ASSESSMENT

The country-by-country evaluation of present data collection on antisemitism in the EU, which was based mainly on data and information provided by the fifteen NFPs of the RAXEN network, has pointed to several gaps and problem areas, which will be discussed in detail below. The structural differences and sometimes inconsistencies in the NFP reports, which occurred despite the common guidelines provided by the EUMC<sup>476</sup>, are an indicator of the inconsistencies in the way data on antisemitism is collected and interpreted by official bodies and NGOs in the EU Member States. The most important overall question here is: What do these inconsistencies, the data gaps, and the problems with regard to reliability, validity, and comparability mean with regard to the possibility of drawing significant conclusions on contemporary antisemitism in Europe?

The critical analysis of present processes of data collection and the identification of significant problem areas should not be misunderstood to imply that the presently available data on antisemitism in Europe allows for no conclusions to be drawn. One has to distinguish here between two data sets: one that deals with the development of attitudes towards Jews in the overall population (or in particular groups or institutions) and one that deals with concrete instances of antisemitic acts, directed against individuals or institutions. Concerning the former, in some European countries, particularly in France and Germany, polls are carried out on a comparatively frequent or even regular basis, revealing statistical trends, which at the very least allow us to understand the development of public attitudes towards the questions, asked by the poll, and which allow some interpretations that reveal significant information about the development of attitudes towards Jews and antisemitic beliefs. Most countries in the EU 15, however, are only subject to sporadic polls, of which some are conducted by internationally operating NGOs, for example, the Anti-Defamation League. The data gained through such sporadic polls have a much lower significance than the data of regularly conducted polls. Both have in common that they reveal no more than statistical trends. Only very few empirical studies go deeper into the subject matter of antisemitic attitudes and investigate motives and interdependencies with other strands of attitudes.

Concerning the monitoring and recording of concrete antisemitic acts, we face a similar picture. There are few countries in Europe that have a comparatively dense net of official and unofficial organisations recording and processing data related to incidents with a potentially antisemitic background. Other countries have a looser net of monitoring and some countries, like Finland, Greece,

---

<sup>476</sup> EUMC guidelines in Annex II.

Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal, and Spain possess no or only rudimentary structures for recording data on potential acts of antisemitism. Indeed, some of the latter countries seem to have a significantly lower rate of such incidents (or probability of such incidents to occur), but for other countries it is clear that it is rather the denial of the phenomenon of antisemitism rather than the absence of it that has led to avoiding systematic data collection.

If we now turn again towards the topical question of the character of contemporary antisemitism and its possible change in nature and appearance, as claimed by the proponents of the “new antisemitism” view, we have to recognise that the presently available data impose clear limitations to the scope of empirically validated claims that can be made. If we recall our conceptualisation of the term “new” in “new antisemitism” in the chapter on “Terminology, Concepts, Definition”, then we can distinguish between “newness” with regard to the very nature of antisemitism (through redefining the construction of the stereotypical “Jew”) and “newness” with regard to the public appearance of antisemitism in politics, media, and in everyday life (which is not necessarily based in a change in the nature of antisemitism). In that chapter we also referred to those who claim that a fundamental change in the nature of antisemitism has taken place in Europe in the last years (or in the course of the last decades). However, if we look at the available data dealing with the perception of Jews within the EU, there is little to no evidence supporting this view. This does not necessarily mean that such a development has not taken place, but only that the presently available data does not allow for drawing any such conclusion firmly, which may also be a result of the inadequacy and inflexibility of the surveys and polls dealing with the issue of attitudes towards Jews.

Concerning the claim that the appearance of antisemitism has changed in recent years, the picture is somewhat different. There is indeed evidence to support the view that there is a link between the number of reported antisemitic incidents and the political situation in the Middle East. Furthermore, some of the data indicates that there have been changes in the profile of perpetrators. It is not anymore the extreme right that is mainly responsible for hostility towards Jewish individuals or property (or public property with a symbolic relation to the Holocaust or to Jews) – especially during the periods when registered incidents peak. In some countries, like Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the UK, a varying proportion of victims of hostility classified perpetrators to be “young Muslims”, “people of North African origin”, or “immigrants”. However, one has to point here to the limitations of the data (which will be discussed in detail below), namely to the difficulty of verifying classifications of perpetrators that are based solely on the perceptions of victims or witnesses, and not on official records, which must rely on specific procedures for determining the identity of perpetrators.



## **2.3.2. IDENTIFICATION OF PROBLEM AREAS**

### **LACK OF A COMMON DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM**

The basic premise for a valid monitoring and analysis of a phenomenon is an adequate definition; and the basic premise for comparability is the common use of such an adequate definition within a country, or even better, within the EU (as our main reference area). The country-by-country evaluation has shown explicitly that in general neither is the case. Only very few institutions seem to work with an adequate definition of antisemitism, while others do not make their definition explicit. Furthermore, if we look at the reports of the National Focal Points, only nine of the fifteen NFPs base their evaluation on an explicit definition of antisemitism, and of these nine none use the same.

### **LACK OF COMPARABILITY**

A basic premise for comparability is the common use of a certain scheme for classifying different forms of hostility, for example the EUMC guidelines for NFPs in order to distinguish and structure different forms of incidents (see Annex II). However, without a common definition of antisemitism, this attempt of the EUMC can only be a partial step in ensuring the highest possible comparability. A third premise for an overall comparativeness within the EU would be the presence of comparable facilities for monitoring and recording registering incidents and complaints in the EU member states.

### **LACK OF OFFICIAL DATA ON ANTISEMITISM**

The majority of the NFP reports state clearly that one of the major problems they faced in compiling data on antisemitism is the complete or partial absence of state official monitoring of antisemitism. In some countries, this lack of official monitoring is, according to the respective NFP reports, accompanied by a general absence of public and political awareness with regard to antisemitism. The importance attributed to official monitoring is based on the assumption that official bodies may dispose of more financial and personal resources (and may make use of synergies with other official bodies) than NGOs, and on the hope that official organisations are more likely to implement firm, transparent, and objective common rules for reporting. Experience shows, however, that these assumptions and hopes are not always met; it seems that the “optimal” structure of bodies within a monitoring area, ensuring, as far as possible, the most comprehensive and valid results, is the combination of a central official monitoring facility with one or more NGOs (operating, for example, victim hotlines), mutually complimenting and examining each other.

## PROBLEM OF UNDERREPORTING

Most NFP reports point to the problem of underreporting, particularly referring to official systems of data collection that are based on police records and on crime and law statistics. The term “underreporting” can in this context take on two meanings:

- (1) Not all antisemitic incidents registered by the official institution are categorized under the label of antisemitism;
- (2) Not all antisemitic incidents are reported to the official body by the victims or witnesses of an incident.

In the first case, not all incidents with a potentially antisemitic background are recorded, for example by the police, under the heading of “antisemitism”. Research on practical police work has shown that both the guidelines for official bodies and the incidents themselves are not always unambiguous and thus the correct identification and categorisation of incidents and complaints is not always an easy task; in addition, in some cases underreporting might be caused by a lack of awareness of the police force for the importance of the right categorisation of such incidents.

The second case of underreporting refers to the fact that “minor” incidents are in most cases not reported to official bodies. Such incidents are much more likely to be reported to (well known and well established) victim hotlines.

## PROBLEM OF VALIDATION/OVERREPORTING

The complementary problem to underreporting is that of misreporting and overreporting. The NFP reports point to the fact in most cases the NFPs themselves did not have the resources to validate data on antisemitism that they received from NGOs and other unofficial sources. Where validation processes are conducted, as for example by the Belgian ‘CEOOR’, a significant proportion of the complaints filed were labelled as “unfounded”, or were filed under a different category than the one they were initially filed under. In addition to this kind of overreporting, which could also be labelled as (unintended) misreporting, there is also the problem that the statistics of different data collecting bodies are not aligned to each other, so that their statistics cannot be added up without the risk of double- or multiple-reporting.

Finally, there is also the problem that different monitoring bodies apply different methods of counting incidents and complaints, which can, depending on the perspective, result into either under- or overreporting.

#### LACK OF RESEARCH ON ANTISEMITISM

Our review of the historical development of antisemitism in the EU countries since 1945 and of the existing literature on the subject shows that research on the subject is lacking for several EU countries. It also points to the need for comparative studies on antisemitism, which could help us grasp the European dimension of developments that can only be understood in trans-national terms in many respects. The same is true for the ongoing debates around the issue of “new antisemitism,” which has clearly revealed that Europe faces a lack of systematic empirical social scientific research in many areas related to the broad issue of antisemitism.

#### LACK OF SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL DISCOURSES

Finally, the NFP-reports point to an absence of systematic approaches of discourse analysis with regard to antisemitism in media texts and political discourse. Presently, most of the references to such texts seem to be rather unstructured and eclectic. So far, there are only very few systematic studies, like the controversial Duisburger Institut für Sprach- und Sozialforschung (DISS) study on behalf of the American Jewish Committee. Such studies, conducted on a regular basis, could contribute to revealing the role of language use in the production, reproduction and the countering of antisemitic stereotypes. Again, beside country-specific studies also a trans-national, comparative perspective would be highly desirable.

### **2.3.3. PROPOSALS FOR DATA COLLECTION AND RESEARCH**

Most of the aspects that should be improved with regard to future data collection and data analysis have already been pointed out in the above discussion of problem areas:

- future data collection and assessment should be commonly based on the proposed definition of antisemitism;
- all data should be structured and validated in a – common – way that a high degree of comparability is ensured;
- all EU member states should possess official recording systems for antisemitic acts;
- official bodies should co-operate with NGOs in order to avoid misleading statistics due to underreporting;
- NGOs should make explicit their underlying working methods in order to ensure the validity of the data they report;

- official bodies and NGOs should firstly make explicit their counting methodology with regard to incidents and secondly aim at harmonising their counting methods with those of other organisations;
- social scientific research on both historical and contemporary antisemitism should be enforced, particularly with regard to the need for comparative, trans-national studies;
- part of social scientific research, but also part of the work of monitoring bodies should be the collection and systematic analysis of media texts and political speech that either address antisemitism or are suspected of reproducing or enforcing antisemitic stereotypes.

Most country reports of the National Focal Points implicitly or explicitly distinguish between two separate manifestations of antisemitism: on the one hand, ideological and symbolic antisemitism as represented in political and media discourses, literature and public attitudes towards Jews; and, on the other hand, concrete incidents directed against individual Jews or Jewish organisations (aptly called by Michael Whine “antisemitism on the streets”<sup>477</sup>).

Therefore, one important issue to be addressed through systematic research is how far these two strands are dependent or independent from each other. So far, this issue has mainly been addressed through comparing the development of concrete acts of hostilities directed against Jews with the overall development of attitudes towards Jews in society. However, such a comparison does not inform us about the motivation of the perpetrators and the relationship between their acts and antisemitic attitudes and ideology, i.e. on the perception of their victims as “the Jew”.

Another topical issue with regard to contemporary antisemitism is the influence of the crises in the Middle East on both attitudes towards Jews and hostile acts directed against Jews. Social scientific research could explore the role of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as an identity-constituting reference point for people living in Europe – and could examine whether or not this possible aspect of identity-constitution may contribute to the production and reproduction of anti-Semitic stereotypes and/or to outbreaks of violence against Jews.

Social scientific research on both historical and contemporary antisemitism should be reinforced, particularly with regard to the need for comparative, trans-national studies. Research studies should be carried out on anti-Semitic incidents in specific fields – e.g. sport, entertainment, and public services - and placed in an overall European context in order to establish a comparative perspective on their occurrence. A coordinated programme of victim studies should be introduced across all Member States to overcome the problem of underreporting with regard to incidents of antisemitism. Part of social scientific research, and also part of the work of monitoring bodies, should be the

---

<sup>477</sup> Whine 2003, pp. 27f.

collection and systematic analysis of media texts and political speech that either address antisemitism or are suspected of reproducing or enforcing antisemitic stereotypes.

Furthermore, and as final suggestion in this by no means complete listing of possible issues for an integrative research on antisemitism, one could further examine the claim that contemporary antisemitism goes sometimes hand in hand with a generally anti-racist stance.<sup>478</sup> So far, a quantitative study conducted in France 2002<sup>479</sup> has shown that an anti-racist stance (which includes a stance against antisemitic discrimination) does not per se exclude the belief in antisemitic stereotypes. Quantitative and qualitative follow up studies on this subject could contribute to shedding more light onto the how and why of such an inclusionary relationship between anti-racism and antisemitism.

---

<sup>478</sup> Robert Wistrich spoke already in a lecture held in 1984 of an “anti-Semitism which springs to the defense of all victims of racial oppression except the Jews”. Wistrich 1985.

<sup>479</sup> See Philippe Méchet: Les jeunes et l’image des juifs. In : Union des Etudiants Juifs de France, SOS-Racisme: Les Antifeujs. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 2002, pp. 137-166.

## **PROPOSALS FOR ACTION**



### 3. PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

The EUMC welcomes the growing awareness of the presence of antisemitism in the Member States and the development of positive initiatives, many of which were highlighted in this report.

The detailed analysis of both the data and the interviews carried out with members of the Jewish community, however, pointed to a number of areas where further initiatives could be taken including legislation, education, the role of the media and wider civil society.

On this basis, and according to its role under Article 2 (e) of its founding regulation to “formulate conclusions and opinions for the Community and its Member States”, the EUMC recommends mainly the following proposals. These proposals should also be seen within a general framework of measures against racism, Islamophobia, xenophobia, and related intolerances.

#### IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION

- The EUMC calls on the Council of Ministers to adopt the Framework Decision (COM 2001/664) proposed by the European Commission in November 2001 on defining a common criminal law approach to racism and xenophobia in the EU. This Framework Decision, if adopted, will introduce effective, proportionate and dissuasive criminal penalties and define antisemitic acts.
- The EUMC also calls for the adoption of the proposed Council Directive on compensation of crime victims proposed in October 2002. Within this, a lump sum compensation should be defined for victims of racism and antisemitism.

#### RECORDING ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS

- The EUMC urges the Member States to establish specific mechanisms to record incidents of antisemitism. Furthermore, Member States should assume their legal obligations under the Race Equality Directive (43/2000/EC) and establish independent specialized bodies to monitor discrimination, support victims and carry out research.
- The EUMC encourages the European Commission and the Member States to consider adopting measures for police cooperation under Article 34 of the EU Treaty, which would work towards the collection



and dissemination of data on antisemitic offences, with the close cooperation of EUROPOL and EUROJUST.

## **PROMOTING EDUCATION AND TRAINING MEASURES**

- The EUMC stresses the crucial importance of education and training measures in combating racism and antisemitism. In this context EU Member States should undertake in depth reviews of school textbooks in order to ensure that history is presented in a balanced way free of bias and that the history and message of the Holocaust is properly conveyed.
- Furthermore, the EUMC encourages the Member States to introduce in teacher training a compulsory component to raise awareness, understanding and respect of the diverse cultures, religions and traditions in the European Union.
- The EUMC further encourages the Member States to incorporate compulsory antiracism and diversity training in their police education programmes focusing in particular on antisemitism.

## **ENGAGING WIDER CIVIL SOCIETY**

- The EUMC has been actively involved in promoting the “Charter of European Political Parties for a Non Racist Society” which sets out a clear code of conduct for the fight against all forms of racism, xenophobia and antisemitism. The EUMC calls on all political parties in Europe to sign and implement the Charter.

## **INITIATING INTERFAITH AND INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE**

- The EUMC encourages all religious communities, Non Governmental Organisations and other organisations involved to speak out against bigotry and hatred and to develop interfaith and intercultural dialogue through specific initiatives at local, national and European level. Such initiatives should be encouraged and actively supported by the Member States and the European Commission.

## INVOLVING THE MEDIA

- Mainstream and minority media emanating from both within and outside the EU play a key role in shaping social attitudes and behaviour. Further research is needed on both their content and the impact they have on society in particular concerning antisemitism. The EUMC for its part will continue and reinforce its work on the media notably through media monitoring initiatives.
- The EUMC calls upon the Member States to enact or reinforce appropriate legislation on Internet service providers preventing the dissemination of racist, xenophobic and antisemitic material as foreseen by article 14 of the EC Directive on Electronic Commerce (2000/31/EC).
- The EUMC encourages media and Internet service providers to develop clear codes of conduct, and training programmes for journalists and other media professionals to promote diversity and combat all forms of racism, xenophobia and antisemitism.



# ANNEXES



## ANNEX I ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS, WEB PAGES, AND LITERATURE ON ANTISEMITISM

### DIVERSE DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

- Dr. Jeffrey Kaplan: “Racism, Anti-Semitism and Violence: The Local Studies Perspective.” The Stockholm International Forum 2001.
- Lawyers Committee for Human Rights: “Fire and Broken Glass - The Rise of Anti-Semitism in Europe.” Washington D.C. 2002.
- Union des Etudiants Juifs de France, SOS-Racisme: Les Antifeujs. Paris : Calmann-Lévy, 2002.
- Anti-Defamation League: European Attitudes Towards Jews, Israel and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict. June 2002.
- Anti-Defamation League: European Attitudes Towards Jews: A Five Country Survey. October 2002.
- CNCDH (Commission Nationale Consultative des Droits de l’Homme): La lutte contre le racisme et la Xénophobie. Rapport d’activité 2002, Paris 2003.

### WEB PAGES<sup>480</sup>

#### Not country specific

\*The American Jewish Committee: <http://www.ajc.org/german/ueber.asp>

\*The Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Anti-Semitism and Racism at Tel Aviv University: <http://www.tau.ac.il/Anti-Semitism/>

\*BBC NEWS Europe: Viewpoints Anti-Semitism and Europe: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3234264.stm>

\*Centre Européen Juif d’Information (CEJI): <http://www.ceji.org/index2.html>

\*International Network Against Cyber Hate: <http://www.inach.net/>

\*The Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism: <http://www.antisemitism.org.il/>

---

<sup>480</sup> Only those Web sites marked with a star \* were consulted for the present report.

## **Belgium**

\*B.E.S.C (Bureau Exécutif de Surveillance Communautaire), et du CKJGA  
(Coördinatie comité van de joodse gemeenten van Antwerpen)  
[www.antisemitisme.be](http://www.antisemitisme.be)

\*Centre Pour l'Egalité des Chances et la Lutte contre le Racisme  
(CECLR): <http://www.diversiteit.be/> and <http://www.antiracisme.be/>

\*ResistanceS : <http://www.resistances.be/antisem01.html>

## **Denmark**

Velkommen til Nævnet for Etnisk Ligestilling :  
[http://www.nel.dk/asp/ie5assembler.asp?mst=iem5&xmllsrc=forside&st=nel\\_ie5](http://www.nel.dk/asp/ie5assembler.asp?mst=iem5&xmllsrc=forside&st=nel_ie5)

## **Germany**

\*ZfA - Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung: <http://www.tu-berlin.de/~zfa/>

\*European forum for migration studies (efms): <http://www.uni-bamberg.de/~ba6ef3/home.html>

\*Juden.de: <http://www.juden.de/>

\*Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland: <http://www.zentralratjuden.de/>

\*HaGalil onLine: <http://www.antisemitismus.net/>

## **Greece**

\*ANTIGONE-Information & Documentation Centre: <http://www.antigone.gr>

\*The BALKAN Human Rights Web Pages:  
<http://www.greekhelsinki.gr/bhr/english/index.html>

## **Spain**

Centro de Estudios Judeo-Cristianos: <http://www3.planalfa.es/cejc/>

CJM - Comunidad Judia de Madrid: <http://www.comjudiamadrid.org/>

Asociación de Judíos Españoles: <http://www.guesherweb.com/>

## **France**

\*L'Agence pour le développement des relations interculturelles (Adri):  
<http://www.adri.fr/>

\*C.R.I.F Conseil Représentatif des Institutions juives de France:  
<http://www.crif.org/>

\*SOS-racisme: <http://www.sos-racisme.org>

## **Ireland**

\*National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism:  
<http://www.nccri.com/>

## **Italy**

COSPE - Cooperazione per lo Sviluppo dei Paesi Emergenti:  
<http://www.cospe.it/>

## **Luxembourg**

ASTI - Association de Soutien aux Travailleurs Immigrés: <http://www.asti.lu/>

## **The Netherlands**

\*CIDI - Centrum Informatie en Documentatie Israel: <http://www.cidi.nl/>

DUMC - Dutch Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia:  
<http://www.lbr.nl/internationaal/DUMC/index.html>

Anne Frank Huis: <http://www.annefrank.nl/ned/default2.html>

Landelijke Vereniging en de Anti Discriminatie Bureaus en Meldpunten:  
<http://www.lvadb.nl/index2.html>

## **Austria**

\*DöW - Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes:  
<http://www.doew.at/>

\*Forum gegen Antisemitismus: <http://www.fga-wien.at/>



### **Portugal**

Alto-Comissariado para a Imigração e Minorias Étnicas (ACIME):  
<http://www.acime.gov.pt/>

Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa: <http://www.cilisboa.org/>

### **Finland**

Ihmisoikeusliitto: <http://www.ihmisoikeusliitto.fi/php/index.php>

Jewish Community of Helsinki: <http://www.jchelsinki.fi/>

### **Sweden**

EXPO granskar rasistiska, antisemitiska och högerextrema organisationer och grupper: <http://www.expo.se/>

### **UK**

\*Antisemitism and Xenophobia Today: <http://www.axt.org.uk/>

\*Board of Deputies of British Jews: <http://www.bod.org.uk/>

\*Community Security Trust: <http://www.thecst.org.uk/>

\*Totally Jewish: <http://www.totallyjewish.com/>

\*Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR): <http://www.jpr.org.uk/>

Something Jewish: <http://www.somethingjewish.co.uk/>

## LITERATURE

- Abramowicz, Manuel. *Extrême-droite et antisémitisme en Belgique: de 1945 à nos jours*. Collection EVO histoire. Bruxelles: EVO, 1993.
- Allali, Jean-Pierre. *Les habits neufs de l'antisémitisme: anatomie d'une angoisse*. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 2002.
- Arkel, D. van. *Veertig jaar na '45: visies op het hedendaagse antisemitisme*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff Informatief, 1985.
- Bauer, Yehuda. "European anti-semitism and radical Islam." (2003)
- Bergmann, Werner. *Antisemitismus in öffentlichen Konflikten: kollektives Lernen in der politischen Kultur der Bundesrepublik 1949-1989*. Schriftenreihe des Zentrums für Antisemitismusforschung Berlin . Frankfurt a. M., New York: Campus, 1997.
- Bergmann, Werner. "Aus der Geschichte gelernt? Konflikte über Antisemitismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1949-2000)." In *Neuer Antisemitismus--alte Vorurteile?*, edited by Christina Tuor-Kurth, pp. 11-31. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001.
- Bergmann, Werner and Erb, Rainer. *Antisemitismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Ergebnisse der empirischen Forschung von 1946-1989*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1991.
- Bergmann, Werner and Rainer Erb. "Neue Perspektiven der Antisemitismusforschung." In *Antisemitismus in der politischen Kultur nach 1945*, edited by Werner Bergmann and Rainer Erb, pp. 11-18. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990.
- Bergmann, Werner, Erb, Rainer, Werner-Reimers-Stiftung, Technische Universität Berlin, and Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung. *Antisemitismus in der politischen Kultur nach 1945*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990.
- Birnbaum, Pierre. *Anti-semitism in France: a political history from Leon Blum to the present*. Studies in social discontinuity (Basil Blackwell Publisher). Oxford, UK, Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992.
- Brähler, E./Niedermayer, O. (2002): *Rechtsextreme Einstellungen in Deutschland* (Extreme Right-Wing Attitudes in Germany). Berlin/Leipzig.
- Brenner, Emmanuel (ed.): *Territoires perdus de la République. Antisémitisme, racisme et sexisme en milieu scolaire*. Paris: Mille et une nuits, 2002.
- Bunzl, John and Marin, Bernd. *Antisemitismus in Österreich: sozialhistorische und soziologische Studien*. Vergleichende Gesellschaftsgeschichte und politische Ideengeschichte der Neuzeit. Innsbruck: Inn-Verlag, 1983.

- Curtis, Michael. *Antisemitism in the contemporary world*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1986.
- Donselaar, Jaap van. *Fout na de oorlog: fascistische en racistische organisaties in Nederland, 1950-1990*. Amsterdam: B. Bakker, 1991.
- Epstein, Simon. *Cry of Cassandra: the resurgence of European anti-Semitism*. Zenith ed. Bethesda, Md.: National Press, 1985.
- Epstein, Simon. *Cyclical Pattern in Anti-Semitism: The Dynamics of Anti-Jewish Violence in Western Countries since the 1950s*. Analysis of Current Trends in Antisemitism 2. Jerusalem: Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, Hebrew University, 1993.
- Fuchs, M./Lamnek, S./Wiederer, R. (2003): *Querschläger. Jugendliche zwischen rechter Ideologie und Gewalt* (Rebels. Young people between right-wing ideology and violence), Opladen
- Gans, Evelien. "Vandaag heben ze niets--maar morgen bezitten ze weer tien gulden. Antisemitische stereotypen in bevrijd Nederland." In *Polderschouw: Regionale verschillen*, edited by Conny Kristel, pp. 313-353. Amsterdam: B. Bakker, 2002.
- Givet, Jacques. *La Gauche contre Israël: Essai sur le néo-antisémitisme*. Libertés nouvelles . Paris: J.-J. Pauvert, 1968.
- Golub, Jennifer L. *British attitudes toward Jews and other minorities*. Working papers on contemporary anti-Semitism. New York: American Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations, 1993.
- Heitmeyer, W. (2002b): "Gruppenbezogene Menschenfeindlichkeit. Die theoretische Konzeption und erste empirische Ergebnisse" (Group-related misanthropy. The theoretical conception and first empirical results), in: Heitmeyer, Wilhelm (Hrsg.): *Deutsche Zustände - Folge 1*. Frankfurt am Main, pp. 15-34
- Hondius, Dienne. *Return: Holocaust survivors and Dutch anti-semitism*. Contributions to the study of religion: Christianity and the Holocaust-core issues. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003.
- Iganski, Paul. and Kosmin, Barry Alexander. *The new antisemitism? debating Judeophobia in 21st-century Britain*. London: Profile, 2003.
- Michael Kiefer: *Antisemitismus in den islamischen Gesellschaften*. Düsseldorf: Verein zur Förderung gleichberechtigter Kommunikation, 2002.
- Klug, Brian. "The collective Jew: Israel and the new antisemitism." *Patterns of Prejudice* 37 (2003) 2: 1-19
- Kurthen, Hermann, Bergmann, Werner, and Erb, Rainer. *Antisemitism and Xenophobia in Germany after Unification*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

- Markovits, Andrei S. "Terror and Clandestine Anti-Semitism: Thoughts on German and American Reactions to September 11, 2001." *Partisan Review* 69 (2002) 1: 19-24
- Marrus, Michael R. "Is There a New Antisemitism?" In *Antisemitism in the contemporary world*, edited by Michael Curtis, pp. 172-181. Boulder: Westview Press, 1986.
- Mitten, Richard. "Die Juden, die er meint..." in: Anton Pelinka/Ruth Wodak (Hg.), *Dreck am Stecken. Politik der Ausgrenzung*, Wien 2002, S. 93-133.
- Naumann, Michael (Hg.): "Es muß doch in diesem Lande wieder möglich sein...: der neue Antisemitismus-Streit". München: Ullstein, 2002.
- Perdurant, Daniel. *Antisemitism in contemporary Greek society. Analysis of current trends in antisemitism*. Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, 1995.
- Perry, Marvin and Schweitzer, Frederick M.: *Antisemitism. Myth and Hate from Antiquity to the Present*. New York: Pgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Pinard, Joseph. *Antisémitisme en Franche-Comté : de l'affaire Dreyfus à nos jours*. Besancon: C?etre, 1997.
- Poliakov, Léon. *Histoire de l'antisémitisme, 1945-1993*. Paris: Seuil, 1994.
- Reiter, Margit. *Unter Antisemitismus-Verdacht: die österreichische Linke und Israel nach der Shoah*. Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2001.
- Rodríguez Jiménez, José Luis. *Antisemitism and the extreme right in Spain (1962-1997)*. Analysis of current trends in antisemitism . Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, 1999.
- Rosenthal, John. "Anti-Semitism and Ethnicity in Europe." *Policy Review* (2003) 121: 17-38.
- Runnymede Commission on Antisemitism. *A very light sleeper: the persistence and dangers of antisemitism* /. London: Runnymede Trust, 1994.
- Schnapper, Dominique. "Perceptions of Antisemitism in France." In *Antisemitism in the contemporary world*, edited by Michael Curtis, pp. 261-272. Boulder: Westview Press, 1986.
- Taguieff, Pierre-André. *La nouvelle judéophobie*. Paris: Mille et une nuits, 2002.
- Tuor-Kurth, Christina. *Neuer Antisemitismus--alte Vorurteile? Judentum und Christentum* . Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001.
- Wahl, Klaus (Hg.): *Fremdenfeindlichkeit, Antisemitismus, Rechtsextremismus. Drei Studien zu Tatverdächtigen und Tätern*. Berlin 2001.

- Wahl et al. (2001): "Biographische Hintergründe und Motivationen fremdenfeindlicher Gewalttäter" (Biographical backgrounds and motivations of xenophobic violent criminals), in: Wahl, K. (Hrsg.): *Fremdenfeindlichkeit, Antisemitismus, Rechtsextremismus. Drei Studien zu Tatverdächtigen und Tätern* (Xenophobia, anti-Semitism and right-wing extremism. Three studies on suspected perpetrators and perpetrators). Berlin 2001, pp. 162-315.
- Wassermann, Heinz P. *Naziland Österreich!?: Studien zu Antisemitismus, Nation und Nationalsozialismus im öffentlichen Meinungsbild*. Schriften des Centrums für Jüdische Studien. Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2002.
- Wasserstein, Bernard. *Vanishing diaspora : the Jews in Europe since 1945*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996.
- Weil, Fredrick D. "Umfragen zum Antisemitismus: Ein Vergleich zwischen vier Nationen." In *Antisemitismus in der politischen Kultur nach 1945*, edited by Werner Bergmann and Rainer Erb, pp. 131-178. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990.
- Weiss, Hilde. *Antisemitische Vorurteile in Österreich: theoretische und empirische Analysen*. 2. Aufl ed. Sociologica. Wien: W. Braumüller, 1987.
- Wistrich, Robert: "Anti-Zionism as an Expression of Anti-Semitism in Recent Years". Lecture held on 10 December 1984, Study Circle on World Jewry. In: Yehuda Bauer (ed.): *Study Circle on World Jewry*, Series 14, 1984-85. Jerusalem: SICSA and ICJ, 1985.
- Wistrich, Robert. "The 'Jewish Question': Left-wing Anti-Zionism in Western Societies." In *Antisemitism in the contemporary world*, edited by Michael Curtis, pp. 51-60. Boulder: Westview Press, 1986.
- Wistrich, Robert S. *Demonizing the Other: Antisemitism, Racism and Xenophobia*. Studies in antisemitism. Amsterdam: Published for the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem by Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999.
- Wistrich, Robert S. "Muslim Anti-Semitism: A Clear and Present Danger." Published by *The American Jewish Committee - online* (2002). [www.ajc.org/InTheMedia/Publications.asp?did=503](http://www.ajc.org/InTheMedia/Publications.asp?did=503).

## **ANNEX II EUMC GUIDELINES - CATEGORISATION OF DATA ON ANTISEMITISM**

### **EUMC GUIDELINES IN 2002:**

Since the recent wave of violence in Israel the EUMC is increasingly worried about the increase of antisemitic acts in several European Member States. It would like to use the RAXEN Rapid Response Function to get solid information about antisemitic violence. We would like you to answer the following questions:

- A. PHYSICAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE TOWARDS JEWS, THEIR COMMUNITIES, ORGANISATIONS OR THEIR PROPERTY (CEMETERIES, SYNAGOGUES, RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS ETC) AND ALSO ANY MEASURES SEEN AS RETALIATION TO OTHER VULNERABLE GROUPS, OR ETHNIC, CULTURAL, AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES, OR NEW TYPES OF VICTIMS:

Have any physical attacks (harassment, verbal abuse, violent acts, etc.) against Jews (or other people related to them) been reported (in the media, by Jewish organizations, by human right/anti-discrimination NGOs, by the police etc.)? Please use the following categories as headlines:

Arson; throwing objects and/or tear gas; physical aggression; theft and burglary; vandalism and disparagement; threatening intrusion; physical threat

- B. VERBAL AGGRESSION/HATE SPEECH AND OTHER, SUBTLER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS JEWS:

Have there been any verbal attacks against Jews in the media, in the public discourse, in politics? Are there any cases of incitement to hatred? Are there court cases to be reported? What about hate speech on the Internet? Please use the following categories as headlines: direct verbal threat; threats by telephone; insults; graffiti and antisemitic inscriptions; publicly distributed leaflets

C. CHANGES IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE EU POPULATION TOWARDS JEWS, THEIR COMMUNITIES, ORGANISATIONS OR THEIR PROPERTY (CEMETERIES, SYNAGOGUES, OTHER RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL SYMBOLS ETC):

D. ARE THERE STUDIES OR OTHER REPORTS DEALING WITH CHANGES IN ANTISEMITIC SENTIMENTS?

What are the results? Are there any other changes in attitudes linked to the increase in antisemitism?

E. RESEARCH STUDIES REPORTING ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE OR OPINION POLLS ON CHANGED ATTITUDES TOWARDS JEWS:

Are there any new or recent report done on antisemitic aggression or attitudes?

F. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS:

Can you report of any good practice that has been successful in avoiding the increase of prejudice and violence towards Jewish people and other groups?

G. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS INCLUDING INITIATIVES TO REDUCE POLARIZATION AND COUNTERACT NEGATIVE NATIONAL TRENDS:

How has the Government reacted to increased antisemitic violence? What have been the reactions of the politicians and other opinion leaders? Are there any institutionalized proposals and implementations to be observed?

The information provided should be of a factual character. Sources should always be quoted; there should be a balanced mix of sources (state organizations, organizations related to Jewish communities; other NGOs; mass media; Internet) to get as far as possible an “objective, reliable and comparable” picture of the situation in the Member State. Please indicate if the articles are reported as news or as the opinion of an opinion leader (politicians, representatives of religious communities, other people of public interest like movie stars or sport champions etc), or even as opinions expressed in the “reader’s pages”. Any original material to which reference is made in the report should be attached (newspaper articles, etc.).

## IMPORTANT NOTE:

“Non-events” should also be reported. The report shall not include personal data. Please try to follow as closely as possible the recommendations attached.

## EUMC GUIDELINES IN 2003:

The EUMC ask you to present the data and information **related to antisemitic incidents in a separate text.**

This separate document should be structured **as far as possible** along the following categories and definitions on antisemitism established by Michael Whine (For Categories 1 to 6 see: <http://www.axt.org.uk/essays/Whine.htm>).

A. EXTREME VIOLENCE:

Any attack potentially causing loss of life.

B. ASSAULT:

Any physical attack directed against people, which is not a threat to life.

C. DAMAGE AND DESECRATION OF PROPERTY:

Any physical attack against Jewish property, which is not life threatening.

D. THREATS:

Includes only clear threats, whether verbal or written.

E. ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR:

Face -to-face, telephone and targeted abusive/antisemitic letters (i.e. those aimed at and sent to a specific individual) as opposed to a mail shot of antisemitic literature, which will be included under Category 4. Antisemitic graffiti on non-Jewish property is also included in this category.

F. LITERATURE:

Includes distribution of antisemitic literature, based on the following criteria:

- the content must be antisemitic (except see (d) below)
- the recipient may be either Jewish or non-Jewish



- the literature must be part of a mass distribution, as opposed to the directed at a specific individual
- Racist literature that is not antisemitic is included when it is clear that Jews are being deliberately targeted for recipient because they are Jews (implying an antisemitic motive behind the distribution)
- It should be noted that the statistics for this category give no indication of the extent of distribution. Mass mailings of propaganda are only counted as one incident, although antisemitic leaflets have been circulated to hundreds and possibly thousands of Jewish and non-Jewish individuals and organizations.

G. CHANGES IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE EU POPULATION TOWARDS JEWS, THEIR COMMUNITIES, ORGANISATIONS OR THEIR PROPERTY (CEMETERIES, SYNAGOGUES, OTHER RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL SYMBOLS ETC):

Are there studies or other reports dealing with changes in antisemitic sentiments? What are the results? Are there any other changes in attitudes linked to the increase in antisemitism?

H. RESEARCH STUDIES REPORTING ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE OR OPINION POLLS ON CHANGED ATTITUDES TOWARDS JEWS:

Are there any new or recent report done on antisemitic aggression or attitudes?

I. GOOD PRACTICES FOR REDUCING PREJUDICE, VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION BY NGOS:

Can you report of any good practice that has been successful in avoiding the increase of prejudice and violence towards Jewish people and other groups?

J. REACTIONS BY POLITICIANS AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS INCLUDING INITIATIVES TO REDUCE POLARIZATION AND COUNTERACT NEGATIVE NATIONAL TRENDS:

How has the Government reacted to increased antisemitic violence? What have been the reactions of the politicians and other opinion leaders? Are there any institutionalised proposals and implementations to be observed?

## **EUMC Mission Statement**

The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) is a thinking, acting and challenging network organisation, working in all sectors of society for equality and diversity, and against racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism in the European Union - as a network of knowledge, a bridge-builder and a service organisation.

## **EUMC**

Rahlgasse 3, A-1060 Vienna

Tel. (43-1) 580 30-0

Fax (43-1) 580 30-91

E-mail: [information@eumc.eu.int](mailto:information@eumc.eu.int)

Internet: <http://eumc.eu.int>

2004