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WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS

University College  
International Affairs

The Rise of Anti-Semitism in Post Cold War Western Europe: The Effect on Current Jewish Populations in Europe, Jewish Human Rights, and the Role of the Jewish Religion Within Western Europe

by

Johnathan A-L Eftink

A thesis presented to the  
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences  
of Washington University in  
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## Table of Contents

Acknowledgments .....	iii
Chapter 1: Defining Anti-Semitism .....	1
Chapter 2: Scope of Research .....	7
2.1 <i>Why anti-Semitism is timely and worth pursuing</i> .....	7
2.2 <i>Why is anti-Semitism re-emerging in contemporary time?</i> .....	7
2.3 <i>Counter arguments</i> .....	9
2.4 <i>Moving Forward</i> .....	9
Chapter 3: Why It Matters .....	10
3.1 <i>The economic recession of 2008 and the rise of anti-Semitism</i> .....	10
3.2 <i>Human Rights Violations Regarding Jewish Peoples in Contemporary Western Europe: France as a Case Study</i> .....	16
3.3 <i>Parallel with the Roma People</i> .....	19
3.4 <i>Ensuring the Past Does Not Repeat Itself</i> .....	22
Chapter 4: Anti-Semitism: Dormant but not Dead .....	25
4.1 <i>Fewer Economic Opportunities and No One to Blame</i> .....	33
Chapter 5: Emergence of Right Wing Parties In Europe .....	40
5.1 <i>Fueling the Right-Wing</i> .....	46
Chapter 6: Addressing the Counter Arguments .....	57
6.1 <i>Anti-Semitism has never been dormant</i> .....	57
6.2 <i>Generalized Xenophobia Instead of anti-Semitism</i> .....	59
6.3 <i>No Correlation between the Rise of Extreme Right-Wing Parties and Anti-Semitism</i> .....	61
6.4 <i>Israeli-Palestinian Protests do not Foment anti-Semitism</i> .....	63
Chapter 7: Conclusion .....	68
7.1 <i>Where Do We Go Next?</i> .....	68
Works Cited .....	77

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## Chapter 1: Defining Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism is the hatred of Jews that has stretched across millennia and across continents. It is also a relatively modern political movement and ideology that arose in Central Europe in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and achieved its apogee in the Holocaust. It is an irrational, psychologically pathological version of an ethnocentric and religiocentric anti-Judaism that originated in Christianity's conflict with its Jewish roots. Anti-Semitism ranges from pejorative prejudices against Jews to a paranoid hatred of Jews as a race out to destroy Western (and Middle-Eastern) civilization.<sup>1</sup> When a religion such as Judaism rejects two of the major world religions there is bound to be hostility.<sup>2</sup>

The emergence of anti-Semitism in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries cannot be fully understood without recognition of the centuries long heritage of Christian doctrinal hostility to Jews.<sup>3</sup> This portion of Christianity was inherent after the apostle Paul, and was inevitable once Jews had rejected the Christian claim that Jesus was the Messiah. The conflicts over beliefs lead to the practice of Jews being a protected yet oppressed people in medieval European Christendom. This view of Jews in the medieval world had consequences for Jews and for the images of Jews. Though the

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<sup>1</sup> Steven Beller, *Anti-Semitism A Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford UP, 2007), 1

<sup>2</sup> Walter Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Oxford UP, 2006), 1

<sup>3</sup> Allan Mohl, "The Evolution of Anti-Semitism: Historical and Psychological Roots," *The Journal of Psychohistory* 39, no. 2 (2011): 115

Church's doctrine was meant to protect Jewish people, pragmatically it was meant to only keep Jews alive.<sup>4</sup> One of the first major persecutions of Jews came in 1096 out of economic oppression and limited opportunities. In the wake of economic crisis and the First Crusade, mobs of Christians murdered Jews because they were "Christ's killers."<sup>5</sup>

After the 11<sup>th</sup> century the hatred of Jews took on more delusionary forms such as being accused of ritualistic murder of Christian children, the first claim being made by William of Norwich in 1144.<sup>6</sup> By the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century, the accusation of ritualistic murder of Christian children by Jews had evolved into an accusation of blood libel, which was the assumed practice of draining Christian children's blood in order to use it to make matzo bread for Passover. Blood libel accusations were dangerous for Jews and led and in one instance to the death of all Jewish men in the Italian city of Trento being killed over the supposed act.<sup>7</sup>

At the same time as the slanderous blood libel accusations, many restrictions were being put on occupations open to Jews and because of this moneylending became a popular vocation for many Jewish people (money lending in the eyes of the Christian Church was seen as usury and therefore to be shunned by Christians).

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<sup>4</sup> Walter Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Oxford UP, 2006), 3

<sup>5</sup> Steven Beller, *Anti-Semitism A Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford UP, 2007), 15

<sup>6</sup> Gillian Bennett, "Towards a Reevaluation of the Legend of 'Saint' William of Norwich and its Place in the Blood Libel Legend," *Folklore* 116 (2005): 119

<sup>7</sup> Ber Boris Kotlerman, "Old Yiddish and Hebrew Letters from 1476 in the Shadow of Blood Libels in Northern Italy and Germany," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 102, no. 1 (2012): 1

Their social position and expertise made them invaluable to feudal leaders as a source of royal financing and, with special taxes, revenue.<sup>8</sup> Viewed in terms of currency Jews became identified with money even though Christians or institutions such as the Church provided most credit in the medieval economy.

Still yet, the perception of the Jewish people worsened during the course of the Middle-Ages. Jews were forced to wear distinctive clothing by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 and were accused of desecrating the Host<sup>9</sup> and poisoning wells and the iconography of the time showed them as “Judensau” (Jewish pig) making them no better than animals. Jews were also frequently the scapegoats (in and of itself a Jewish term by where in Biblical times the high Jewish priest would lay the sins of the people on the back of a goat and send it out into the wilderness erasing the sins of the people) when the Black Death hit Europe in the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>10</sup>

Jews continued role of creditors, especially of rulers, made them a very popular target of resentment. Some rulers decided that persecuting, banishing, or even executing Jews was a preferable alternative to paying back any debt they might owe their Jewish creditor. Out of a combination of popular prejudice and financial as well as political expediency Jews were expelled from England in 1290<sup>11</sup>, France in

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<sup>8</sup> Steven Beller, *Anti-Semitism A Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford UP, 2007), 15

<sup>9</sup> the mistreatment or malicious use of the bread used in Christian communion ceremonies

<sup>10</sup> Steven Beller, *Anti-Semitism A Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford UP, 2007), 15

<sup>11</sup> Karen Barkey and Ira Katznelson, “States, Regimes, and Decisions: Why Jews were expelled from Medieval England and France,” *Theory and Society* 40 (2011): 475

1306<sup>12</sup>, much of Germany in 1350<sup>13</sup>, Spain in 1492<sup>14</sup>, and Portugal in 1497<sup>15</sup> despite official church policy protecting their status.<sup>16</sup>

The 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries saw renewed persecution and even more negative Jewish stereotype. The Christian reform leader Martin Luther once held a positive attitude toward Jews but turned against them when they rejected his demands to convert to Lutheranism. Counter-Reformation Catholicism led to the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna in 1670. The then re-emergence of the Jew as a financier to emperors and kings added to the stereotype of a Jew as only a moneylender. The European conquest of much of the rest of the world spread the negative Jewish stereotype and it thusly became the norm instead of the exception.<sup>17</sup>

Anti-Jewish prejudice continued into the 18<sup>th</sup> century with institutional reinforcement. Outbursts of popular Jewish hatred continued in various parts of Europe into the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the negative Jewish stereotype that had been cultivated and formed since before the First Crusade was still able to survive and flourish in 19<sup>th</sup> century European culture. While Jews had indeed been expelled from several countries and the stereotype of Jewish people was not at all a desirable one, there were some places of refuge for Jews in Europe. In areas such as the

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<sup>12</sup> *ibid*

<sup>13</sup> Beller 13-14

<sup>14</sup> Norman Roth, "The Jews of Spain and the Expulsion of 1492," *Historian* 55 no.1 (1992): 17

<sup>15</sup> Miriam Bodian, "Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: The Ambiguous Boundaries of Self-Definition," *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society* 15 no. 1 (2008): 67

<sup>16</sup> Steven Beller, *Anti-Semitism A Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford UP, 2007), 13-14

<sup>17</sup> Steven Beller, *Anti-Semitism A Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford UP, 2007), 15



Netherlands, northern Italy, and the Ottoman Empire Jews found refuge. They had been welcomed in Poland to a great degree from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onward, specifically as a middle class between the gentry and peasants. Jews in Poland for several centuries enjoyed tolerance and prosperity.

In Central Europe beginning in the nineteenth century, however, pro-Jewish sentiments were met with great hostility. Parts of Germany so embraced anti-Semitism that voters returned anti-Semitic deputies to the German parliament. The two social capitols of Central Europe, Vienna and Berlin, had central roles in the career of political anti-Semitism. Berlin was the breeding ground for Stöcker's Christian Socialism and Vienna became dominated by the Social Christian party in its city's municipal government.<sup>18</sup>

As anti-Semitism began emerging as a political movement in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the European Jewry had seen a vast transformation over its status in Europe in the past 100 years. In the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century Jews in Europe had still lived largely apart from non-Jewish society in their own communities. This autonomy was balanced by the notion that Jews were inferior to Christians in the social hierarchy and should be treated as such. Even at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Jews were still subject to special taxes and prohibitions that were designed to degrade and humiliate them.<sup>19</sup> Anti-Semitism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century rose to its peak when Nazi Germany began rounding up Jews to be eradicated and disposed of with deadly force. After the allied forces

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<sup>18</sup> *ibid*

<sup>19</sup> Steven Beller, *Anti-Semitism A Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford UP, 2007), 16

victory and the defeat of the Third Reich, vestiges of anti-Semitism remain entrenched in contemporary Western European society.

## **Chapter 2: Scope of Research**

### *2.1 Why anti-Semitism is timely and worth pursuing*

There are many instances of anti-Semitism and human rights violations regarding Jews in contemporary Western Europe. This research will focus on instances in several countries where it can be plainly seen that the policies initiated by certain political parties with representation in government as well as societal norms violate basic human rights. There is also a parallel between the Jewish people and other oppressed groups in Western Europe. As xenophobia becomes more rampant, extreme right-wing parties in the name of ethnic and cultural homogeneity are targeting groups other than Jews. The economic scare of 2008 and its still existing ripple effects have further cemented xenophobia in Western European countries and has brought anti-Semitism out of hiding. It is of the utmost importance to bring light to this subject so that the horrors of the past are not permitted to establish themselves in Europe again.

### *2.2 Why is anti-Semitism re-emerging in contemporary time?*

In this thesis I posit four reasons why anti-Semitism is re-emerging in Western Europe. The first and most important reason is that anti-Semitism never truly went away but simply has been experiencing dormancy. This dormancy is due in part to the period of the Allied occupation of Western Europe where such views of anti-Semitism were suppressed by the Allies and were allowed only to thrive in the hearts and minds of those that held them.

The second reason is the financial crisis of the last decade. The financial crisis was the proverbial “water” that allowed the “roots” of anti-Semitism to become re-established again in Western Europe. With the financial crisis came a lack of jobs and a sense of nationalism with right-wing parties claiming to have answers cropping up in various parliaments all around Western Europe. These parties (such as Golden Dawn in Greece) instilled a sense of xenophobia that included a strong dose of anti-Semitism.

The re-emergence of right-wing parties in Western Europe has driven the resurgence of anti-Semitism. These right-wing parties are looking for scapegoats for the economic troubles their supporters are experiencing. They are searching for someone to blame, and this is causing anti-Semitism to become awakened. The Jewish people are being blamed by right-wing parties for either causing the trouble and strife now in Western Europe or adding significantly to it.

The final reason for the emergence of anti-Semitism in contemporary times is the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Some believe the Palestinians are simply defending their homeland against foreign invaders, and if this is the sentiment that one subscribes to it is easy to paint Jews in an unfavorable light. Israel has been accused of human rights violations against the Palestinian people and therefore this is great fodder for a hate-fueled relationship between the Jewish people and those who have an inclination to be critical of Jews in general.

### *2.3 Counter arguments*

Examining counter arguments I will address several ideas about the rise of anti-Semitism in Western Europe. These will include counter arguments that the rash of anti-Semitism is nothing more than generalized xenophobia and Jews are not being singled out specifically. I will counter this by saying that there is a correlation between what is happening now and what has happened in the past, further making the argument that Western Europe and its watchers must be adamant that what happened nearly 70 years ago does not happen again today merely because it was thought to have been “generalized hate.”

Another argument considered is that anti-Semitism has had no dormancy and that it has been alive and constant since the end of World War II. My response is that while anti-Semitism has remained it has been severely repressed therefore rendering it dormant. It was not until the financial crisis of 2008 that many of the current right-wing parties espousing anti-Jewish ideas came on to the scene.

### *2.4 Moving Forward*

In this section I will give recommendations on how to move forward in the current climate of Western Europe. This part of the research will focus on policy prescriptions for all actors involved.

## Chapter 3: Why It Matters

### 3.1 *The economic recession of 2008 and the rise of anti-Semitism*

In reaction to the economic recession of 2008 there has been an upturn in anti-Semitism that has produced hateful parties and policies at the national and local level. One of the most flagrant and surreal political parties to emerge strongly out of the 2008 financial crisis is Greece's Golden Dawn.

Golden Dawn became an official Greek political party in 1993. Its founder Nikolaos Michaeloliakos served time in prison for offenses prior to 1993 relating to far-right extremism such as possession of explosives. Upon his release from jail in 1980, Michaeloiakos started publishing a magazine he called "Golden Dawn" that was deemed anti-Semitic by academics and the media. It featured articles such as "Hitler for 1,000 Years" which praised the Nazi Third Reich.<sup>20</sup>

Golden Dawn's first congress was held in 1990, and the hall was decorated in Nazi regalia including a swastika as the backdrop for the lectern. In the late 1990s, Golden Dawn experienced setbacks when its members were accused of hate crimes against political opponents and ethnic minorities, including acts of desecration to Jewish cemeteries in both Athens and Thesalonaki. Golden Dawn soon after disbanded into splinter parties and it was not until 2007 that the current embodiment of the party began to take shape. Michaeloliakos reformed the

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<sup>20</sup> George Bistis, "Golden Dawn or Democratic Sunset: The Rise of the Far Right in Greece" *Mediterranean Quarterly* 24 no. 3 (2013): 43

splintered group at Golden Dawn's Sixth Congress much to the jubilation of supporters seeing it as a milestone for the far-right in Greece.<sup>21</sup>

The UK's Guardian newspaper reiterates that Golden Dawn has turned unequivocally anti-Semitic and openly espouses Nazi ideology.<sup>22</sup> Two Greek supporters of Golden Dawn echoed the sentiments of many in the party by explaining how the leadership of Golden Dawn is full of "patriots" and "proud Greek nationalists." When pressed further one of the supporters proclaimed, "Who cares if six million Jews were exterminated? I don't care if they were turned into soap. What I care about is the salary I have lost and the never-ending taxes I am forced to pay..."<sup>23</sup> Not caring if Jews are turned into soap harkens back to the allegations that the Nazis used human fat from concentration camps in order to make soap. This attitude of hatred extols the anti-Semitic culture that exists in Greece.

Golden Dawn has capitalized on anxieties brought on by the European financial crisis. The party is blaming the austerity-ravaged Greek condition on not only illegal immigrants but also the country's creditors.<sup>24</sup> Greece is a special case in Western Europe where 69 percent of the population harbors anti-Semitic attitudes (in a country of approximately 9.1 million that means that 6.3 million harbor

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<sup>21</sup> George Bistis, "Golden Dawn or Democratic Sunset: The Rise of the Far Right in Greece" *Mediterranean Quarterly* 24 no. 3 (2013): 46

<sup>22</sup> Helena Smith, "SS Songs and Anti-Semitism: The week Golden Dawn turned openly Nazi," *The Guardian*, 7 June 2014.  
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/07/greece-golden-dawn-fascism-threat-to-democracy>

<sup>23</sup> *ibid*

<sup>24</sup> George Bistis, "Golden Dawn or Democratic Sunset: The Rise of the Far Right in Greece" *Mediterranean Quarterly* 24 no. 3 (2013): 43

feelings of anti-Semitism). Defining by age and gender, 75 percent of men and 63 percent of women have anti-Semitic views whereas 66 percent of both genders between the ages of 18 to 34 have these attitudes, 68 percent between the ages of 35-49, and 71 percent age 50 and over.<sup>25</sup>

The current tones of anti-Semitism in Greece are rooted in an historical love/hate relationship between Jews and Greeks that spans millennia.<sup>26</sup> At times throughout their history Jews and Greeks nourished each other and at other times were at conflict with one another. Hebraism and Hellenism were the two most powerful definitions of humanity that divided the ancient Roman world. In the New Testament of the Bible these definitions of mutual exclusivity were attested to by Saint Paul in Colossians 3:9 by saying that in Christianity there is neither Greek nor Jew.<sup>27</sup>

In relation to this dividing line of Greek and Jew, both parties viewed one another as “others” and not part of a mutual society and thus the two civilizations were in conflict. Opposition within Judaism to Greek culture dates from the second century BC when Greeks tried to ban Judaism and impose Hellenistic culture onto Jews living in Greece. This was one of the first instances of religious persecution in the ancient world and deeply scarred Greek-Jewish relations.<sup>28</sup> Jews tried to stop

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<sup>25</sup> The Anti-Defamation League, “ADL Global 100 Greece,” *adl.org*  
<http://global100.adl.org/#country/greece>

<sup>26</sup> Athena S. Leoussi and David Aberbach, “Hellenism and Jewish nationalism: ambivalence and its ancient roots,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25 no. 5 (2002): 757

<sup>27</sup> *ibid*

<sup>28</sup> *ibid*



the Hellenization of Jewish life but could not stop all of it from infiltrating their ways and customs. When Rome conquered Judea in 63 BC Greek and not Hebrew was the language of the upper class.

The early Christian writer Tertullian posited, “What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?”<sup>29</sup> implying that Jewish culture was incompatible with Christianity. Toward the end of the Hellenistic period, and with the rise of the Roman Empire, Greeks began to become more hostile toward Jews. Most of this hostility came from many Greeks (as well as Romans) not fully understanding Jewish life and customs.<sup>30</sup> This ignorance of Jewish custom led to the treatment of Jews as outsiders, even though they had been an integrated part of Greek society. This label attached to Jews as “others” has persisted well into current time.

Another political party with response to the economic crisis in Western Europe is the Jobbik party in Hungary. Jobbik, officially called Movement for a Better Hungary, formed in 2003 out of a right-wing radical student club (*Association of Right Wing Youth*). The party has been led by Gabor Vona since 2006. Vona promotes Hungarian economic and social nativism, anti-Semitic rhetoric, and historical revisionism.<sup>31</sup> April 2006 saw Jobbik’s entrance into electoral politics with a coalition involving another right-wing party called Hungarian Justice and Life Party (*MIEP*). Jobbik attained even more legitimacy when it formed a paramilitary

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<sup>29</sup> Jenny Morris, “Jews in the Ancient World,” *History Today* (October 1981): 11-12

<sup>30</sup> *ibid*

<sup>31</sup> Bartek Pytlas, “Radical-right narratives in Slovakia and Hungary: historical legacies, mythic overlaying and contemporary politics,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 47 no. 2 (2013): 170

wing called the Hungarian Guard in 2006. In 2009, Jobbik successfully secured 14 percent of the Hungarian vote and sent MEPs to the European parliament.

To understand why Hungarians are supporting a far right-wing party with heavy anti-Semitic overtones one must peer into the nation's past. The "Jewish question" is defined by Jewish studies scholar Kati Voros of the Central European University in Budapest as questioning the position of Jews in non-Jewish society. In Hungary the "Jewish question" concerned the feasibility of Jewish political emancipation and social integration within society.<sup>32</sup>

The concept of the "Jewish Question" started to turn into an anti-Semitic notion in the early 1880s. With the concept, it became a political slogan and anti-Jewish battle cry. Through trying to answer the "Jewish question" Hungarian society debated collective distinctions both socioeconomic and ethnic. Jews and Hungarians beginning at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century began to not get along. Hungarians viewed Jews as steadily taking over the economy, educational systems from grammar schools to universities, and nearly all professions and agriculture.<sup>33</sup>

Into the 1890s arguments within the Hungarian parliament ranged from civil Jewish marriage to the act of the Hungarian government recognizing the Jewish religion. The beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw no difference in how Jews were thought of and treated as earlier ways of thinking prevailed. Anti-Semitism in Hungary intensified during World War I as Jews were frequently accused of shirking

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<sup>32</sup> Kati Voros, "The 'Jewish question', Hungarian sociology and the normalization of anti-semitism," *Patterns of Prejudice* 44 no.2 (2010): 139

<sup>33</sup> *ibid*

military service and profiting from the war.<sup>34</sup> The “Jewish question” as defined by Voros became an increasingly pertinent issue following the end of World War I and through World War II.

The Anti-Defamation League’s Global 100 poll indexed Hungary as having 41 percent of its population harboring anti-Semitic attitudes (of 8.1 million about 3.4 million held anti-Semitic feelings).<sup>35</sup> Jobbik came to prominence in 2010 when it received 16.67 percent of the Hungarian vote.<sup>36</sup> The overall rise in Hungary’s anti-Semitism coincides with the rise of the Jobbik party, argues Rabbi Shlomo Koves of the Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation.<sup>37</sup> The Greek and Hungarian parties rise to prominence are traceable to the recession of 2008 that persisted well into 2010 and continue present day.

Golden Dawn, Jobbik, and various other far right parties in Western Europe are slowly gaining ground in popularity and importance. For now these parties are contained to their individual countries but one cannot discount the valid theory that if current sentiments stay constant many of these far-right candidates could start to hold power within the arena of the European Union. What is essentially a country-

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<sup>34</sup> Kati Voros, “The ‘Jewish question’, Hungarian sociology and the normalization of anti-semitism,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 44 no.2 (2010): 149

<sup>35</sup> The Anti-Defamation League, “ADL Global 100 Greece,” *adl.org*  
<http://global100.adl.org/#country/hungary>

<sup>36</sup> Sam Sokol, “Ultra-nationalist Jobbik party’s gains worry Hungary,” *Jerusalem Post* 7 April 2014 <http://www.jpost.com/Jewish-World/Jewish-News/Ultra-nationalist-Jobbik-partys-gains-worry-Hungarian-Jews-347799>

<sup>37</sup> *ibid*

by-country issue could turn into one that the entire European Union would be forced with which to contend.

### *3.2 Human Rights Violations Regarding Jewish Peoples in Contemporary Western Europe: France as a Case Study*

There are contemporary instances where the Western European Jewish community is being assaulted and its human rights threatened. One such example is France. French Jews now are on a heightened state of alert as anti-Jewish sentiment has re-emerged in an increasing anti-Semitic society.

The history of Jews in France is a tumultuous one. Their history in France has been explained somewhat earlier in this research and now their place under Napoleon will be discussed. Professor Maurice Samuels of French and Jewish Studies at Yale University argues that even though Napoleon viewed Jews in a negative light his policies regarding them were mixed. During his reign Napoleon issued edicts to “regenerate” the Jews of Alsace and Lorraine but these edicts ended in harsh laws that affected Jews poorly. Consequently, Napoleon also created a state sanctioned bureaucracy called the Consistory system that responded to Jewish demands and elevated Judaism to the status of state religion.<sup>38</sup>

Samuels argues that to say if Napoleon was good or bad depends on how you look upon his Jewish reforms. Some Jewish historians, writing around the time of the Vichy and the state of Israel’s formation, argue that the Napoleonic reforms were nothing but empty promises. For Zionists the Napoleonic edicts and laws duped

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<sup>38</sup> Maurice Samuels, “The Emperor and the Jews,” *Judaism* 54 no. ½ (2005): 34

Jews into believing they would be included into a society that had no intentions of absorbing them or their customs.<sup>39</sup> The latter argument transposes to today. Jews are still having insurmountable issues blending into contemporary French society.

To begin exploring contemporary French anti-Semitism numerical data must first be examined in order to obtain a starting point for how prevalent anti-Semitic attitudes are in the French population. The ADL Global 100 survey gives France an index score of 37 percent of its population holding anti-Semitic views (out of 50 million French citizens, approximately 18 million hold anti-Jewish attitudes). Thirty nine percent of males and 35 percent of females harbor anti-Semitic attitudes while in both age demographics of 18 to 34 and 35 to 49, 43 percent hold views unfavorable toward Jews. Among French Christians, 40 percent hold negative Jewish views while 30 percent of theists espouse anti-Semitic attitudes.<sup>40</sup>

Those who harbor these attitudes do not do so slightly, and there have been instances wherein these attitudes have been turned into devastating action. The Jewish Community Security Service, a French organization that monitors anti-Semitism in France, released a report detailing instances of anti-Semitic actions and behaviors in France in 2012. In that year alone, 614 anti-Semitic acts such as physical and verbal attacks were recorded as compared to 389 in 2011. This constituted a 58 percent increase in anti-Semitic acts in one year. Physical and

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<sup>39</sup> *ibid*

<sup>40</sup> The Anti-Defamation League, "ADL Global 100 France," *adl.org*  
<http://global100.adl.org/#country/france>

verbal attacks increased by 84 percent (315 in 2012 versus 171 in 2011). Physical attacks increased by 69 percent in 2012 compared to 2011 (96 in 2012 versus 57 in 2011) and 25 percent of physical attacks involved a weapon. The culmination of these anti-Semitic attitudes and behavior were the deaths of four people in France – three of them children.<sup>41</sup>

These anti-Semitic attacks go beyond generalized xenophobia. Anti-Semitism cannot be lumped with xenophobic acts perpetrated against other religious and ethnic minorities (be it in France or elsewhere). Anti-Semitism, as history has shown, can lead to mass scale atrocities like the Holocaust. If xenophobia is the starting point, or the “root” of all distrust among those who are different, then anti-Semitism, anti-Islamism, anti-Roma sentiments and all other forms of hate must be thought of as branches stemming from a common core.

Some of these “branches” of hate grow longer and more gnarled than the next and while a common root relates them they are not the same branch nor do they bear the same fruit. For instance, according to the French Interior Ministry in 2012 there were recorded 175 violent hate crimes. Ninety six of these were anti-Semitic acts; 70 were racist and xenophobic, and nine were anti-Muslim. In all, over 50 percent of all violent hate crimes in France were directed toward Jews with a majority occurring in certain cities and also certain neighborhoods.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Jewish Community Security Service, *Report on Anti-Semitism in France* (Paris: SPCJ, 2012) 9.

<sup>42</sup> *ibid*

These instances in France are prime examples of the current state of affairs the European Jewry is experiencing. In the summer of 2014 there were heavy protests in the Parisian neighborhood of Sarcelles pertaining to pro-Palestinian sentiments regarding Israel's treatment of Palestinians in Gaza. Pro-Palestinian protestors clashed with riot police outside two Paris synagogues. Local media showed a kosher grocery shop being burned in Sarcelles. These acts of anti-Semitism may spur the leaving of French Jews to Israel. January, February, and March of 2014 saw French Jews deciding to leave France. They cited economic hardship but more-so a rise in anti-Semitic behavior among French citizens.<sup>43</sup>

### *3.3 Parallel with the Roma People*

To explain anti-Semitism one must examine the attitudes of Western Europe regarding those seen as either "non-ethnic" members of a society or outsiders. Professor Henri Zukier of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem argues that the outsider that shows up throughout history is not an actual person but a figment of society's imagination.<sup>44</sup> That is to say society demonizes a certain group based solely on perceptions that have no basis in reality. The struggle against an outsider is foremost a struggle for self-identity, contends Zukier. Looking at the Roma people within Western Europe is one example of how Western Europeans view outsiders.

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<sup>43</sup> Reuters and The Associated Press, "France vows harsh hand on anti-Semitic violence after Paris riots," Haaretz 21 July 2014 <http://www.haaretz.com/jewish-world/jewish-world-news/1.606412>

<sup>44</sup> Henri Zukier, "The Essential "Other" and the Jew: From Anti-Semitism to Genocide," *Social Research* 63 no. 4 (1996): 1117

The Roma and the Jewish people have much in common when it comes to being unwanted within Western Europe. While the height of Jewish persecution came in the 1930s and 1940s, the Roma are currently experiencing a rapidly worsening label of “undesirable.” In recent years the Roma left Eastern Europe in search of a better life in Western Europe. However, many Western European countries have been unhelpful toward them and unwilling to do anything to accommodate Roma living within their borders. Europe is embarrassed by the Roma because this group goes against the grain of high wealth, growth, and well-being that Western Europeans enjoy.<sup>45</sup>

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights published a memo in 2012 detailing a large scale quantitative survey conducted in France, Italy, and Portugal. These countries were surveyed alongside Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Greece, Spain, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia, all countries with large populations of Roma. The memo acknowledges there is awareness in Western Europe of the exclusion and deprivation of the Roma people and that swift action is needed to build trust amongst the people of Western European countries and the Roma, develop social cohesion, and combat prejudice and discrimination.<sup>46</sup>

Germany is an example of the lack of Roma assimilation into Western European culture. Germany’s coalition government composed of conservatives and

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<sup>45</sup> Irena Maryniak, “Think Roma, Say Jew – You won’t get away with it,” *Index of Censorship* 33 no. 3 (2004): 58

<sup>46</sup> European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Jewish people’s experiences of discrimination and hate crime in European Union Member States* (Vienna: FRA)



liberal democrats is in a protracted debate over Roma immigration from Romania and Bulgaria. A coalition agreement between the two parties states that “incentives for migration into social welfare systems should be reduced.”<sup>47</sup> For many Roma who fled from Eastern to Western Europe the prospects for assimilation, economic advantage, and the chances of a better life have been dim.

The Roma situation in Germany began in 2010 when the German parliament began to repatriate Roma peoples into Kosovo. A report published by UNICEF Kosovo and the German Committee for UNICEF found that 5,200 persons were repatriated from Western Europe to Kosovo at an average rate of about 100 people per day. Out of those, many Kosovo Albanian men, but nearly 700 were Roma and the majority of the Roma repatriated came directly from Germany. Another fact pertaining to Germany’s deportations was that unlike the Kosovo Albanian returnees being single and male, the Roma who were returned to Kosovo were a much higher percentage of not only women and girls but also families and children.<sup>48</sup>

Germany is but one example today of the Roma being forced out of the social construct by either force (such as repatriating them) or through legislative measures (not offering social assistance). More and more attention is being put on the Roma people, as there has been a flux of Roma immigration not only from

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<sup>47</sup> Spiegel Staff, “The Plight of the Roma: Europe’s Unwanted People,” Spiegel 7 January 2014 <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/europe-failing-to-protect-roma-from-discrimination-and-poverty-a-942057.html>

<sup>48</sup> Verena Knaus, “No Place To Call Home,” *UNICEF* (2011): 13

Bulgaria and Romania but also in the form of asylum seekers coming from both Serbia and Macedonia.<sup>49</sup>

Just as no one wants the Roma now in contemporary Western Europe, so too no one wanted the Jews. Parallels can be found between the Roma seeking asylum from both Serbia and Macedonia and the Jewish people seeking a homeland and safety after World War II. The Roma are facing the same stigma that Jews faced when trying to find a place to call a permanent home after World War II. The atmosphere of xenophobia in contemporary Western Europe is mimicking previous decades of hate and fear that resulted in tragedy. Zukier argues that there will always be an essential “other” in society to take the blame and play the role of a scapegoat.<sup>50</sup> Jews have taken this role through millennia, and now parallels can be seen with other degraded ethnic minorities.

### *3.4 Ensuring the Past Does Not Repeat Itself*

The Holocaust was the murder of six million Jewish people from the whole of Europe. These men, women, and children were wiped from existence and ultimately this was not something that happened “over-night.” There were blatant signs from the beginning of the Third Reich’s rise to power up until the moment when the death camps were in full swing and murdering thousands per day. There are even

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<sup>49</sup> Ozlem Gezer, “Trip to the Promised Land: Balkan Roma Dream of Life in Germany,” *Spiegel* 13 November 2012  
<http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/germany-remains-promised-land-for-roma-in-serbia-and-macedonia-a-866760.html>

<sup>50</sup> Henri Zukier, “The Essential “Other” and the Jew: From Anti-Semitism to Genocide,” *Social Research* 63 no. 4 (1996): 1117

now telltale signs in Western Europe of not just an atmosphere to make life harder for the Jewish people, but of an atmosphere that is harboring and fostering ideologies that, if acted upon fully and accepted by a wide range of the populace, could mean disaster for Western Europe's Jewish population.

To ensure that the atrocities of the past are not repeated the far right parties of Western Europe must be significantly reined in. Golden Dawn, Jobbik, and other far right parties in Western Europe are but a glimpse of what will come should these ideologies not be rebutted and discredited. It is not only the duty of Western Europe but moreover the global community to take part in this effort to curb anti-Semitic feelings and rhetoric.

The term "global community" is often difficult to pinpoint to an exact entity. Arguably, the first line of defense against is within Western Europe itself: the European Union. However, if the European Union is the first line of defense in quelling anti-Semitism there must be more actionable efforts made by EU member states. The European Union Agency for Human Rights released a fact sheet in 2013 regarding Jewish people's experiences of discrimination and hate crimes within European Union member states.<sup>51</sup> The figures that were released by this factsheet are troublesome. Overall, 75% of respondents felt that anti-Semitism was an issue in the country where they lived.

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<sup>51</sup> European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, Jewish people's experiences of discrimination and hate crime in European Union Member States (Vienna: FRA)

The fear of anti-Semitism is illustrated by a recent event in Italy in which Italian officials expelled a Moroccan imam after a video surfaced online of the imam calling for Jews to be killed “one by one.”<sup>52</sup>In Italy, nearly 39 percent of the Jewish population fears a verbal attack on Anti-Semitic grounds (coupled with only twenty-two percent fearing a physical attack). The European Union Agency for Human Rights puts France at the very top for the percentage of Jewish persons who fear verbal and physical attacks (70% and 60% respectively).<sup>53</sup>

To prevent what happened in the past from happening again to the Jewish population in Western Europe there must be an awakening of non-Jewish persons to the reality that anti-Semitism still exists within Western Europe and that Western European Jews are more frequently living in fear as to their safety and well being. It is the purpose of this research to bring to light the political atmosphere that currently is and has engulfed Western Europe in regards to the feelings of anti-Semitism and the persistent threat of returning to old feelings and old ways, which would end in disaster for many Jewish people.

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<sup>52</sup> Josephine Mckenna, “Italy expels imam for preaching hatred against Jews,” Washington Post 5 August 2014

[http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/religion/italy-expels-imam-for-preaching-hatred-against-jews/2014/08/05/564cc366-1cd1-11e4-9b6c-12e30cbe86a3\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/religion/italy-expels-imam-for-preaching-hatred-against-jews/2014/08/05/564cc366-1cd1-11e4-9b6c-12e30cbe86a3_story.html)

<sup>53</sup> European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, Jewish people’s experiences of discrimination and hate crime in European Union Member States (Vienna: FRA)

## Chapter 4: Anti-Semitism: Dormant but not Dead

At the end of World War II, there was an abundance of Nazi soldiers whose crimes had been heinous. With the Hitler presumed dead in his bunker in Berlin the Nazi party crumbled and fell apart. Those Nazi soldiers who had once fought for the Fuhrer were in the hands of the Allied powers (Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States). The Allies were forced to devise a way in which those who were responsible for the Holocaust, and the war, were tried, sentenced, and possibly executed.<sup>54</sup>

The trials at Nuremberg provided the Allies with the venue and the device in which to try, sentence, and either execute or punish those involved with the Holocaust and the war. The Nazi officials who were indicted and tried were done so under the authority of Article 6 of the International Military Tribunal that read:

**(a) CRIMES AGAINST PEACE:** namely, planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances, or participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the foregoing;

**(b) WAR CRIMES:** namely, violations of the laws or customs of war. Such violations shall include, but not be limited to, murder, ill-treatment or deportation to slave labor or for any other purpose of civilian population of or in occupied territory, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity;

**(c) CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY:** namely, murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population, before or during the war; or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds in execution of or in connection with

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<sup>54</sup> United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "The Nuremberg Trials," 7 October 2014 <http://www.ushmm.org/outreach/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007722>

any crime within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated.<sup>55</sup>

Of those indicted and tried, 12 Nazi officers received the death penalty, including Hitler's own heir apparent Hermann Göring. Three of the indicted were to spend the rest of their lives in prison, and a remaining four received prison terms ranging from 10 to 20 years.<sup>56</sup>

Of the large number of Nazi troops, officers, and rank and file members of the Nazi party who existed in after the war, only a scant handful of those responsible for the atrocities were punished. What happened to all the rest? Indeed, it can be posited that many of those who harbored feelings of ill will against the Jews simply re-assimilated into post-War life.

The years immediately following the end of World War II were harsh for all involved, not just including the Jewish people. At the center of all the destruction lay Germany whose cities suffered the most comprehensive damage of the war.<sup>57</sup>

Author Keith Lowe of the book Savage Continent wrote that when Allied observers came to Germany they expected to see damage that was much similar to what had happened in England during the Blitz, however this was not the case. British Lieutenant Philip Dark wrote about Hamburg:

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<sup>55</sup> Yale Law School, "Nuremburg Trial Proceedings," *Lillian Goldman Law Library* 1 (1945): Article 6

<sup>56</sup> United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "The Nuremburg Trials," 7 October 2014 <http://www.ushmm.org/outreach/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007722>

<sup>57</sup> Keith Lowe, *Savage Continent* (New York: St. Martin's, 2012), 7

[W]e swung toward the centre and started to enter a city devastated beyond all comprehension. It was more than appalling. As far as the eye could see, square mile after square mile of empty shells of buildings with twisted girders scarecrowed in the air, radiators of a flat jutting out from the shaft of a still standing wall, like a crucified pterodactyl skeleton. Horrible hideous shapes of chimneys sprouting from the frame of a wall...Such impressions are incomprehensible unless seen.<sup>58</sup>

In Poland, thoughts were turning to rebuilding the country. The National Polish Museum in Warsaw held an exhibition showcasing fragments of important buildings destroyed during the German occupation. The Poles also produced a guidebook to the country that was written in the past-tense to remind not only Polish people of what Warsaw and Poland had looked like before the war but also to remind the world. Just months after liberation the Polish people had become used to living in shells of houses surrounded by mountains of rubble.<sup>59</sup>

The aftermath of European reconstruction after World War II coincided with an event that happened in Poland on July 1, 1946 that shocked the world. The Kielce Pogrom was a violent massacre of 42 Jews by Polish police officers, soldiers and civilians. Kielce already had a history of intense anti-Semitism and thus the atmosphere was still ripe with the types of attitudes that allowed such an atrocity to happen.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Keith Lowe, *Savage Continent* (New York: St. Martin's, 2012), 8

<sup>59</sup> Keith Lowe, *Savage Continent* (New York: St. Martin's, 2012), 4

<sup>60</sup> United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "The Kielce Pogrom," 7 October 2014 <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007941>

The pogrom<sup>61</sup> started when a nine-year old gentile boy wandered from his home in Kielce. Afraid to tell his parents and the police the truth of where he went the boy devised a lie saying that he had been kidnapped and held against his will in the basement at the Jewish community building in Kielce. Even when the boy's story began to un-ravel (the building had no basement) a large crowd of angry Polish citizens had gathered around the community center. <sup>62</sup>

It can be seen here how entrenched hatred for Jews had become in the up and coming post-War world. The Jews in Kielce were still serving as a scapegoat. What could have caused this nine-year old child to immediately blame the Jewish population of Kielce in order to deflect the blame away from him? The answer is simple: the child had learned from his parents, his town, and his social schema that Jews were a sinister people and that he would be wise to cast his own guilt onto them. Even sadder is that the town believed the boy after his story was seen to be a lie.

At the Jewish Community Center, Polish soldiers and policemen entered and called upon all Jewish residents there to surrender their weapons. An unidentified shot was fired and both officials and civilians fired upon the Jews inside the building killing some of them. The fight spilled onto the streets and by day's end civilians, soldiers and police had killed 42 Jews.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> an organized massacre

<sup>62</sup> ibid

<sup>63</sup> ibid



Three days after the pogrom the surviving Jews and locals buried the bodies into a mass grave in the Jewish cemetery. The government in Kielce tried, convicted, and executed nine attackers for the forty-two murders but the fear that this pogrom produced in the Jewish community was irrevocable. A group of Polish officials went to the nearby town of Kalisz and asked a Catholic priest to sign a document condemning the actions of those who had killed the Jews, and his response was, "There would be no need for this [document] if only the Jews would get out." To counter the anti-Semitic statement the Polish official referenced the biblical commandment of "Thou shalt not kill" and by saying that Catholics are forbidden to question the wisdom of God. To this the priest replied, "lice [were also] created by God, yet we kill them."<sup>64</sup>

Though annexed by Nazi Germany, Poland and its people had a similar relationship when it came to both of the country's attitude toward Jews. Many Poles applauded Hitler because he exterminated Poland's Jews. Polish eyewitnesses in the Warsaw ghetto were found to be watching approvingly of what was happening within the walls and even helping the Nazi's perform their duties acting as spotters while German soldiers shot Jews.

"Come look, how cutlets from Jews are frying," teenage girls joked as the ghetto burned. Nazi accounts of Judenjagd or "Jew hunts" detailed how Poles pitched in to find any Jews not killed the first go around in the Ghetto. Also, while the Nazi's

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<sup>64</sup> Anita J. Prazmowska, "The Kielce Pogrom 1946 and the Emergence of Communist Power in Poland," *Cold War History* 2 no .2 (2002): 101

killed millions of Jews the Poles killed thousands, at least 1,600 of them were murdered in the town of Jędrzejów in July of 1941.<sup>65</sup>

These anti-Semitic feelings were entrenched deeply within the hearts and minds of Polish citizens. When the war ended, there was no “switch” to turn off anti-Semitism within Poland. The Kielce Pogrom was merely one year after the war ended. It is supremely important to understand that this hate felt in Kielce and in various other parts of Western Europe has not disappeared. It has merely lied dormant and now Western Europe is facing a great awakening of a sleeping giant.

This dormancy is being found in surprising places. One such place is on the streets of Berlin. In this city, the on-going Israeli-Palestinian conflict is adding fuel to a fire that won't die. Because of the fighting between Israelis and Palestinians there have been demonstrations that harken back to “disturbing ghosts of the past.”<sup>66</sup> These protests are rattling many Jewish Berliners whose population has risen to nearly 30,000 since the fall of the Berlin Wall.<sup>67</sup>

In the streets of Berlin amidst the revival of anti-Jewish demonstrations there is also a disturbing trend of painting young children red. To the protestors, this is meant to be reminiscent of Palestinian children who have been killed by

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<sup>65</sup> United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “The Kielce Pogrom,” 7 October 2014 <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007941>

<sup>66</sup> Anthony Faiola, “Anti-Jewish slogans return to the streets in Germany as Mideast protests sweep Europe,” *Washington Post* 30 July 2014 [http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the-israeli-palestinian-conflict-spills-into-europe-with-protests-anti-jewish-slogans/2014/07/30/36ca8d41-b5a4-4790-9b53-c94e75da4ba6\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the-israeli-palestinian-conflict-spills-into-europe-with-protests-anti-jewish-slogans/2014/07/30/36ca8d41-b5a4-4790-9b53-c94e75da4ba6_story.html)

<sup>67</sup> *ibid*

Israeli weapons. However, these images of children slathered with red paint to some conjure up anti-Semitic myths of Jewish child killers that use the blood of innocent young children for religious rituals.<sup>68</sup>

This contemporary form of anti-Semitism has new actors (Arab and Muslim immigrants with German born children) but its roots are as old as the Kielce Pogrom. German Jews are no more responsible for the actions of Israel than an American Irishman is responsible for Sinn Fein and the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Just as the small boy in Kielce looked to someone to blame, so are those protestors in Berlin. Unlike at the time of Hitler and the Third Reich, the authorities are cracking down and taking harsh stances against those who would rally in the streets for Jews in Berlin to be punished.

Many Germans feel as though they have a strong dedication to quell any anti-Semitic rhetoric because of the Holocaust. Several German newspapers reported shock and disgust by German politicians and German Jewish leaders.<sup>69</sup> German government officials, for the most part, are handling this re-emergence of anti-Semitism with the correct reaction: denouncement and condemnation. However,

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<sup>68</sup> Anthony Faiola, "Anti-Jewish slogans return to the streets in Germany as Mideast protests sweep Europe," *Washington Post* 30 July 2014  
[http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the-israeli-palestinian-conflict-spills-into-europe-with-protests-anti-jewish-slogans/2014/07/30/36ca8d41-b5a4-4790-9b53-c94e75da4ba6\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the-israeli-palestinian-conflict-spills-into-europe-with-protests-anti-jewish-slogans/2014/07/30/36ca8d41-b5a4-4790-9b53-c94e75da4ba6_story.html)

<sup>69</sup> Harriet Torry, "Berlin Closely Monitors Protest Against Israeli Assault in Gaza Following Hostilities in Other Cities," *Wall Street Journal* 25 July 2014  
<http://online.wsj.com/articles/berlin-closely-monitors-protest-against-gaza-assault-anti-jewish-hostilities-in-other-cities-1406311117>

even though those in power say that the current atmosphere is one they cannot accept it still does not negate the fact these protests are happening.

Outside of Berlin, however, at least one elected official would disagree with other elected officials and news outlets that condemn the blatant anti-Semitism. In the German city of Dortmund, Siegfried Borchardt won a seat on the town council in June 2014. Known as “SS Siggie” the new council member has had many run-ins with the German authorities and has been involved in the extreme right-wing political fringe for nearly 30 years. Germany has enjoyed their own perceived immunity to the nationalism and populism that is gaining traction elsewhere in Europe, but this part of Germany (Dortmund) mirrors other countries where far-right parties are currently having resurgence.<sup>70</sup>

Where Borchardt became a councilman is an area that used to boom economically. Now the city is a rundown former coal and steel hub with many undesirable neighborhoods and higher than average crime. Dortmund is a popular place for asylum seekers to Germany making one out of every three residents of Dortmund of foreign decent.<sup>71</sup>

The pockets where ultra-nationalism tend to be the worst are in areas that are economically depressed and looking for answers. The human psyche yearns to comprehend and understand why things are happening the way in which they are,

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<sup>70</sup> Alison Smale, “A Neo-Nazi’s Political Rise Exposes a German City’s Ethnic Tensions,” *New York Times* 24 June 2014  
[http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/25/world/europe/a-neo-nazis-political-rise-exposes-a-german-citys-ethnic-tensions.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/25/world/europe/a-neo-nazis-political-rise-exposes-a-german-citys-ethnic-tensions.html?_r=0)

<sup>71</sup> *ibid*

and the people in Dortmund are answering the “why” by saying that those in Dortmund of foreign decent should be barred from acceptance.

#### *4.1 Fewer Economic Opportunities and No One to Blame*

The economic turmoil of the 2008 recession brought not only hardship to America but also across the globe. Nearly a year after America’s recession, the Eurozone Crisis began and with it started the march toward austerity and the rise of many issues that turned out to social as well as economic. It all began in 2009 when Greece disclosed that the nation’s deficit would rise to 12 ½ percent of gross revenue.<sup>72</sup> When this piece of information was made known concern began to grow and investors began to postulate on the next country that could be headed for a debt crisis. Worldwide financial markets were fearful that Greece did not have the capacity to make necessary cuts required to help take down the deficit. Greece was put into a category of possible default.<sup>73</sup>

In a symbolic gesture, Greece’s Central Bank chief took a pay cut of 20 percent of his salary in order to lead by example and begin to rein in out of control expenditures and debt.<sup>74</sup> This symbolic gesture did very little to actually help the

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<sup>72</sup> Tony Barber, “Greece vows action to cut budget,” *Financial Times* 20 October 2009 <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/3e7e0e46-bd47-11de-9f6a-00144feab49a.html#axzz39rmHUCkw>

<sup>73</sup> Elena Moya, “Investor’s fears grow over Greek economy,” *The Guardian* 30 November 2009 <http://www.theguardian.com/business/2009/nov/30/greece-economy-budget-deficit-fears>

<sup>74</sup> Julia Kollewe, “Greek Bank chief takes paycut as economy fears intensify,” *The Guardian* 4 December 2009

issue at hand, so Prime Minister George Papandreou announced severe spending cuts to “set right the parlous state of the nation’s finances.”<sup>75</sup> It is here that a divergence occurs between political and day-to-day Greek life. With severe spending cuts came austerity.

As austerity measures became more and more severe, riots began. Parties from the far-right begin to emerge in Greece. In May of 2010, protestors stormed the Acropolis in Athens over the unpopular austerity measures.<sup>76</sup>

The rate of unemployment in Greece is a 27.7 percent, while for those Greeks under the age of 25 the unemployment rate is at 61.4 percent in May of 2014. The austerity measures have caused Greece’s economy to shrink by more than a quarter in less than four years.<sup>77</sup> Current Greek unemployment is nearly twice that of the rest of the Eurozone and its unemployment rate is expected to rise even further. To put percentages into actual numbers 1.38 million Greeks are without a job. Before the Eurozone crisis the Greek economy was growing at roughly five percent per

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<http://www.theguardian.com/business/2009/dec/04/greek-bank-chief-takes-pay-cut>

<sup>75</sup>Helena Smith, “Papandreou unveils radical reforms to salvage Greece’s public finances,” *The Guardian* 14 December 2009”

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/dec/14/greece-unveils-reforms-to-public-finances>

<sup>76</sup> Helena Smith, “Greek protestors storm the Acropolis” *The Guardian* 4 May 2010  
<http://www.theguardian.com/business/2010/may/04/greek-protesters-storm-acropolis>

<sup>77</sup> BBC News Business, “Greece jobless rate hits new record of 28%,” *The BBC* 13 February 2011  
<http://www.bbc.com/news/business-26171213>

year, and if that same growth rate were to come back it would take twenty years to reduce the current unemployment levels.<sup>78</sup>

Greece is a prime example of how a loss of opportunity sends the populace looking for two things: a savior from the current circumstance and someone to blame. Greece is looking for a way to elevate itself out of its current dilemma. The EU has demanded that Greece accept severe austerity measures, but even in accepting these two decades of growth will be needed to rebound back to what it was pre-Eurozone Crisis.

The second part of this search is someone to blame, and the Greeks have turned to non-ethnic Greeks for that. The animosity for all people not Greek came to an apotheosis when Golden Dawn's party members posed as police and went through a market near the city of Athens asking to see migrant worker's papers that allowed them to be in Greece and operate a vendor stall. When questioned about the incident a Golden Dawn MP said, "We took a walk around the bazaar and listened to the problems of small goods sellers here and we noticed some illegal immigrants trying to sell their stuff without the appropriate licenses."<sup>79</sup> In this, there is little difference between going after those who are immigrants and those who are non-ethnic Greeks.

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<sup>78</sup> *ibid*

<sup>79</sup> Staff, "Greece's Golden Dawn attac market vendors," *Euronews* 9 September 2009 <http://www.euronews.com/2012/09/09/greece-s-golden-dawn-attack-market-vendors/>

In all, the Eurozone crisis started in Greece but quickly spread to the rest of Europe. In 2010 the unemployment rate in France was 9.4 percent. In 2011 that figure decreased slightly to 9.3 percent, then rose to 10 percent in 2012. There was 10 percent overall unemployment but the youth unemployment numbers were much higher than the national average. In 2010 the unemployment rate under 25 was 23 percent. It decreased slightly in 2011 to 22.2 percent then rose to nearly 24 percent in 2012.<sup>80</sup> In France, as elsewhere in Europe, the young and educated are unemployed. Youth in France cannot land full time positions and are often forced to do work that has no guarantee of the French norm over the past several decades of becoming a property owner. For the youth in France, there are currently few good paying jobs as companies are reluctant about hiring new employees because it is both expensive to hire them and to lay them off.

Looking again at the Anti-Defamation League's global index of Anti-Semitism, France has an index score of 37 percent or 18 million individuals out of an entire population of almost 50 million. Breaking this down by age, 43 percent of those 18 to 34 harbor anti-Jewish feelings.<sup>81</sup> It is not hard to understand that in a climate of no jobs and no opportunities, French youth are looking for a reason and somewhere to place their blame. Much like Greece, in France people want to blame a certain entity or party for the hardships that are happening. And even more importantly

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<sup>80</sup> United States Dept of Labor, "Country at a Glance-France," *International Labor Comparisons* <http://www.bls.gov/fls/country/france.htm>

<sup>81</sup> The Anti-Defamation League, "ADL Global 100 France," *adl.org* <http://global100.adl.org/#country/france>



there is the need to find some sort of savior to help lift France out of their current state of high unemployment.

To do this, voters are increasingly turning to hardcore nationalistic parties such as the Front National. The far-right party Front National was founded in 1972 but at its inception had trouble gaining even 1 percent of the vote for more than a decade.<sup>82</sup> Professor John Veugelers from the University of Toronto argues that Front National is the organizational force behind racism in France today. Veugelers also asserts that the founder Le Pen is able to mobilized supporters not only from the far-right but also from the far-left giving him an advantage no other party in France can cultivate.<sup>83</sup>

Front National won 25 percent of the vote in May of 2014 while the governing socialists were reduced to 14 percent.<sup>84</sup> Front National has a strong nationalistic stance emphasizing that France is only for those ethnically pure enough to call themselves French. The Roma, the Jew, and other various groups find themselves left out of a party platform that espouses nationalism of this caliber.

Nationalism and joblessness are intertwined. Countries in the Eurozone such as France and Greece with sizeable unemployment rates (as well as sizeable youth unemployment rates) must rationalize why their unemployment rates are high and

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<sup>82</sup> John Veugelers, "Social Cleavage and the Revival of Far Right Parties: The Case of France's National Front," *Acta Sociologica* 40 no. 1 (1997): 36

<sup>83</sup> *ibid*

<sup>84</sup> Staff, "France's National Front wins European Elections," *The Guardian* 25 May 2014 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/25/france-national-front-win-european-elections>

why their citizens are unhappy. There must be an entity to demonize, blame, and hold accountable. In the case of Greece, one could rightly point to rapid spending and a high cost of social programs that caused the start of the Eurozone Crisis. In Greece and France alike, fear of the unknown leads to xenophobic and anti-Semitic behavior and attitudes. The people in both of these countries have let their fears and worries be translated into putting control into the hands of far-right extremist parties that advocate for the ethnicities of their respective countries first and paint any non-ethnic members of the society as the cause for economic and social woes.

The Eurozone crisis created an economic disaster that provoked witch-hunts for someone to blame. That blame focused on Jews. In the minds of many, the Jewish people have a first priority to support the Jewish state. Jewish Studies scholar Walter Laqueur writes that there is no clear distinction between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism. It has been argued that when anti-Israeli criticism crosses the line between fair and foul it becomes anti-Semitic. But, argues Laqueur, what is to be considered “fair” and what is to be considered “foul?”<sup>85</sup>

Laqueur believes that “new anti-Semitism” is anti-Zionism or hostility caused by the fact that Jews are perceived as representatives of Israel. Even if one is to assume this, the question still remains why Israeli policies are attacked with such strong passions by people who have no personal stake in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Laqueur believes that there is no discernable deviation between anti-

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<sup>85</sup>Walter Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Oxford UP 2006): 7

Semitism and anti-Zionism. There is such a infinitesimal line between what is considered anti-Semitic and what is considered anti-Zionist and each case must be evaluated independently as no overarching definition can yet be given.

## Chapter 5: Emergence of Right Wing Parties In Europe

Anti-Semitism thrives where intolerance and hate abound. The emergence of right-wing parties within Western Europe has given birth to fostering an environment wherein anti-Semitism can flourish. Many of these far right-parties are deemed to be “Eurosceptic”, meaning they are always questioning the role that the EU plays in their respective countries. These parties, since the Eurozone crisis, have begun to seize ground within Western European nations and their message is a clear one: No European Union, no immigrants, and keep the resources of the home country for naturally born citizens. While these parties do not hold majorities in their respective governments it is not improbable to posit that these parties could soon rise to power.

In European parliament elections held in May 2014, parties such as the UK’s Independence Party and France’s Front National both gained seats. The UK Prime Minister David Cameron said that the public is “disillusioned” with the EU and that the message of those that voted for the Independence Party was received and understood.<sup>86</sup> French President Hollande said that the results of the elections were astounding and came as a “shock, an earthquake.”<sup>87</sup> In the elections of 2014, the far-right did a massive sweep. This momentum has been building and these parties

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<sup>86</sup> News Europe, “Eurosceptic ‘earthquake’ rocks EU elections,” *The BBC* 26 May 2014 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-27559714>

<sup>87</sup> *ibid*

from each country are beginning to make a collective whole. Far right-wing parties are beginning to vie for the attention of the whole of Europe.

In Hungary, this sense of nationalism is spilling over into anti-Semitism. In July 2014 Jobbik president Gabor Vona and his supporters rallied outside of the Israeli embassy in Hungary calling for a boycott of all Israeli made products. The Jobbik party and Vona in particular are adamant that there are no tinges, even remote, of anti-Semitism.<sup>88</sup> This, however, is supremely hard to believe when the protestors outside of the Israeli embassy are shouting phrases such as “Executioners of Tel-Aviv” and “Child Murderers.”<sup>89</sup> As Laqueur has stated, there is a fine line between what is fair and what is foul.

At one time, far-right parties were fringe. No heed was given because there was no real threat that they could impose their fringe ideology on the population at large. However, times have changed. With the Eurozone Crisis giving birth to a longing for some semblance of safety and normalcy Western Europeans are starting to see fringe parties as viable alternatives. This explains why Jobbik is growing in popularity. Hungary is known for polarized politics, but when Jobbik became a feasible option for voters to elect to the Hungarian government, Hungary’s divisive political entities banded together to cut Jobbik down to its core.

On Dec 2, 2012 Hungarian politicians from left, right, and center came together to protest an anti-Semitic speech given by Marton Gyongyosi, a Jobbik MP.

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<sup>88</sup>Associated Press, “Far-right Party in Hungary wants Israel boycott,” *Ynetnews* 25 July 2014 <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4549650,00.html>

<sup>89</sup> *ibid*

Gyongyosi, at the time vice-chairman of the parliament's foreign affairs committee, had called for a complete listing of all Jewish persons in Hungary, especially those in parliament and government. This demand caused much consternation and was likened to the atrocities that occurred 70 years earlier when such lists were used in the Holocaust to round up Jews for concentration camps.<sup>90</sup>

Typical fringe parties of the past have been "skinhead" types that have little chance of successfully gaining MPs. However, Jobbik (as well as the many other emerging far-right parties) is vastly different. Gyongyosi is not a slob nor does he dress or act in such a manner that would give him less credence than any other Hungarian politician. He is the son of a diplomat and he grew up in Egypt, Iraq, and Afghanistan. This is one new face of extremist politics. It is one that must be taken seriously because the voters have given these fringe groups inclusivity into the political arena.<sup>91</sup>

In the Eurozone, there is public anger at the perceived economic mismanagement of the Eurozone Crisis and this has also translated to a shift toward anti-austerity, anti-immigration, and importantly anti-Semitic far right parties. It is important to understand that even if these parties are not being elected directly to persecute Jews or because of blatant anti-Jewish promises this matters precious little. Anti-Semitism is within the backbone of these parties. Anti-immigration and anti-Austerity are but a part of the fabric that makes up parties such as Hungary's

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<sup>90</sup> *ibid*

<sup>91</sup> *ibid*

Jobbik or France's Front National. The common thread between these parties is popular discontent over the financial crisis, social unease, and severe anti-immigration attitudes.<sup>92</sup>

These attitudes can be seen in the leader of France's Front National party. In June of 2014, Jean-Marie Le Pen was accused of using an anti-Semitic slur when referring to a group of critics. Le Pen used the word "*fournee*" which means an oven batch of loaves. He told an interviewer that he wanted to "make a batch of" his critics of whom one was a Jewish entertainer. *Fournee* was seen to be a reference to the ovens used in Nazi death camps to incinerate the bodies of Jewish murder victims.<sup>93</sup>

Le Pen is known for his anti-Semitism and horrific statements regarding the holocaust and Jews in general. In February of 2012 he was convicted of contesting crimes against humanity wherein the Front National leader said the Nazi occupation of France had not been that particularly inhumane.<sup>94</sup> This statement contradicts not only conventional wisdom but also France's own admission in 2009 by France's highest court that between 1942 and 1944 76,000 French Jews were rounded up

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<sup>92</sup>Laura Smith-Spark, "Anger at austerity, immigrations feeds far right's rise in Europe," *CNN* 9 May 2012

<http://www.cnn.com/2012/05/08/world/europe/europe-far-right-austerity/>

<sup>93</sup>News Europe, "France National Front in new 'anti-Semitism' row," *The BBC* 9 June 2014 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-27761534>

<sup>94</sup> Angelique Chrisafis, "Jean-Marie Le Pen convicted of contesting crimes against humanity," *The Guardian* 16 February 2012

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/feb/16/jean-marie-le-pen-convicted>

and sent to their deaths.<sup>95</sup> Le Pen went further by saying that the Jewish service organization B'nai B'rith authored a contract or "pact" with other French politicians to keep him out of French politics.<sup>96</sup>

The unfortunate truth is that this is not a fringe party. The Front National is now the third most popular political party in France. Le Pen's daughter Marine is its main candidate and Jean-Marie is the honorary president of the party and is still involved heavily. In an Ifop poll, if the French presidential elections were to have been held in mid 2014, the Front National's candidate Marine Le Pen would have won the French presidency putting former center-right president Nicholas Sarkozy in second and current French president and socialist Francois Hollande in third.<sup>97</sup>

French citizens are tiring of the European Union, of being forced to contend with immigration, and of being made to accept EU laws made by EU politicians instead of local politics which is exactly what Front National is offering. The United Kingdom too has its own far right party that has the same desires such as pulling out from the European Union and taking an anti-Immigration stance. The United Kingdom Independence Party and has been involved in UK politics since 2012 when

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<sup>95</sup> Lizzy Davies, "France responsible for sending Jews to concentration camp, says court," *The Guardian* <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/feb/17/france-admits-deporting-jews>

<sup>96</sup> Staff, "Jean-Marie Le Pen unleashes new anti-Semitic conspiracy theory," *The Times of Israel* 4 October 2012 <http://www.timesofisrael.com/jean-marie-le-pen-unleashes-new-anti-semitic-conspiracy-theory/>

<sup>97</sup> IFOP, "Voter Intention in the 2017 [French] Presidential Election," June 2014, 8 [http://www.ifop.com/media/poll/2734-1-study\\_file.pdf](http://www.ifop.com/media/poll/2734-1-study_file.pdf)



it began to win local elections at a surprising rate earning a quarter of the elections in county council votes.<sup>98</sup>

Let us again look at the Anti-Defamation League's Global Index of Anti-Semitism. The UK has a relatively low anti-Semitic index score of 8 percent. This translates to roughly 4 million out of nearly 48 million UK citizens holding anti-Semitic views.<sup>99</sup> However, even with this low index number there is still a high answer of "probably yes" to the statement "Jews are more loyal to Israel than the UK." A recurrent theme in countries where right wing parties gain a foothold is that immigrants and those viewed to be outside of the mainstream ethnic and social groups are often demonized and ostracized. While the UK does have a lower index score than other countries in Western Europe, it is troubling none-the-less that two variables (one being a right wing party that espouses the belief that immigration and immigrants are bad for the country and the second being that out of those polled 27 percent thought that Jews were more loyal to Israel than the UK) may combine to make the far right in the UK even stronger.

Before the May 2014 UK parliamentary elections, UKIP candidate Anna-Marie Crampton was accused of stating that the Second World War was "engineered

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<sup>98</sup> Staff, "Is Ukip's rise really a breakthrough?," *Channel 4 BBC* 3 May 2013  
<http://www.channel4.com/news/is-ukips-rise-really-a-breakthrough>

<sup>99</sup> The Anti-Defamation League, "ADL Global 100 United Kingdom," *adl.org*  
<http://global100.adl.org/#country/united-kingdom>

by a Zionist.”<sup>100</sup> Crampton was accused (and denied it) of saying on an internet forum that “only Zionists could sacrifice their own in the gas chambers...It was thanks to them that six million Jews were murdered in the war.”<sup>101</sup> The UKIP leader Nigel Farage tried to toss the blame from the party saying that UKIP does not have the necessary apparatus to vet all of some 1,700 party members before they run for election. Even with this realization coming to fruition (a possible anti-Semite running on the UKIP ticket) UKIP was still set to make “the most serious fourth party incursion” into UK politics since the Second World War.<sup>102</sup>

### *5.1 Fueling the Right-Wing*

Anti-Semitism in Western Europe is being fueled heavily by the conflict between Israel and Palestine. The summer of 2014 saw Israel and Palestine once again embroiled in a skirmish that pits one against the other and that leaves destruction and death in its wake. Israel’s relationship with the Palestinians is troubled at the very best. Through this relationship Israel often has troubled relationships with the rest of the world. The foreign ministers of France, Germany, and Italy have used harsh words condemning anti-Semitic pro-Palestinian protests in their respective countries. These ministers in a statement from Brussels said that

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<sup>100</sup> David Batty, “Ukip election candidate suspended alleged anti-Semitic comments,” *The Guardian* 25 April 2013

<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/apr/26/ukip-election-candidate-suspended-alleged-comments>

<sup>101</sup> *ibid*

<sup>102</sup> Nicholas Watt, “Ukip’s popularity will hit Tories hardest, says professor,” *The Guardian* 24 April 2013 <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/apr/24/ukip-election-success-tories-farage?gclid=Article:in%20body%20link>

nothing, not even the military actions in Gaza by Israel, justify such actions in Europe.<sup>103</sup>

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict may be confined to the Middle East but its ramifications are being felt all across Europe. Pro-Palestinian riots in Paris turned violent in mid-July 2014 raising much fear about a wave of unrest among France's large Arab communities. French President Francois Hollande stopped the protests from happening and said that the "Israeli-Palestinian conflict must not be imported [to France]. We will not tolerate any act of speech that could cause a resurgence of anti-Semitism and racism."<sup>104</sup>

President Hollande's concern that the conflict must not be imported to France is justified, as is the concern that the conflict not be brought to the whole of Europe. In Germany a rise in anti-Semitic acts is fueled by the tension emanating from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. For instance, in the Western German town of Wuppertal in July 2014 German police arrested an 18-year-old man after he threw what were described as "fire bombs" at a local synagogue. Despite this the German government has assured Jews in Wuppertal and in the rest of Germany that despite

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<sup>103</sup> Sam Sokol, "European ministers denounce 'ugly anti-Semitic demonstrations and attacks'," *The Jerusalem Post* 22 July 2014 <http://www.jpost.com/Operation-Protective-Edge/Germany-France-Italy-condemn-anti-Semitism-in-anti-Israel-demonstrations-368488>

<sup>104</sup> Hugh Carnegy, "Paris riots prompt French crackdown on pro-Palestinian protests," *Financial Times* 21 July 2014 <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/c9f8ff0e-10c5-11e4-812b-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3A0kA3Sq0>

the anti-Semitic climate fueled by anti-Israeli protests in the country that Jews were safe and could rely on German officials to protect them.<sup>105</sup>

The incidents in Germany keep mounting: In Frankfurt in summer 2014 there was a beer bottle thrown through the window of a prominent critic of anti-Semitism and an anonymous call to a German Rabbi threatened to kill at least thirty Jews if the caller's family in Gaza was harmed.<sup>106</sup> Indeed, in the country where anti-Semitism first started to take a stranglehold on the whole of Europe in the 1930s and 1940s there looks to be a return to it albeit on an individual level. The state does not condone these actions and the German chancellor and President both condemn the actions of anti-Semitic entities within the country. However, this does not excuse the fact that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict currently affecting Gaza is taking its toll on Western Europe.

It is debatable whether to say that Israel has crossed a line and that the former and current fighting in Gaza constitutes a human rights violation. Looking at the UN's Universal Declaration of Human rights, there are several articles that call into question Israel's treatment of Palestinians in Gaza. One article in particular makes for an interesting argument relating to the singling out of Israel as a human rights violator. In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 3

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<sup>105</sup> Reuters, "German police arrest teen after attack on synagogue," *Jerusalem Post* 29 July 2014 <http://www.jpost.com/Jewish-World/Jewish-Features/Assailants-attack-synagogue-in-western-Germany-369284>

<sup>106</sup> Melissa Eddy, "Anti-Semitism rises in Gaza amid Israel-Gaza conflict," *New York Times* 1 August 2014 [http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/02/world/europe/anger-in-europe-over-the-israeli-gaza-conflict-reverberates-as-anti-semitism.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/02/world/europe/anger-in-europe-over-the-israeli-gaza-conflict-reverberates-as-anti-semitism.html?_r=1)

states: "Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person."<sup>107</sup> From the actions happening now in Western Europe regarding opinions and feelings toward Israel it can be inferred that article 3 is not being enforced. It is understood that these articles and indeed this declaration have no legal binding in any country be they a UN member or not. However, despite the document having no legal binding it is a made by a governing body that is dedicated to the betterment of the global society and thus the document is a barometer of what constitutes basic human rights.

The question, however, related to human rights and Israel is both simple yet profound: Why are groups in Western Europe heavily targeting Israel's assumed (by the protesters) human rights violations when there are many other countries that habitually abuse and disregard both human rights and human life? Those singling out the misdeeds do not do so because Israel has the harshest human rights violations.<sup>108</sup> According to peace researchers, 25 million people have been killed in internal conflicts since World War II, and Israel ranks 46<sup>th</sup> in the list of victims. However, Israel has been condemned more times by the United Nations and other international organizations than all other nations taken together.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> United Nations, "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights"  
<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>

<sup>108</sup> Walter Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Oxford UP 2006): 8

<sup>109</sup> *ibid*

In London, 150,000 people protested to end what they called Israel's "massacre and arms trade."<sup>110</sup> These protestors waved signs in the streets of London waving "Free Palestine" signs and yelling that a massacre was taking place in Gaza because of the Israeli military campaign.<sup>111</sup> In the UK since the beginning of the current (current at the time of this writing) military action in Gaza there have been over one hundred hate crimes were recorded by British police and community groups which is twice the normal rate.<sup>112</sup>

The same, as has been prefaced, is abounding all within Western Europe. Germany, Hungary, the United Kingdom, and France are all dealing with citizens who feel a hate for Jews and this is translated over into hate for Israel. Bringing back an earlier postulate of this work, what has been called the Great Dormancy, it is not unreasonable and quite likely that the humanitarian issues and military actions in Gaza are giving Western Europeans reasons to despise and hate not just the Jewish state, but Jews.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict also has an unintended effect. Jewish people are sticking together in solidarity and standing firm while the society around them is actively condemning them. For instance, Jewish leaders in France have noted that

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<sup>110</sup> Natasha Culzac, "Israel-Gaza conflict: 150,000 protest in London for end to 'massacre and arms trade'," *The Independent* 9 August 2014 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/israelgaza-conflict-thousands-protest-in-london-for-end-to-massacre-and-arms-trade-9659180.html>

<sup>111</sup> *ibid*

<sup>112</sup> *IB Times UK*, "Surge in UK Anti-Semitic Attacks Following Gaza Bloodshed," *International Business Times* 27 July 2014 <http://www.ibtimes.com/surge-uk-anti-semitic-attacks-following-gaza-bloodshed-1640360>

there is a robust support in the French Jewish population of both young and old to support Israel.<sup>113</sup> The vice president of the Representative Council of Jewish Institutions of France stated that the Jewish population in that country used to believe that prejudices would go away with a new generation. He then admitted that the current events happening within France shows that the new generation is not at all immune to anti-Semitism.<sup>114</sup> Since anti-Semitism has not gone away within the hopeful new generation married couple Patrick and Martine Belaiche, who own a small kosher bakery in the 19th arrondissement of Paris attended a local pro-Israel rally to counter the pro-Palestinian ones and mainly, as Patrick Belaiche said to, “show that we are here.”<sup>115</sup>

In France there are two separate but equal forces are moving in opposite directions. One force is made up of pro-Palestinian protestors and the second are protestors like Patrick and Martine Belaiche. They want to show that they are a part of the fabric of French society and that Jews will be heard and not muted. The rise in anti-Semitism in France has birthed anti-Israeli feelings and many Jews feel that they must let their voices be heard. At one pro-Israel gathering in Paris, one protestor called Simon Berrebi was quoted saying that “The French government currently does not realize the push of extremism, of anti-semitism, and we find

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<sup>113</sup> Sara Miller Llana, “French Jews stand firm as anti-Israel voices grow louder in France,” *Christian Science Monitor* 11 August 2014  
<http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2014/0811/French-Jews-stand-firm-as-anti-Israel-voices-grow-louder-in-France>

<sup>114</sup> *ibid*

<sup>115</sup> *ibid*

ourselves today with acts like those in the worst years of anti-Semitism. I wanted to come to support Israel which is in a legitimate combat, since it's legitimate defense."<sup>116</sup> This solidarity with Israel by French Jews and supporters is a recurrent theme that is paradoxically strengthened by anti-Semitism.

To understand anti-Semitism and anti-Israeli sentiment one must first understand that there is a fine line between the two, but ultimately they are closely connected and intertwined. To be anti-Israeli does not always mean to be anti-Semitic. Israel is a nation-state and its actions are rightfully open to scrutiny and opinion just as any other nation within the global community. To disagree with Israel on basis of policy or because of a certain position they take is not in and of itself anti-Semitic.

For Europeans who blame Jews for a certain circumstance, it stands to reason that they would also blame entities associated with Jews. That entity would be Israel. If there is already a hatred of the Jewish people resurfacing into the mainstream of Western European life then it will follow that a Jewish state will also stand to be attacked.

Israel's point of origin is definable in that in 1948 the country was set up in order to give a homeland to a people without a homeland. Unlike the French, the Hungarians, or the Germans whose country was not set up purposefully because they were unwanted anywhere else in the world, Israel was granted recognition

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<sup>116</sup>Reuters, "Thousands attend pro-Israel demonstration in Paris," *Jerusalem Post* 31 July 2014 <http://www.jpost.com/Jewish-World/Jewish-News/Thousands-attend-pro-Israel-demonstration-in-Paris-369673>



because it was to be populated by citizens that had been shunned the world over. These dispelled people's point of origin before the formation of Israel was war-torn countries where they were unwelcomed and unwanted.

In today's Europe, when the Jewish population is hated or shunned it is often times a collective hatred. The Anti-Defamation League's Global Index of Anti-Semitism shows high percentages of those polled who believe that Jews in any one certain country have given their allegiance to Israel over where they currently reside. This sentiment, coupled with a distrust and hatred for Jews, leads to anti-Israeli sentiments. When a population harbors anti-Israeli sentiments, a flash point of action by Israel is a great starting base for the anti-Semitism felt in Western Europe to be translated into action.

The recent war that pitted Israel and Palestine against each other has not just recently translated to contentions in Western Europe. 2008 was the year that the last incursion into Gaza by Israel happened. Then as in 2014 there were massive waves of protest that were both anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic in nature. Starting in January 2009, the Western European continent was awash in protests much as it is now. The same protests that occurred in London in 2014 happened also in 2009. On Friday, January 2, 2009 5,000 protestors gathered outside the Israeli Embassy in London to protest Israel's military involvement in Gaza. The crowd was domineered by young British Muslims who cheered as Israeli flags were set on fire.

Some of these protestors even hurled projectiles at police during the protest.<sup>117</sup> This London protest was one of eighteen that took place across the European continent and involved cities including Paris, Berlin, Rome, and Athens.<sup>118</sup>

In 2009 in London and 2014 in France, Arab populations were cited as being a great concern in the anti-Semitic sentiments sweeping the continent. To understand why a large Arab Muslim population can be assumed to be a dangerous catalyst is that there is an incredibly large amount of anti-Semitism in the Arab Muslim world.<sup>119</sup> There is also a significant difference between European anti-Semitism and Arab anti-Semitism. Arab and Muslim anti-Semitism is not rooted in the psychological, economic, or social factors that European anti-Semitism is rooted in. Scholar Walter Laqueur argues that Arab and Muslim anti-Semitism has very little to do with economic crisis and the rise of capitalism and everything to do with the Arab population viewing them as usurpers of Arab land.<sup>120</sup>

The Anti-Defamation League's Global Index of Anti-Semitism shows that in the Arab Muslim world 74 percent of its population hold anti-Semitic views. In the countries that immediately surround Israel, Egypt has an index score of seventy five percent, Jordan of eighty one percent, and seventy eight percent of Jordanians

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<sup>117</sup> Tracy McVeigh and Ben Quinn, "Thousands join march to protest against Israeli action," *The Guardian* 3 January 2009

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jan/04/israel-gaza-protest-london>

<sup>118</sup> *ibid*

<sup>119</sup> Walter Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Oxford UP 2006): 195

<sup>120</sup> *ibid*

harbor anti-Semitic feelings.<sup>121</sup> For Arab Muslims coming from the Middle East and North Africa only 38 percent have ever heard of the Holocaust. For those who have heard of the Holocaust, 63 percent think that it is either a myth or it has been greatly exaggerated.<sup>122</sup>

Also to be taken into account is where Arab Muslim populations consume their news. Among them, nearly seventy three percent consume news from the internet. This makes it relatively easy for a large population of Arab Muslims living in a country such as France to consume culturally and socially relevant news. Muslims who get their news from the internet are much more likely to harbor anti-Semitic views than those who get their news from other sources.<sup>123</sup> Muslims are also more likely than any other religion to harbor anti-Semitic views (Muslims receive a forty nine percent index score through the Anti-Defamation League's Global Index).

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not the reason that tensions are high in Western Europe between Europeans and Jews, but it certainly does not help the matter. It is yet again one of piece of a very complex puzzle that begins to explain why anti-Semitism is re-emerging. Anti-Semitism is giving birth to anti-Israeli sentiments and in turn a new breed of hate is burgeoning forth that not only encompasses Jews within Western European countries but Jews from the state of

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<sup>121</sup> The Anti-Defamation League, "ADL Global 100 Middle East," *adl.org*  
<http://global100.adl.org/#map/meast>

<sup>122</sup> The Anti-Defamation League, "ADL Global 100 Holocaust Info Sheet," *adl.org*  
[http://global100.adl.org/info/holocaust\\_info](http://global100.adl.org/info/holocaust_info)

<sup>123</sup> The Anti-Defamation League, "ADL Global 100 Did You Know," *adl.org*  
<http://global100.adl.org/did-you-know>

Israel. It shows that Jews from around the world are not immune to the anti-Semitism emanating from Western Europe. Past, current, and possible future incursions into Gaza are likely to fuel the anti-Semitic tensions in Western Europe and will give way to even further anti-Israeli sentiment.

## Chapter 6: Addressing the Counter Arguments

### 6.1 *Anti-Semitism has never been dormant*

Presented thus far in the research there have been four reasons given as to why anti-Semitism is making resurgence in Europe. The first argument made is that anti-Semitism never went away but has remained dormant; because of the financial crisis and the resurgence of right-wing parties in Europe it is now re-emerging. This argument, as has been presented by the data, has the counter argument that anti-Semitism has not ebbed and flowed and has always been prevalent within the schema of Western Europe. At the end of World War II there was a definite quelling of anti-Semitic beliefs and actions by the Allied Powers. Death camps were disbanded and Nazi officers were either being shot, imprisoned, or seeking exile in far away places such as South America.

Those who would believe that anti-Semitism has been a steady and level stream take not into account that the climate of Western Europe has changed dramatically since the end of World War II. For instance, German law has made it near impossible without heavy penalty to support any form of Nazism or Nazi symbols.<sup>124</sup> These statues and laws include the shunning of any Nazi or fascist emblem (such as a swastika), certain phrases such as “Hail Hitler” and “Sieg Heil” and certain neo-Nazi parties.

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<sup>124</sup>Criminal Code of Germany, “Statute 86a”  
<http://www.iuscomp.org/gla/statutes/StGB.htm#86a>

Several European countries also have laws that make Holocaust denial a crime. In April of 2007 the European Union approved legislation that would make Holocaust denials punishable by jail sentences. The legislation calls for up to three years of jail time for those that deny the Holocaust or conduct themselves in a way that incites violence or hatred.<sup>125</sup>

If anti-Semitism had not ebbed and flowed then there would be two stark differences in reality. The first difference is that if anti-Semitism had remained a constant unchanging force one would not see at all the effort put forth by European officials both directly after the war and in contemporary times to make the European continent anew. During World War II the whole of Europe was awash in rampant deadly anti-Semitism. Since the end of the War there has been a new era wherein a new Europe (especially Germany) has tried to atone for sins of the past.

We do not currently live in a reality where anti-Semitism is welcomed by the majority of society. Indeed, even in the most harsh instances of anti-Semitism in contemporary France and Germany there are condemnations all across the board for what is happening and reassurances are being given that the past will not repeat itself. Germany had called the Holocaust denial bill an historical obligation and a moral imperative.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>125</sup>Dan Bilefsky, "EU adopts measure outlawing Holocaust denial," *New York Times* 19 April 2007 [http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/19/world/europe/19iht-eu.4.5359640.html?\\_r=1&](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/19/world/europe/19iht-eu.4.5359640.html?_r=1&)

<sup>126</sup> *ibid*

This paradigm shift could only have happened if anti-Semitism had either been erased from the schema of Western Europe (which is not posited in this work) or had gone into hiding because of such measures to keep it there. Those that say that anti-Semitism has prospered and has not been dormant from the end of the Second World War take no heed in looking at how Western Europe post World War II. There have been many laws and policies enacted to shun the old ways of political life and build upon new forms of governance, tolerance, and inclusion. It is in contemporary times that the emergence of far right wing parties coming into the mainstream from the fringe is bringing to life what has been a dormant giant.

### *6.2 Generalized Xenophobia Instead of anti-Semitism*

The second argument that is made in this work is that because of the economic crisis there have been fewer jobs and fewer opportunities for many Western Europeans to take advantage of, particularly young citizens of the Eurozone. This lack of opportunity and advantage in the current economic crisis by citizens of the countries affected by the Eurozone Crisis have sent many reeling to attach blame to some party for what has happened. The counter argument is that instead of Jews, there is a flow of generalized xenophobia coursing through Western Europe because of the recent economic crisis. Generalized xenophobia cannot account for the many instances of anti-Semitism through Western Europe. For example, in Greece when Golden Dawn was just coming into the mainstream from the political fringe there was little doubt that such a group had anti-Semitic

overtones that were clearly not generalized xenophobia. Golden Dawn's parliament members read from *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*<sup>127</sup>, brandish swastikas and Nazi regalia in their political party emblems and decorations,<sup>128</sup> and target the Jewish population over other ethnicities (remembering also that in Greece, according to the Anti-Defamation League's Global Index of Anti-Semitism, sixty nine percent of Greeks hold anti-Semitic attitudes).<sup>129</sup>

Generalized xenophobia in Western Europe would have no pattern. There would be no "cast of players" that hate was directed upon. This is simply not how anti-Semitism is being manifested in Western Europe. Many political parties specifically target Jews (such as Golden Dawn) or have high-level members within their ranks that espouse anti-Semitic ideologies (such as Front National). There is no reason to think that any sort of generalized xenophobia is to blame for the rash of anti-Semitism that has started to occur. The lack of opportunity has made citizens of Western Europe realize that some entity, be it their own governments or something within their own society, is causing them to be set back and with little to no societal gain. Anti-Semitism is an intricate and extremely definable prejudice that cannot be lumped in with any generalization.

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<sup>127</sup> JTA, "Why is Greece the most anti-Semitic country in Europe?," *Haaretz* 20 May 2014 <http://www.haaretz.com/jewish-world/jewish-world-features/1.591841>

<sup>128</sup> News Europe, "Profile: Greece's far-right Golden Dawn party," *The BBC* 1 October 2013 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-24346993>



### *6.3 No Correlation between the Rise of Extreme Right-Wing Parties and Anti-Semitism*

The third counter argument is that there is no correlation between the emergence of right wing parties in Western Europe and anti-Semitism. This is by far the easiest counter argument to quickly and effectively debunk. To begin picking through this counter argument, one must acknowledge that the Nazis perpetrated the worst anti-Semitic act in history, the Holocaust. While the Nazi party after World War II was outlawed in Germany and its successors have been outlawed as well <sup>130</sup> there is currently a renaissance of these right wing parties that are strongly correlated with right-wing anti-Semitism.

To those who argue that there is no correlation between right-wing parties and anti-Semitism one must first look at the leaders of these parties who are beginning to control parliaments, mayoral positions, city councils, and other elected offices throughout Western Europe. Under the guise of nationalism, the harsh realities of anti-Semitism can be seen. These far right-wing parties such as Jobbik and Front National are thriving on hate and intolerance and are spreading their agendas through the respective countries wherein they have begun to see rising popularity. It is imperative to remember that hate and intolerance are two of the mainstays that give anti-Semitism a comfortable and welcoming environment.

Not only does being “Eurosceptic” mean a push for these countries to divorce themselves from the European Union as a whole, but also to disregard human rights

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<sup>130</sup> Criminal Code of Germany, “Statute 86a”  
<http://www.iuscomp.org/gla/statutes/StGB.htm#86a>

legislation that protects many minorities and certain ethnic and religious groups including Jews. For instance, when the EU put through legislation to ban Holocaust denial<sup>131</sup> this was step in the right direction for the Jewish population of the Eurozone. However, if the leaders of such right wing parties such as Golden Dawn and Jobbik controlled their respective countries (Greece and Hungary) with a majority of parliamentary seats then such laws would never apply and it would be left up to each individual country to decide what constitutes anti-Semitism and what constitutes a justification of the rule of law.

These far right parties are also not only anti-Semitic but also anti-Israeli. Jobbik has continually condemned what it calls an “invasive war” on Gaza. In a press release from Jobbik itself, the party praised what they considered a peaceful protest by a reformed Christian church within Hungary that took an immediate side against Israel and its war against Gaza. In the press release, the priest of the church called the incursion into Gaza a bloodbath and cited several times that he hoped Israel would be held responsible for what he called a bloodbath. What is most astounding, however, is that the priest thanked the group Neturei Karta for their support.<sup>132</sup>

In and of itself disagreeing with Israeli policies and militaristic actions is not enough to declare an entity anti-Israeli (be they an individual or a group). However, when a political party with a history of anti-Semitic beliefs begins to condone and

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<sup>131</sup> Dan Bilefsky, “EU adopts measure outlawing Holocaust denial,” *New York Times* 19 April 2007 [http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/19/world/europe/19iht-eu.4.5359640.html?\\_r=1&](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/19/world/europe/19iht-eu.4.5359640.html?_r=1&)

<sup>132</sup> Jobbik, “Jobbik protests against Israel’s aggression,” *Jobbik* 25 July 2014 [http://www.jobbik.com/jobbik\\_protested\\_against\\_israels\\_aggression\\_gaza](http://www.jobbik.com/jobbik_protested_against_israels_aggression_gaza)

even appreciate anti-Israeli rallies this is an indicator that anti-Semitism is rampant. For Jobbik to associate with this church, to run a press release about it, or to support their beliefs makes one question their role in anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli ideologies. Even if that is not enough, Jobbik has openly supported a group who supports Neturei Karta. This group, Neturei Karta, is a group of anti-Zionist orthodox Jews. They are known to appear in support of both anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli events and protests. This group believes that the state of Israel must be destroyed until the Jewish Messiah comes back. They have a long list of support for anti-Semites and anti-Israeli extremists including former Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad who has called for the destruction of Israel and for it to be wiped off the map.<sup>133134</sup>

These right wing parties must be treated with the utmost caution. Who they associate with, who they put up as candidates, who runs the party, and what policies they prescribe must be put under high magnification for traces of anti-Semitism. Those who argue that the emergence of right wing parties in Europe are not a harbinger of anti-Semitism need only look at the associations of right-wing parties with other national and local actors.

#### *6.4 Israeli-Palestinian Protests do not Foment anti-Semitism*

The final counter argument to what this research has proposed deals exclusively with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Detractors easily say that such protests do not

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<sup>133</sup>The Anti-Defamation League, "Neturei Karta: What is it?" *ADL Archives* 14 December 2014 <http://archive.adl.org/extremism/karta/#.U-u8YIBdX6I>

<sup>134</sup>Nazila Fathi, "Wipe Israel 'off the map' Iranian says," *New York Times* 27 October 2005 [http://www.nytimes.com/2005/10/26/world/africa/26iht-iran.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2005/10/26/world/africa/26iht-iran.html?_r=0)

come openly out of anti-Semitism but out of a need for human rights to be protected and accepted globally. The European continent is flooded with anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish protests that are calling for Israel to stop its military actions inside Gaza and for the world to stand up and condemn the humanitarian crisis the protestors say is currently happening. However, why has the Israeli-Palestinian conflict become such a flashpoint when there are many other conflicts going on around the globe that are can be looked upon as much more severe than the current and former situations in Gaza?<sup>135</sup>

As of August 1, 2014 the death toll in Gaza during the Israeli military campaign since July 8 is between 1,400<sup>136</sup> and 1,994 Palestinians dead.<sup>137</sup> Those numbers are without a doubt tragedy. The incursion by Israel into Gaza has been destructive and the amount of lives lost has been regrettable at the very least. Those who protest are citing that those in Gaza have a right to live a free and fair life not under strict Israeli control. However, even though the protests have been centered solely around the Israeli-Palestinian conflict there are many more human rights violations currently happening around the globe that include many more deaths

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<sup>135</sup> Walter Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Oxford UP 2006): 7

<sup>136</sup> Jason Burke, "Gaza 'faces precipice' as death toll passes 1,400," *The Guardian* 31 July 2014 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/31/gaza-faces-precipice-death-toll-tops-1400>

<sup>137</sup> Palestinian Center for Human Rights, "Victims of the Israeli Offensive since 08 July 2014," PchrGaza 16 September 2014" [http://www.pchrgaza.org/portal/en/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=10491:statistics-victims-of-the-israeli-offensive-on-gaza-since-08-july-2014&catid=145:in-focus](http://www.pchrgaza.org/portal/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=10491:statistics-victims-of-the-israeli-offensive-on-gaza-since-08-july-2014&catid=145:in-focus)

that have happened in a much more horrific way. There is a great deal of evil in the world and millions have perished within the last few decades be it racial and social persecution, tribal conflicts from Africa to Asia, and even Europe has had massive scale suffering such as the conflict in the Balkans.<sup>138</sup> Yet, Israel is nearly always in the limelight.

One human rights violation that is currently happening in the Middle East is the takeover of the country of Iraq by the terror group known as the Islamic State (ISIS). ISIS is lead by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and with al-Baghdadi controlling the terror organization 5,500 civilian deaths in Iraq occurred since January of 2014.<sup>139</sup> The United Nations reported that Iraq's annual death toll is the highest it has been in five years (this time frame includes US occupation).<sup>140</sup> ISIS is not only known for the amount of deaths it has produced but the barbaric way in which it has been slaughtering Iraqi citizens. When ISIS captured the Iraqi city of Mosul on June 10<sup>th</sup> of 2014 it seized at least 200 civilians, killed at least 11 of them, and ordered all Christians to covert to Islam, pay tribute money, or be killed.<sup>141</sup> An Anglican vicar in

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<sup>138</sup> Walter Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Oxford UP 2006): 8

<sup>139</sup> Associated Press, "Iraqi Civilian death toll passes 5,500 in waske of Isis Offensive," *The Guardian* 18 July 2014  
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/18/iraqi-civilian-death-toll-5500-2014-isis>

<sup>140</sup> News Middle East, "Iraq's annual death toll highest in five years – UN," *The BBC* 1 January 2014 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-25568687>

<sup>141</sup> Staff, "Iraw: Isis Abducting, Killing, Expelling Minorities," *Human Rights Watch* 19 July 2014 <http://www.hrw.org/news/2014/07/19/iraq-isis-abducting-killing-expelling-minorities>

Baghdad witnessed a baby he had just baptized be cut in half by an Isis terrorist in the predominately Christian town of Qaraqosh.<sup>142</sup>

The actions that have been taken by ISIS are horrific. This terrorist organization has the mantra of “conform to our ways or be punished.” There is absolutely no way to condone what ISIS has done. There was no flashpoint for ISIS to begin its despicable reign of terror over Iraq and Syria. They are not defending themselves from any sort of attack as Israel claims to do with Gaza and Hamas. There is absolutely no justifiable reason why ISIS is behaving in which the way it is except that it is an Islamic terrorist organization bent on turning Iraq and Syria into an Islamic caliphate.<sup>143</sup>

With an overwhelming amount of deaths by ISIS and the ways in which their victims have died, the protests against ISIS have been scant at best. In London there was fairly small candlelight vigil outside of Downing Street hosted by Solidarity against ISIS, which is a campaign in association with the Pakistani Christian Association.<sup>144</sup> Some protests involving ISIS have even become anti-Semitic in nature. In Holland in The Hague there have been pro-ISIS rallies with severe anti-

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<sup>142</sup>Staff, “Anglican Vicar of Baghdad: ‘Child I baptized cut in half by ISIS’,” *Anglican News* 8 August 2014 <http://www.anglicannews.org/news/2014/08/anglican-vicar-of-baghdad-%E2%80%9Cchild-i-baptised-cut-in-half-by-isis%E2%80%9D.aspx>

<sup>143</sup> Mark Tran and Matthew Weaver, “Isis announces Islamic caliphate in area straddling Iraq and Syria,” *The Guardian* 30 June 2014 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/30/isis-announces-islamic-caliphate-iraq-syria>

<sup>144</sup> Cath Martin, “ISIS: UK Christians to pray and protest at Downing Street in Solidarity with Iraqi Christians,” *Christian Today* 12 August 2014 <http://www.christiantoday.com/article/isis.uk.christians.to.pray.and.protest.at.downing.street.in.solidarity.with.iraqi.christians/39566.htm>

Jewish overtones. Two rallies that have been supremely pro ISIS have advocated the murders of “dirty Jews from the sewers.”<sup>145</sup> Doctor Shimon Samuels of the Simon Wiesenthal Center was quoted in the Jewish newspaper *Algemeiner* that the rally had little to do with solidarity and that it was targeted against Jews.<sup>146</sup>

Those in Western Europe who choose to call nations out over human rights violations are leaving out major players who have caused more deaths than the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Israel offers asserts that the attacks on Gaza are necessary because Gaza attacks the nation of Israel and Israel must and will respond. However, ISIS has zero justification for the many killings it has caused since the beginning of 2014. Indeed, the Israeli Palestinian conflict is one that easily adds fuel to the fire of anti-Semitic rhetoric and feelings. Those who harbor anti-Semitic feelings are looking for any justification to let those feelings be known. This is why that, even though there are many more military campaigns, terrorist actions, and human rights violations in the world the Israeli-Palestinian conflict so often gets put in the forefront of public discourse.

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<sup>145</sup>Damien Sharkov, “Pro-ISIS Demonstrators Call for ‘Death to Jews’ in the Netherlands,” *Newsweek* 30 July 2014 <http://www.newsweek.com/pro-isis-demonstrators-call-death-jews-hague-262064>

<sup>146</sup>Joshua Levitt, “Wiesenthal Center Calls for Dutch PM to Intervene After Anti-Semitic ISIS Rally; Protestors Threaten to Kill ‘Dirty Jews from the Sewers’,” *Algemeiner* 27 July 2014 <http://www.algemeiner.com/2014/07/27/wiesenthal-center-calls-for-dutch-pm-to-intervene-after-calls-for-death-of-dirty-jews-from-the-sewers-at-isis-rally/>

## **Chapter 7: Conclusion**

### *7.1 Where Do We Go Next?*

In this research, the argument has been made that anti-Semitism has been left over from the end of World War II and has lain dormant in the Western European continent. This dormancy has slowly become awakened within the past few years with many factors affecting its resurgence. The primary reasons this research has found are that anti-Semitism has never fully been eradicated only slowed, that the loss of jobs and opportunities in Western Europe has created a climate of severe xenophobia and blame, the rise in far right-wing parties has been fostered, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is often a source of great fuel for anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli ideologies.

Western Europe must grapple with the reality that there is a slow return to ideologies and political parties of the past. The only good thing that can be surmised from this is that the disease of anti-Semitism, which has stricken the continent since the Eurozone Crisis, is a slow moving entity. There is time to stop it, and there is time to reverse its affects. However, action must be taken now so that anti-Semitism does not keep spreading.

One of the first things that must be done is either to make far right-wing populist parties unattractive to voters or to severely limit them or get rid of them entirely. As many far right wing parties began to sweep European parliamentary election in May of 2014 it came as a shock to the established political status-quo politicians. The voters reached out made a choice to elect pro-nationalist anti-



European union candidates instead of going with political parties that were well established within their respective countries.

The political status quo in the countries where these far right wing parties have begun to win elections is not enough to satisfy the voter or even entice them to bring their grievances to the established political machine. No longer must established parties within Europe view entities such as Golden Dawn, Front national, Jobbik, or UKIP as a fringe party with very little chance of succeeding.

Instead, their plan to deal with them must be two fold: First, established parties must take seriously the grievances that these parties have and in turn that means that the grievances that those who voted for these parties harbor. A real discourse must be taken between the far right and those who remain just right and left of center. No longer can these parties be viewed as fringe or ignored. Voters in Western European countries are sending these parties into parliaments, into city councils, and are having these party's officials speak for them on issues of national importance.

Secondly both center, right of center, and left of center parties must offer up an alternative to voters who feel alienated from the mainstream. For example, the United Kingdom Independence Party is very popular among blue-collar voters within the UK. The former tone regarding UKIP is that it was make up and party platform was primarily one of xenophobia and racism, but now the British are being

forced to allow UKIP to drive a national debate.<sup>147</sup> To have a racist, xenophobic, anti-Semitic party drive a national debate means that there has been a severe breakdown of communication between those who feel their political efficacy is near zero and those who are the ruling political class and party. The fringe of politics will not longer be fringe when more and more are added who feel the mainstream political machine is not hearing their voices.

To counter this, current established political parties within the whole of Western Europe must be willing to have a discussion on how their parties can change and bring voters who feel very little political efficacy into the fold. Keeping these parties at bay only strengthens them and makes the resolve of party leaders and supporters even stronger. Since there is such a discourse between these two entities there may need to be mediator between the two and the meetings could take place on neutral ground. Taking a page out of Israeli-Palestinian conflict history, a setting such as the Oslo Accords, Camp David, or the Madrid Conference should be contemplated by both parties. A neutral ground should be chosen and a neutral mediator should be named to bring both sides together to work out differences. Those included in the mediation process must include representatives from the current government, representatives from the far right wing populist parties, representatives from established political parties and citizen groups who

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<sup>147</sup> Griff Witte, "Anti-immigration party UKIP is shaking up the political order in Britain," *Washington Post* 14 May 2014  
[http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/anti-immigration-party-ukip-is-shaking-up-the-political-order-in-britain/2014/05/14/af138781-8ff4-4a9d-9216-48e0895c52db\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/anti-immigration-party-ukip-is-shaking-up-the-political-order-in-britain/2014/05/14/af138781-8ff4-4a9d-9216-48e0895c52db_story.html)

are affected by the disconnect from the current government and have reached out to the far rightwing parties.

Far right-wing parties and populism is a breeding ground for anti-Semitic behavior, xenophobia, anti-European Union sentiments, and general discord with the current political atmosphere. To voice discontent the population of Western Europe must have different avenues than voting anti-Semitic anti-Immigration xenophobic parties into office. As has been stated before several times in this research, anti-Semitism thrives where intolerance and hate abound. There must be better avenues for airing grievances than choosing to elect fringe parties that are fueled by xenophobia and anti-Semitism.

To go forward there must also be ample opportunities for the citizens of Western Europe so they do not fall back onto the lurid promises and rhetoric of the current far right wing parties that are beginning to culminate. Luckily, there are strong hopes that growth in Western Europe is on the rise. In France where unemployment rates have been around ten percent and unemployment rates for those under twenty-five were twenty-four percent in 2012<sup>148</sup> there is a current glimmer of hope. The European Union Economic forecast for France projects momentum in both 2014 and 2015 driven by domestic demand. After two years of economic standstill business and consumer surveys have started to suggest that France's economy will start to undergo an expansion driven mainly by private

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<sup>148</sup> United States Dept of Labor, "Country at a Glance-France," *International Labor Comparisons* <http://www.bls.gov/fls/country/france.htm>

domestic consumption.<sup>149</sup> Hungary too is set to experience economic growth with in 2014 after already having experienced 1.1% growth in 2013. Unemployment is projected to decline slightly and the deficit is set to remain stable at roughly 2.2 percent.<sup>150</sup>

Even in Greece, the nation that was the first victim of the Eurozone Crisis has positive forecasted economic news. The data thus far supports the expectation that the country will return to growth in 2014 and that structural reforms taken in labor sectors and product markets have helped strengthen competitiveness that will strengthen exports and investment. The improvement of Greece's deficit is also projected to continue improving.<sup>151</sup> In all, the whole of the Eurozone and the Western European economic situation is set to improve in 2014. Leading indicators are GDP growth within the EU and conditions for medium term growth are also improving. Growth will remain moderate even though uncertainty is still noticeable.<sup>152</sup>

Economic growth is imperative to rid Western Europe and the Eurozone of anti-Semitism. Economic growth spurs job growth and job growth negates the platform on which the populist far right parties are gaining traction. With

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<sup>149</sup>European Commission, "France-Recovery Slowly Takes Shape," Spring 2014  
[http://ec.europa.eu/economy\\_finance/eu/forecasts/2014\\_spring/fr\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/eu/forecasts/2014_spring/fr_en.pdf)

<sup>150</sup> European Commission, "Hungary-Ongoing Recovery Amid Uncertainties," Spring 2014  
[http://ec.europa.eu/economy\\_finance/eu/forecasts/2014\\_spring/hu\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/eu/forecasts/2014_spring/hu_en.pdf)

<sup>151</sup> European Commission, "Greece-Recovery Signs Strengthening," Spring 2014  
[http://ec.europa.eu/economy\\_finance/eu/forecasts/2014\\_spring/el\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/eu/forecasts/2014_spring/el_en.pdf)

<sup>152</sup>European Commission, "Spring 2014 Forecast-Growth Becoming Broader Based," Spring 2014  
[http://ec.europa.eu/economy\\_finance/eu/forecasts/2014\\_spring\\_forecast\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/eu/forecasts/2014_spring_forecast_en.htm)

opportunity comes less and less of a reason to find someone to blame, and also less of a reason to find a savior from the situation currently happening. Recovery will ultimately lead to more financial opportunities, more employment, and less of a reason for hatred and for blame. With employment and with opportunity come the chance to better yourself and your situation. Without employment and without opportunity comes stagnation and the search for finding other alternatives for betterment. These far right wing parties are filling the void that opportunity and employment should easily fill. The good news is that economic growth is currently happening in Western Europe, the uncertainty is whether it is happening fast enough.

More than temporary fixes, however, are needed in order to secure the permanent safety of the Jewish people within Western Europe. A permanent fix to the issue of anti-Semitism is the inclusion of the Jewish people within the socioeconomic and political fold of the countries to which they are citizens. Jews have for too long been viewed as outsiders, as members of the society who pledge allegiance first to Zionism or Israel, and not to the nation to which they were born. This distrust translates into anti-Semitism. Jews must not be suspect any longer to being outsiders. Jews must not be where blame is first put by societies looking for answers.

Jews must be accepted into the societal norm, and the above outlined steps in which to move forward is a start. There are other actors that must also play a supporting role and these include the various churches and faiths in Western

Europe, the media, and the educational institutions. Churches and religion in Western Europe must call for their congregations to cease any and all anti-Semitic behavior. As Laqueur argues, European anti-Semitism is birthed out of theological differences. Acceptance into society, above all else, is paramount to defeating anti-Semitism.

Education must also play a role in defeating anti-Semitism. With the ability of the European Union to lay down laws that make Holocaust denial illegal, it should also create a core curriculum course to be taught that hate in any matter is unacceptable. Students going through primary and secondary education should be exposed to what the world was because of hate and anti-Semitism and how the world now is combating it. Ignorance of the past and delusions about the future keep anti-Semitism alive and well.

The media must also take a preventative role in curbing anti-Semitic rhetoric. Freedom of the press is an important democratic ideal, but freedom from oppression is also paramount. When the media gives camera time or column space to protests with anti-Semitic overtones or to parties with anti-Semitic ideologies they are in turn giving legitimacy. There is a stark difference in covering news and in giving anti-Semitic parties a guaranteed platform to spread their ideology. The media is tasked with a tough role of straddling the line between being a mouthpiece for these organizations and also delivering news and information about them. It is paramount that far right-wing parties are not allowed to spread their messages of hate through media sources.

As shown through the Anti-Defamation League's Global Index of Anti-Semitism, peoples hold hatred toward Jews across all nations, all races, all genders, all economic classes, and all religions. All members of society must come forward in dealing with the far-right who have dramatically increased anti-Semitic attitudes in Western Europe. Economic growth is also important to stop anti-Semitism. With growth there will be less looking around for who to blame, and more inclusion into society.

Dormancy of anti-Semitism must not become cyclical. When the symptoms that Western Europe is experiencing now go away anti-Semitism should not go back into dormancy. Something that is dormant is not dead, and something that is not dead still has the ability to cause havoc and terror if it was in the beginning a thing to be feared. After the end of the Second World War there was a new beginning for Europe, and its darkest days were behind it. Now, the horizon is darkening again for Europe's Jewish population. Without a swift course change, the atrocities of the past begin to become possibilities yet again.

It is wholly possible for the Jewish population of Western Europe to live in harmony within the countries that they reside. Anti-Semitism can be kept at bay and defeated if Jews are accepted first as a member of the society within which they live and secondly by their creed, race, and religion. Members of other groups also ask for the same and members of the dominant sociopolitical and economic group not only accept but demand it. The atrocities of the past are just that: the past. To keep those atrocities from happening again not only Western European society but the global

community must embrace inclusivity of the Jewish people and reject any social or political ideologies that show Jews in a negative light.



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