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At the end of January, the political crisis caused by a standoff of the government, basing its power on violence and a mechanism suited to repressions, against the active part of Ukrainian society, spilling out onto the streets, has reached its peak. After the peaceful protests were brutally dispersed on November 30, 2013, the confrontation turned violent. In the many fights with riot police that took place on December 1, 2013, on Bankovaya street, and January 19-23 on Grushevskogo street, thousands of protesters had been wounded and five were killed.

Against the backdrop of global events in which hundreds of thousands people are involved, the problems of anti-Semitism and the safety of the Jewish community naturally become relevant. Besides natural and quite justified concerns, the "Jewish topic" that interests us has not been lost in a sea of topics more important to the country and society. "Jews and Euromaidan" is a topic that doesn't leave the pages of many media, not just Jewish ones. It is very noticeable due to reasons I shall examine somewhat later; first, it seems to me to be necessary to contextualize it properly.

Hundreds of thousands of people have gone out onto the streets of Ukrainian cities. Hundreds of them, perhaps even thousands, are national radicals, but they do not make up even 1% of the protesters and do not define the profile of the protest movement. The protest has spread all over the country: from its western regions to Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhya, and Odesa. Nonetheless, the government is trying to play a familiar tune and to force the confrontation into the old "national extremists against stability" mold, which obviously has nothing to do with reality. By May 2013, the government had a simplistic political paradigm on how their standoff with the opposition was to be covered by the media. The opposition were to be shown as Fascists, "Bandera followers," ruffians, and coupists. To mobilize their supporters, the government uses Soviet and post-Soviet, Russian symbols connected to the "victory against Fascism." They're not very convincing, but there is a segment of society for whom it works. This is the origin of the "St. George ribbons" tied on the forearms of the half-criminal, half-athlete volunteer helpers of "Berkut," who are armed with police batons and non-lethal guns. And since their enemies are Fascists and "Benderas," then they have to be anti-Semites, too. Besides, if you can present the opposition's anti-Semitism to the global community convincingly enough, maybe they'll be less harsh in criticizing the Ukrainian government for using force – after all, what else can you do to Fascists?

The problem is, neither the formal political opposition nor the broad protest movement don't give any real grounds for accusing them on anti-Semitism. On the contrary: the Maidan stage equally hosts a praying rabbi, the Chairman of the Association of Jewish Communities and Organizations of Ukraine (VAAD Ukraine) Josef Zisels with a speech, and a klezmer band singing in Yiddish. All of this not only doesn't incite any kind of negative reaction but is supported and welcomed by everyone, including the nationalists. The protesters use their free time to listen about Ukraine's Jewish cultural and historic heritage: these lectures are rather popular and the audience is very interested. Finally, there have already been several events in Tel-Aviv before the Embassy of Ukraine where the residents of Israel showed their support for the Ukrainian people, protested against police terror, and showed their grief for those who were killed. These rallies have garnered a wide resonance in Ukraine and the reaction from the civil protesters was overwhelmingly positive.

Among the tens of thousands of speeches made on the Euromaidan 'yids' were mentions in a negative context only once, in its earlier days (or, better said, nights) at an 'open mic' event during the performance of an amateur poet, Diana Kamliuk. One could also mention the carnivalesque character played by the Svoboda MP and well-known cultural activists Bohdan Beniuk in the specific context of the Christmas 'vertep', or nativity play on the stage of the Maidan, during which the folk image gained a new incarnation: the 'Jew', who in the end appears as a positive figure, joins the nation in resistance against the tyranny of Herod. Of course one could endlessly cite Kamliuk's performance to discredit the Maidan, and for some people that will be enough, but for anyone who is capable of even a modicum of critical thinking this is unconvincing.

Besides, after the next escalation of the conflict, which began on Grushevskaya street on January 19, and especially after January 22, when it became certain that some of the protesters were killed and that there were thousands of wounded, it became rather ludicrous to bring up what was said at the stage somewhere in

November and December. Diana Kamliuk's poetry would have been a rather flimsy excuse to explain murders, kidnappings, and torture of Euromaidan activists.

Still, it became obvious that the situation would heat up even more several days before the Grushevsky confrontations. On January 16, the Parliament of Ukraine approved a set of repressive laws, not denying that their sole purpose was to make the protests illegal. The emphasis, on a legal level, had been that these are "anti-Fascist" laws, aimed to make the punishment for hate crime and neo-Fascism more severe. The fact that those who created the laws did it for propaganda and not for any legal purpose is doubtless, as January 16 was the due date for the next phase of a systematic and massive West-oriented media campaign to discredit the protest movement by making it look Fascist. The first stage of the campaign took place in the late spring and early summer of 2013. It so happens that I can speak with full certainty about a purposeful political campaign and can even name the precise date for its start. This is because the campaign's intermediaries, who were not very well aware of my political sympathies, nonetheless knew me as an authority on the radical right and xenophobia, and so offered me a job. Accusations of anti-Semitism were to play a special role in this campaign, as the West was supposed to have been massively exposed to them. What would the point of that have been, if the government's opponents did not do anything anti-Semitic over almost two months of protests, despite the panicked statements that started appearing almost at the same time as the Maidan itself did, coming from Jewish community representatives who were either hysterical or consciously helping the government?

If the subject of discussion wasn't quite so serious, we could have remembered the famous quote from a Soviet comedy: "Have you had any accidents at your construction site yet? No? That means you'll get some."

The first incident took place on the evening of January 11, right after the end of the Sabbath (that is, after the sun set on Saturday). After the Saturday evening prayer, outdoor surveillance cameras caught sight of two pairs of young men who were waiting for something on opposite sides of the synagogue. Unfortunately, it is impossible to see their faces, which were covered by scarves or flu masks, and additionally concealed by lowered hoods. Excluding this peculiarity, nothing in their clothing gave away any ideological predilection or affiliation with any organization. It was just normal clothing popular among youth: half-sports, half casual, suitable for the weather.

Hillel Wertheimer, a 26-year-old Israeli teacher of Hebrew and Jewish Tradition, left the synagogue at approximately 6 PM. The teacher was easily distinguishable as an Orthodox Jew. The youths merged into one group and followed Wertheimer at a distance until his home on Yurkovskaya street. Wertheimer entered the lobby of his apartment building at about 6:10; the youths ran in after him and attacked. A neighbor of the teacher's heard screams and went to check what happened. Her presence scared off the attackers, who broke off and ran. Luckily, they didn't have time to inflict any serious wounds. The victim then called the police. Criminal proceedings were opened, and preliminary assessment qualified the case according to Article 125, Part 1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ("intentional infliction of light bodily injury").

The attack did not garner a wide resonance. There were isolated reports in foreign Jewish media, but the Ukrainian news made no note of the incident.

Less than a week later, a more serious incident took place.

On Friday, January 17, at about 11:15 PM, after the traditional welcoming of the Sabbath (which takes place on Friday night according to Jewish tradition) was long over and most of the worshippers had already left the synagogue, a 33-year-old Yeshiva student from Russia, Dov-Ber Glickman finally decided to leave himself. He turned left from the building and walked down Schekavitskaya street towards Voloshskaya street. But some 50 meters before the crossroads, he saw that three suspicious young men were standing on the street corner. They were wearing combat boots and their faces were concealed by hoods. Naturally, everyone in the community knew about the week-old incident with the teacher and were alert. Dov-Ber Glickman decided to avoid them and tried to escape through a nearby courtyard. He walked onto Voloshskaya street somewhat further than its crossroads with Schekavitskaya street. But the criminals who were waiting for a victim saw his maneuver and walked after him quickly. Upon hearing that his pursuers broke into a run, the student turned onto Vvedenskaya street, but they caught up with him several meters later. One of the pursuers walked out into the traffic area of the Voloshskaya-Vvedenskaya crossroads and watched the situation, and two more silently attacked the victim. They hit him both with their fists and with their legs, and their combat boots seem to have been outfitted with blades that left deep gashes. The attack took place near an apartment building, and the victim had been able to keep his footing and remain standing. Local residents awoken by the student's screams tumbled out onto their balconies, somebody shouted from their window.

Then the attackers broke off, ran towards their accomplice who had been keeping watch, and all three of them got into a car standing at the crossroads with its headlights on.

Dov-Ber Glickman realized that he was wounded and made it back to the synagogue, where he asked the guard to call an ambulance. Ample traces of blood remained in the synagogue mikveh room (a bathing facility used for ritual purification). First aid was given to Glickman by the ambulance medical workers, who had arrived promptly. Glickman had then been taken to a hospital, where the doctors closed three punctured and incised wounds.

It is important to note that neither the Schekavitskaya-Voloshskaya crossroads nor the Voloshskaya-Vvedenskaya crossroads have no outdoor surveillance. The criminals were obviously intentionally waiting at a distance from the synagogue with its cameras. It is possible that they have taken into account the mistakes they had made during the first attack.

So far there is no information on criminal proceedings being opened. On Saturday, January 18, two men in police uniforms visited the victim at the hospital and took a statement from him. However, due to Jewish religious prohibitions, the Yeshiva student had been unable to sign the protocol written according to his statement.

One more episode that looks rather sinister in light of other events has also so far gone unmentioned by the media. After the attack at night, the Yeshiva students organized something like a patrol on Saturday. The improvised patrol walked the streets surrounding the synagogue, accompanying worshippers to and from prayer meetings. After the day's prayer they noticed a suspicious young man who had, according to one of the worshippers, been following him. The young man looked about 19 and, according to the students, looked like a skinhead: he had a short haircut, high combat boots, and a short jacket. The three activists from the improvised patrol detained the young man. He did not resist and, according to the students, was very sure of himself, even impudent. The youth had a notebook in which he had been sketching a detailed plan of the blocks near the synagogues with some kind of arrows. The activists believe the young man to be a "scout" (youth group slang), who had been writing down how the worshippers returned home from the synagogue.

The improvised patrol handed the detained youth over to the police. The young man continued his impudent behavior even with them around. After an identity check, the young man was released from police custody. The community is complaining that the police aren't too zealous in their investigation. Right after these incidents, the Euromaidan officially proposed to guard the synagogues of Kyiv. The protesters understood extremely well that they've been posed to take the blame by the state propaganda mechanism. Naturally, they were right.

Neo-Nazi gangs actually tracking down Jews and attacking them with edged weapons are no crazy poet but a real threat to the Jewish community, important enough to make the news even against the backdrop of street fighting.

Let's take a look at the timeline again. The first attack takes place before the laws were approved and does not garner a wide resonance (that our hypothetical instigators might have been counting on – but the community decides to keep quiet). On January 16, the "anti-Fascist" repressive laws are put into place and the campaign of information and propaganda begins. A short time earlier, a court had prohibited all mass rallies in the Center of Kyiv up until March 8. The Euromaidan had, accordingly, been getting ready for a forced dispersal – so it was a time when even the most radical of the protesters had more important things to do than attack Jews. But it is at this very time that yet another attack happens – a far more cruel one, which is covered widely by the media.

I am an academic. In contrast to political technologists and provocateurs, I'm not accustomed to throwing accusations around, and without enough confirmed facts I cannot say for sure who is behind the anti-Semitic attacks of the last two weeks in Kyiv. However, there is a certain coincidence of related information – beginning with the complete synchronization of the attacks, the adoption of the repressive new laws and the start of a new stage of the propaganda campaign, and ending with the fact that there is now a good deal of proof that the authorities have recruited neo-Nazi activists (from the Kharkiv and Donetsk regions) to carry out physical attacks on activists of the protest movement. Analyzing this information, I am inclined towards the explanation that these attacks were provocations organized by the authorities. Almost immediately many media started to univocally equate the attacks with the campaign of civil protests. This equivocation had absolutely no basis in facts – as if the protesters, each one a Fascist and anti-Semite, would have waited two months until the corresponding laws were adopted to start attacking Jews, especially when the Maidan had been preparing for an assault that could have come at any time! - but it had been nonetheless rather opinionated. Unfortunately, some Jewish organizations joined this media campaign – both

existing ones and ones made up by political technologists explicitly for this purpose. Since the canards had been explicitly financed, their voice is well-heard in Israel, the USA, and Europe.

I'd like to examine one case in detail, as analyzing it shows how the propaganda campaign works and how easily the media fall for absolutely absurd canards – in part due to false yet deeply rooted stereotypes, in part because the information planted in disinformation campaigns isn't critically analyzed and checked. As soon as the media published news about the attacks in Kyiv, panicked calls to “mobilize” appeared on the Internet, written by a “Jewish Fighting Units” organization that appeared out of nowhere. The texts of the “fighters” read like the writings of madmen: “Our units need medicine, food, other essential items! We need to build shelters in case the situation destabilizes beyond repair.” Then there was more: the “fighting unit” appealed to an absolutely unknown incident of “a whole family of Jews being murdered due to ethnic hatred” and produced a panicked call to Israel to evacuate the Jewish community of Kyiv. This call was cited by almost all Jewish media, including media in Israel, and not only – for example, “Komsomolskaya Pravda” sent a special reporter to Kyiv to find out whether it was true that Ukrainian Jews were afraid to go out of their houses in fear of “Bandera followers.” What a find that would have been for Russian propaganda!

I seem to have been the first one to decide to check who these “Jewish Fighting Units” were and where they had come from. It was fairly easy to find out that the man calling himself “Meir Landau” and who spread the panicked calls for help in the face of the “Bandera pogrom threat to Ukrainian Jewry” on behalf of the “Jewish Fighting Units” turned out to be an activist of a pro-Russian group of Cossaks, Nikolai Tselytsky, born in 1976 and currently living in a small town called Malynivka (Chuguev district, Kharkiv oblast').

It is difficult to say whether he actually has any relation to the Jews. According to Tselytsky's own statement, Landau is his great-grandmother's surname, but whether this is true or not it is currently impossible to check.

The most interesting thing about this imaginative man with an interesting fate is that most of his creative life had been somehow connected with pro-Russian Cossacks. According to his own words, he had been a member of the Pridnestrov'ye Cossack Guard in 1992-1993 (which is, naturally, hard to believe considering his age). From 1993 (that is, since he was 17) until 2003, our hero worked at the Department of Planning, Analytics, and Summary Book-Keeping of the Cossack Union of Russia, was part of the Kharkiv Fraternity of Russian Cossacks (from 2003 to 2012). Since 2009 he has been the proud Director General of the General A. P. Kutepov International Charity Foundation (Kharkiv). Besides all this, Tselytsky has also talked about himself many times and has called himself a variety of other thing. Among other interesting ideas, he says that he is a reserve officer, a Senior Lieutenant, who formerly worked in the police and “fought against extremism in Ukraine.”

But Tselytsky is known to many people of Kharkiv oblast', Chuguyev city, as “Kolya Ganja” (that is, Kolya “Marijuana,” though it seems to be his real name). It is also said that he had not only been a Cossack, but an activist of Ukrainian patriotic and nationalistic organizations, from “Prosvita” to far more radical nationalistic political groups. Only a few years ago, Nikolai Ganja in his guise as “Colonel of the Cossack Military” had called himself “Chief of the General Staff of the Russian United National Alliance (RONA).” This nice little organization called itself (in a document signed by Ganja) “the only heir to the Russian National-Socialist Party and the Russian Liberation People's Army, the Armed Forces of the Liberation Committee of Russia's Peoples.” A surprised reader might ask which army was that, so we quote on: “The RONA begins its history from the Tambov peasant uprising of 1920-1921, headed by officers of the Volunteer Army Konstantin Voskoboynik and Antonov. The uprising lost, but the Russian National-Socialist party had nonetheless been founded, and it was the base for the Russian Liberation Movement of 1941-1945. In June 1941, SS Gruppen-Führer Bronislav Kaminski and RNSP Chairman Konstantin Voskoboynik founded the first volunteer groups for fighting the Bolsheviks for the future New, Free Russia. They helped found the Lokot republic as the first Russian state since the Russian army left Crimea. That had been the rebirth of the Russian Army under the name of the Russian Liberation People's Army (RONA), which had been included together with the Russian Liberation Army, which appeared in 1943, and the Cossack divisions of Wehrmacht and SS to the Armed Forces of the Committee for the Liberation of Russia's Peoples.” The renewed RONA was founded by the General A. P. Kutepov International Charity Foundation, of heading which Ganja/Tselitskiy/Landau is proud in all of his guises, and the Martyr metropolitan Vladimir of Kyiv and Gallich Brotherhood, whose Kharkiv regional branch is also headed by our hero. So under his real name Nikolai Ganja invents organizations that are proud heirs of the Wehrmacht and Schutzstaffeln. And under his pen name, Meir Landau, he invented an organization that is an alleged heir to

the Polish Jewish Fighting Organization, calls Bandera followers "collaborators," and sings praises to the "Berkut" and their acts of heroism.

This all would have been very funny, if this man's statements were not reprinted with complete seriousness as characteristic of the situation with anti-Semitism in Ukraine, weren't cited and commented on by global media.

The problem, however, lies in the fact that the informational campaign to discredit the protest movement and its "anti-Fascist" slogans does not limit itself to the ravings of madmen and provocateurs.

On February 3, a panel titled "The Democratic Process and the Threat of Radicalism in Ukraine" was held in Kyiv, in the building of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. Among the participants of this event were leading anti-Fascists of post-Soviet countries, including the Kremlin political technologists responsible for the "World Without Nazism" project, Valeriy Engel and Boris Shpigel, as well as leaders of European Jewish organizations. It is quite obvious which of these participants embodied "the threat of radicalism" and who is implementing (with police batons and rubber bullets) "democratic processes," especially since Engel had spoken in the Russian Duma a mere day earlier with his initiative of making "the rehabilitation of Fascism" a criminal offense not just in Russia but beyond its borders as well. To lend the event more weight, two former presidents, Leonid Kravchuk and Victor Yushenko, were invited. The still-acting president of Ukraine Victor Yanukovich also met with the panel participants, becoming a live testament to the level at which the "anti-Fascist" campaign is developed and implemented. Naturally, he said a resounding "No!" to "extremism, radicalism, and inciting hatred in society." The organizers of the event were praised highly, if somewhat crudely, by the man who is formally supposed to guarantee that the Constitution of Ukraine is not broken. He said: "I thank you all for uniting into this organization and doing great work, which I think unites people into a community of healthy people without Nazism, racism, and xenophobia." And which is so effectively helping the Bankovaya propaganda campaign we see unfurling before our very eyes.

Kyiv's Euromaidan is a liberationist and not extremist mass action of civic disobedience

Collective statement by experts on Ukrainian nationalism on the role of far right groups in Ukraine's protest movement, and a warning about the Russian imperialism-serving effects of some supposedly anti-fascist media reports from Kyiv

We are a group of researchers who comprise specialists in the field of Ukrainian nationalism studies, and most of the world's few experts on the post-Soviet Ukrainian radical right. Some of us publish regularly in peer-reviewed journals and with academic presses. Others do their research within governmental and non-governmental organizations specializing on the monitoring of xenophobia in Ukraine.

As a result of our professional specialization and research experience, we are aware of the problems, dangers and potential of the involvement of certain right-wing extremist groupings in the Ukrainian protests. Following years of intensive study of this topic, we understand better than many other commentators the risks that its far right participation entails for the EuroMaidan. Some of our critical comments on nationalist tendencies have triggered angry responses from ethnocentrists in Ukraine and the Ukrainian diaspora living in the West.

While we are critical of far right activities on the EuroMaidan, we are, nevertheless, disturbed by a dangerous tendency in too many international media reports dealing with the recent events in Ukraine. An increasing number of lay assessments of the Ukrainian protest movement, to one degree or another, misrepresents the role, salience and impact of Ukraine's far right within the protest movement. Numerous reports allege that the pro-European movement is being infiltrated, driven or taken over by radically ethnocentrist groups of the lunatic fringe. Some presentations create the misleading impression that ultra-nationalist actors and ideas are at the core or helm of the Ukrainian protests. Graphic pictures, juicy quotes, sweeping comparisons and dark historical references are in high demand. They are combined with a disproportionate consideration of one particularly visible, yet politically minor segment within the confusing mosaic that is formed by the hundreds of thousands of protesters with their different motivations, backgrounds and aims.

Both the violent and non-violent resistance in Kyiv includes representatives from all political camps as well as non-ideological persons who may have problems locating themselves politically. Not only the peaceful protesters, but also those using sticks, stones and even Molotov Cocktails, in their physical confrontation with police special units and government-directed thugs, constitute a broad movement that is not centralized. Most protesters only turned violent in response to increasing police ferocity and the radicalization of Yanukovych's regime. The demonstrators include liberals and conservatives, socialists and libertarians, nationalists and cosmopolitans, Christians, non-Christians and atheists.

True, the violent and non-violent protesters also comprise a variety of radicals of both the far right and far left. Yet, the movement as a whole merely reflects the entire Ukrainian population, young and old. The heavy focus on right-wing radicals in international media reports is, therefore, unwarranted and misleading. Such an over-representation may have more to do with the sensationalist potential of extremely ethnonationalistic slogans, symbols or uniforms than with the actual situation, on the ground.

We even suspect that, in some semi-journalistic reports, especially those in Kremlin-influenced mass media, the inordinate attention to far right elements in Ukraine's protest movement has nothing to do with anti-fascism. Paradoxically, the production, biases and dissemination of such reports may themselves be driven by an imperial form of ultra-nationalism – in this case, its Russian permutation. By fundamentally discrediting one of the most impressive mass actions of civil disobedience in the history of Europe, such reports help to provide a pretext for Moscow's political involvement, or, perhaps, even for a Russian military intervention into Ukraine, like in Georgia in 2008. (In a revealing blog, Anton Shekhovtsov has recently detailed the activities of some obviously pro-Kremlin institutions, connections and authors. See "Pro-Russian network behind the anti-Ukrainian defamation campaign" at <http://anton-shekhovtsov.blogspot.com/2014/02/pro-russian-network-behind-anti.html>. Probably, there are more of them.)

In light of these threats, we call upon commentators, especially those on the political left, to be careful when voicing justified criticism of radical Ukrainian ethnonationalism. The more alarmist statements on the EuroMaidan are likely to be used by the Kremlin's "political technologists" for the implementation of Putin's geopolitical projects. By providing rhetorical ammunition for Moscow's battle against Ukrainian

independence, such alarmism unintentionally helps a political force which is a far more serious threat to social justice, minority rights and political equality than all Ukrainian ethnocentrists taken together.

We also call upon Western commentators to show empathy with a nation-state that is very young, unconsolidated and under a serious foreign threat. The fragile situation in which Ukraine's nation still finds itself and the enormous complications of everyday life in such a transitional society give birth to a whole variety of odd, destructive and contradictory opinions, behaviors and discourses. Support for fundamentalism, ethnocentrism and ultra-nationalism may sometimes have more to do with the permanent confusion and daily anxieties of the people living under such conditions than with their deeper beliefs.

Finally, we call upon all those who have either no particular interest for, or no deeper knowledge of, Ukraine to not comment on this region's complicated national questions without engaging in some in-depth research. Being specialists in this field, some of us struggle every day to adequately interpret the growing political radicalization and para-militarization of the Ukrainian protest movement. In face of what can only be called state-terror against Ukraine's population, an increasing number of both ordinary Ukrainians and high-brow Kyiv intellectuals are concluding that, although surely preferable, non-violent resistance is impractical. Reporters who have the necessary time, energy and resources should visit Ukraine, or/and do some serious reading on the issues their articles address. Those who are unable to do so may want to turn their attention to other, more familiar, uncomplicated and less ambivalent topics. This should help to avoid, in the future, the unfortunately numerous clichés, factual errors, and misinformed opinion that often accompany discussions of events in Ukraine.

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On the situation with anti-Semitism in the context of civic protest

A statement from human rights organizations regarding reports in the media and claims of a surge in anti-Semitism in Ukraine

Over recent weeks, publications have been appearing in the Ukrainian and foreign media which claim categorically that the level of anti-Semitism in Kyiv and in Ukraine as a whole is catastrophic. Such conclusions are frequently based on statements or remarks by public figures claiming to represent various Jewish organizations. Virtually all such statements claim that there is a link between a supposedly recorded "increase in anti-Semitism" and the civic protests known as EuroMaidan now into their third month. Various publications have seriously asked whether pogroms should be expected, and various appeals and statements demanding reaction have been sent to the diplomatic structures of various countries.

Such statements and remarks in the press in our opinion mislead their audience especially when the latter does not have good access to reliable information about what is happening in Ukraine and creates an unwarranted atmosphere of panic within the Jewish community.

In view of the fact that the situation in Ukraine is currently attracting world attention and is indeed arousing public concern, though not in any way because of a supposed surge in anti-Semitism, but because of the wide-scale violation of human rights by the authorities and law enforcement bodies, we feel it necessary to clarify the situation.

1. According to systematic monitoring of xenophobia over many years carried out by our organizations, there is a consistently low level of anti-Semitic incidents (especially in comparison with other European countries). Over the last 2 months there has not been a surge in manifestations of anti-Semitism in connection with the civic protest movement.

2. The only exceptional incidents were two attacks on religious Jews on Jan 11 and Jan 17 in Kyiv near the Rosenberg Synagogue. Statements from several public figures apparently speaking on behalf of Jewish organizations have directly linked the attacks with the civic protest movement, and have accused its participants of anti-Semitic violence. We feel it necessary to state that there are absolutely no grounds for such assertions. In view of the passive behavior and sloppy style of investigative activities in the criminal investigations initiated over the attacks, nothing is presently known about the possible culprits. Several representatives of the Jewish community are inclined to believe that the attacks on Jan 11 and 17 were organized as provocation to discredit the political opposition and protesters.

3. We must state that supporters of the current regime are running a systematic propaganda campaign aimed at discrediting the political opposition and participants of the civic protests by spreading false information about mass disturbances, a wave of extremism, and in particular "a surge of anti-Semitism in Ukraine" supposedly caused by EuroMaidan. This campaign is an important part of the propaganda backup for the crushing by force of the protest movement. Under the pretext of needing to fight intolerance and fascism on Jan 16 the ruling party, with flagrant violations of procedure, adopted a package of repressive laws which deprived Ukrainians of their civil liberties and right to peaceful protest.

4. The only real grounds for such assertions is the fact that certain marginalized and small radical nationalist groups are taking part in the protest movement. This in our view is in no way enough to justify the wholesale accusations of anti-Semitism of EuroMaidan protesters. In fact over recent months there have been more cases of anti-Semitic rhetoric from representatives of the current regime. Furthermore, and this is much more important, we can confidently state that given the situation at present in Ukraine the law enforcement bodies and representatives of criminal structures enlisted by the heads of government bodies in many regions to use force in countering peaceful protest pose an exponentially greater and more real threat not only to human rights and civil liberties, but also to the life and health of Ukrainians regardless of their ethnic background or religious beliefs than the members of small radical nationalist groups.

5. It often transpires that the people circulating the most panic-mongering statements do not have any relations whatsoever to the Jewish community, speak on behalf of non-existent organizations using false names and spread overt lies. Unfortunately these statements coincide with the main thrust of the regime's propaganda drive and are readily reported by the media.

We call on Ukrainian citizens and foreign observers to remain calm and critically assess the panic-mongering statements in the media regarding anti-Semitism in the country.

Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union

Kharkiv Human Rights Group

The Congress of National Communities of Ukraine

No Borders! Project of the Social Action Centre

Anti-Semitism in Moldova (2009 – 2013)

Due to the difficult Moldovan political and social situation in recent years compared to the situation in the mid-2000s, incidents of anti-Semitism, particularly vandalism, have become more frequent. Moldova also seems to display tendencies to justify or even glorify the actions of Romanian radical right or Fascist figures from the 1930-1940, such as Ion Antonescu or Corneliu Zelea Codreanu.

On the night of March 1, 2009, unknown persons broke into the Bendery synagogue and trashed it. The night before, someone wrote the number 14 in silver paint on the gate of the Jewish cemetery, signifying the so-called “14 words of David Lane,” a neo-Nazi slogan in code.

On August 8, 2009, unidentified culprits wrote anti-Semitic slogans in the Dacia microdistrict of Beltsy city.

On September 12, 2009, a Holocaust memorial was desecrated in the city of Bendery.

On September 18, 2009, several buildings of the Moldovan capital's Chekany district were covered in posters dedicated to the 110 anniversary of the leader of the Iron Guard, a Romanian Fascist organization active in 1920s-1930s, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu.

At the end of June 2009, the leader of the Jewish community of the cultural-religious center Agudath Israel der Moldova, Rabbi Yisrael Lifshitz, was beaten at the Panasheshty village of Strashensky Region. Even though the media described the incident as anti-Semitic, the Jewish community itself believes it to be just common crime. The locals, having attacked under the influence of alcohol, did not even identify their victim as a Jew. Since the hooligans seemed to come to their senses and honestly regret their actions, their victim forgave them and withdrew his statement.

On December 13, 2009, in the very center of Chisinau, a group of Russian Orthodox fundamentalists centered around the Orthodox Society of the Blessed Moscow Matron, who are oriented towards the most reactionary, marginal group of Russian Orthodox “dissidents” (especially in the person of defrocked former Russian Orthodox bishop Diomid), turned over and disassembled a Chanukiyah erected in honor of the holiday as well as organized an anti-Semitic rally accompanied by insulting shouts and anti-Semitic slogans. The incident received wide coverage and resonance in society.

The man who organized the disassembly of the menorah, archpriest A. Chibrik was fined 600 lei (about 50 USD) for hooliganism, but Chibrik was able to successfully dispute the fine in court.

On February 10, 2010, unknown persons wrote anti-Semitic slogans in the center of Chisinau, on Pushkina street, next to a Holocaust memorial. A grate, one of the symbols of the Iron Guard, was drawn near the memorial, as well as a swastika and a slogan “Stop fooling people with the holocaust. Get out of our country!”

On February 21, an act of vandalism took place at a Jewish cemetery: gravestones were desecrated and destroyed, and a Fascist swastika was drawn on the fence of the cemetery.

In March 2010, anti-Semitic articles were published on the official website of the Orthodox Society of the Blessed Moscow Matron (the site was later radically reworked to remove all corresponding material). At that same time, in March 2010, a group of aggressive youth gathered before the Embassy of Israel and shouted slogans directed against the Jewish Dor le Dor Charity Fund.

In the summer of 2010, as a continuation of Acting President's Mihai Gimpu's decree for naming June 28 Soviet Occupation Day, the Mayor of Chisinau Dorin Chirtoacă expressed an initiative to create a Holocaust Museum and a Museum of Soviet Occupation. The Jewish Congress of Moldova made an official statement on this initiative, stating that it does not believe that any parallels can be drawn between a Fascist, human-hating regime and the social order to which similar responsibility is now being ascribed for repressions towards its own people.

At the same time as these events took place, Acting President Mihai Gimpu told deputy Oleg Reidman that he is “a disgrace to the Jewish people” as Gimpu “has known smarter Jews.”

In August 2010, the Moldovan Academy of Sciences awarded a PhD title *Honoris Causa* to historian Paul Goma, and the town hall of Chisinau awarded him with the title of honorary citizen of Chisinau. Goma is a well-known anti-Semitic historian, author of the book “The Bloody Week of June 28 – July 3 1940 or Bessarabia and the Jews,” a prominent Holocaust denier. The author accuses the Jews of implanting Communism and of “attacking the retreating Romanian military” in 1940. The author sees the Holocaust as merely “the Romanian having vengeance on the Jew,” an “eye for an eye” event. Notably, the Jewish community of Moldova had filed a petition with the public prosecutor's office with the aim of instigating criminal proceedings against Goma on charges of xenophobia and inciting interracial hatred, also aiming for a ban on the book in Moldova. Later disseminating the book was banned.

On September 12, 2010, the Chisinau synagogue was defaced with Fascist symbols (the swastika, the double lightning bolts that were the SS symbol, and the Celtic cross which was the symbol of the Iron Guard) and slogans reading "Bessarabia is Romanian Land!"

On September 29, 2010, the district council of the Codru suburb of Chisinau decided to name one of its streets after Fascist dictator and Hitler's companion-in-arms Ion Antonescu. The decision was revoked following pressure by the Jewish community of Moldova and other public organizations.

In June 2012, a memorial cross was erected in the city of Orgeev. The main element of the cross was the prison grate that was an Iron Guard symbol. Officially the cross was erected to honor the memory of "the victims of the Communist regime." One of the sponsors of erecting the sign was the Noua dreapta organization, a radical right group of Iron Guard followers whose activity is officially prohibited in Moldova. Due to widespread indignation in society, the prosecutor's office reached a decision on December 17, 2012, that the memorial was erected illegally and charged the city authorities with removing it within a month. However, on the next day, December 18, the Orgeev Town Council (at the initiative of Mayor Vitaliy Colun, a representative of the Liberal Democratic party) decided "retrospectively" to authorize the cross's erection. According to the media, the decision was made under pressure from the radical right group National Christian Legionary Movement.

In January 2013, the Moldovan Writer's Union nominated the anti-Semite writer P. Goma (see above) for the Nobel Prize in literature.

In May 2013, a presentation of the book "The Iron Guard in Bessarabia. Documents" took place at the Municipal Library. According to representatives of the Moldovan Jewish community, the authors of the book, Alexandr Moraru and Benedict Chebotar, deny the anti-Semitic character of this movement and the definition of the Iron Guard as a "Fascist" movement.

In early June, unknown vandals drew a swastika on the memorial to Holocaust victims located on Ierusalimska str. in Chisinau.

On July 7, 2013, shocking photos were published in the "VKontakte" social network. In these photos, a young man was posing while stepping on matzevahs (gravestones), raising his right hand in the Nazi salute, and making obscene gestures against a background of graves and Jewish religious symbols. His girlfriend was also on the photos; she also did a Nazi-style salute, but not against the backdrop of graves.

The Jewish community of the Republic of Moldova expressed their indignation at these acts of anti-Semitism and filed a complaint with the Prosecutor's office. The law enforcement bodies qualified the young man's act as "Vandalism" according to Article 288 of the Moldovan Criminal Code.

He was convicted in February 2014. The court sentenced the anti-Semite to a four-year suspended sentence. The young woman repented and was acquitted.

Based on information of the Jewish Community of Moldova

Anti-Semitism in Russia, 2013

by Semen Charny

Violence and Vandalism

In 2013, there were three recorded attacks on Jews or people believed to be Jews, and no less than five people were hurt in these attacks. Only one such case had been recorded in 2013. It is possible that this is actual growth in anti-Semitic violence, moreso because according to the monitoring of the Bureau for the Facilitation of Protecting Human Rights (BSPCh), the overall number of victims of xenophobic violence grew in comparison with 2013: 263 people compared to 223 (34 dead and 229 harmed compared to 41 dead and 182 harmed). But for now this growth is within the margins of possible statistical error. The relatively small number of violent acts is mostly due to Caucasians and Central Asians being seen as “enemy #1” by nationalists. Jews are also often hard to recognize in the street.

On February 8, nationalistic activists protesting against mining nickel in Voronezhskaya oblast whipped the director of “Voronezhgeology” Valeriy Kopeykin and his brother while shouting “Beat the kikes!”

On July 25, an attempt had been made on the life of Derbent Rabbi O. Isakov. Such an attempt is a dangerous symptom of the activity of radical Islamists, who have decided to attack a rabbi for the first time.

A group of young religious Jews had been beaten in a Moscow-area commuter rail near the Kraskovo station in early September.

If we talk about anti-Semitic vandalism, then in 2013 there have been 10 incidents of attacks and desecrations of buildings and premises in which Jewish organizations work. In 2011 there were 6, in 2010 there were 10, so we can speak about a lasting tendency. The first thing that needs to be noted is the arson attempt on the Jewish community center in Perm and the incident where the Ekaterinburg synagogue had been shot at (October 7). On December 20, the workers of the community center in Krasnodar who came to work found a chopped off pig head hung on their wall. A message in English was written on the wall: “Happy Tu B'Shevat! Jewish pigs!” . An anti-Semitic flyer had also been glued to the office door of a Jewish community (Abakan (Hakasia), January 30); the front of a building used by the Jewish community had been damaged and a memorial menorah, opened during the 2011 International Festival of Jewish Culture that had taken place in Ulyanovsk, had been broken (Ulyanovsk, February 15); a swastika was drawn near the entrance to a Chesed office (Syktyvkar, April 20 and October 10); Christmas toys filled with paint were thrown at a synagogue in Smolensk (June 19); an arson attempt had been made on the Solomon restaurant in Yekaterinburg (became known on June 22, the act itself might have happened earlier); and the premises of a kindergarten had been desecrated (Volgograd, August 24).

There were 8 recorded cases in which anti-Semitic flyers were distributed and graffiti was painted (January 24, Aldansk region of Yakutiya; Moscow on May 24, May 28, July, September 4, late September, middle of November; Vladimir, late November). There were 11 similar incidents in 2011, and 9 - in 2012.

A Jewish cemetery had been desecrated in early August in Penza for the first time since 2010. The “Zmiyevskaya Balka” memorial to Holocaust victims had also been vandalized (Rostov-na-Donu, March 22).

On August 16, the St. Petersburg Holy Hierarch Peter temple had been set on fire. The nationalists from the “NS/WP group ‘Nevograd,’” who claimed responsibility for the arson, announced that they are trying to “cleanse the Slavic land from the Christian-Kike plague.”

In the early morning of October 21 and November 9, a memorial stone dedicated to the GULAG prisoners who had been building a bridge across the Pechora river had been overturned. It is likely that the vandals’ attention had been attracted by one of the prisoners’ names, Menachem Begin, who had later become Prime Minister of Israel.

Moreover, on November 29 it became known that there had been letters allegedly sent by Jewish organizations to the administrations of Bryansk oblast and Bryansk city. These letters demanded to publish on the Internet the number of Jewish government functionaries (including the ones who had been fired), Jews who were a part of the electorate, and Jews who are honorary citizens of Bryansk city and oblast.

The total number of cases of anti-Semitic vandalism (24) is 14,5 percent of the overall number of xenophobic vandalism recorded by the BSZPCh monitoring. This number (which is possibly larger - in a number of cases our sources do not specify who the xenophobic graffiti is aimed against) means that anti-Semitic still has an important place in the minds of radicals.

Attempting to instigate hostile actions towards Jews

On October 20, an unauthorized nationalist march took place in St. Petersburg. Its participants, approximately 100 people, shouted "Go-go-go away, Jewish regime!"

At the "Russian March" on November 4, which gathered several thousand in Moscow, one of the demands put forward for the government was the notorious "representation in government bodies according to national proportions," which would have meant firing of most Jews from the government due to "disproportionate representation."

In Pskov, an LDPR deputy of the Pskov District Assembly P. Biktashev spoke at the "Russian March" and levied anti-Semitic threats against the "Yabloko" party: "I'd like to ask the Yabloko party: do you want the same events to happen here that are happening in your historical homeland? Where the Hezbollah attacks from one side and the Palestine Liberation Organization attacks from the other? YABLOKO Party, do you want that to happen?! I can't understand. YABLOKO Party, you call the Russians fascists and xenophobes, but they saved you from Auschwitz furnaces. You will never achieve what you set out to do!"

But the most notable case was an article by journalist Ulyana Skoibeda in the popular newspaper "Komsomolskaya Pravda" ("Comsomol Truth"). On May 13, the KP website published Skoibeda's article, which was a response to a blog post on the "Echo of Moscow" website, written by the politician L. Gozman, who compared the SS and the SMERSH. The subtitle of Skoibeda's article reads: "Sometimes one regrets that the ancestors of today's liberals weren't made into lampshades by the Nazis. There would have been less problems." This led to a serious scandal, and on May 15 the subtitle had been replaced to read "Liberals are reviewing history to cut the ground from under our nation's feet." The "lampshade" phrase had been removed from the article altogether.

The newspaper's editors did not deem it necessary to apologize. The apology of U. Skoibeda, which appeared in print on May 18, had been written according to a classic anti-Semitic cliché. She asserted that the "lampshade phrase" had been "written in the heat of a discussion" and was provoked by liberals, who had "thrown Victory Day down into the mud" and "are trying to steal Russia's last spiritual pillar of support." And the political expert Sergei Markov stated on air of the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" television channel and radio that the newspaper is being "persecuted" by liberals for its support of Putin.

The deputy editor-in-chief Sergei Ponomaryov published a column on October 31, in which he practically reproduced Skoibeda's anti-Semitic passages and added: "We will continue to be completely intolerant of stupidity, platitude, and all the bergs and gozmans who cynically lack memory and do not remember who their kin are." When responding to the questions that the readers put towards the article, Ponomaryov asserted that Skoibeda's words had been "crudely taken out of context" and that the newspaper's xenophobia had been limited to "a lack of love for those slandering Russia and for those liars that are quite regretful of the Great Patriotic War being won by the Soviet Union."

Anti-Semitism as Seen by the Populace

The second half of 2013 was characterized by a rapid growth of xenophobic tendencies in society; this was in many ways due to the government and official media using xenophobic and especially migrant-phobic rhetoric.

So far, the growth of xenophobia has not resulted in a growth of particularly anti-Semitic tendencies. If Levada Center's poll showed that in 2011-2012 there were 8-10% of the population who were "hard" anti-Semites (those who believe the Jews to be enemies and would like to see their movement in the country restricted), then the Levada Center poll for 2013, published on November 5, and the FOM poll, published on November 12, the situation did not change much - Jews were considered "enemies" by 7-8% of the respondents. It is interesting that according to another Levada Center and the "Politech" Center for Social Technologies study that had been published in September, a similar number of people (9%) called themselves nationalists, and 6% said that they would be willing to vote for a nationalist party. A hypothesis could be put forth that this is not a mere coincidence but a reflection of the fact that anti-Semitism is part of the usual set of beliefs radical nationalists have.

However, other studies show that there are more anti-Semites than the number presented above. The FOM questionnaire allows us to discern the number of people that can be called "soft" or latent anti-Semites, meaning people who adhere to anti-Semitic stereotypes but do not dare to openly out themselves as anti-Semites. 15% of the respondents stated that people do not like Jews because they are greedy, sly, and disreputable, thus perpetuating anti-Semitic stereotypes. The general number of those holding anti-Semitic views is confirmed by one more poll - the Levada Center poll published on November 5, in which 14% of

the respondents answered the question “should the right of any nationalities to choose their place of life be restricted” answered “everyone except Russians should be restricted.”

Right now it is not entirely certain whether this is a new trend or a temporary upsurge due to pressure surrounding the October 2013 incident in the Moscow microdistrict Biryulevo, which had been widely covered by the media in a xenophobic manner.

Still, the Jews remain overshadowed by the migrants from Caucasus and Central Asia, which are seen as “enemies” by the majority of the population. According to the July Levada Center poll, 69% of the respondents were in agreement (to various degrees) with the statement that there were too many migrants in the country, and 84% said they were in favor of a harsh visa regime with countries located in Central Asia and the Southern Caucasus. At the same time, 65% spoke in favor of restricting Russian Federation residents (alluding to those born in the Northern Caucasus) from moving into their region to live or work. According to the Levada Center November 5 poll, the first places in the “hated nationalities” list are taken by Caucasians (54% of the respondents would like their movement to be limited); Chinese and those from Central Asia (45%), Roma and Vietnamese (32%), all of them significantly surpassing the Jews in this respect.

Forming a negative image of the Jewish people

In 2013, a number of nationalistic activists spoke ill of the Jews and even made conjectures that people they dislike are Jewish. Additionally, some of these utterances were published in rather respectful places, thus influencing an audience that does not usually read ultranationalistic media.

The nationalistic writer K. Krylov wrote in his blog on January 16: “All of the ‘commandments of virginity and childlessness’ were not aimed towards all people, but only at the Jews, so that they bred less and did not fill the world; better yet, so that they would have died out ‘quietly and honestly’ and thus received atonement for their endless molestations of good, fit peoples.”

On March 31, some “political constructor” Yuri Yur’yev made a comment to the IA *REH news agency* where he connected the *Rusophobic activities of the Ukrainian political party “Svoboda” with their alleged Jewish heritage.*

On June 4, the left-wing nationalist newspaper “Svoimi imenami” (“Call a Spade a Spade”) published M. Zhasimov anti-Semitic article “Thinking of the Future.” The author of the article stated that all Jews are “Judahs, Nazis by faith and conviction” and proposed to ban Judaism in Russia “as a religion that is a carrier of Nazi ideology, that [wished to lay down] Jewish rule by humiliating other people and taking them as slaves, and so on.”

The Jewish anti-Semite I. Shamir published an article in “Komsomolskaya Pravda” on June 24, where he attempted to “prove” that the Jews actively promoted the neo-Nazi blogger E. Prosvirnin. He shamelessly attempted to present fake proof, providing an out-of-context approving quote by another famous blogger, A. Nosik, about a different project of Prosvirnin’s.

On August 6, a scandal flared around a promotional newspaper of a candidate for the post of Moscow mayor, a State Duma deputy from the “Spravedlivaya Rossiya” party, Nikolai Levichev. It turned out that a crossword published in the newspaper had the word “yid” as the correct answer to the question “Jew”; this appellation is used by anti-Semites as a pejorative term for the Jews. When an elderly Jewish woman asked one of Levichev’s campaign office staff, S. Ivanova, about the crossword, Ivanova said that that “yid is a literary term” and “there were many traitors among the Jews during the war, so they deserve it.”

On October 4, it became known that a local Khabarovsk edition of “Komsomolskaya Pravda” published an article on Yom Kippur by Y. Demenyuk. The article reads: “Dozens of roosters die at Yom Kippur, not for the latest delicacy but for tradition. Thus the Birobijan Jews celebrate Yom Kippur - using a massive animal sacrifice to buy penance for their sins.”

On October 6, the priest Alexander Yevstigneev refused to baptize a three-year-old girl born to Jewish-turned-Christian parents, because they’d chosen ‘a yid’s name’ for their child. Yevstigneev’s act garnered wide approval among radical nationalists. On November 4, during the “Russian March” in Voronezh, people gathered money to support the priest.

In another November 4 incident, the journalist and TV host M. Leontyev published an article in the “Itogi” journal, where he stated that “the Jews are still claiming they are due special rights and prerogatives.”

On December 12, journalist N. Kevorkova commented V. Putin’s decree on the cardinal changes in the RIA “Novosti” news agency on her Facebook page. Specifically, she wrote that “the essence of the hedgehog defense of RIA seems to lie in the fact that it wasn’t just any group busted, but a Jewish group” and that RIA allegedly “had a number of opinions that were very different from Russia’s opinion on several important issues of foreign policy, including Iran, the Iranian nuclear program, contacts with Muslim countries, Syria, Hezbollah, Hamas, and so on.”

In 2013, nationalists began a serious media campaign against the Jewish community of Perm. The likely reason for this campaign had been that the community had a bid for a plot of land in the middle of the city for building a community center; it seems that others also had their designs for it. On March 9, the forum.msk.ru website published an article by economist M. Delyagin, who accused Perm's administration of providing the Jewish community with "phenomenal benefits and exemptions." "Instead of these phenomenal benefits and exemptions, they should have seriously examined the question of completely banning the Hasid-Lubavitch cult everywhere in Russia, since its leaders don't even bother to conceal their enmity towards Russia, which they showed in opening legal proceedings against our country, and its obviously fundamentalist character," Delyagin wrote.

On April 10 it became known that the police had been tipped off about extremist activities in the Jewish community of Perm, based on the community teaching kabbalah to Jews. Nonetheless, the police quickly found a lack of extremism in the community's activities.

On July 2, during community hearings about the building of a new synagogue in Perm, the ultra-right activist R. Yushkov accused the administration of "giving away" a 44 million plot of land to the Jewish community.

The Perm department of the unregistered National-Democratic Party, organized by K. Krylov, also spoke out on July 11 against transferring the land to the Jewish community. In their statement they say "municipal lands are being gratuitously wasted" and accuse Jewish community leaders of putting pressure on the Perm administration.

As a result, Perm's administration reached a decision on July 31 to refuse giving land for the synagogue building. And, finally, on November 7 it became known that several Perm activists with connections to the Russian Orthodox church queried the Perm District Prosecutor's Office about whether it was legal for the Lubavitch Hasidim to use the premises of the Perm puppet theater for their religious purposes. The "Periscope" news agency, which reported this fact, noted that the Hasidim "attempt to teach the Jews of Perm the mystical anti-Christian teaching - kabbalah" and "to take away the so-called Schneerson library, which is a gathering of books and manuscripts which belong to the Russian federation." The article also hints that the arson attempt made on the Jewish community center in 2012 had been organized by the Hasidim themselves.

There have also been incidents of ascribing someone Jewish heritage with the explicit aim of slandering them. On April 9, I. Shamir made a blog post dedicated to M. Thatcher and said that she had been "a Jew in spirit," copying the Nazis, so to speak. He wrote that "she built her career in the small bourgeoisie, philister district of Longon, in Golders Green, where the Jewish traders were, and she built up the whole of Great Britain according to their ideals: the stock market, profit, trade, a contempt for work. She proved that one needn't be an ethnic Jew to completely accept the Jewish spirit."

Notably, "the Jewish topic" had been actively used by nationalistic activists to slander their liberal colleagues from the anti-Putin opposition. The nationalist N. Bondarik gave an interview to Lenta.ru, an Internet-based news agency, on April 16, in which he accused "Jewish libertards" of behind-the-scenes deals with the government. The nationalist V. Kralin wrote in his blog on June 26 about an utterance by journalist O. Romanova and emphasized her Jewish heritage, saying "Romanova, whose maiden name was Rabinovich."

On November 5, the islamnews.ru agency posted an article on the desecration of the synagogue under construction in Sevastopol, where they wrote that the CHABAD movement is "an aggressive cult."

Movies that "proved" the existence of a global Jewish conspiracy were also shown on TV in 2013. Two pseudo-documentaries were shown on Ren-TV; they were attempting to 'prove' that the ignominious fake "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," which includes Jewish plans to conquer the world, was actually real. On April 29, Ren-TV also showed P. Vilayev's movie "Titanic. A report from the underworld," which was filmed in 2012, where a Russian Orthodox activist, Yuri Vorobyevski declared the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" to be authentic. The movie's directors made it seem as if there was a "Masonic conspiracy" to create a global government, and that the erstwhile "Protocols" were part of that program. A fantastical story is spun without a shadow of doubt as to its truthfulness of the "brilliant special operation of the Russian intelligence service" that stole the "Protocols" from the participants of the First Zionist Congress, which convened in 1897 in Basel. They also stated that a plan to sink the "Titanic" (created by the global government to put fear into the people) had also been stolen together with the "Protocols."

Y. Yefremova's 2013 movie (first shown in September 2013) "We haven't even dreamed of that (Dr. Freud vs. God)," dedicated to the founder of psychoanalysis Sigmund Freud, repeated Vorobyevsky's conjecture about the authenticity of the "Protocols." This time, however, their authors were purported to be

“B’nai Brith,” which is also a beloved target for being presented as the “secret global government” by anti-Semites. The “documentary” makes an unsubstantiated claim that “B’nai Brith” was behind doctor Freud’s career, which supposedly took an upturn right after the “Protocols” were written. The organization purportedly traded their help for having the doctor create a new religion to displace or at least substantially weaken Christianity, in full accordance with the task of the protocols. If the earlier Trotsky film could have been seen as an isolated unfortunate episode, the appearance of two movies within a relatively short time frame allows us to speak of a stable tendency; anti-Semitism is becoming a natural part of the conspiracy theories used as a lens to present the most important events in the history of humanity to television viewers.

Still, anti-Semitic conspiracy theories exist beyond Ren-TV movies. Vladimir Chernyshev’s October 2013 movie “White House, Black Smoke,” shown on NTV and some other channels, made a conjecture that Israeli special ops participated in the October 1993 confrontations in Moscow on the side of President B. N. Yeltsin.

In his show on the Russia.ru channel, the pro-government political expert P. Danilin spoke about businessman Bill Brauder on April 25 and emphasized his Jewish heritage. He also stated that the Jewish lobby allegedly helped push through the “Magnitsky law” (a law that introduces a number of restrictions for members of the Russian government connected to the so-called “Magnitsky case”). He repeated the same in his blog on July 17.

There have also been a number of books, articles, and public speeches supporting the idea of a global (or at least anti-Russian) Jewish conspiracy.

On February 5, colonel Kvatchkov was giving his final statement in the Moscow State Court, where said that “all power in Russia after the Cold War has been in possession of a Judo-Masonic elite.” He also said that “2000 years ago, Satan held a special ops raid to have sister Sarah incestuously conceive the first Jew from her brother Abraham.” The court finally ruled that Kvachkov was out of order.

On April 10, one of the leaders of the pro-Kremlin party “Great Fatherland” N. Starikov spoke to the students of the St. Petersburg University for Cinema and Television, where he stated that over the last 300 years Great Britain and the United States have been ruled by “a conglomerate of Jewish bankers” and accused the Jews of traditionally supporting anti-Russian projects. “Take the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks) or the Coordination Council of today’s opposition - nothing’s changed over 100 years. This is because certain people know how to do certain things,” he stated.

LDPR leader V. Zhirinovsky, who spoke on September 6 at the pre-election rally of the LDPR runner for mayor M. Degtyaryov, accused the Jews of being Russia’s old enemies. “The Jews start a revolution here, like they did in 1917; they burn our Caucasus, the ingrates,” he stated.

On April 23, the left-wing nationalist newspaper “Svoimi Imenami” published an article by N. P. Zubkov titled “The Kremlin’s ‘Hóngweibīng.’ Are they Freemasons, too?”, in which he said that he believed the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion” to be “trustworthy.”

On May 7, the popular newspaper “Argumenty Nedeli” published an article by Ivan Konev where he accused the Jews of attempting to take over Crimea. The source of the accusations was the former Minister of Press (early 1990s), Mikhail Poltoranin. He stated that the “American Jewish lobby” had the fertile Crimean lands pledged in the late 1920s as security against loans, and in the 1940s demanded that a Jewish republic be created in the Crimea; allegedly, that was the reason why it took so long to open a second front against Nazi Germany.

On September 12, U. Skoibeda, famous for her regret of the Nazis not making more lampshades of Jews, published an article in the “Komsomolskaya Pravda,” where she attacked “podrabineks” for bringing down the Soviet Union, and “liberals with a Jewish ethnic heritage” for insulting Russians by “attacking our pressure points: self-respect, the Victory, our country’s very right to exist.”

Dmitriy Diveev published a novel in 2013 titled “Before the Second Flood,” where he made conjectures that American businessmen supporting the Nazi regime economically during the 1930s was due to “a large and dangerous behind-the-scenes American game in Europe, and first and foremost of its hidden edge - Masonic lodges and the Zionist lobby,” and that USA President F. D. Roosevelt was killed “when he dared to oppose the decision by American-Zionist money to create a Jewish state on Palestine’s territory.” The book received a favorable review in the “Independent Military Survey,” a reputable addendum to the “Independent Newspaper” about the work of defense and law enforcement agencies.

The “Algorhythm” publishing house published a book titled “Who Rules Russia.” Its author, colonel V. Kvatchkov (convicted on charges of a military takeover) wrote that the Jews are “the Devil’s people,” “a nation especially created by Satan to gain full power over humanity on Earth.”

The nationalist O. Platonov published a book titled "Stalin's Era" in 2013, in which he writes about the "horrible crimes of Jewish Bolsheviks" who had allegedly "dreamed of building a Talmudic nation for the 'chosen people' in Russia," as well as about Jewish nationalism "which has become completely intolerant," "the excessive number of Jews" in culture, science, and art, where the Jews "unfairly took away" all the places from Russians. According to Platonov, even the "Great Terror" had been Stalin's attempt to fight against these "Jewish Bolsheviks." Platonov believes that it had been "Jewish Bolshevism" that led to the "anti-Russian revolution of 1991-1993." He sees anti-Semitism as "a child of arbitrary Jewish rule." When talking about the Great Patriotic War, Platonov reproduced the traditional anti-Semitic clichés about the Jews not wanting to fight and about "unwarranted" attempts to present the Jews as the people who were harmed the most. Platonov accused the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of "a crime against the Russian people" - that is, of an attempt to create a Jewish republic. He saw the USSR anti-Semitic purges in 1948-1953 as "attempts to clear the state machine of cosmopolitan elements, an attempt to attract honest, working, and selfless Russians to its ranks" and "securing fair norms for a representation of the Russian people and other peoples of Russia in the state machine, in culture, and in science." Platonov creates a fantastic image of a huge Jewish underground in the USSR, where many "Jewish Bolsheviks" were members, and of a growing hatred of Russia and Russians among the Jews.

Another book of Platonov's, "An Attempt on the Russian Throne," tells us about the early 20th century and has detailed "proof" of the authenticity of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." Platonov spoke about the "overwhelming Jewishness" in science, culture, education, finance, and so on. He also talked about Jews in revolutionary movements: according to Platonov, the Bolsheviks and socialist-revolutionary parties were led purely by Jews and were financed by rich American Jews out of pure Russophobia. When talking about the pogroms in the revolutionary period of 1905-1907, Platonov said that they were "self-defense for the common man," "a natural and justified reaction of the Russian people against the arbitrary rule and bloody outrages perpetrated by anti-Russian forces."

On May 17, the Perm newspaper "Zvezda" published an interview with I. Shamir, where he stated that even though the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" are fake, that there was "actually a real document behind it. It wasn't quite so crude and sharp, but it basically came to the same conclusions." He also noted that Russia "is just crazily Zionised."

On May 18, I. Shamir published an article in the "Komsomolskaya Pravda," in which he accused "Zionists" of being ungrateful to Great Britain, who freed Palestine of Turks, and to the USSR, which voted in favor of creating Israel.

On August 12, the "Ulan Ude" Internet portal published an interview with the nationalistic essay writer B. Mironov, where he stated that the Jews were behind his sacking from a position in the ministries in 1994, because "they hated everything that was Russian."

Like in previous years, the Russian Orthodox essayist, deacon A. Kurayev published an article on his blog about Purim on February 25, where he said that the Jews are celebrating "the massacre of the Achaemenid empire elite" and are happy to have "a day of mass murders without retribution." Kurayev states that Purim "reproduces the model of what the Jews will do to anyone they consider their enemy," teaches rancour and vengefulness, and even connected the hanging of Nazi criminals after the Nuremberg Trials to Purim.

On July 26, the nationalistic essay writer K. Krylov accused D. Rozental, a philologist who wrote several textbooks on the Russian language, of "building a cage for the Russian language."

On July 27, Krylov wrote in his blog while commenting the famous story about the women's rally in Berlin who made the government bring their Jewish husbands back to them: "Paul Joseph Goebbels, Berlin's gauleiter, saw it as kind of uncomfortable to kill women, at least openly, on the streets of Berlin. But the Jewish KGB workers didn't care for such funny little problems." Thus Krylov portrayed the Jews as worse than Nazis, who are generally seen by most of the populace as the worst people in history.

M. Nazarov, an activist connected to the Russian Orthodox church, published an article titled "The Antichrist is coming to Russia?" on his website rusidea.org somewhere in September. The article accuses the Jews ("the most anti-Christian people") of dominating the world's finances, economy, politics, media, culture, the humanities" and of leading the 1917 revolution, as a result of which "the Third Rome was destroyed and the best of the Russian people were murdered and denationalized." Similar statements were repeated in an article by nationalist P. Budzilovich, published on that same website, but with additional details, such as Jewish-organized "REAL death camps for Russians and other indigenous Russian peoples."

In the article "Russian Answer to Senator McCain," published on September 22, Nazarov states that the USA's foreign policy is entirely in favor of Israel, and that the Al-Qaeda terrorist organization was created and "covered" by the USA and Israel.

In another article, titled "Tsarist Speak: Antichrist Style," published on September 26, Nazarov stated that the Jews believe only themselves to be human and all others to be "beasts of burden without any souls, who according to their laws should be lied to, killed, and their temples cursed."

On October 28, at the 100th anniversary of the Beilis affair (in which the Kyiv Jew M. Beilis had been accused of ritually murdering A. Yushnisky, a Christian boy), M. Nazarov published a large article in which he "proved" that Jews did ritual murders, citing a pamphlet allegedly written by Vladimir Dal, the author of the "Explanatory Dictionary of the Live Great Russian language." As for the "case" itself, Nazarov stated that the jury recognized a ritual murder had actually been committed. And that Beilis himself was acquitted only due to lack of direct evidence and the "huge psychological pressure" allegedly put on the jury by the Jews. Even though the very quote from the verbatim records of the court proceedings that Nazarov cites shows that the accusation of religious grounds for the crime had been part of whether Beilis himself was seen as the accused and not a question of whether a crime had been committed at all. Nazarov also accused the Jews without any proof of "defending criminals and murderers convicted by a court." He also attempted to manipulate quotations to "prove" that the Talmud allows Jews to lie to non-Jews, to give false evidence in court, and so on.

Printed flyers were disseminated in May-November 2013 in at least three administrative districts of Moscow, as well as on the streets of Vladmir on November 28, which attempted to 'inform the population' that "Zionists" were trying to organize a conspiracy to enslave the Russian people through introducing universal electronic cards.

Just how widely the myths about the huge negative role of Jews in Russia's history circulate can be seen by the June 13 speech by President Vladimir Putin at the Jewish Museum and Tolerance Center. When speaking about the nationalization of the Schneerson Library, Putin said: "The decision on nationalizing this library was made by the first Soviet government, 80-85 percent of whose members were Jews." Nonetheless, the President immediately corrected himself, saying that these people "acted on false ideological conjectures, arrested and oppressed equally Jews, Orthodox Christians, representatives of other faiths, and Muslims. They tarred everyone with the same brush."

Anti-Semitism in Government Representatives

The most notable anti-Semitism coming from government representatives was the statement of Chechnya's Parliament speaker Dukuvaha Abdurakhmanov.

On December 5, Abdurakhmanov had spoken out against Zhirinovskiy's statement about the Caucasus during parliamentary hearings in the State Duma on the subject of strategy for the state's national policy. Abdurakhmanov, however, emphasized the other deputy's ethnic heritage: "Why does Zhirinovskiy-Edelstein speak for the Russian people when the Russians have so many historic figures, from Donsky to Putin, Gagarin, and Zhukov? Why does he have to protect the Russian people?" Abdurakhmanov stated. The Chechen parliamentary finished his speech with an indignant question: "What can you possibly decide if you can't deal with Edelstein?"

Unfortunately, there had been no official reaction to Abdurakhmanov's statement, and the semi-virtual Northern Caucasus Jewish Congress (earlier the Northern Osetian Department of the Russian Jewish Congress) unexpectedly spoke up in his defense. Djambolat Melikov, the president of this organization, sent a letter to the Federation of Jewish Communities of Russia, who had protested Abdurakhmanov's escapades. In this letter, D. Melikov, though admitting Abdurakhmanov's words had been "ill-posed," notes that it may be "overly hasty" to interpret his words as anti-Semitic. The SCEC President also accused FJCR of not reacting to xenophobic statements by Zhirinovskiy and other politicians. On December 31, SCEC representatives led by D. Melikov visited Groznyi, where they once more "expressed their solidarity with the Chechen people on the recent Caucasophobic sentiments of LDPR leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy."

There had been several recorded cases when government representatives attempted to ignore anti-Semitic manifestations. For example, there had been a scandal with the pre-election newspaper of the candidate for the position of Moscow mayor from the "Spravedlivaya Rossiya" ("Russia the Just") party N. Levichev. Party representatives, including Levichev himself and party leader S. Mironov preferred not to comment the scandal in any way. Only after SR State Duma Deputy Oksana Dmitriyeva asked Mironov in her Twitter to "give his evaluation and take measures ASAP" did Mironov answer on August 8, also in his Twitter account, saying: "A stupid and harmful mistake by an executant. Don't turn into self-flagellation,

comrade.” He also said that the responsible party has been punished. Whether he meant the person responsible for the print run of the newspaper or the worker who had been rude to the elderly inquirer is unclear. However, there had been no clear official statement made by the party on this topic. Their best effort was an inarticulate attempt to say that Dmitriyeva’s statement had not been written by her but by a group of hackers who broke into her Twitter account.

On January 28, it became known that the books bought by St. Petersburg Town Hall include a book by the Russian Christian Orthodox historian Yuri Mikhailov titled “Moral Image of History,” which has anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic content. The book is to be disseminated among the city’s religious organizations.

Anti-Semitic acts had also been ignored by law enforcement agencies. On January 15 it became known that SO SKP investigator of the Soviet District of Volgograd City decided to deny prosecution of the chairman of the “Aeroflot” Volgograd Department O. Kolyadin, who had made anti-Semitic threats toward his Jewish neighbor, as the investigator decided that Kolyadin’s words had just been “everyday rudeness” after reading the linguistic expert evaluation.

Another case that showed how willing government representatives are to ignore anti-Semitic manifestations was the story of a memorial to a famous anti-Semite, the metropolitan Ioann (Snytychev, who died in 1995), that was to be erected in Samara. In 2007, a decision to erect this memorial on Samara’s main square was made by mayor V. Tarkhov, and the memorial was created by sculptor and Chairman of the Russian People’s Union V. Klykov. Tarkhov himself had been part of the public committee for the erection of the monument together with local oblast’ Duma deputies A. Kolytchev (Tarkhov’s successor in heading the local “Russia the Just” political party department) and M. Matveev (currently connected to the Communist party of the Russian Federation). On November 25, it became known that the Samara City Hall decided to cancel this decision on formal grounds, mostly due to the existence of an alternative project lobbied by V. Tarkhov and A. Kolytchev. The representatives of the town hall and the mayor himself, Dmitriy Azarov, took great pains on November 26 to assure that the memorial would be erected but likely in a different place from the one chosen in 2007. The anti-Semitic ignominy of the metropolitan had not been mentioned neither in these statements nor in the discussion that took place at the city hall on December 6. From his side, M. Matveev said that Ioann had “had an active hand in enlightening the people” and “was respected by believers and non-believers alike” in an interview to the local web portal 63.ru, given on November 25. On December 1, the deputy spoke out about the metropolitan’s reputation in his blog, and decided to place all the blame on the shoulders of radical anti-Semite (and information officer to the metropolitan during the 1990s) K. Duschenov, who had allegedly “used the Archbishop’s image after his death to promote his own ideas in a most radical way” and “published his notes that were not meant to be published,” likely meaning Ioann’s anti-Semitic works. Matveev wrote in a soapbox manner that the confrontation about the memorial is “a fight between those who defend the state and those who would see Russia destroyed.” On December 6 he wrote that the government decided not to erect the monument by Klykov due to “a Jewish fear,” and those who spoke out against the memorial (V. Tarkhov, who proposed to make the monument smaller, and D. Azarov) “go to one synagogue.”

On the other hand, we do not believe the scandalous story that took place on April 6 in Ulyanovsk, concerning changing texts in the “Total Dictation” community event, to be anti-Semitic. A text by Russian-speaking Israeli writer Dina Rubina was replaced with a text of the famous journalist Vasilii Peskov according to the order of Sergei Morozov, the oblast head. It was more likely that the functionary was afraid to be accused of propagating the work of a writer that used obscene language in her texts, especially considering that the President was about to sign a law prohibiting obscene language in the media.

Law enforcement practice

32 people were convicted on accusations of anti-Semitic crime in 2013 (5,5% of all convicted persons). This is not a final number, because many news articles that reported conviction on grounds of inciting interethnic hatred by placing materials on the Internet did not specify against whom this hatred had been incited. Here we present some of the more notable cases.

On February 13, the Moscow District Court of Cheboksary City, a 38-year-old anesthesiologist of a local clinic had been found guilty of placing extremist materials on the Internet, including Hitler’s “Mein Kampf.” He was sentenced to 100 hours of compulsory community service.

On February 13, a 64-year-old resident of Kemerovo was found guilty of placing anti-Semitic materials on the Internet. The court decided to limit itself to a verbal warning.

On March 1, the Shabalin District Court of Kirovskaya oblast' convicted the neo-Pagan "Dobroslav" A. Dobrovolsky for disseminating self-made anti-Semitic and anti-Caucasian pamphlets. He was sentenced to a 7 thousand rouble fine.

On May 6, the Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky City Court found a director of a book store in a territory center guilty of disseminating extremist materials (books by B. Myronov and A. Sevastyanov) and fined him for a sum of 2000 roubles.

On June 7, D. Bokov, one of the nationalist leaders of Volgograd, was convicted. Bokov was sentenced to a jail term of 4 years and 7 months of placing anti-Semitic materials onto the Internet and attacking a police officer who had been holding a search.

On August 6, the Ostankino District Court of Moscow sentenced A. Aratov, a publisher of anti-Semitic literature, to a 200000 rouble fine. On September 11, the Moscow City Court approved this sentence. However, the defendant was waived punishment because the limitation period for the case had expired on September 10.

On August 22, the leaders of the retail book store chains OOO "Bukvoyed" and OOO "Dom Knigi" in St. Petersburg had been issued a warning on the inadmissibility of breaking the law on countering extremism for selling J. Hoebbel's novel "Michael."

On September 18, Vladimir Mishurov, a resident of Lipetsk, was fined 110 000 roubles for publishing extremist and anti-Semitic materials in his blog.

On November 12, the Novosibirskiy Military Court convicted lieutenant Murad Jabbarov to 3,5 years in prison and an 180 thousand rouble fine for organizing a showing of the "Wandering Jew" movie, forbidden for showing in Russia, as well as for making rude remarks about Russians and Roma on the Internet.

On November 21, the Zavolzhsy District Court of Tver convicted a local who disseminated xenophobic (including anti-Semitic) materials on the Internet, fining him for 100000 roubles.

On December 26, resident of Starozhilovsky District of Ryazanska oblast' I. A. Ugurchiev had been found guilty of publishing Timur Mutsurayev's song "Jerusalem" in the "VKontakte" social network and fined accordingly. The song is listed in the Federal List of Extremist Materials.

The Federal List of Extremist Materials grew to 2179 positions in 2013, and some more "classic" anti-Semitic pieces had been added. In 2013, the following books were added: G. Klimov's "Red Kabbalah," "Protocols of Soviet Wise Men"; E. Drumont's "Jewish France"; "The Catechism of A Jew in the USSR" I.S. Barkov's "Zhidovedeniye. A textbook" ("Kike Lore"); some of the pamphlets by the anti-Semitic neo-Pagan Dobroslav; and A. Sevastyanov's books "Russian Nationalism: Its Friends and Foes" and "What the Jews Want From Us." The list also included an article titled "The Rape and Murder of a Three-Year-Old Girl According to Jewish Canon" and the "creations" of anti-Semitic bard A. Kharchikov.

The Federal Service for Supervision in the Sphere of Telecom, Information Technologies and Mass Communications also issued an official warning to the Komsomolskaya Pravda newspaper for U. Skoibeda's article, as well as two warnings to Y. Mukhin's newspaper "Svoimi Imenami" ("Call a Spade a Spade") for the following anti-Semitic materials: an article by N. P. Zubkov titled "The Kremlin's 'Hóngweibǐng.' Are they Freemasons, too?," which included verbatim excerpts from the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and M. M. Zhasimov's article "Thinking of the Future. A letter to Mukhin."

It should also be noted that a ban on showing symbols considered to be extremist in public places has come into force in Russia on January 1, 2013. The prohibited symbols include more than just the swastika and Nazi pins but also images that resemble the official insignia of organizations recognized as extremist.

Conclusions

2013 saw a growth of xenophobia in Russia. Functionaries used xenophobic (mostly migrant-phobic) rhetoric, copying ideas from national radicals. The level of xenophobia reached a record level if compared to the last ten years.

We should stress immediately that this did not lead to a growth in anti-Semitism. Just as in previous years, sociological data shows that the number of "open" anti-Semites is still approximately 8-10% of the population. Latent anti-Semites increase the number of those displaying this phobia twofold.

However the results of studies barely correlate with the information we have on the dynamic of anti-Semitism in the Russian Federation. The general number of anti-Semitic incidents is somewhat larger than last year: 2013 had a total of 27 incidents that are certainly grounded in anti-Semitism (3 attacks and 24 cases of anti-Semitic vandalism). There were 22 similar incidents in 2011, and 21 - in 2012. We will only be able to say whether it was a trend or an accidental upsurge after 2014.

Where it concerns anti-Semitic violence, Russia is still a “peaceful haven” when compared to Western Europe and the USA. Since most data for 2013 hasn’t been published yet, we can use materials from 2012 to compare. According to the 2012 report on the French Jewish Community Defense Service, coordinated with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 177 cases of anti-Semitic violence and vandalism were registered in France. In Great Britain there were 69 recorded cases of anti-Semitic attacks, and 53 cases of damage to and desecration of Jewish property, not including anti-Semitic graffiti. 190 anti-Semitic incidents were recorded over a mere three months in Germany (July-September 2013).

This situation formed due to an interaction of several factors. First of all, the Russian radical nationalists changed priorities: if the Jews had been their primary enemies in the 1990s, then since the early 2000s, this position had shifted completely to those born in the Caucasus and Central Asia, united under the general negative umbrella label of “migrants.” Unlike the aforementioned groups, Jews are often hardly recognizable on the street. At the same time, since the early 2000s Russian authorities have practically taken an official course towards cooperation with Israel, which left “anti-Zionism” with no support from the countries’ leadership. The fear of migrants and corresponding fear of Islam practically prevented the new wave of anti-Semitism from forming in Russia; something similar can be noted, perhaps, only in marginal left-wing circles.

However, such a situation is neither stable nor eternal. Our monitoring has found a number of worrying tendencies. First of all, the number of adherents to anti-Semitism is not growing smaller, and it is a fairly significant number. The prevalence of anti-Semitic stereotypes is best demonstrated by the statement of Russian President Vladimir Putin, who had reproduced an anti-Semitic statement during his visit to the Jewish museum in June 2013. The President said that a great number of Jews had participated in the first Soviet governments (even though he specified that these people were guided by “false ideological conjecture” and that Jews had been the victims of their oppression as well). Anti-Semitism is not disappearing but merely moving to the background, and may reappear if the appropriate circumstances were to emerge.

It is worrying that anti-Semitic discourse seems to be seeping into the federal media. Anti-Semitic literature is freely sold in book stores, during book fairs, and in Internet book shops.

2013 also saw a number of openly anti-Semitic publications in nationalistic media. The widespread advance of the Internet led to publications of this kind being spread throughout the Russian-speaking web through the effort of enthusiastic anti-Semites, sometimes appearing in the most unexpected of places and influencing the minds of people that are very different from the traditional audience of similar marginal nationalistic journals and books. An unprecedented amount of anti-Semitic materials had also been disseminated in P.O. boxes in Moscow in 2013.

Anti-Semitism is still being massively introduced into the minds of Russian Muslims and labor migrants from Muslim countries. Popular and outwardly respectable websites, which most Russian-speaking Muslims use as their sources of information about the world, publish materials that demonize Israel and depict the Jews as enemies of the Muslims. The same can be said of the website “Caucasian Politics,” which is quite popular in the Caucasus, the editor-in-chief of which, journalist Maksim Shevchenko, is famous for his neo-anti-Semitic position.

Anti-Semitism in Ukraine, 2013

by Vyacheslav Likhachev

The most serious anti-Semitic crimes included physical attacks on Jews and vandalism towards synagogue buildings, community centers, cemeteries, and Holocaust memorials.

Anti-Semitic Attacks. Chronicle

- Late at night on June 15, 4-5 teenagers threw rocks into the windows of a Jewish religious hostel for pilgrims in Uman' (Cherkasskaya oblast'), situated in a courtyard on Pushkin street. The street leads to the tomb of the Hasidic tsaddik rabbi Nachman of Breslov.

Several hours later, two teenagers attacked an Israeli pilgrim who had been walking out of rabbi Nachman's tomb. Having heard screams, another pilgrim ran out from the tomb, and was hit in the face by one of the retreating attackers.

According to the victims, the attackers had been shouting anti-Semitic insults.

The victims did not go to the police.

- On September 10, a video was published on the Internet, showing how a group of national radicals, including activists from the All-Ukrainian Union "Svoboda" Party (Mikhail Kovalchuk, Petr Kuzik, Artem Ruban, Roman Bilenky, and a man calling himself "Journalist of the 'Road Control' Movement", Andrei Dzindzya), provoking confrontations with "non-Slavic" foreigners in the center of Kyiv, hurling racist insults, abusing their victims, and even beating them. The videos were filmed and edited by Andrei Dzindzya, and the recordings stop as soon as the neo-Nazis turn to violence, so it is impossible to say how seriously the victims were harmed.

The victims included at least two Israeli Jews.

As far as we are aware of, the Nazi gang's actions did not receive legal evaluation despite the attempt of activists from the "Civil Union" organization to file a report on the crime.

Anti-Semitic Vandalism. Chronicle

- On the evening of March 3, a desecrated Holocaust memorial was discovered in Mykolaiv. Unknown vandals wrote "death to the kikes" on the memorial stone.

- On March 15 it became known that a memorial to the 7th Lubavich Rebbe Menachem Mendel Schneerson, located in the center of Mykolaiv, had been desecrated. The memorial was painted over with neo-Nazi symbols (the swastika, the Celtic cross, a lightning bolt) and encrypted subcultural slogans and acronyms (WP 14/88).

"WP" means "White Power," which is the name of a subcultural racist movement. "88" is an encryption of "Heil Hitler!," as "h" is the 8th letter of the Latin alphabet. "14" is a hint at the short creed of contemporary racists, the "14 words" created by American ideologist David Lane.

- In the middle of April, a possible act of vandalism was discovered at a Jewish cemetery in Kremenchug (Poltava oblast'). A Hasidic tsaddik's gravestone was found overturned.

- On April 27, three teenagers aged 14 to 18 smashed gravestones at an old Jewish cemetery in Jurin village (Sharogorodsky district, Vinnitskaya oblast') over the course of several days. The vandals damaged 66 gravestones before they were arrested. Criminal proceedings were instigated according to Article 297 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ("desecration of graves"); however, the possible ideological component in the vandals' motive had not been taken into account. The criminals were found guilty, and the eldest of the vandals received a three-year suspended jail term.

- On the morning of August 12, a Holocaust memorial at an entrance to Nikopol city of Dnipropetrovsk oblast' was found to have been desecrated. The vandals painted a black swastika over a white Star of David on the memorial.

- In the third decade of August, a Jewish cemetery in Priluki (Chernigivska oblast') was found to have been desecrated. According to the police, 17 gravestones had been desecrated by vandals. Unknown anti-Semites had drawn black swastikas on the gravestones.

The police opened criminal proceedings according to Article 297, Part 2 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ("desecration of graves").

- In the early morning of August 25, vandals desecrated a historic synagogue building (though recently renovated beyond recognition) in Mykolaiv, on Karl Liebknecht street. Swastikas were drawn in two places on the front of the building, to the side of the entrance.

Sholom Gottlieb, the rabbi of the Mykolaiv synagogue, immediately ordered to overpaint the swastikas.

The vandals' actions were qualified as "hooliganism" (Article 296, Ukrainian Criminal Code).

- On October 19, unknown vandals desecrated a Holocaust memorial in Mykolaiv. Anti-Semites wrote insults ("Burn in Hell, wretches!") and neo-Nazi symbols ("14/88") on the memorial.

On the next day, October 20, six out of seven cedars that had been planted around the back of the memorial were dug out.

The police and the municipal executive committee were informed of the act of vandalism.

The memorial was created in December 2011. In June 2013 it had been transferred into the city's communal ownership.

- On November 4, unknown persons left pig heads in a synagogue under construction in Sevastopil.

Notably, there had been earlier protests at the construction site against building the synagogue by such groups as the Russian community of Sevastopil, the Russian "Sobol" community, the movement "For Rus United," and the Black Sea Hundred.

Some local Internet resources publish information on the construction of the synagogue and the incidents surrounding it spicing the text with directly anti-Semitic passages, aimed first and foremost at discrediting the Jewish Orthodox Hasid movement "Chabad-Lubavitch."

- On December 22, the Holocaust memorial in Mykolaiv had been desecrated again. An indelible black spray had been used to draw an inverted "Satanic" cross on the memorial tablet.

Dynamic of Anti-Semitic Violence and Vandalism

Over the more than ten years during which I have been monitoring anti-Semitic crimes, there seems to be a wave-like dynamic to the most serious anti-Semitic manifestations. The peak of anti-Semitic violence had been in 2005-2007, the same years during which incidents of anti-Semitic vandalism had also reached their peak. 2008-2011 had a decline in anti-Semitic incidents, and 2012-2013 once again saw a slight increase in their number.

In 2005, over eight people were harmed in six incidents. It is hard to give a more precise number, because one of the incidents was an attack on a group of school children in Simferopil. One victim, a severely beaten student of a Kyiv yeshiva (the attackers had been skinheads using improvised weapons), received life-threatening wounds.

In 2006, I had been able to record five incidents in which eight Jews and one non-Jewish passerby had been harmed. One of the cases, an armed attack on Hitler's birthday that took place in Dniepropetrovsk, did not end lethally for the victim only due to great luck. There had also been two dubious incidents that I have not been able to receive verified information on.

In 2007, eight people had been victims in five anti-Semitic attacks; if we count the greatest possible number and include one more case that had not been confirmed, then the numbers are six attacks and nine victims accordingly. Thankfully, after 2007 there were no more recorded cases in which the victim's life had been in serious danger.

In 2008, three people were harmed in anti-Semitic street attacks. Two more received trivial injuries as a result of the so-called "pogrom" of the Jewish educational center in Lviv (July 2008). The two attackers, a middle-aged couple living next door, were also harmed in self defense; however, this does not contradict the fact that they had been the aggressors and initiated the confrontation. Thus there had been an absolute maximum of five victims of anti-Semitic violence in 2008.

As it is easy to see, there had been tentative improvement in the situation with anti-Semitic violence since 2007. This tendency grew stronger as the years went on.

In 2009, there had been only one similar incident, when a teenager attacked a worshipper in the Simferopil synagogue.

According to my data, there had also been just one victim of anti-Semitic violence in 2010, when the guard of the Chernigiv synagogue, who was not a Jew himself, was hurt by a piece of ice thrown by teenage anti-Semites. They had been trying to break the synagogue's windows with the pieces of ice.

In 2011, excepting the confrontations in Uman' (which happened in a very particular set of circumstances, the mass pilgrimage of orthodox Hasidim to the city, and thus deserve separate treatment), no incidents of obviously anti-Semitic violence had been recorded.

In 2012, there were three indisputable cases of anti-Semitic violence, in which four people had been harmed. I do not believe the tragic April incident where a Kyiv yeshiva student had received major craniocerebral trauma to be anti-Semitic.

Finally, in 2013 one can cautiously note four victims of anti-Semitic violence (who had all, luckily, been only lightly injured). Two of these were pilgrims to Uman', and two more were Israelis attacked by racist street hooligans in Kyiv. Notably, all four victims are Israelis.

A more widely spread criminal form on anti-Semitism in Ukraine, as in all post-Soviet territory, is anti-Semitic vandalism. This includes anti-Semitic graffiti on the walls of buildings belonging to Jewish organizations, at times - broken windows, cemetery vandalism, and desecration of Holocaust memorials. I also count the few rare arson attempts at Jewish places of worship. According to my monitoring, 9 cases of anti-Semitic vandalism were recorded in 2013.

9 cases of anti-Semitic violence were also recorded in 2012 and 2011. 16 incidents were recorded in 2010, 19 - in 2009, 19 in 2008, 20 in 2007, and 21 in 2006.

We can thus note that over the last three years the level of anti-Semitic vandalism has stabilized; however, overall, thankfully, we are seeing a slow but stable decline in the number of incidents.

Public Advocacy of Anti-Semitic Views

On March 19, several places with a symbolic meaning to the Kyiv Jewish community were pasted with anti-Semitic flyers containing the symbols and coordinates of the All Ukrainian Union "Svoboda" political party. These places include a memorial to the writer Sholem Aleichem, Golda Meir's birthplace, near the "Tzimmes" restaurant, and on other buildings. The flyers included quotes from the poetry of Taras Shevchenko that could be read as anti-Semitic.

The Svoboda PR department denied having anything to do with these flyers and said that they were "a provocation by the government."

On April 6, four groups of young people of approximately 10 people each joined an oppositional rally titled "Cherkaschyna - Time to Act." The youths were all dressed in T-shirts with "VO Svoboda" written on their backs and "Get the Kikes!" on their front (The "V" was rotated to be perpendicular to the rest of the slogan). As far as we have been able to confirm, the youths in provocative T-shirts have no actual connection to the "Svoboda" party. After one of the rally's organizers, Victor Smaliy, told them that statements inciting inter-ethnic hatred were inadmissible, the youths beat him. The police did not interfere. The victim received craniocerebral injury, had a broken jaw, and a torn lip. The rallyers, including actual "Svoboda" activists, stopped the beating and arrested one of the provocateurs. At the police department, he stated that he wore a T-shirt with anti-Semitic slogans because "that's what I believe in."

On April 18, "Svoboda's" People's Deputies Andrei Mokhnik and Yuri Sirotnyuk held a special press conference in which they stated that their party had nothing to do with the provocators. The "Svoboda" representative demanded that the General Prosecutor's Office officially qualify this offense according to Article 161 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ("inciting inter-ethnic hatred").

It later was found that the youths in anti-Semitic T-shirts were professional wrestlers from the "White Lotus" club of military martial arts, which has quite an ambivalent reputation. Several people were identified, including the one who attacked Victor Smaliy.

The opposition accused Chairman of the Cherkasy State Regional Administration Sergei Tulub of organizing the provocation. Witnesses state the provocateurs put on the anti-Semitic T-shirts in Party of Regions campaign tents.

On April 13, the talk show host Ivan Urgant said "I chopped the greenery like the red commissar chopped the residents of a Ukrainian village" on air of the "Smak" cooking show on the Russian Channel One. This extremely inappropriate, insulting, and cynical remark caused widespread indignation. Even the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs condemned the remark. "In today's civilized world such jokes are considered inappropriate and disrespectful to the memory of the millions of victims of totalitarian regimes, the MFA statement read. Urgant apologized in his Twitter, saying "I ask the forgiveness of all residents of Ukraine who had been offended by my inappropriate comment." Unfortunately, the talk show host then continued with an obviously derisive "As self-punishment, I shall limit myself in this program to cooking borsch and dumplings up until and including the year 2018. And any children I have from this moment on will be named Bogdan regardless of gender." However, after that he apologized a second time, this time quite seriously, on air and not in his blog: "Believe me, I really didn't mean to offend anyone. I just said something stupid without thinking about it."

Even though everyone who commented upon the TV show host's sayings was unanimous in their condemnation, only "Svoboda" representatives had the bright idea of connecting the joke to the showman's ethnic heritage. Aide to a People's Deputy, the official Svoboda information officer Oleksand Aronets wrote on his Facebook page: "...Urgant, a kike by birth, is a dedicated Moscow chauvinist, a hater of Ukraine. And if similar times were to come again, he'd don the uniform of the 'red commissars' with ease and go 'chop Ukrainians like greenery,' as his grandfathers and great-grandfathers had done before. [...] And who after that will keep insisting nationality doesn't matter?"

Disregarding the reason for the aforementioned quote, it makes sense to analyze its conceptual foundation. Like in the famous statements of Igor Miroshnichenko, another Svoboda representative, about the actress Mila Kunis, these several emotional phrases contain the fundamental assumptions of the Ukrainian radical right about the "national question" as a whole and about the Jews in particular. Additionally, unlike I. Miroshnichenko, Aronets isn't just a "Svoboda" parliamentary but its information officer. His words are to some extent the official position of the party. Thus, I believe one can state "Svoboda's" ideology to assume that all who are born Jews (or, as the party insists, "zhydy" or "kikes"; they only use this insulting and pejorative form) hate Ukrainians and are the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of "red commissars" who killed Ukrainians. These words contain the core of the "zhydobolshevism" or "kike-commune" concept, which used to be popular all over Central and Eastern Europe in the period between the wars. In this concept, the Jews are conflated with Russian communism. There is no need to explain how important this idea was for preparing the conceptual foundation for the mass murder of Jews by the Nazis and collaborators.

There is probably no need to examine in detail the ill-posed accusation of modern Jews "by birth" (which the national radicals believe "to matter") of "their grandfathers and great-grandfathers" killing Ukrainians. Notably, Urgant did not use any ethnic terms - he did not say "Ukrainians," he said "residents of a Ukrainian village." It is completely obvious that during the Ukrainian-Soviet civil war the Bolsheviks did not justify their violence by the ethnicity of their opponents. But the Jews killed in bloody pogroms at that time had been killed because of their ethnic heritage.

The fact that the tell-tale reaction of "Svoboda's" representative to Urgant's statements did not garner such a wide resonance as the similar (and likely even milder) statements towards Mila Kunis, who had been born in Chernivtsi, is explained by Urgant being a lot less popular and the fact that his statements, indeed inadmissible, had been widely condemned.

On May 14, it became known that several famous Ukrainian Jews - artists, politicians, parliamentary deputies, public figures - received anti-Semitic letters with veiled threats. Specifically, the famous film director David Cherkassky received the following text (in Russian): "You live in Ukraine and eat Ukrainian salo (pig lard, an element of Ukrainian national cuisine - transl.). We're very happy for you while everything's quiet, but it won't be peaceful and quiet for you for long. So get your belongings together and get out of here before it's too late." A Party of Regions parliamentary, Boris Deich, received the same letter.

All of these documents were stamped with the emblem of the All-Ukrainian Union "Svoboda" political party.

"Svoboda's" PR department refuted the privity of the party to the letters, particularly noting that "Svoboda" makes all its statements "in Ukrainian without exception." They also put forward a version that the letters were sent by the Party of Regions.

In June, flyers were seen in Donetsk with photos of Savik Shuster, a talk show host, and an anti-Semitic poem: "Kike face, kike scowl, time to stop, time to hit the train station." The flyers were again signed on behalf of the "Svoboda" party.

Igor Slavgorodsky, the leader of the local Svoboda regional division, denied "Svoboda's" privity to these flyers.

In June, the Odesa web-news agency "Dumskaya.net" published a statement about People's Deputy of Ukraine Pavel Kirilenko, a representative of the nationalistic "Svoboda" party, linked an article denying the Holocaust on his Facebook page.

The link was to an article titled "Little-known information about the Holocaust," published on the website of the "Russian News Agency" on May 31. The subtitle was "Official Red Cross Records Show Holocaust Was a Fraud!" It was a translation of Janne Välimäki's article "Official Red Cross Records Show Holocaust Was a Fraud?", published in March. The source for the "Russian News Agency" was the "Perevodika" website. "Perevodika" took the original article from the "Before it's news" website, dedicated to a variety of conspiracy theories, and the article there was linked from the openly anti-Semitic website "Secrets of Zion".

The primary source for the article is Ernst Zündel's website, the "Institute for Historical Review." Zündel is one of the most famous Holocaust deniers, whose activities have multiple times been legally qualified as "incitement of inter-ethnic hatred." He had been under trial in Canada, the USA, and Germany; he has been sentenced to fines, deported from countries as a person who threatens national safety, and, finally, sentenced to a prison term.

Soon after Dumskaya.net wrote about this, Pavel Kirichenko's post was deleted (though a screenshot was preserved on the website).

Earlier, as "Dumskaya" notes, the nationalist had an account in the "VKontakte" social network under the pen name "Voledar Zhivahogor," where he published anti-Semitic and xenophobic materials. After screenshots were published on an Odesa website, the account was deleted. Kirilenko denied that he had anything to do with the account.

In August, an anti-Semitic graffiti appeared in Lviv, under Castle Hill. It had the word "Shalom," but instead of the "o" there is an aluminum can with a straw labeled "Zyklon B," the gas used to poison prisoners in concentration camps. The picture was signed "Lviv Mojito, Umka 2013" and was situated near the place where a concentration camp had been during WWII.

The signature "Umka" belongs to a Russian graffiti artist, "working" with nationalistic and Nazi topics. He had earlier painted teddy bears shouting "Be White!" and "Rus!" on the streets of Lviv.

Before coming to Lviv, Umka had gone to Kyiv, where he left "Stop Islam!" graffiti. In these graffiti, there is a white bear drawn between the words "Stop" and "Islam," who is holding a bazooka with a pig instead of a rocket.

On October 9, unidentified persons glued an A4 piece of paper with the slogan "Jews have no place in our country" to the Holocaust victim memorial tablet on the building of the former Great Synagogue building. Since the tablet itself hadn't been harmed, I am not listing this as a case of anti-Semitic vandalism.

The building hosted a camp for Jews during the occupation. Most of them were shot in Izmil castle, and the others were deported to Transnistria and killed on the territory of today's Mykolaiv oblast'.

On December 1, a group of pro-Russian imperialist church activists attempted to take down the Hanukkah candelabrum erected by the Jewish community in Odesa, at the Primorsky boulevard. The police stopped the act of vandalism. The Orthodox Christian activists, who believe the Chanukiah (the Hanukkah candelabrum) to symbolize the "dominance of Israel," advocated anti-Semitic views, called the Jews "Satanists," and accused them of ritually murdering children.

On December 7, flyers on behalf of the All-Ukrainian Political Union "Svoboda" Part were disseminated in the Kyiv underground railway, which contained calls to lynch the Jews, to "get them off our country's streets."

"Svoboda's" PR department refuted the party's privity to these flyers and stated that this was a provocation.

Additional elections to the Parliament of Ukraine (Verkhovna Rada). Anti-Semitism.

On December 15, additional elections to the Parliament of Ukraine were held in five majority single-mandate constituencies. Due to massive falsifications in the parliamentary elections and mass civil protests, the Central Election Committee decreed that the results in these constituencies were indeterminate.

According to the official results, the pro-government candidate (formally - independent) Victor Pylypyshin won in constituency #223 with 44,89% of votes. His main rival was the All-Ukrainian Union "Svoboda" representative Yuri Levchenko with 39,80 votes.

In constituency #197, "Batkivschina" party candidate Leonid Datsenko won with 63,51% of votes. He had notably been the center of a scandal caused by his anti-Semitic statements in the 2012 elections, in which he ran for that same constituency. On October 28, 2012, (election day, which is notable in itself), a small video had been disseminated through the Internet (various news agencies included transcripts), which contained Leonid Datsenko speaking his mind in a quite anti-Semitic vein. During a conversation with an unknown person (likely someone who had been sent to start a provocative talk), Datsenko speaks about Arseniy Yatsenyuk with unabashed antipathy, emphasizing his alleged ethnicity. "I'll tell you, Yatsenyuk doesn't add much [to the popularity of the party - V.L.]. He's got such an ambivalent perception [meaning "he's being perceived so ambiguously" - V.L.] in Central Ukraine, considering his connection, that he's a little kike and son of a kike. [...] He thinks he's the next President of Ukraine. First of all, he's very wrong, because here in our Ukraine, whatever time you choose - Soviet, or the time of the Tsars - kikes were never the leaders." When the provocateur asked a question to clarify the ethnic heritage of the "Batkivschina" leader, Datsenko laughed and said that "they don't hit you in the passport, they hit you in the face."

On December 11, the day before the 2013 elections, criminal proceedings were instigated against L. Datsenko according to Article 161 of the Criminal Code (“inciting inter-ethnic hatred”) for publishing anti-Semitic materials in the “And the Angel with a Machine Gun on His Shoulder” book of poetry.

In his poem “G-2, G-8”, Datsenko writes “Various -mans and -iches” (hinting at the stereotypical endings of Jewish surnames) “use the rules they themselves wrote / to hunt us down in different political lists.” “They are to rule, we are to clean the outhouses / they are to take our money even when times are bad [...] They are served even by speakers, even by prime ministers.”

Notably, Datsenko became the only candidate from the opposition who won in the additional parliamentary election that were held on December 15.