MODERN ANTISEMITISM IN THE VISEGRÁD COUNTRIES

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The Tom Lantos Institute (TLI) is an independent human and minority rights organization with a particular focus on Jewish and Roma communities, Hungarian minorities, and other ethnic or national, linguistic and religious minorities. It operates internationally in terms of staff, partners, scope, and funds. As a research and education platform, TLI aims to bridge the gaps between research and policy, norms and practice.

TLI locates itself at the intersection of human rights and identity politics. While appreciating the importance of legal perspectives and remedies to violations, it investigates through multidisciplinary approaches the problem-solving capacity of existing national and international norms. TLI's principal strategic goal is the socialization of human and minority rights through research, education, public debates, publishing, and memorialization.
TLI's Jewish Life and Antisemitism Programme focuses on the past, present and future of the Hungarian and European Jewry. It actively promotes this extremely diverse heritage and identity, supporting its transmission to younger generations. Working with local communities to explore and educate Jewish histories contributes to countering antisemitism. The research of contemporary forms of antisemitism is a flagship project of the Institute.

This publication summarizes our research on modern antisemitism in the Visegrád region conducted by a team of researchers in all four countries.

01

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1 https://tatk.academia.edu/Anik%C3%B3F%C3%A9lix (accessed June 19, 2017).

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2 http://www.rafalpankowski.pl/ (accessed June 19, 2017).

02
INTRODUCTION

Ildikó Barna and Anikó Félix

The present report analyzes the current state of modern antisemitism, and especially new antisemitism, in the Visegrád countries: the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia. Each of the four country reports in this volume examines the three main manifestations of this phenomenon, namely secondary, conspiratorial and new antisemitism, with a particular emphasis on the latter. Secondary antisemitism pertains to the denial, relativization and/or trivialization of the Shoah, while conspiratorial antisemitism covers conspiracy theories about the Jews. In order to distinguish legitimate criticism of Israel from new antisemitism, we have applied the "3D" test proposed by Natan Sharansky. The first "D" stands for the demonization, which refers to cases in which the Jewish state is portrayed as inherently wicked or evil. The second "D" stands for double standards, which come into play when criticism of Israel is applied in an imbalanced or selective manner. The third "D" stands for delegitimization, which applies when such criticism turns into a denial of Israel's fundamental right to exist.[3]

Unlike in the West, from Germany to the United States, where new antisemitism is generally associated with left-wing, pro-Palestinian activists, the identity of those engaging in it in the Visegrád countries is more diffuse. A further difference is that this phenomenon plays a much smaller role in the public and academic discourse of these four countries. Although the intensity of new antisemitism is undeniably much weaker in this region, it is also not entirely absent. In fact, the region has a strong history of anti-Zionism due to its Communist past. The aim of this report is to identify the actors that engage in modern antisemitism in the Visegrád countries, with a particular emphasis on new antisemitism, in order to identify and evaluate their commonalities and differences. To this end, the authors of the country reports map the main discourses, topics and actors that feature in the modern antisemitic discourse in each country. In the process, they also discuss the historical, legislative and attitudinal background that has given rise to this phenomenon.[4]

3 Natan Sharansky, "3D Test of Anti-Semitism: Demonization, Double Standards, Delegitimization," *Jewish Political Studies Review* 16, nos. 3-4 (2004).

4 We would like to take this opportunity to extend our thanks to the authors of this volume for their contributions, to Grigorij Mesežnikov in particular, whose thoughts informed this summary report.

The main research questions addressed by the four country reports are as follows:

(i) Is new antisemitism present in the country in question? If so, what forms does it take?

(ii) What is the connection between new and other forms of antisemitism?

(iii) What are its historical, legislative and political aspects?

(iv) What are its main topics and discourses?

(v) Who are the main actors that are responsible for producing these discourses and determining these topics?

(vi) What events have triggered these topics and discourses during the past six years?

Analytical framework

For the purposes of this project, we have employed the working definition of antisemitism adopted by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA).[5] As regards the definition of modern antisemitism, we have distinguished three subtypes, namely secondary, conspiratorial and new antisemitism. Regarding the third subtype of modern antisemitism, new antisemitism, we are aware that criticism of Israel does not necessarily equate to antisemitism or anti-Zionism[6] and that there is sometimes a fine line separating them. One of the main dangers of new antisemitism is that it is often regarded as part of legitimate or acceptable discourse,[7] thus preventing the international community from seeing the Jewish-Arab conflict in all its complexity. This distorts the debate on the human and minority rights issues that have emerged on both sides, ultimately undermining efforts to resolve the conflict. In order to distinguish legitimate criticism

5 For more information on the working definition of antisemitism adopted by the IHRA Plenary in Budapest in May 2016, see https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/press_release_document_antisemitism.pdf (accessed January 25, 2017).

6 David Matas, *Aftershock: Anti-Zionism & Anti-Semitism* (Toronto: The Dundurn Group, 2005).

7 This problem was discussed in detail at a conference held at Indiana University in April 2016, entitled "Anti-Zionism, Antisemitism, and the Dynamics of Delegitimization." See http://www.indiana.edu/~iscaweb/isc_video.shtml (accessed December 15, 2016).

of Israel from antisemitism, we have therefore applied Natan Sharansky's "3D" test.

Outline and methods

Since the main purpose of this report is to analyze and compare the prevalence of modern antisemitism in the Visegrád countries, all four country reports follow the same structure. The first section of each report, presents a brief history of the Jewish population and community in the country concerned, followed by an analysis of the historical context of modern antisemitism, a review of recent opinion polls on the subject of antisemitism, an overview of the legislative background, and an examination of official governmental relations with Israel. The next section of each report identifies the main actors and manifestations in the field of modern antisemitism in the period under review (2010-2016). The actors, defined as those who appear to have a significant voice and impact at national level, have been divided into two categories. The first category comprises parties, groups, movements, associations and persons, while the second category encompasses the media.[8] Manifestations of modern antisemitism also fall into several categories, including events (e.g. demonstrations and boycotts), incidents (e.g. physical or verbal attacks) and other acts (e.g. speeches, publications and so forth). Most of these manifestations were attributable to the aforementioned actors, but others were selected by the authors on the grounds of their pertinence to the topic. The final section of each report summarizes the authors' findings and presents their conclusions.

The historical context of modern antisemitism

The history of the Jewish population has broadly followed the same trajectory in all four countries. For centuries, a large Jewish population contributed to the country's social, economic and cultural development. However, even periods of peaceful coexistence between Jews and non-Jews were accompanied by growing anti-Jewish sentiment. Antisemitism

8 The method of selection is briefly summarized at the beginning of the relevant section in each country report.

later seeped into national politics, culminating in the Shoah and the annihilation of most of the Jewish population of all four countries. Although the post-war regimes appeared to offer the surviving communities the possibility of assimilation, in practice antisemitism was resurrected by the Communist parties of the region. As far as the intensity and brutality of this new incarnation of antisemitism is concerned, the activities of the Communist regimes cannot be compared to the Nazis' campaign of vilification and dehumanization, but they were nonetheless sufficient to sow the seeds of persistent antisemitic sentiment in the local population. The establishment of Israel created a further focus for anti-Jewish feeling. In all four countries, anti-Zionist campaigns of varying intensity were waged on various grounds, from opposition to Jewish nationalism and self-determination to accusations of disloyalty and treason.

A comparative view

Although all four countries re-established diplomatic relations with Israel after a period of transition and state-fuelled anti-Zionism has all but disappeared, antisemitism continues to exist at the attitudinal and political level in all four countries. The results of the opinion polls presented in the country reports corroborate the well-known fact that there is no direct correlation between the size of the Jewish population and the level of antisemitism. Antisemitism is present in all the Visegrád countries, regardless of the size of the local Jewish community. Although a direct comparison of the data gathered in the different countries is impossible due to the different methodological approaches, certain conclusions can nevertheless be drawn. According to the opinion polls, Jews are not regarded as "public enemy no. 1" in any of the countries under review, especially not in the Czech Republic, where they are seen in a neutral light or even viewed sympathetically. Nevertheless, all three types of modern antisemitism are in evidence in the Visegrád countries, albeit to different degrees of intensity.

Actors and manifestations

The authors of the country reports identify two kinds of actors. The first kind are those who combine all three

types of modern antisemitism, while the second are those who "only" hold anti-Israel views. The two most conspicuous differences between Eastern and Western Europe in this regard include the anti-Zionist position adopted by far-right parties in Eastern Europe and the fact that there are fewer leftist, pro-Palestinian actors operating there.

In Western Europe, far-right parties are mostly characterized by a strong anti-Islamic agenda, which means that they are less antisemitic and in some cases even pro-Israel.[9] This is not the case in the Visegrád countries, where most of the actors are far-right parties, movements and persons that engage in all forms of modern antisemitism. These actors include parties like National Democracy in the Czech Republic, Jobbik in Hungary, the People's Party Our Slovakia and nationalist elements linked to the Kukiz'15 movement in Poland. The situation has changed somewhat as a result of Europe's migration crisis, which has pushed some of these parties to adopt a more anti-Islamic agenda and reframe their antisemitism. As all four country reports indicate, the refugee crisis has given rise to new conspiracy theories. As Veronika Šternová puts it in her report on the Czech Republic, the idea that "my enemy's enemy is my enemy" has started to influence the antisemitic rhetoric of some of these parties, as in the case of Hungary's Jobbik.[10]

Although we have no concrete evidence that the antisemitism of these far-right parties is built on the foundations of Communist anti-Zionism, we assume that it persists to some extent in their rhetoric, even at a subconscious level. The preservation of this heritage is most apparent in the Communist parties of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, but it is less evident in the other two Visegrád countries. The lower number of Communist anti-Zionist actors in the region is partly explained by bad memories of Communism, while the lower number of purely anti-Zionist actors

9 Hans-Georg Betz, "Mosques, Minarets, Burqas and Other Essentials: The Populist Right's Campaign against Islam in Western Europe," in *Right-Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse*, ed. R. Wodak, M. Khosravnik and B. Mral (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 71-88.

10 Jobbik has recently toned down its antisemitic rhetoric. During the period under review, however, the party exhibited strong antisemitic sentiments, which is why Ildikó Barna identified Jobbik as a significant actor in her country report on Hungary.

is probably related to the absence of a significant Muslim population in the region. Nevertheless, some actors have adopted an exclusively anti-Israel position, without any trace of the other types of antisemitism. Examples of such actors include the bloggers Kamil Kandalaft and Barbora Weberová, who are discussed in the Slovak country report, and the International Solidarity Movement (ISM), which is discussed in the country report on the Czech Republic. Apart from the ISM, there is no significant movement in the region similar to the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement in Western countries, which focuses on promoting a cultural, academic and economic boycott against Israel.[11] Our assumption, which warrants further investigation, is that this is partly due to low levels of socially conscious consumerism. In other words, consumers in the Visegrád countries base their choices less on moral values and more on economic imperatives. This behaviour likely has historical roots and may also be related to the regional standard of living, which remains low compared to Western countries.

In all four Visegrád countries, far-right actors are the main exponents of secondary and conspiratorial antisemitism. New conspiracy theories have recently emerged in the region, such as the alleged Jewish contribution to the European refugee crisis, as discussed in all country reports. Conspiracy theories concerning George Soros, the multimillionaire entrepreneur of Jewish-Hungarian origin, are another common element in three of the four countries (the Czech Republic being the exception).[12] In all four countries, manifestations of new antisemitism were mostly linked to far-right actors, which also engaged in other types of antisemitism. In the case of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, however, some acts that can be categorized exclusively as new antisemitism were carried out by left-wing actors. Aside from these cases, it is difficult to place manifestations of antisemitism in just one category, since they mostly combine

11 See https://bdsmovement.net (accessed January 23, 2017).

12 Péter Krekó et al., "'Migrant Invasion' as a Trojan Horseshoe," in *Trust within Europe*, ed. Péter Krekó et al. (Budapest: Political Capital, 2015), 63-72, available at http://www.politicalcapital.hu/wp-content/uploads/PC_OSIFE_Trust_Within_Europe_web.pdf (accessed January 15, 2016).

at least two of the three subtypes of modern antisemitism. A case in point appears in the Polish country report, which discusses the burning at a demonstration of a Hassidic effigy depicting George Soros as the author of a secret plan to bring Muslim refugees to Europe.

Physical attacks against Jews as manifestations of antisemitism are much less prevalent in the Visegrád countries than in many Western European countries, with most incidents occurring online or in the form of verbal attacks. However, the number of violent incidents in the Czech Republic rose during the period under review.

Limitations and further research

The present report seeks to provide an overview of modern antisemitism in the Visegrád countries, while taking account of the region's special historical and political context. However, we are aware of the limitations of this study. First, since not all actors, manifestations and platforms could be covered, only those selected after careful consideration by the authors of the country reports were examined. This has inevitably resulted in a degree of subjectivity. Furthermore, we cannot empirically substantiate the link between the historical heritage of Communist anti-Zionism and the current antisemitic discourse, nor the correlation between the lack of BDS activity and the low level of socially conscious consumerism in the Visegrád countries. Further research is therefore needed on these issues.

In addition, a detailed analysis of the manifestations of the various subtypes of modern antisemitism is required in order to understand the relationships between them. A network analysis of inter-country and intra-country relations is also necessary. In countries where the extreme Left plays a role in the antisemitic discourse, as in Slovakia and the Czech Republic, relations between the extreme Left and the extreme Right should also be investigated. Last but not least, a regional survey of antisemitism in the Visegrád countries should be carried out on the basis of the special historical and political characteristics of the region outlined in this report. The Tom Lantos Institute and the editors of this volume aim to achieve these objectives in the near future.

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03

THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Veronika Šternová

I. BACKGROUND

Jewish population and community

The Jewish presence in the territory now known as the Czech Republic has a history stretching back over a thousand years. The first account of Jewish people in Prague can be found in a letter from the tenth century written by the Jewish merchant Ibrahim ibn Jacob. Since then, the country has been home to a significant Jewish population, including several religious authorities. In the Middle Ages, the Jewish population enjoyed the protection of the king of the Czech lands. Jews were obliged to pay a special tax for this protection and were therefore an important source of revenue. At the same time, however, they were excluded from pursuing most crafts and were not allowed to own land. As a result, most of the Jewish population was concentrated in the cities in ghettos. Jews were also subjected to various other restrictive measures and were often the target of violent physical attacks known as pogroms.[1] In 1781, the Edict of Tolerance improved conditions for Jews in the Czech lands by revoking many discriminatory laws. It heralded a process of Jewish Emancipation, which was centred around Prague, where many social reform clubs were founded. The resulting assimilation and Germanization marked a significant turning point for Czech Jewry. As in other European countries, the Holocaust subsequently decimated the Jewish population. Only about thirty thousand Jews survived. Postwar events in Central and Eastern Europe also proved very challenging when it came to restoring Jewish life in Czechoslovakia. The rise of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party under the aegis of the Soviet Union prompted the emigration of Jewish Holocaust survivors, mostly to Israel and the United States. Those who remained faced another period of antisemitic repression, which lasted almost until the end of Communist rule in Czechoslovakia. The Velvet Revolution of 1989 brought freedom and democracy to Czechoslovakia and marked the beginning of the economic and so-

1 The worst pogrom in the Czech lands took place in the Prague ghetto during Easter 1389. Over 3,000 Jews were killed during the pogrom.

cial transformation of Czech society, which opened the door to Western diversity and liberalism. Under these circumstances, the Czech Jewish community was finally able to restore itself, develop its activities and become an integral part of modern Czech society.

Today, the Czech Jewish community is officially represented by the Federation of Jewish Communities in the Czech Republic (FJC), which serves as the umbrella organization of ten official Jewish communities in Bohemia and Moravia and several other "secular" Jewish organizations, including youth organizations, conservative and reform organizations, and sports clubs. Official estimates of the Jewish population in the Czech Republic are very low. The official Jewish communities currently have about 3,000 registered members, almost half of whom reside in Prague.[2] Other Jewish organizations have roughly 4,000 members. However, the latest census shows that only 1,132 people claim to be members of a Jewish community and only 345 people describe themselves as Jewish believers,[3] although the FJC's website claims that there are an additional 10,000-15,000 people of Jewish origin living in the Czech Republic who are not registered with any official organization.[4] There is no official data on the main socio-demographic characteristics of the Jewish population in the country, but it can be assumed that a majority of the members of the Jewish communities are over fifty years old. The activities of the communities are therefore targeted at this age range and hold little appeal for younger generations, which are largely unaffiliated.

Historical context of modern antisemitism

The history of antisemitism in the Czech lands is as long as the history of Jewish habitation there. In this respect, it does not differ all that much from neighbouring coun-

2 Federation of Jewish Communities in the Czech Republic (FZO), "About Us," https://www.fzo.cz/en/about-us/organization (accessed January 2, 2017).

3 Czech Statistical Office, Obyvatelstvo podle náboženské víry v krajích, https://vdb.czso.cz/vdbvo2/faces/cs/index.jsf?page=vystup-objekt-vyhledavani&vyhltext=n%C3%A1bo%C5%BEenstv%C3%AD&bkvt=bsOhYm_FvmVuc3R2w60.&katalog=all&pvo=SLD9100PU-KR (accessed January 2, 2017).

4 FZO, "About Us."

tries such as Germany or Austria. For centuries, the Jewish population faced various kinds of restrictions imposed by the Church, which tended to benefit from these measures in some way. Jews were often objects of hatred and were subjected to numerous pogroms. They were not allowed to own land, and as a result most of the Jewish population lived in towns in closed ghettos. In the eighteenth century, in 1726 so-called bureaucratic antisemitism became official government policy with the adoption of two laws designating the permitted number and living areas of Jews in the Czech lands, namely the Familiant Law[5] and the Translocational Rescript.[6] These restrictions remained in force until 1848, when Jews became citizens with partially equal rights. By 1867, they had gained full equality. During this time, however, new forms of antisemitism were emerging, ultimately culminating in the atrocities of the Holocaust. Due to the persistence of various restrictions throughout most of the twentieth century, the Jewish population in the Czech Republic has still not been able to fully restore itself.

The Czech form of modern antisemitism has its roots in the nineteenth century, when specific antisemitic ideas emerged in the Czech lands. These ideas differed slightly from those circulating in Germany or France, originating as they did from a different set of experiences. The Jewish population in the region was highly assimilated and consisted mainly of Reform Jews who had adopted a modern way of life not unlike that of their Czech neighbours and were fully integrated in society. As a result, the Czechs did not harbour racist notions of an inferior Jewish race. Instead, modern Czech antisemitism of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was motivated by purely economic and nationalistic reasons. Racial factors were not part of the rhetoric. Instead, hatred of the German minority had extended towards the Jews, who were accused of collaborating with the Germans against the Czechs. These accusations were inspired by the fact that most Czech Jews spoke German and had German names at this time, which was more of a his-

5 Designed to regulate the number of Jewish families and control Jewish population growth.
6 Designed to regulate locations inhabited by the Jewish population.

torical coincidence than a demonstration of affinity for the German nation. As a result, conspiracy theories and disputes about loyalty were the among the main preoccupations of Czech antisemites in those days, as they still are today.

Another specific episode in the history of modern antisemitism in the Czech lands involves the famous politician Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, who took it upon himself to speak out against the antisemitic sentiments and stereotypes that surfaced during the so-called Hilsner affair of 1899.[7] After he became president of Czechoslovakia, Masaryk continued to speak out against antisemitism, together with other politicians. For this reason, any expression of antisemitism at the political level remains unacceptable in the Czech Republic today, and any manifestation will result in the end of the offender's career in mainstream politics.

Unfortunately, the Holocaust devastated the Czech Jewish population. Before the start of World War II, there were approximately 180,000 Jews living in Czechoslovakia. While 26,000 of them were able to emigrate before 1941, over 80,000 Czech Jews were murdered.

After World War II, Czechoslovakia became a part of the Eastern Bloc, and a new wave of antisemitism flourished in the countries that fell under the influence of the Soviet Union. Jews were regarded as the enemy and referred to as "cosmopolitans" due to their connections with Jews in other countries. Likewise, anti-Jewish conspiracy theories once again began to proliferate under Communist rule. As in the Soviet Union, Jews were accused of plotting against Socialism, and politicians of Jewish origin were put on trial, the most notorious example being the so-called Slansky trial.[8] Antisemitism was officially rejected, but unofficially persisted in the form of anti-Zionism, which covered not only hatred of the "imperialistic" State of Israel but also resistance to "Jewish bourgeois nationalism" and Judaism.[9] Agents of the secret

7 See http://www.jewishmuseum.cz/en/program-and-education/exhibits/archive-exhibits/363.

8 See http://iseees.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/u4/bps_/publications_/2009-08-Blumenthal.pdf.

9 Pavlát, Leo. "Antisemitismus – nejsetrvalejší zášť v dějinách lidstva." In Židé – dějiny a kultura. Edited by Leo Pavlát. Prague: Jewish Museum in Prague, 2005, 105.

police paid special attention to citizens of Jewish origin, going so far as to compile a list of them in the framework of a secret operation called "Pavouk" (Spider). The official Jewish communities were also monitored by the secret police.

Today, Communist anti-Zionist rhetoric is still in evidence in some peripheral Communist media and is advanced by members of extreme-left movements as well as pro-Palestinian activists. In the political mainstream, however, anti-Zionism or new antisemitism of any description remains unacceptable.

Opinion polls on antisemitism

The Public Opinion Research Centre of the Institute of Sociology at the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic conducts a regular survey called "Our Society". One section of this survey also attempts to describe the relationship between the public and national and ethnic minorities living in the country. Respondents are asked to define their sympathies towards each minority on a scale of one to five (one being very sympathetic, five being very unsympathetic). The latest survey, published in March 2016, shows that responses concerning Jews ranged for the most part from neutral to rather sympathetic, with an average rating of 2.91.[10]

Similar results appeared in the annual survey conducted in March 2015 by the non-profit agency STEM, which measures the social distance of respondents to minorities by asking them whether they would accept a neighbour of a different nationality or ethnicity. In this survey, roughly two-thirds (65%) of respondents stated that they would have no problem accepting Jews as their neighbours.[11]

Both surveys further revealed that the level of sympathy towards Jews increased according to the respondent's level of education. Generally speaking, attitudes towards Jews range from indifferent to rather positive. The Anti-Defamation League's

10 Institute of Sociology at the Czech Academy of Sciences, Public Opinion Research Centre, "Media," https://cvvm.soc.cas.cz/media/com_form2content/documents/c2/a2050/f9/ov160420.pdf (accessed January 2, 2017).

11 STEM Non-Profit Institute, Vztah české veřejnosti k cizincům - březen 2015, https://www.stem.cz/vztah-ceske-verejnosti-k-cizincum-brezen-2015 (accessed January 2, 2017).

Index of Antisemitism stands at 13% for the Czech Republic, which is one of the lowest in Europe, as well as in the world.[12] The fact that the level of antisemitism and its manifestations are significantly lower in the Czech Republic than in other European countries helps explain why more complex research on antisemitism and antisemitic behaviour has not been conducted there to the same extent as in other Central European countries.

Legislative background

The Czech Criminal Code describes various types of hate crimes and crimes relating to extremism that are relevant to the issue of antisemitism. The most important of these are Section 355: Defamation of Nation, Race, Ethnic or other Group of People and Section 356: Instigation of Hatred towards a Group of People or Suppression of their Rights and Freedoms, which appear in Chapter X on Criminal Offences against Order in Public Matters. Most antisemitic offences are tried under these sections, with the possibility of up to two years' imprisonment in the case of conviction.

Chapter XIII of the Criminal Code on Criminal Offences against Humanity, Peace and War Crimes covers other criminal acts relating to antisemitism in Sections 400 to 405, including: genocide; attacks against humanity; apartheid and discrimination against a group of people; the establishment, support and promotion of movements aimed at suppression of human rights and freedoms; the expression of sympathies for movements seeking to suppress human rights and freedoms; and the denial, impugnation, approval and justification of genocide. Anyone convicted under the sections on genocide and attacks against humanity may be sentenced to a prison term of at least twelve years or to an exceptional term of life imprisonment.

According to the FJC's 2015 Annual Report on Antisemitism, antisemitic hatred on the Internet constitutes more than 80 per cent of all recorded antisemitic incidents. Despite the

12 Anti-Defamation League, The ADL Global 100 – Czech Republic, http://global100.adl.org/#country/czech-republic/2014 (accessed January 2, 2017).

fact that some of the content posted on extremist websites constitutes a criminal offence, the perpetrators cannot be sued under Czech law because their websites are registered abroad. As a result, there is no effective way to prevent these websites from publishing such content. The phenomenon of cyberbullying is also on the rise. So far, only individuals have been affected, but the phenomenon could also spread to the Jewish community and Jewish organizations. Efforts must be made to prevent this, in cooperation with other European countries. Combating hate speech on the Internet, including all forms of antisemitism, has proved to be extremely challenging–and not only in the Czech Republic. There is a clear need for a discussion on further common legislative steps to counter this phenomenon.

Governmental relations with Israel

Compared to other European countries, all Czech governments have maintained surprisingly good relations with Israel ever since the restoration of diplomatic ties between the countries in February 1990. The media often refer to the Czech Republic as the strongest ally of the State of Israel within the European Union on account of the stable diplomatic and trade relations between the two countries. Many steps that have been taken during the past two decades clearly attest to this, including the fact that the Czech Republic was the only European country to vote against granting Palestine non-member observer state status in the UN General Assembly in November 2012.[13] In addition, the Czech Republic and Israel have held regular government-level meetings since 2012, and in 2015 the Czech parliament refused to change the labelling of goods from Israeli settlements and called on the government to reject the EU guidelines in this regard. Last but not least, governmental relations remain stable no matter what political party is in power.

Diplomat and author Moshe Yegar believes that these good relations have their roots in several historical events linked to Czechoslovakia's first presi-

13 "General Assembly Votes Overwhelmingly to Accord Palestine 'Non-Member Observer State' Status in United Nations," UN press release, https://www.un.org/press/en/2012/ga11317.doc.htm (accessed January 2, 2017).

dent, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk. As far back as 1883, and thirteen years before Theodor Herzl published Der Judenstaat. Masaryk believed that the Jews had their own nationality and should be seen as a nation.[14] Moreover, it was thanks to Masaryk that Czechoslovakia was the first state to officially recognize the existence of Jewish nationhood in 1920. Masaryk went even further by visiting Jewish settlements and the Hebrew University in Mandatory Palestine in 1927. Zionism and the notion of a Jewish homeland was also endorsed by other Czech intellectuals, who supported the Jews in their efforts to make this dream a reality.[15] Czechoslovakia hosted the World Zionist Congress in 1921, 1923 and 1933.

After World War II, Czechoslovakia restored Zionism to its pre-war state. Foreign minister Jan Masaryk was particularly instrumental in helping create the State of Israel through his diplomatic work at the United Nations. In 1947, negotiations took place between Czechoslovakia and representatives of the nascent State of Israel on the provision of military supplies and military training, which were duly initiated in defiance of a UN embargo.[16] Masaryk's tragic death in March 1948 marked the beginning of the end of relations between the newly-born State of Israel and Czechoslovakia.[17] After the Communist coup that took pace later that year, Czechoslovakia became part of the Soviet-controlled Eastern Bloc and followed Moscow's official anti-Zionist policies for the next forty years, until the Velvet Revolution of 1989.

II. ANTISEMITISM: ACTORS AND MANIFESTATIONS

Actors

Method of selection

The selected actors are meant to paint a picture of the patterns of antisemitism that exist in the Czech Republic today. Modern antisemitic rhetoric is often combined with old antisemitic stereotypes, neo-Nazism

14 Moshe Yegar, Ceskoslovensko, sionismus, Izrael (Prague: Victoria Publishing and East Publishing, 1997), 19.
15 Ibid., 27.
16 Ibid., 99.
17 Ibid., 125.

and extreme-left ideology. As a result, there are many similarities between the antisemitic rhetoric of the Far Left and the Far Right. When it comes antisemitic statements relating to the Middle East conflict, in particular, it is often difficult to identify the perpetrator's political views. This trend is no different from what we are witnessing in other European countries or the United States. It is due to globalization and modern forms of communication such as social media that antisemitism, which used to have a specific local character, is now a global ideology of hatred that has even spread to places where it has no historical roots.[18] However, despite strong pressures arising from the Ukraine and the European refugee crises, the antisemitic scene in the Czech Republic remains fragmented and consists of several small groups, political parties, individuals and media organizations from both ends of the political spectrum.[19] In this context, it is worth noting that Muslim radicalism is not an issue in the Czech Republic.

The actors: parties, groups, associations and persons

National Democracy (Národní demokracie)

The National Democracy (ND) party[20] was founded at the beginning of 2014. Its chairman is Adam B. Bartoš. The party identifies itself as patriotic and as a guardian of classical and Christian civilization. Its main objective is to see the Czech Republic leave the European Union, and it is staunchly opposed to the current liberal political and social order. The party's platform is highly controversial, and many of its members have been recruited from movements with extreme right-wing ideologies. For example, Patrik Vondrák, who was meant to be a party candidate, has been convicted for promoting neo-Nazism. Only later was aquitted.[21] Together with Bartoš and Erik Sedlacek, another person with close links to ND, Vondrák organized a

18 Pavlat, "Antisemitismus," 107.

19 Zbyněk Tarant, "Antisemitism in Response to the 2015 Refugee Wave – Case of the Czech Republic," ISGAP Flashpoint no. 13, January 28, 2016, http://isgap.org/flashpoint/antisemitism-in-response-to-the-2015-refugee-wave-the-case-of-the-czech-republic (accessed January 2, 2017).

20 National Democracy Party, http://narodnidemokracie.cz (accessed January 2, 2017).

21 See http://praha.idnes.cz/propagace-neonacismu-055-/praha-zpravy.aspx?c=A121017_134942_praha-zpravy_zep.

march through the Jewish Quarter of Prague on the anniversary of Kristallnacht in 2007.[22]

Adam B. Bartoš

Adam B. Bartoš is a former journalist and blogger, as well as an ultra-conservative and overt antisemite. In the past, former Czech president Václav Klaus was favourably disposed towards Bartoš, and it was only after he was investigated by the police that Klaus decided to distance himself from him. Currently the chairman of the anti-liberal, ultra-conservative ND party, Bartoš is known for his strong antisemitic and anti-Israel tendencies. Some of his published articles meet the criteria for the identification of antisemitism of the European Union's Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) or the working definition of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA).[23] Conspiracy theories form the leitmotif of his articles, several of which were condemned in a statement issued by the FJC and the European Shoah Legacy Institute (ESLI). Bartoš's Facebook page, where he shared links to his articles, promoted his blogs and ND and gained a wide audience, has now been banned. He has since created a new profile that is not as active as the previous one and more moderate in its approach. This could be connected to the fact that he has been investigated by the police for other antisemitic acts, such as publishing a new translation of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion with an introduction that attempts to disprove the book's false origins.

Free Resistance (Svobodný odpor)

Free Resistance (FR), formerly National Resistance, is a neo-Nazi organization established in 1998 that serves as an umbrella organization and ideological platform for Czech right-wing extremists and as a replacement for the defunct neo-Nazi organization Blood and Honour. FR's ideology is based on National Socialist ideas and contains strong anti-Roma, antisemitic and anti-system elements. The movement's

22 See http://www.antifa.cz/content/patrik-vondrak-cesky-forrest-gump.

23 See https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/media-room/stories/working-definition-antisemitism-0.

horizontal organizational structure comprises many small autonomous regional cells and it accordingly lacks a centralized leadership. In the past, certain influential individuals publicly represented the movement but did not present themselves as part of its leadership.

In 2009, the Czech authorities carried out a large and fairly successful operation to crack down on right-wing extremists. FR has not really recovered from the operation, not least because the operation triggered the movement's fragmentation, splitting it into many small groups that seem unable to take coordinated action. This lack of cooperation may also be related to internal conflicts, since the movement has long lacked the kind of prominent individuals who could develop a clear strategy to advance its "struggle against the system". Last but not least, there appears to be a split within the movement's ranks between die-hard extremists and those favouring a more populist direction. This has led to the movement's disintegration into smaller autonomous cells, which are particularly prevalent in regions suffering from high unemployment and economic stagnation, such as the Highlands region, the Moravian-Silesian region and the Ústi nad Labem region. Right-wing extremists are aware of their plight and are seeking inspiration from abroad from political parties like Hungary's Jobbik and Greece's Golden Dawn, which entered into public consciousness by establishing direct contact with ordinary citizens, for example by organizing food and clothing drives for people affected by the economic crisis. Czech right-wing extremists are also engaged in long-term and significant cooperation with Germany's far-right National Democratic Party (NDP).

A notable incident coordinated by FR was its 2007 attempt to stage a neo-Nazi demonstration in Prague's old Jewish Quarter on the anniversary of Kristallnacht. The municipality prohibited the demonstration, but approximately thirty members of the movement still managed to reach Maiselova Street,[24] despite a massive police presence. Today, the movement's activities are mainly confined to the Internet and social media, where it posts strongly an-

24 The main street in Prague's Jewish Quarter. The Maisel Synagogue and the Old-New Synagogue are located there.

tisemitic material. Its social media accounts still have a significant number of followers, who can easily access this radical material and may be influenced by the movement's neo-Nazi propaganda.

Guidemedia etc

Guidemedia etc[25] is one of several Czech publishing houses specializing in antisemitic literature, mostly reprints of old and new translations of antisemitic books, as well as new titles. Its content focuses on Holocaust denial and conspiracy theories. Publishing such material is very dangerous and helps spread antisemitism throughout society in various ways. First, such books are published without any foreword or preface explaining the emergence and origin of the text or its historical context. Second, the revenue from the books can be used to finance the activities of radical groups. Third, the possibility to order them anonymously over the Internet makes it easier to reach a wider range of readers. Furthermore, the owners of the publishing house are directly linked to the extreme-right scene. For example, Pavel Kamas was among those who visited the Anežka Hrůzová memorial with Adam B. Bartoš (see below).

Parlamentní listy and other anti-liberal online media

Parlamentní listy[26] (PL) is a web portal claiming to be an alternative to the mainstream media but is, in fact, home to many anti-liberal authors and bloggers. In the past, Adam B. Bartoš was one of its main editors. The portal covers a wide range of opinions from across the political spectrum, including those of the Far Left and the Far Right. In addition to publishing editorials, it provides a platform for bloggers, which attracts numerous radical and antisemitic writers. In addition, PL provides web-hosting services for several radical websites, such as protiproud.parlemtnilisty.cz, which publishes xenophobic, anti-liberal and ultra-nationalistic articles, as well as articles on conspiracy theo-

25 Guidemedia, http://guidemedia.cz (accessed January 2, 2017).
26 Parlamentní listy, http://www.parlamentnilisty.cz (accessed January 2, 2017).

ries.[27] There are a number of other websites offering similar content, such as czechfreepress.cz, zvedavec.org, svobodnenoviny.eu and nwoo.org. In the past, most antisemitic websites were largely run by neo-Nazi and right-wing extremist groups linked to FR. More recently, anti-liberal websites have become the main source of antisemitic content, focusing on conspiracy theories.[28] Articles on these sites often reveal the writers' leanings towards Putin's Russia.

International Solidarity Movement[29]

The International Solidarity Movement Czech Republic is the most active pro-Palestinian movement in the Czech Republic and a member of the worldwide network of the Palestinian-led International Solidarity Movement (ISM). The movement is focused on furthering the Palestinian cause in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Unlike the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement, ISM is dedicated to non-violent methods. Its activities therefore generally take the form of organizing demonstrations, delivering lectures, writing articles or open letters and supporting boycotts of Israeli goods, cultural events and public figures.

ISM Czech Republic is very active through its website and social media accounts and is similar to other pro-Palestinian movements, such as the Palestinian Club in the Czech Republic. According to Sharansky's "3D" test, statements issued by ISM Czech Republic often incorporate elements of new antisemitism. The movement also has links to left-wing extremists in the Czech Republic.

Haló noviny[30]

Haló noviny (HN) is a daily newspaper that is published both in print and online. HN presents itself as a left-wing, anti-capitalist, anti-Fascist and Marxist publication. It has direct links with the Czech Communist Party and shares the party's

27 Protiproud, http://protiproud.parlamentnilisty.cz (accessed January 2, 2017).
28 Tarant, "Antisemitism in Response to the 2015 Refugee Wave."
29 International Solidarity Movement Czech Republic, http://ism-czech.org (accessed January 2, 2017).
30 Haló noviny, http://www.halonoviny.cz (accessed January 2, 2017).

ideology. On account of the newspaper's blatant extreme-left rhetoric, Czech Radio has banned any citing of HN articles in all broadcasts on all its channels. HN is renowned for its anti-Israel propaganda, publishing articles that focus on military operations in the Gaza Strip and accuse Israel of war crimes, genocide and apartheid. HN defiantly spreads the same Communist anti-Zionist propaganda that was popular during the Cold War. It often depicts Israel as an imperialist state that deliberately obstructs peace in the Middle East and terrorizes the Palestinians through racist and exploitative policies. Most of the anti-Israel articles published by HN do not stand up to scrutiny and their content qualifies as new antisemitism under Sharansky's "3D" test.

Manifestations of modern antisemitism

Secondary antisemitism: Holocaust denial, trivialization and relativization

In the Czech Republic, Holocaust denial, trivialization and relativization is a common activity among neo-Nazis and forms an integral part of the rhetoric that appears on their websites and in their publications. However, they rarely deny the Holocaust in public, most probably because the penalties for doing so are extremely harsh. Holocaust denial is very specific to the neo-Nazi scene and in many ways perpetuates pre-war Nazi racial, political and cultural antisemitism by focusing on the same arguments concerning the existence of a global Jewish conspiracy and the Jews' never-ending efforts to conquer and rule the world. In this context, the Holocaust is presented as an imaginary construct fabricated by Jews in order to achieve their goals, which include establishing the State of Israel and securing financial resources in the form of war reparations.[31]

31 Deborah Lipstadt, Popírání holocaustu. Sílící útok na pravdu a paměť (Prague-Litomyšl: Paseka, 2001), 135-136.

World War II and the Holocaust presented post-war antisemites with a difficult legacy that needed to be transformed before they could regain their place in society. This initially led to attempts to trivialize the Holocaust and subsequently to its complete denial, as witnessed in the works of well-known deniers such as David Irving or Ernst Zündel. Holocaust denial encompasses many theories that have evolved over the decades and are still being disseminated despite the legislative steps that have been taken in many countries to counter this trend.

Holocaust deniers try very hard to portray their work as proper scientific scholarship. Their goal is to convince readers that mainstream historical research has been subverted by the Jews in order to spread false information about the Holocaust. This tactic is accompanied by false arguments based on distortions of the testimony of Holocaust victims and concentration camp guards. Using these false arguments and other unsourced claims, Holocaust deniers seek to present an alternative history of World War II that minimizes the scope of the Holocaust or even denies it altogether.

The Czech neo-Nazi movement is obviously an avid supporter of Holocaust denial theories, which it shares through articles, videos, pictures and books that are available on various neo-Nazi websites. The FR's website contains download links for entire books by well-known Holocaust deniers such as David Duke, Ernst Zündel, Paul Rassinier and Robert Faurisson. Unfortunately, all the material is located on foreign servers, which means that the Czech authorities are unable to take legal action. According to statistics collected by the FJC, Holocaust denial accounted for 10% of all recorded antisemitic incidents on the Internet in 2015.[32]

In recent years, Holocaust denial has moved beyond the neo-Nazi cybersphere and into the realm of publishing. Guidemedia etc sells Germar Rudolf's Dissecting the Holocaust: The Growing Critique of 'Truth' and 'Memory' on its website as the first volume in its so-called Holocaust

32 Federation of Jewish Communities in the Czech Republic, Annual Report on Antisemitism in the Czech Republic in 2015, https://www.fzo.cz/en/520/annual-report-on-anti-semitismin-the-czech-republic-in-2015 (accessed January 2, 2017).

Handbook Series.[33] Guidemedia etc also resells books published by Adam B. Bartoš, as well as Germar Rudolf's Lectures on the Holocaust and David Hoggan's The Myth of the Six Million, which are published by Bodyart Press. All of these books, each one a masterpiece of Holocaust denial, are now easily accessible in its online store. Publishers of Holocaust denial literature also use social media, especially Facebook, to advertise their books and add to their credibility by making pseudo-scientific claims about their publications. This highlights the emergence of a new trend. What was once provided as informative material for members of radical groups on their own websites is now disseminated as widely as possible. This "return from cyber exile" is indicative of the newly increased self-confidence of Czech antisemites.[34]

Guidemedia etc's activity in this area has been increasing year on year. In 2015, it was involved in a trial concerning the publication of a book on Adolf Hitler's speeches, which did not result in the conviction of the company's owners or the author of the book. As a result of the trial, however, Guidemedia etc captured the attention of the mainstream media and became known to a wider public.

In March 2015, Adam B. Bartoš was one of the representatives of several radical antisemitic movements that visited the town of Polna, which was the scene of an infamous antisemitic blood libel in 1899 that became known as the Hilsner affair. Bartoš, accompanied by the former leader of the neo-Nazi National Resistance, the owner of Guidemedia etc and the vice-chairman of ND, attached a sign with the following statement to the memorial: "During Easter 1899 an innocent girl, Anežka Hrůzová, was murdered here. Her death united the Czech nation and showed the urgent need to resolve the Jewish question. The Jewish question has not been resolved in a satisfactory manner yet." Bartoš was given a three-year suspended sentence for his actions.

33 Guidemedia etc, http://guidemedia.cz/item/holocaust-pod-lupou (accessed January 2, 2017).
34 Tarant, "Antisemitism in Response to the 2015 Refugee Wave."

Conspiratorial antisemitism

In 2012, in the process of monitoring antisemitism in the Czech Republic, the FJC recorded a rapid rise in the popularity of anti-Jewish conspiracy theories disseminated through traditional channels by right-wing extremist groups, as well as through texts produced by a variety of individuals.[35] This rise continued in the years that followed, as conspiracy theories became the most popular topic of antisemitic discourse in 2015, accounting for 41% of all recorded articles.[36] Historically speaking, conspiracy theories based on the idea of Jewish world domination are one of the most enduring manifestations of antisemitism. They often quote or refer to The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, an early twentieth-century antisemitic fabrication purporting to describe a plan to enslave Gentiles and bring about global Jewish hegemony. Such conspiracy theories are still very much alive within Czech antisemitic circles, especially in light of Europe's current migration crisis. Most of the articles recorded by the FJC in the category of conspiracy theories pertaining to the refugee crisis and the wave of Islamist terrorist attacks in Europe in 2014-2015 blame the Jews for orchestrating these events in order to destroy European culture.[37] Radicals from anti-liberal and right-wing extremist groups cultivate and promote such theories, and their anti-Islamic rhetoric is similar to their antisemitic rhetoric in a number of respects. This shift of focus to immigration and terrorism is significant in comparison to earlier themes. In previous years, articles in this category covered topics ranging from the Jewish ancestry of Czech presidential candidate Jan Fischer to the bizarre theory that the Olympic Games in London were being controlled by the Jews.[38]

However, theories concerning the role of the Jews in the Islamization of Europe are nothing new. Before the current migration crisis, they were being used to illustrate the

35 Jewish Community in Prague, Annual Report on Anti-Semitism Symptoms in the Czech Republic in 2014, http://antisemitism.org.il/webfm_send/143 (accessed January 2, 2017).

36 Federation of Jewish Communities, Annual Report on Antisemitism 2015.

37 Ibid.

38 Radical Revival, Hlavně nenápadně, July 30, 2012, http://radicalrevival.wordpress.com/2012/07/30/hlavne-nenapadne/#comments (accessed January 2, 2017).

failure of multiculturalism and integration in EU countries. Due to the Czech political elite's inability to address the challenges presented by the migration crisis in a rational and constructive manner, these theories began to surface on the Internet and in speeches delivered during numerous anti-Islam demonstrations organized by anti-liberals and right-wing extremists.

In recent years, Adam B. Bartoš has been the most prominent author of articles and studies on the so-called Jewish conspiracy in the Czech Republic. However, as a result of the escalation of the European refugee crisis during the past two years, the topic has become increasingly popular on various websites known for their anti-liberal, anti-American and anti-EU content. Bartoš has nonetheless succeeded in maintaining his leading position in this regard, and his notoriety has increased due to ongoing police investigations into his activities.

In 2012, Bartoš posted a number of articles on his personal blog claiming that the Czech government was merely a puppet government of Israel and that the country's presidential candidates were Jews and, thus, Zionists.[39] In 2012, he also started compiling a list of Jews and "pravdolaskaru"[40] called the "Jewish Hall of Fame",[41] which he promoted with the slogan "Do not let our country become the new Israel." He also stated: "Famous Jews among us have posted numerous texts about predominantly domestic liberal personalities from the world of culture and politics, which they often erroneously attributed to be of Jewish origin." This was not the first to attempt to compile such a list. In the early 1990s, a pamphlet entitled "Masonic Lodge Charter 77" was published. The pamphlet claimed that changes to the political system in Czechoslovakia after 1989 were conducted by the KGB, which selected about 7,000 people in 1974,

39 Adam B. Bartoš, "Příští prezident bude sionista," October 11, 2012, http://abbartos.wordpress.com/2012/10/11/pristi-prezident-bude-sionista (accessed January 2, 2017).

40 This word, which translates roughly as "truthers and lovers", is reminiscent of a well-known motto used by President Vaclav Havel, namely "Truth and love should win over lies [and hatred". The term is used pejoratively to describe liberals who continue to support Havel's legacy. Basically, anti-liberals refer to anyone who opposes their ideology in this way.

41 Slavní Židé mezi námi, Čechy Čechům, https://cechycechum.wordpress.com/category/slavni-zide-mezi-nami (accessed January 2, 2017).

of whom around 180 went on to play a leading role in governing the country after 1989. The pamphlet implied that numerous people of Jewish origin held important functions at that time, many of whom were dangerous Zionists who posed a real threat to the existence of the Czech nation.[42]

In 2014 and 2015, Bartoš's ND drew a lot of attention to itself on numerous occasions. During the election campaign, Czech television decided to cancel ND's election broadcasts because of their inappropriate content, which was deemed to be anti-Zionist and antisemitic.[43] After this incident, the mainstream media also started monitoring the content of Bartoš's website.[44] In July 2014, ND joined forces with the extreme right-wing Workers' Party of Social Justice to establish the National Congress election platform.[45] After its failure in the municipal elections held in the autumn of 2014, the platform adopted three other parties, which claimed in a joint statement that the Czech Republic was a puppet of Brussels, Washington and Tel Aviv.

ND focused heavily on the situation arising from the migration crisis, which led to an increase in the number of anti-refugee and anti-Islam demonstrations organized by right-wing extremist groups. These issues also occupied centre stage on ND's websites and social media pages. As already mentioned, these anti-Islamic attitudes also gave rise to manifestations of antisemitism in the form of conspiracy theories about Jewish involvement in the migration crisis.

New antisemitism

The intersection between the extreme Right and other radical groups has already been mentioned in the context of anti-Jewish conspiracy theories. It is important to note that, when it comes to Israel,

42 Zdenek Zbořil, "Antisemitismus: Evropské dědictví nenávisti a intolerance," Mezinarodní politika, July 2001, http://www.dokumenty-iir.cz/MP/MPArchive/2001/MP072001.pdf, 36 (accessed January 2, 2017).

43 See http://zpravy.idnes.cz/ct-odmitla-prijmout-spot-od-bartosovy-strany-ne-bruselu-pkx-/domaci.aspx?c=A140505_112710_domaci_kop.

44 See http://www.tyden.cz/rubriky/domaci/seznam-zidu-novy-rozmer-pravicoveho-extremismu-v-cesku_305898.html#.VR0GTPmUfTo.

45 See http://www.dsss.cz/euroskeptici-se-dohodli-na-spolupraci_-ustavili-narodni-kongres.

right-wing and left-wing extremist websites and groups also display a lot of similarities. The issues they raise are so similar that the ideological differences between them are becoming increasingly blurred in this regard.[46] One difference that remains is that left-wing extremists generally do not equate the domestic Jewish community with Israel, while right-wing extremists promote the conspiracy theory that the Czech government is a puppet government controlled by the domestic Jewish community in order to support Israel and the United States.

New antisemitism is thus a theme that extends across the political spectrum of extremism, although right-wing extremists do not monitor Israeli military operations in Gaza as closely as left-wing extremists do, for example. Indeed, left-wing extremists and pro-Palestinian groups work tirelessly in this respect and are highly proactive when it comes to organizing lectures and demonstrations and sharing anti-Israel articles on social media.

The last significant and noteworthy manifestation of antisemitism took place in 2012 during the Czech presidential elections. Presidential candidate and former prime minister Jan Fisher provoked strong opposition among right-wing extremists, who expressed their frustrations on FR's website and social media channels. Fischer, who is well-known for being open about his Jewish origins, became a target of antisemitic hatred. The most discussed aspect of his candidacy was the question of his loyalty to the country and whether he exhibited the right degree of "Czechness". The idea that Fischer identified more closely with the interests of Israel than those of the Czech Republic overshadowed his campaign.

The first attempt by ISM Czech Republic, or in fact any left-wing extremist group, to publicly boycott a cultural event linked to Israel took the form of an open letter and petition against the Days of Jerusalem festival in Prague and Pilsen in 2015, despite the fact that the festival hosted both Jewish and Palestinian artists from Jerusalem (see below).

46 Jewish Community in Prague, Annual Report on Antisemitism Symptoms in the Czech Republic in 2013, http://antisemitism.org.il/webfm_send/107 (accessed January 2, 2017).

In the Czech Republic, manifestations of antisemitism that draw links between Israel and the domestic Jewish community, as witnessed in Western Europe,[47] are only expressed verbally. Examples of this include depicting Jews as agents of Israel, as in the case of Jan Fischer. No threats or physical violence against Jews motivated by events in the Middle East have ever been recorded by the FJC. However, the FJC has recorded an increase in the number of articles with new antisemitic content since 2012. In 2015, the number of posts including new antisemitic content constituted 34% of all recorded posts, making this the second most common topic within the monitored antisemitic scene.[48] In recent years, the number of new antisemitic posts has spiked in four situations: during military conflicts in Gaza and their aftermath, during meetings between Israeli and Czech politicians in Prague or Jerusalem (which receive a lot of media coverage), during the Czech vote at the United Nations on the recognition Palestine and, last but not least, before and during the Days of Jerusalem festival.

The migration crisis has become a major topic for right-wing extremist and anti-liberal groups. With regard to relations between Muslims and Jews, FR is of the opinion that "my enemy's enemy is my enemy". According to FR, Muslims do not belong in Europe but rather in the Middle East, which has been taken away from them by the Zionists. In other words, FR believes that the influx of immigrants from Muslim countries stems from the activities of Zionist Jews. The Jews are therefore a common enemy. This attitude shows that, despite the recent increase in Islamophobia, right-wing extremist ideology does not change and remains faithful to the original ideas of National Socialism, while exploiting the recent upsurge in new antisemitism for its own purposes.[49] In 2015, a new theory blaming the creation of the so-called Islamic State (hereinafter Daesh) on Israel and the Jews has appeared on websites and social media. Right-wing

47 As in the case of Mohamed Merah's terror attack on a Jewish school in Toulouse in March 2012 and the attack on the Jewish Museum of Belgium in Brussels in May 2014.

48 Federation of Jewish Communities, Annual Report on Antisemitism 2015.

49 Jewish Community in Prague, Annual Report on Anti-Semitism Symptoms 2014.

extremists and anti-liberals have also accused Israel and the United States of masterminding terror attacks in Europe, the war in Syria, the activities of Daesh and the European migration crisis in order to discredit Islam, enhance their power in the Middle East and bring about the destruction of Europe. Despite these accusations, right-wing extremists have never organized a demonstration against Israel, and their overtly anti-Israel rhetoric has therefore thus far only been shared on the Internet.

Left-wing extremist and pro-Palestinian groups are generally represented by ISM Czech Republic and other smaller pro-Palestinian groups such as Friends of Palestine.[50] ISM Czech Republic has taken a strong stand against Israel, but the FJC never identified any acts that could be construed as antisemitism according to Sharansky's "3D" test, the FRA's criteria for identifying antisemitism or the IHRA's working definition of antisemitism, or at least not until 2014, when ISM organized demonstrations against Israel's military operations in Gaza, which it compared to the massacre and genocide that took place during the Holocaust.

A total of three demonstrations were organized between July and August 2014 in the centre of Prague. A number of antisemitic slogans were used to highlight the violation of the human rights of Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. According to the "3D" test, new antisemitic statements are those that, when assessing the political and security steps taken by Israel, apply double standards, demonize Israel, for example by comparing it to Nazi Germany, question its right to exist or equate its actions with genocide. In 2015, ISM Czech Republic went even further by publishing an open letter and petition on its website calling for the boycott and cancellation of the Days of Jerusalem festival.[51] The letter falsely claimed that the festival was a political campaign designed to promote Israel's illegal annexation of Jerusalem, yet ISM Czech

50 Friends of Palestine, http://pratelepalestiny.blogspot.cz (accessed January 2, 2017).

51 ISM Czech Republic, Open Letter Calling on Pilsen 2015 to Withdraw from Hosting the Days of Jerusalem Festival, http://ism-czech.org/2015/04/28/open-letter-calling-for-the-abandonment-of-organizing-the-days-of-jerusalem-festival-within-the-event-pilsen-2015 (accessed January 2, 2017).

Republic managed to get several well-known Czech left-wing politicians and public figures to sign it. In 2016, ISM Czech Republic continued its attempts to discredit the festival, distributing pamphlets against Israel close to the entrance of the festival venue. Its efforts in this regard are most likely the first attempt in the Czech Republic to publicly boycott a cultural event linked to Israel.

During the wave of antisemitism that accompanied Israel's 2014 Protective Edge military operation in Gaza, a substantial amount of anti-Israel content and propaganda was recorded as appearing on websites and social media. Israeli politicians were depicted as Nazi officers, and Israel was frequently compared to Nazi, racist and apartheid regimes. Images proclaiming "Death to Israel" or "Shitrael" were posted regularly. A well-known blog in this context is that of Jiri Hrebenar,[52] which focuses on the Middle Eastern conflict. According to the "3D" test, every article on this blog uses antisemitic rhetoric to attack Israel. Despite this, Hrebenar denies engaging in antisemitism and even claims to oppose it.

Manifestations of new antisemitism and older Soviet-style anti-Zionism can still be found in the rhetoric of the Czech Communist Party, especially in groups and media associated with the party. For example, the strong anti-Israel overtones of the Communist newspaper Haló noviny call to mind the rhetoric of the Communist era while simultaneously epitomizing new antisemitism. According to the FJC's statistics for 2015, Haló noviny articles comprised almost one-third of all articles with new antisemitic content,[53] such as articles comparing Israel to Nazi Germany. As in classic Communist propaganda, these articles often refer to Israeli politicians as fascists, racists, imperialists or colonizers, while military action is categorized as organized genocide or a Holocaust of Arab citizens and domestic policies are dubbed apartheid. Comparing Zionism to racism or Nazism is thus as typical of contemporary Communist propaganda as it was of the propaganda disseminated prior

52 Blízký východ - Izrael, Hřebenář, http://www.hrebenar.eu/category/blizky-vychod-izrael (accessed January 2, 2017).

53 Federation of Jewish Communities, Annual Report on Antisemitism 2015.

to 1989.

III. CONCLUSIONS

All forms of modern antisemitism are in evidence in the Czech Republic today, although most manifestations of antisemitism are confined to cyberspace. The FJC's Annual Report on Antisemitism points to year-on-year increase in the number of recorded antisemitic incidents, but more than 80% of them occur on extremist websites, blogs and social media. Physical and/or public manifestations of antisemitism are sporadic and are limited to extreme groups. In mainstream politics, any form of antisemitism is unacceptable and would end the political career of those who engage in it. In comparison to Western or Central European countries, the Czech Republic therefore remains a safe country for the Jewish community, due in part to the wider population's neutral to fairly sympathetic attitude towards Jews. It is worth noting that, according to polls conducted over the past three decades,[54] these attitudes have remained stable and constant. As a result, antisemitism may be regarded as a relatively marginal phenomenon.

However, the European migration crisis has led to a significant increase in the number of extremist groups and political movements, which have managed to move a little closer to the political mainstream. The infiltration of former leaders of the neo-Nazi scene into these anti-liberal and ultra-conservative movements is also a major of source concern, since they could have an adverse impact on these movements and rekindle antisemitic sentiments within the population. The hysterical reaction to the migration crisis in Czech society has already opened the door to overt anti-Islamic hatred, as well as several anti-Jewish and anti-Israel conspiracy theories. This, in turn, could give rise to a new wave of unmitigated antisemitic rhetoric. The recent increase in the number of an-

54 Andrea Mikutowská, "Antisemitismus jako sociální jev v současnosti v rámci českého prostoru optikou strukturálně-funkcionalistického paradigmatu," Rexter, November 11, 2015, http://www.rexter.cz/antisemitismus-jako-socialni-jev-v-soucasnosti-v-ramci-ceskeho-prostoru-optikou-strukturalne-funkcionalistickeho-paradigmatu/2015/11/15 (accessed January 2, 2017).

tisemitic publications may just be a sign of things to come.

The increase in antisemitic content on the Internet is also alarming, since such content has the ability to go viral within a matter of hours. This phenomenon is very challenging. Manifestations of hatred towards minorities, extremist propaganda and fake news are all issues that need to be addressed at national and/or EU level through appropriate legislative steps, in cooperation with social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter.

Another danger is posed by foreign connections and cooperation between extremist groups. Successful groups share their know-how and methods with other groups, which are then able to apply this knowledge in their own environment. In the past, neo-Nazi groups collaborated mainly with other local groups. Today, however, we are witnessing international cooperation between extreme right-wing groups and political parties across several EU countries. The ongoing polarization of European society and the growing preference for extremist political parties at the ballot box encourages and emboldens other radical groups. This is a major cause for concern not only for the Czech Republic and its Jewish community but also for the future of democracy, tolerance and diversity throughout Europe.

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04 HUNGARY

Ildikó Barna

I. BACKGROUND

Jewish population and community

It is assumed that the first Jews arrived in the territory of modern-day Hungary, a province of the Roman Empire known at the time as Pannonia, in the first century. However, the first written sources referring to a Jewish community in Hungary date back to the eleventh century. Jews living in Hungary today are the descendants of Jews who arrived in the country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from Austria, Moravia and Galicia. It is important to note that all these territories, including Hungary, were part of the Habsburg Empire at this time.

The history of Hungarian Jewry in the nineteenth century is often described as a combination of emancipation and assimilation, meaning that the Jews were granted civil rights if they proved their willingness to assimilate. In the second half of the nineteenth century, numerous emancipatory laws and regulations were passed, the most important being the Law of Emancipation of 1867 and the Law of Reception of 1895, which declared Judaism to be an officially accepted religion. The compromise between the liberal nobility and the Jews is referred to in the literature as an "assimilationist social contract". The liberal nobility had a monopoly on political power but supported the Jews' role in the economic modernization of Hungary and provided safeguards against antisemitic attacks. For their part, the Jews reciprocated with loyalty and efficient assimilation.[1] This assimilation was very much needed, since native Hungarian speakers did not constitute a majority within Hungary.

Out of a total Jewish population of 760,000-780,000, approximately 500,000-530,000 Hungarian Jews (200,000-300,000 in present-day Hungary[2]) died during the Shoah. A relatively large group survived, due to the fact that the

1 Viktor Karády, The Jews of Europe in the Modern Era: A Socio-Historical Outline (Budapest: CEU Press, 2004), 170-171; András Kovács, "Az asszimilációs dilemma," Világosság 8-9 (1988): 605-612.

2 Present-day Hungary refers to Hungary beyond the Trianon borders. The Treaty of Trianon was the peace agreement that formally ended World War I. It was signed in 1920 between most of the Allies of World War I and Hungary. As a result of the treaty, Hungary lost 72% of its territory and 64% of its total population. Although Hungary expanded its borders during World War II, the Treaty of Paris of 1947 reversed these territorial gains.

Jews of Budapest were ultimately not deported. However, the Shoah resulted in the almost complete annihilation of provincial Jewry.

There is no accurate data on the number of survivors. According to a brief survey carried out by the Hungarian Statistical Office in June 1945, there were just 14,480 Jews in Hungary based on religious affiliation. However, this figure does not coincide with the total number of survivors, which was estimated to lie between 190,000 and 200,000.[3]

Compared with Jews from neighbouring countries, Hungarian Jews left their country in much smaller proportion after the Holocaust. Given the above-mentioned historical background and the fact that the most assimilated stratum of Hungarian Jewry was over-represented among the survivors, most of the Jews in Hungary opted for further assimilation after the Holocaust. In addition, the newly established regime not only expected but over time even required complete assimilation. The majority of Holocaust survivors wanted to rid themselves of the tormenting burden of being Jewish, which coincided with the Communist regime's "policy of silence", when the Holocaust and the Jews were hardly mentioned in the public discourse.

According to the last census conducted in 2011, 10,965 people in Hungary identified their religion as Judaism. The fact that answering questions about one's religion is voluntary in Hungary and that Hungarian Jews have a long-lasting aversion to appearing on lists suggests that this number does not reflect the actual number of Jews in the country. Estimates of the number of Jews in contemporary Hungary range from 80,000 to 150,000,[4] representing 0.8-1.5% of the Hungarian population.[5]

3 László Csorba, "Izraelita felekezeti élet Magyarországon a vészkorszaktól a nyolcvanas évekig (1945-1983)," in Hét évtized a hazai zsidóság életében. II. rész., ed. Pál Horváth (Budapest: MTA Filozófiai Intézet, 1990), 61-190; Viktor Karády, Túlélők és újrakezdők. Fejezetek a magyar zsidóság szociológiájából 1945 után (Budapest: Múlt és Jövő Kiadó, 2002); Tamás Stark, Zsidóság a vészkorszakban és a felszabadulás után 1939-1955 (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1995), 41-47.

4 András Kovács, ed., Zsidók és zsidóság a mai Magyarországon (Budapest: Múlt és Jövő Kiadó, 2002), 23-24.

5 The estimate depends on the definition of who is a Jew. The high rate of mixed marriages and the secular character of Hungarian Jewry raise the question whether only those Jews born to a Jewish mother (i.e. those who are Jewish according to Jewish law) should be considered Jews or whether those of paternal lineage should be included as well.

Although the exact number is unknown, the Hungarian Jewish community is certainly the largest in Central and Eastern Europe.

In 2011, in the process of drafting a new constitution, the Hungarian government introduced a new system for the registration of religious institutions, creating a two-tiered classification consisting of "incorporated churches" and "religious communities".[6] In the course of the re-registration procedure that all previously registered religious institutions had to undergo, three Jewish communities were granted incorporated church status, namely the Federation of Hungarian Jewish Communities (MAZSIHISZ, which represents the Neolog community), the Hungarian Autonomous Orthodox Jewish Community (MAOIH) and the Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation (EMIH, which is affiliated with Chabad). Reform congregations in Hungary were deprived of church status. In addition to religious organizations, there are also many Jewish secular, cultural and youth organizations operating in Hungary.

Approximately 85% of Hungarian Jews live in Budapest. Their socio-economic status, manifested in their educational and occupational ranking, is considerably higher than that of the overall population. For historical reasons, the majority of Hungarian Jews are highly secular and assimilated.

Historical context of modern antisemitism

Until the eighteenth century, the situation of Hungary's Jews and the intensity of Hungarian antisemitism were primarily influenced by two factors. The first factor was the situation of the Treasury – in other words, whether the King could afford to forgo the taxes paid by the Jews. The second factor was the strength of the kingdom – in other words, whether the King had enough power to impose his will, for example against those cities that were trying to prevent Jews from settling there. Until the first manifestations of modern antisemitism in the nineteenth century, Hungarian antisemitism

6 Religious communities have far fewer rights than incorporated churches. One of the most important differences is that the former are not entitled to collect the voluntary 1% of personal income tax paid by citizens and the corresponding state subsidy.

was based on the common themes of Christian Judeophobia.

In the nineteenth century, the protection of Jews against antisemitism was part of the aforementioned assimilationist social contract. This setup worked well in 1875, when nationalist Hungarian politician Győző Istóczy made his first speech in parliament about the "Jewish question", marking the beginning of modern antisemitism in Hungary. For some time, however, nobody took Istóczy seriously. While antisemitism became much more entrenched in Hungary after the Tiszaeszlár blood libel of 1882, it was only after the Treaty of Trianon that high-level Hungarian politics turned in this direction. At this time, Hungary became a single nation-state, and the Jews were no longer required as an "ethnic ally". This changing attitude was clearly manifested in what many consider to be the first antisemitic act of twentieth-century Europe, namely the numerus clausus law of 1920. This clearly signified the end of the assimilationist social contract.

In the 1930s, Hungary clearly shifted to the right as openly antisemitic political views gained traction. The rise of fascism was also marked by a series of anti-Jewish laws that began by limiting the rights of Jews and ultimately denied their status as human beings. These events culminated in the physical annihilation of the Jews during the Shoah.[7]

The postwar period in Hungary can be divided into four subperiods. The first was a short democratic period between 1945 and 1948, which was also characterized by the transition to Communism. The second was the Stalinist period, between the Communist takeover in 1948 and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. The next, between 1957 and 1989, was the post-Stalinist Kádár era. The final subperiod, the present era from 1990 onwards, began with the collapse of Communism.

Zionism did not take root in Hungary before World War II. Reasons for this include the high level of assimilation of Hungarian Jewry, on the one hand, and the fact that the community historically defined itself along religious rather than ethnic lines,

7 Ildikó Barna, "Jewish Identity of Three Generations of Holocaust Survivors in Hungary: Quantitative Analysis Using Structural Equation Modeling," in Diversity and Identity, ed. Michael Brenner, Johannes Heil and Guy Katz (Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, forthcoming).

on the other. Nevertheless, the role of the Zionists in rescue activities during the Holocaust, coupled with a negative evaluation of the role of the Jewish community, resulted in a postwar surge of the Zionist movement, which came to an end with the "voluntary" disbanding of the Zionist Federation in 1949.

From 1949 until 1954, a whole series of political trials based on accusations of Zionist activity took place. Those imprisoned or interned in connection with these trials included former Zionists and orthodox Jews, as well as those who succumbed to the wave of anti-Zionist purges within the Communist party. In Hungary, the anti-Zionist campaign that began in the Soviet Union in 1952-1953 led not only to the imprisonment of various senior officers of the Communist political police – a majority of whom were of Jewish descent – but also to the arrest on charges of Zionism of those Jewish leaders who had consistently represented Communist interests within the Jewish community.[8] During and soon after the revolution of 1956, approximately 20,000-30,000 Jews left Hungary. Their reasons for emigrating included the antisemitic incidents that had occurred during the revolution and the fear that full-blown antisemitism would ensue. However, the motivation for emigration also included the widespread realization that it was impossible to lead a Jewish life in Hungary in either a religious or a secular sense. This wave of emigration had devastating consequences insofar as it led to the almost complete disappearance of provincial, Orthodox and Zionist Jewry.

After the 1956 revolution, the regime of János Kádár offered a new assimilationist contract, namely protection against antisemitism in exchange for the willingness of Jewish organizations to impose a rule defining Jewishness exclusively as a religion and encourage assimilation, which in this case meant complete identification with the Communist regime. As a result, public manifestations of antisemitism were indeed suppressed from 1956 onwards.

Like other Soviet Bloc countries, Hungary, severed its diplomatic relations with Israel after the Six-Day

8 András Kovács, "Jews and Jewishness in Post-War Hungary," Quest: Issues in Contemporary Jewish History, Journal of the Fondazione CDEC 1 (2010): 34-56.

War of 1967. This did not mean that relations between the two countries ceased altogether, but their volume and intensity remained low. The reasons for this were twofold. First, Hungary still had a relatively large Jewish community with substantial non-political connections to Israel. Second, it was in desperate need of Western currency.[9] From the mid-1980s onwards, the volume of cultural, humanitarian and scientific relations, in particular, began to rise, and diplomatic relations were restored in September 1989, just before the transition to democracy. This move led to the intensification of bilateral relations in all areas.

Although antisemitism was publicly suppressed during the Kádár era, it continued to simmer beneath the surface. The Jewish question was an age-old one, and non-Jews always saw themselves as distinct from the Jews, with a separate group identity of their own.[10] Although there was no public stigma attached to being Jewish, the same could not be said of being Zionist, a fact that was always exploitable. Accusations of Zionism could cover several things: the promotion of a Jewish national identity, "wicked imperialism" or simply a positive attitude towards Israel. This continuation of antisemitism under the guise of anti-Zionism during the Kádár era led to an explosion of outrage against Hungarian Jews after the democratic transition in 1989. Many openly antisemitic neo-Nazi and skinhead groups emerged at this time. However, it was not these largely marginal groups that posed the real danger but rather the antisemitic intellectuals at the centre of the fray. The most prominent of these was István Csurka, a founding member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (Magyar Demokrata Fórum or MDF), the governing party between 1990 and 1994. Csurka's extreme-right tendencies were initially hidden but became apparent in 1992 when, in his capacity as vice-president of the MDF, he published an openly antisemitic article in the weekly Magyar Fórum (Hungarian Forum),[11] which he used as a mouthpiece for the par-

9 Csaba Békés, László J. Nagy and Dániel Vékony, "Bittersweet Friendships: Relations between Hungary and the Middle East, 1953-1988," CWIHP e-dossier no. 67 (2015).

10 András Kovács, "A zsidókérdés a mai magyar társadalomban," in Zsidóság az 1945 utáni Magyarországon, ed. Péter Kende (Paris: Magyar Füzetek, 1984).

11 István Csurka, "Néhány gondolat a rendszerváltozás két esztendeje és a MDF új programja

ty's ideological and political views. In 1993, Csurka and his followers were expelled from the MDF for various reasons but later that year went on to found the first far-right party to enter the Hungarian parliament after the country's transition to democracy. The Hungarian Justice and Life Party (Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja or MIÉP) was represented in parliament only once in its history. In 1998. it won fourteen seats in the Hungarian national assembly, which comprised 386 MPs at the time.

Opinion polls on antisemitism

At the end of 2015, the Hungarian polling institute Medián conducted a public opinion survey at the behest of the Action and Protection Foundation.[12] According to its findings, 65% of the population were not antisemitic, 12% were moderately antisemitic and 23% were extremely antisemitic. Antisemitism grew significantly between 2006 and 2011, but it seems to have been decreasing slightly since then. Among antisemites, however, people with extreme prejudices outnumber those with moderate views.

When analyzing the substance of antisemitic views, it is clear that agreement with statements about the excessive influence of Jews,[13] including the existence of a secret Jewish conspiracy,[14] is higher than agreement with statements reflecting traditional Christian Judeophobia.[15] Moreover, agreement with statements about Jewish influence has increased over the years.

Statements connected to new antisemitism were also included in the survey. Respondents were asked an open question about the kind of things they associated with Israel. Of these associations, 47% were descriptive or neutral, and 34% were negative (mentioning such issues as terrorism and war). In those cases,

kapcsán," Magyar Fórum, August 20, 1992, 9-16.

12 Endre Hann and Dániel Róna, Anti-Semitic Prejudice in Contemporary Hungarian Society Research Report. (Budapest: Medián/Action and Protection Foundation, 2016).

13 Such statements in the survey included the following: "Intellectuals of Jewish origin keep media and culture under their influence" (acceptance rate in 2015: 33%), and "Jewish influence is too great in Hungary today" (acceptance rate in 2015: 32%).

14 There is a secret Jewish conspiracy that determines political and economic processes" (acceptance rate in 2015: 35%).

15 "The crucifixion of Jesus is the unpardonable sin of the Jews" (acceptance rate in 2015: 25%); "The sufferings of the Jews were God's punishment" (acceptance rate in 2015: 18%).

it was not specified whether respondents blamed the Arabs or the Jews for the situation in the Middle East. Eleven per cent of respondents had mainly positive associations regarding Israel, while only 7% harboured negative associations regarding Jews. When asked about relations between Hungarian Jews and Israel, the picture was somewhat darker. Twenty-nine per cent of Hungarians believed that "Hungarian Jews would rather support Israel in a match between Hungary and Israel", 28% believed that "Israel is an aggressor and commits genocide against the Palestinians" and 27% believed that "Jews living here are more loyal to Israel than to this country".

Legislative background

The newly amended Hungarian Criminal Code (Act C of 2012) identifies two types of hate crimes: violent offences committed against a member of a group (Section 216 of Chapter XXI on Crimes against Human Dignity and Fundamental Rights) and incitement to hatred against a community (Section 332 of Chapter XXXII on Criminal Offences against Public Peace). In the case of other types of crime, it is considered an aggravating circumstance if they were committed with a racist motivation. In such cases, the court is obliged to impose a more severe sentence.[16] In addition, Section 333 of the Civil Code criminalizes public denial or relativization of the crimes of National Socialism (and Communism), as well as the distribution, public use or public exhibition of symbols of totalitarianism (such as the swastika, the insignia of the SS, the five-pointed red star and the hammer and sickle) in such a way as to offend the dignity of victims of totalitarian regimes and their right to inviolability, or when such actions risk breaching public order in any way (Section 335).[17]

In addition, in March 2014 a new Civil Code (Act V of 2013) came into effect penalizing hate speech, stating in subsection (5) of Section 2:54 that:

> In the event of a violation of rights committed before the wider public and seriously

16 The Hungarian Criminal Code does not explicitly include racist motives, but the condition of "contemptible motives" is fulfilled if a person commits a crime based on racist motives.

17 Ildikó Barna, Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Incidents in Hungary 2014: Annual Report (Budapest: Brussels Institute, 2015), 41-42.

> offensive to the Hungarian nation or to some national, ethnic, racial or religious community or unreasonably insulting for these groups in its manner of expression, any member of these groups is entitled to enforce his or her personality right in relation to him or her belonging to such groups, being an essential trait of his or her personality. The right to make a claim will be precluded after a period of thirty days from the survivors wanted to rid.[18]

including the obligation to pay restitution.[19] Moreover, the Fourth Amendment to the Hungarian Constitution declares that the right to free speech is restricted by the need to protect the dignity of communities and creates the possibility for members of violated communities to turn to the legal system to enforce their claims.[20]

Governmental relations with Israel

In the period under review, the Israeli ambassador to Hungary, Ilan Mor, and the Hungarian government highlighted the importance of bilateral relations and on several occasions confirmed the good quality of the relations between the two countries. At the end of 2015, the Hungarian government stood up for Israel in a dispute with the European Union. In November of that year, the European Union issued guidelines stating that most products made in Israeli settlements built in territories occupied by Israel in or after 1967 should be labelled as "product of the Golan Heights (Israeli settlement)" or "product of the West Bank (Israeli settlement)" and not as a product of Israel. The European Union claimed that the resolution was purely technical and that it resulted from the fact that the Union does not recognize Israel's sovereignty over these territories In contrast, Israel believed that the resolution was discriminatory and indicative of double standards and

18 http://eltelawjournal.hu/regulation-offensive-speech-new-hungarian-civil-code/ (accessed 18 June, 2017).

19 Ildikó Barna, Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Incidents in Hungary 2014: Annual Report (Budapest: Brussels Institute, 2015), 42.

20 Ibid., 15.

that it would strengthen the hand of the BDS movement. Hungary was the first EU member state to oppose this special labelling from the very beginning. Hungarian Foreign Minister Péter Szijjártó put it as follows: "It is an inefficient instrument. It is irrational and does not contribute to a solution [to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict], but causes damage".[21]

In the period under review, Israel nevertheless expressed concerns about rising antisemitism in Hungary, the Hungarian government's attempts to rewrite the history of the Holocaust, the relativization of the role of Miklós Horthy, who served as Regent of the Kingdom of Hungary between World Wars I and II and throughout most of World War II, and the inclusion of openly antisemitic figures in Hungary's historical pantheon. In June 2012, for example, Knesset Speaker Reuven Rivlin cancelled a visit by his Hungarian counterpart, László Kövér, because the latter had attended a memorial service honouring Nazi collaborator, author and member of parliament József Nyírő.[22] Soon after, however, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu hosted Hungarian President János Áder in Jerusalem.[23] Although Israel has expressed appreciation for the Hungarian government's strong statements expressing zero tolerance for antisemitism, it constantly urges Hungary to take more action.

II. ANTISEMITISM: ACTORS AND MANIFESTATIONS

Actors

Method of selection

Actors have been selected based on their impact on Hungarian politics. The aim of this section is not only to describe these organizations but also to reveal their networks and connections. Extremist actors are

21 Raphael Ahren, "Hungary: Labeling of Settlement Goods is Counterproductive," Times of Israel, December 22, 2015, http://www.timesofisrael.com/hungary-labeling-of-settlement-goods-is-counterproductive (accessed January 3, 2017).

22 Stuart Winer, "Knesset Speaker Uninvites Hungarian Counterpart over Attendance at Memorial for Nazi Collaborator," Times of Israel, June 24, 2012, http://www.timesofisrael.com/outraged-knesset-speaker-cancels-visit-of-his-hungarian-counterpart (accessed January 3, 2017).

23 Stuart Winer, "Hungarian President Assures Netanyahu of His Opposition to Anti-Semitism," Times of Israel, July 17, 2012, http://www.timesofisrael.com/hungarian-president-visit-netanyahu-in-jerusalem (accessed January 3, 2017).

almost exclusively from Hungary's Far Right, since popular support for the only far-left party – the Worker's Party (Munkáspárt) – is almost invisible. However, the exact nature of relations between far-right and far-left organizations is unclear, and it appears that they have undergone some fundamental changes. While the chair of the Worker's Party wrote an open letter to the President of Hungary and the Speaker of the Hungarian parliament in 2006 to initiate new legislation against racism and Nazism, the president of the Worker's Party, Gyula Thürmer, was simultaneously cooperating with certain far-right organizations, especially those with close Russian connections.

The actors: parties, groups, associations and persons

Jobbik, the Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom)

The most prominent and visible antisemitic actor in Hungary is the far-right Jobbik, which was founded in 2003. The fact that its influence is much greater than that of any other actor explains why it forms the focus of this country report. In the 2006 parliamentary elections, an alliance between Jobbik and MIÉP won only 2.2% of the vote. After this failure, Jobbik broke up the alliance and started to acquire its own voice. The party's growing impact became clear in the 2009 European parliamentary elections. Jobbik won almost 15% of the vote and was able to send three members to the European Parliament. As Jobbik gained in popularity, MIÉP almost completely disappeared from the scene. In the 2010 national parliamentary elections, Jobbik obtained 17% of the vote. This result clearly confirmed the enormous rise in the acceptance of radical right-wing thought in Hungarian society. By 2014, support for Jobbik had increased even further, and the party secured 20% of the vote in parliamentary elections and again won three seats in the European Parliament. The party was also able to increase its representation at municipal level.

Jobbik appears to have undergone considerable changes in the past four to five years, at least from the outside. The party's transformation is closely connected to its burgeoning

popularity and its efforts to become a "people's party". It is hard to detect exactly when this change started, but in June 2012 Jobbik was willing to retain Csanád Szegedi as one of its leaders after he confessed to his Jewish origins. The party's rebranding was clearly reflected in its campaign during the 2014 parliamentary elections, which was referred to as the "cutie campaign". The name caught on after Jobbik's chairman, Gábor Vona, posted a photo on Facebook during the campaign in which he was pictured posing with three puppies in his lap. There have been several signs of this rebranding. For example, in April 2016, before the party's electoral congress, Vona used his presidential veto to block the re-election of three of Jobbik's vice-presidents, who were all regarded as members of the party's radical right wing. Vona was subsequently re-elected chairman of the party for a sixth term. The fact that many of the party's new vice-presidents also had a long history of right-wing extremism proved that this was not a real change in the orientation of the party but rather a trick in the pursuit of political power.

Hungarian Guard (Magyar Gárda)

In 2007, Vona founded a far-right paramilitary organization called the Hungarian Guard. It played a crucial role in the rise of Jobbik by mobilizing the masses and drawing media attention to topics that Jobbik considered important. Although the organization became known for its demonstrations and marches, in particular against "Gypsy crime", antisemitism was also a key part of its ideology. After the authorities banned and disbanded the Hungarian Guard in 2009, a former leader of the movement named Róbert Kiss almost immediately founded the New Hungarian Guard, together with roughly one hundred followers. The new organization was practically identical to the previous one, but it failed to achieve the importance and popularity of its predecessor. Moreover, Jobbik distanced itself from the organization, since it did not match its new, softer image. However, when asked about his vision for the future after Jobbik's presumed victory in the 2018 parliamentary elections, János Volner MP, vice-president and parliamentary leader of the party, talked about resurrecting the Hungarian Guard with public money.

Sixty-Four Counties Youth Movement (Hatvannégy Vármegye Ifjúsági Mozgalom) and the Outlaws' Army (Betyársereg)

The Sixty-Four Counties Youth Movement (Hatvannégy Vármegye Ifjúsági Mozgalom or HVIM) and the Outlaws' Army (Betyársereg) adhere to a racist, antisemitic and anti-Roma ideology and can be connected to Jobbik not only through their ideology but also through their leaders. HVIM was founded in 2001 by László Toroczkai, who now serves as vice-president of Jobbik. Toroczkai resigned from the leadership of HVIM in 2014, and was succeeded by György Gyula Zagyva, who was a Jobbik MP between 2010 and 2014. In 2016, Jobbik admitted to financially supporting HVIM through various foundations that were closely connected to the party.

The Outlaws' Army was founded by László Toroczkai and Zsolt Tyirityán in 2008 after a Hungarian court disbanded the racist Blood and Honour Cultural Association. The organization is not legally registered but – like other neo-Nazi organizations – operates under the aegis of others that are. The Outlaws' Army defines itself as a "self-defence army". Tyirityán has recently described the organization as a "patriotic sports movement", which only those who have significant experience in combat sports can join. The organization has close relationships with other groups, and there are many references to HVIM on its website. It is also closely connected to Jobbik, although from time to time the party tries to distance itself from the organization. In November 2015, the above-mentioned Jobbik politician János Volner dubbed the Outlaws' Army the "most effective patriotic self-organizing group", and in March 2016 he participated in the organization's annual assembly. Although Tyirityán, who still serves as the leader of the organization, has revamped his public image and rhetoric to a certain extent, he was willing to talk openly about racial war and the murder, if necessary, of Gypsies and Jews. During one demonstration, he said that some Zionists support those who incite the Gypsies against Hungarian society.[24]

In 2009, Gábor Vona and the leaders of HVIM (László Toroczkai and Györ-

24 "Devecser 2012.08.05. Élni és élni hagyni – demonstráció a jogos magyar önvédelemért," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3akDfwyf_04 (accessed January 6, 2017).

gy Gyula Zagyva), the Outlaws' Army (Zsolt Tyirityán) and the Hungarian Guard (Róbert Kiss) announced their cooperation during a press conference. Later, as these organizations became less and less convenient for Jobbik, the party tried to distance itself from them. However, their ongoing connections were clearly revealed in March 2015, when an audio recording was leaked in which Jobbik vice-president Tamás Sneider explained the "division of labour" between Jobbik, HVIM and the Outlaws' Army to party sympathizers, claiming that these organizations could talk and act in ways that Jobbik, as a political party, could not.

Hungarian National Front (Magyar Nemzeti Arcvonal)

The Hungarian National Front (MNA) is a far-right, Hungarist and neo-Nazi paramilitary hate group, which was founded in 1989 by István Györkös. The organization has a strong affinity for World War II Hungarist leader, Ferenc Szálasi. The organization's main centre of activity is located at the shooting range of a former Soviet military base in Bőny, a village in north-west Hungary. The organization regularly holds paramilitary training camps and military camps for youngsters, and has also hosted other hate groups. MNA claims to be a Hungarian supremacist and National Socialist group. It is also overtly antisemitic.[25]

In 1997, MNA established the "Day of Honour", which is one of the most important neo-Nazi events in Hungary. It commemorates the Buda Castle break-out attempted by the Hungarian defence forces, the German Wehrmacht and the Waffen-SS in 1945 during the Soviet siege of Budapest. Over the years, it has become a gathering for many far-right organizations, including HVIM and the Outlaws' Army. Extremist groups from abroad also attend the event.

The organization and its leader, István Győrkös, were recently in the mainstream media spotlight after Győrkös shot dead a policeman who was about to enter his house in Bőny to conduct a search. The police were sent to the house to search for illegally held firearms, which they subsequently found. Since Győrkös's

25 See http://www.athenainstitute.eu/en/map/olvas/20 (accessed 2 January, 2017).

arrest, the Hungarian police have conducted several raids against MNA members, uncovering sizeable weapons stockpiles in the process. It subsequently became clear that MNA had extensive ties to Russian military intelligence and was running a right-wing web portal called Hídfő (Bridgehead), which had served as a channel for Russian disinformation for some time.[26]

Pax Hungarica

Like the Outlaws' Army, Pax Hungarica was founded after a Hungarian court disbanded the Blood and Honour Cultural Association. Pax Hungarica adheres to an extremely racist, antisemitic and anti-Roma ideology. It is engaged in an open rivalry with MNA, since it has also declared itself the spiritual heir of the Hungarist Movement. Pax Hungarica is not legally registered and instead uses a registered cover organization known as Free Spirit – Hungarian Culture Foundation. It is clear that Pax Hungarica has close connections to other far-right organizations. For example, the founding charter of the Free Spirit Foundation states that, if it ceases to exist, HVIM will take over all its assets. In addition, the leader of the Outlaws' Army, Zsolt Tyirityán, is a regular participant and speaker at events organized by Pax Hungarica.

Lóránt Hegedűs and the Church of Homecoming

Reformed Church minister Lóránt Hegedűs is a former member of the Hungarian parliament for MIÉP and the husband of a Jobbik MP. Hegedűs is well known for his far-right views and is a regular speaker at Jobbik demonstrations, where he takes on the role of a spiritual leader. Hegedűs's church – the Church of Homecoming – is located in the centre of Budapest and forms a venue for many far-right events. Hegedűs often uses the pulpit to disseminate his antisemitic views, which focus on anti-Jewish conspiracy theories. Although many of his sermons and

26 Joseph Fitsanakis, "Hungarian Media Accuses Russia of Working with Far-Right Militia," Intelnews.org, November 29, 2016, https://intelnews.org/tag/hungarian-national-front (accessed January 2, 2017); Eva S. Balogh, "Russian Military Intelligence and the Hungarian National Front," Hungarian Spectrum, October 27, 2016, http://hungarianspectrum.org/2016/10/27/russian-military-intelligence-and-the-hungarian-national-front (accessed January 2, 2017).

speeches should be unacceptable to the Hungarian Reformed Church, the latter has not expelled him as yet.

Far-right media

Kuruc.info, which defines itself as "unrestrictedly Hungarian", is a news portal that has played a key role in spreading Jobbik's message. After pursuing certain other endeavours, it finally got underway in 2006. As the leading far-right news site, Kuruc.info had approximately 100,000 daily readers at the height of its popularity. Although Jobbik regularly denied any connection to the site, it was an open secret that Jobbik's then vice-president, Előd Novák, was one of the site's editors and regularly contributed articles under different pen names. The portal is nothing but a source of antisemitic, anti-Roma, anti-migrant material, Holocaust denial and incitement to violence. Ever since Jobbik has tried to become a "people's party" by distancing itself from radicals, the popularity of the site appears to have decreased. This loss of popularity is also due to the fact that Novák was one of aforementioned radical right-wing Jobbik leaders who were removed from the party's leadership by Gábor Vona in May 2016.

Echo TV was founded in 2005 by Gábor Széles, one of Hungary's wealthiest men. Although the channel was initially meant to cover business news, its profile quickly changed, and it became a forum for the Far Right. The most extreme manifestations of antisemitism were presented by Ferenc Szaniszló in a programme entitled "World Panorama". Szaniszló left the channel in the summer of 2016. No public data is available on the ratings of the channel's various programmes, but its overall number of viewers is around 20,000.

Founded in 2009, Barikád (Barricade) is Jobbik's weekly newspaper, with a readership estimated at 10,000. The editor-in-chief is Sándor Pörzse, who is one of the founders of the Hungarian Guard and served a Jobbik MP between 2010 and 2014. Antisemitism surfaces on a regular basis in the newspaper. One of the most emblematic Barikád covers featured a well-known statue of a Catholic saint with a menorah in his hands instead of a cross. The accompanying headline read: "Wake up Budapest! Is that what you want?"

Alfahir.hu, an online news site, and

N1 TV, an online channel, can both be considered media outlets of Jobbik. Both sites have undergone substantial changes in recent years, in line with Jobbik's image overhaul. It is clear from their appearance and content that they are aiming to reach a wider audience.

Manifestations of modern antisemitism

Secondary antisemitism: Holocaust denial, relativization and trivialization

Although there are few instances of Holocaust denial in Hungary, Holocaust relativization is a common occurrence. It has also been an integral part of Jobbik's ideology. Hungary's Holocaust Memorial Year, which commemorated the seventieth anniversary of the country's occupation by Germany, took place in 2014 and got caught in Jobbik's cross-hairs. At a meeting of the Committee on Culture and Media of the Hungarian parliament in October 2013, for example, Előd Novák, then a Jobbik MP, referred to the government's decision to restore Józsefváros railway station as a Holocaust memorial establish a civil fund to finance remembrances as "the 2014 Holocaust industry".[27]

Jobbik representatives have also trivialized the Holocaust on other occasions. In January 2014, Tibor Ágoston, a Jobbik representative in the municipality of Debrecen, Hungary's second-largest city, referred to the Holocaust as a "Holohoax" in a speech. Feigning a slip of the tongue, he subsequently corrected himself and used the word Holocaust instead, yet only continued his speech after interjecting: "It was deliberate, please excuse me."[28] In May 2014, Dóra Dúró, a Jobbik MP, said on a TV programme that "there are many kinds of Holocaust" and that the greatest tragedy of the Hungarian people was not the "so-called Holocaust, but Trianon". In December 2014, state support for Holocaust survivors was debated in parliament.

27 Ildikó Barna, Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Incidents Report: Monthly Reports – October 2014 (Budapest: Brussels Institute, 2014).

28 Ildikó Barna, Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Incidents Report: Monthly Reports – January 2014 (Budapest: Brussels Institute, 2014).

Jobbik MP Előd Novák addressed the assembly on this matter, using expressions such as "Holocaust industry" and "so-called Holocaust survivors".[29]

Manifestations of Holocaust denial and relativization also occur randomly. For example, in March 2014, some graves in the Jewish cemetery in Tatabánya were vandalized. On one of the graves, the vandals left the following message: "There was no Holocaust, but it's coming!!!" On two other graves, they wrote: "stinking Jews" and "Holohoax". On a third grave, they sprayed a swastika together with the abbreviations "S.H." (Sieg Heil) and "H.H." (Heil Hitler).[30] Antisemitic slogans of this type are also used at football matches.

Holocaust denial and relativization are also widespread on the Internet. For example, one of the banners on Kuruc.info displays the word "Holohoax". As mentioned earlier, the Hungarian Criminal Code defines denial and relativization of the Holocaust as a crime. On this basis, the Action and Protection Foundation has brought several legal actions against Holocaust denial and relativization, many of them relating to social media posts.

There are certain other phenomena in Hungary that need to be mentioned here. Although they do not amount to Holocaust denial as such, they constitute a deliberate attempt to distort history, whitewash the Horthy-era and place sole responsibility for the Holocaust on the Germans.

In 2014, a controversial memorial to the victims of the German occupation was erected in one of Budapest's main squares, despite fierce protests from Jewish organizations, historians and other intellectuals. An article signed by professionals stated that the monument "relativizes the events of the Holocaust. … By representing the victims and the responsible collaborators of the Holocaust as one single victim, the monument desecrates the memory of the victims."[31]

29 Ildikó Barna, Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Incidents Report: Monthly Reports – December 2014 (Budapest: Brussels Institute, 2014).

30 Ildikó Barna, Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Incidents Report: Monthly Reports – March 2014 (Budapest: Brussels Institute, 2014).

31 "Történészek tiltakozása a 'Magyarország német megszállása 1944. március 19.' emlékmű ellen," Galamus Group, January 22, 2014, http://www.galamus.hu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=352719_torteneszek_tiltakozasa_a_magyarorszag_nemet_1944 (accessed May 28, 2017).

In 1941, approximately 14,000 Jews who could not properly prove their Hungarian citizenship were deported to Kamenets-Podolsk and killed there. Sándor Szakály, head of the Veritas Historical Institute, has referred to this event simply as a "police action against aliens". On another occasion, he tried to justify the numerus clausus, a law introduced in 1920 to restrict the number of Jews who could enter higher education in Hungary. Szakály stated that he did not regard the law as discriminatory and that it was "a case of positive discrimination in favour of those youngsters who had less of a chance when it came to entering an institution of higher education".[32] In this context, it is important to note that the Veritas Historical Institute was founded by the Hungarian government and that it operates under the auspices of the Prime Minister's chef de cabinet.

Since 2010, when the current coalition of Fidesz and KDNP came into power, there have been many attempts to whitewash politicians, writers and other public figures from the Horthy-era who in many cases were not only openly antisemitic but also played a key role in the destruction of Hungarian Jewry.

When these examples of historical distortion were raised in 2014, they threatened to derail Hungary's forthcoming presidency of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA). However, the Hungarian government made a concerted effort to secure the presidency, and it finally assumed the role in March 2015 after months of controversies.

Conspiratorial antisemitism

As already mentioned, statements about Jewish influence and anti-Jewish conspiracy theories are widely accepted in Hungarian society. As a result, they also feature in the rhetoric of Jobbik and other right-wing extremists.

For example, Sándor Pörzse has stated that "we are witnessing a global conspiracy that aims to colonize Hungary and steal its resources". In addition, Ferenc Szaniszló spends hours explaining anti-Jewish conspiracy theories on his television programme on Echo TV. He frequent-

32 "Orbán's Veritas Institute Looks at Anti-Semitism in the Horthy Era," Hungarian Spectrum, June 26, 2016, http://hungarianspectrum.org/2016/06/26/orbans-veritas-institute-looks-at-anti-semitism-in-the-horthy-era (accessed June 1, 2017).

ly talks about left-liberals "who are Hungarian citizens by passport only", "contaminating the Hungarians" and "drawing their blood as parasites". In his opinion, the whole world is governed by a secret financial cabal (i.e. the Jews).

In February 2014, Loránt Hegedűs Jr, a Calvinist priest and well-known figure on the Far Right, said that "the global financial power does not intend to integrate the Roma. On the contrary, it uses them as biological weapons ... to force Hungarians to emigrate".[33] In addition, when Jobbik won its first by-election in April 2015, it turned out that the member of parliament in question, Lajos Rig, had been sharing and distributing antisemitic content on Facebook. In a post from 2013, he also described the Roma as "the Jews' biological weapon against Hungarians".

In October 2014, Mihály Zoltán Orosz, the mayor of Érpatak, launched a four-month demonstration that included approximately 200 protesters. Demonstration posters were uploaded on to the village's website. Orosz's rhetoric included clear references to a Jewish conspiracy. He made constant references to "foreign-hearted,[34] anti-Hungarian strata of civil servants" who follow the orders of "Uncle Kohn"[35] and "Gyurka[36] Soros".

Conspiracy theories became much more prevalent following the start of the migration crisis and the wave of terrorist attacks in European cities. In February 2015, for example, the aforementioned Tibor Ágoston shared a post on Facebook with words to the following effect: "Charlie Hebdo by mere coincidence got into the hands of the Rothschilds some days before the attack. What a coincidence! A Rothschild-owner behind Charlie Hebdo; interesting parallels between the Paris attack and the explosion of the World Trade Center".[37]

New antisemitism

In order to analyze new antisemitism in Hungary, we have to go back to

33 Hegedűs said this at a Jobbik forum organized by his wife, Enikő Hegedűs. It is noteworthy that she already used this wording back in 2011.

34 In Hungary, the expression "foreign-hearted" unequivocally refers to Jews.

35 Kohn is a well-known Jewish family name. For example, many Hungarian Jewish jokes are about Kohn and Grün.

36 Gyurka is a nickname for György, the Hungarian equivalent of George.

37 Ildikó Barna, Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Incidents Report: Monthly Reports - February 2015 (Budapest: Brussels Institute, 2015).

2007, when the President of Israel at the time, Shimon Peres, told the chamber of commerce in Tel Aviv that "[n]owadays you can build empires without establishing colonies and sending in the army. … Israeli businessmen are investing all around the world, enjoying unparalleled success, earning economic independence. We're buying up Manhattan, Poland, Hungary and Romania." These unfortunate words have served as a point of reference for the Far Right in Hungary ever since. For example, during a solidarity demonstration for Palestine in 2012, Jobbik chairman Gábor Vona demanded that the Hungarian Parliament "take an inventory of the presence of Israeli capital in Hungary immediately and publish the data" while referring to Peres's speech. In Jobbik's view, the speech not only serves as a justification for its fear that Hungary will become an Israeli (meaning Jewish) "colony" but supposedly provides clear proof of the Jews' extensive influence around the world, thereby validating several anti-Jewish conspiracy theories.

Jobbik's new antisemitism can be clustered around a few well-defined issues. The first relates to the situation of Palestine and the Palestinians and, in this connection, certain agreements concluded between the European Union and Israel and between Hungary and Israel. The party has organized several demonstrations, and its MPs have delivered speeches against Israel in the Hungarian parliament. At these demonstrations, speakers have referred to Israel as a "baby killer" or "child killer", as the "enemy of world peace" and as a "terrorist state" that "operates a racist dictatorship". Jobbik has referred to Gaza as the "largest open-air prison and concentration camp in the world" and blamed Israel for committing genocide against the Palestinians, which it describes as a "Palestinian holocaust". During one of these demonstrations, in November 2012, Gábor Vona talked about an "Israel deal". Among other things, he claimed that, during its first term in office in 1998-2002, the Orbán cabinet had signed a contract stating that Hungary, in addition to Poland and Germany, "would accommodate 500,000 Jews if there is big trouble".[38] During another demonstration

38 "Vona Gábor speech," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EtfZgSPc8NM (accessed December 22, 2016).

in July 2014, Vona said that the president of Hungary should summon the Israeli ambassador to his office and tell him that "you have twenty-four hours to pack your things and leave this country because we will not tolerate your presence here".[39] Jobbik also voices its opinions on the international stage, especially through Krisztina Morvai, who is one of the party's three MEPs.

Jobbik often seeks to base its arguments on the international human rights framework, claiming that its "struggle for truth" focuses not only on the Palestinians but also on human rights, human dignity and justice in general. In its opinion, the fact that the fate of humanity as a whole is at stake is well evidenced by the fact that there are also Jews who oppose Israel's human rights infringements. Jobbik accordingly argues that this conflict is not between Jews and non-Jews but between those "fighting for human rights, dignity and the truth" and those "speaking the language of money and power, who contaminate all of them".

Based on these concerns, Jobbik has called on the European Union and Hungary to suspend or terminate the EU association agreement with Israel until "it is willing to observe the mandatory EU norms regarding human rights".[40] In 2014, the party submitted a draft resolution to the Hungarian parliament proposing that Hungary put pressure on Israel by suspending all diplomatic relations until such time as a sovereign State of Palestine is established.[41]

In support of its arguments, Jobbik often refers to external authorities (e.g. the United Nations[42]) and influential intellectuals (e.g. Noam Chomsky[43]

39 "Speech for the Palestine solidarity - Speech of Vona Gábor, president of Jobbik," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0Op3rqdYkYo (accessed December 22, 2016).

40 Letter from Krisztina Morvai, cited by Gábor Vona during a demonstration in support of Palestine in November 2012.

41 "Jegyzőkönyv az Országgyűlés Külügyi Bizottságának 2014. szeptember 23-dikai üléséről," http://www.parlament.hu/documents/static/biz40/bizjkv40/KUB/1409231.pdf (accessed December 22, 2016).

42 For example, Krisztina Morvai often refers to a report written by Richard Falk, who served as the UN Special Rapporteur on "the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967" between 2008 and 2014. It is important to note that Israel opposed Falk's appointment to this post because of his anti-Israel extremism. For example, Falk once stated: "[i]s it an irresponsible overstatement to associate the treatment of Palestinians with this criminalized Nazi record of collective atrocity? I think not."

43 Noam Chomsky, the world-famous scientist, regularly refers to Gaza as "the world's largest open-air prison" and has said that "in the Occupied Territories, what Israel is doing is much worse than

and Stephen Hawking[44]), as well as rabbis from the anti-Zionist ultra-Orthodox Neturei Karta movement.[45] To lend emotional force to its argument, it often draws parallels between Palestinians and Hungarians, as both nations have yearned and fought for freedom. In 2012, during a demonstration against "the attack of the Israeli state against Gaza", Vona went so far as to say:

> We are Hungarians, not Palestinians, yet we came here today to show our solidarity with the Palestinian people, because we Hungarians are the Palestinians of Europe, right in the centre of the continent. We are Europe's Palestinians. And I don't know what the future holds for us. I don't know how much we will have to struggle and fight for our freedom. I don't know if they will liquidate us with targeted precision strikes. I know one thing, however: We will never give our freedom and our holy Hungarian land to anybody.[46]

Jobbik's frequent use of the expression "our Palestinian brothers" also reflects this sense of togetherness.

Jobbik's anti-Zionism is closely connected to the above-mentioned agenda, but it is more overtly antisemitic. In May 2013, the party organized a demonstration entitled "Justice for Hungary! A Commemoration for the Victims of Bolshevism and Zionism" just a few days before the plenary meeting of the World Jewish

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apartheid". When using Chomsky as a reference, it is also important to Jobbik that he is of Jewish origin. For more on this issue, see Noam Chomsky, "My Visit to Gaza, the World's Largest Open-Air Prison," Truthout, November 9, 2012, http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/12635-noam-chomsky-my-visit-to-gaza-the-worlds-largest-open-air-prison (accessed December 14, 2016).

44 Stephen Hawking joined the academic boycott of Israel in 2013 when, after accepting an invitation to a conference hosted by Israeli President Shimon Peres, he changed his mind and joined the BDS movement. See Harriet Sherwood and Matthew Kalman, "Stephen Hawking Joins Academic Boycott of Israel," Guardian, May 8, 2013, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/may/08/stephen-hawking-israel-academic-boycott (accessed 3 January, 2017).

45 Neturei Karta, an international ultra-Orthodox anti-Zionist movement with a strong support base in the United States, views itself as the religious Jewish authority on Zionism and Israel and claims to "pray for the peaceful dismantlement of the State of Israel". According to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), which regards Neturei Karta as one of the top anti-Israel groups in the United States, the movement has close connections to extreme antisemites (e.g. Hezbollah) and participated in a "Holocaust review conference" in Teheran. For more on this issue, see Anti-Defamation League, The 2013 Top Ten Anti-Israel Groups in the US (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 2013), 17-19.

46 "Vona Gábor speech," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EtfZgSPc8NM (accessed December 22, 2016).

Congress in Budapest.[47] Moreover, in July of the same year, it announced the launch of the Hungarian Parliamentary Anti-Zionist Group. After László Kövér, the speaker of the Hungarian parliament, declared that he would not permit the formation of such a group, two Jobbik MPs stated at a press conference that this had merely been an exercise to test the limits of free speech.

The second key issue that characterizes in Jobbik's new antisemitism relates to Israeli-Hungarian dual citizens who are members of the Hungarian parliament or government. According to Jobbik, these individuals pose a national security risk as a consequence of Israel's behaviour towards the Palestinians and because Israeli-Hungarian dual citizens (e.g. Hungarian Jews who also hold Israeli citizenship) are allegedly more loyal to Israel than to Hungary.

The issue of dual citizenship as a national security risk was first raised in parliament by Gábor Vona in 2010 during a debate on the future association agreement between the European Union and Israel.[48] Vona also raised the issue in 2012 during a solidarity demonstration for Palestine, calling on "the relevant authorities to conduct a national security screening of government members and MPs to see whether they hold Israeli citizenship. In Jobbik's opinion Israeli citizens must not be members of government or MPs in our country, Hungary!" Five days later, Márton Gyöngyösi went further and talked specifically about Jews, stating that "the conflict [between Israel and the Palestinians] makes it timely to tally up people of Jewish ancestry who live here, especially in the Hungarian parliament and the Hungarian government, who pose a national security risk to Hungary".[49]

47 To prevent Jobbik's anti-Zionist rally, Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán initially ordered a blanket ban on all demonstrations that might offend the WJC conference participants. A few days later, the courts annulled this decision. Orbán then wrote the following in an e-mail statement: "I request the chairman of the Supreme Court to assess the legal means for a constitutional decision and I also called on the Minister of the Interior to apply all legal means to ban the unconstitutional event." See Veronika Gulyás, "Hungary's Prime Minister Slams Court for Allowing Anti-Zionist Rally," Wall Street Journal, May 3, 2013, http://blogs.wsj.com/emergingeurope/2013/05/03/hungarys-premier-slams-court-for-allowing-anti-zionist-rally (accessed December 21, 2016).

48 "Vona Gábor: Vita az EU és Izrael állam közötti társulás létrehozásáról (2010.11.08)," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=huejl9ZaBfU&t=1s (accessed December 19, 2016).

49 "Gyöngyösi Márton antiszemita parlamenti felszólalása 2012.11.26," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SyVZVLgAZVs (accessed December 19, 2016). As a result of this speech, Gyöngyösi became

In the days that followed, Gyöngyösi and Jobbik did everything they could to play down his statement and draw attention away from the fact that he was speaking about the Jews. Later, at a press conference, he said that "what I said could be misunderstood and I'm sorry because my statement wasn't against our Jewish compatriots. It was targeted at dual Hungarian-Israeli citizens and the potential national security risks."[50] In 2013, Jobbik MP Ádám Mirkóczki brought up the issue again by stating that "knowing about these dual citizenships is more important than the declaration of property", which is compulsory for MPs in Hungary. Although Jobbik keeps this topic on its agenda, the wording it uses has softened in line with its aforementioned image overhaul. For example, Gyöngyösi himself said in a television interview in 2016 that he had cited Israeli-Hungarian dual citizenship merely as an example of any dual citizenships that could pose a national security risk.

The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement is not widespread in Hungary.[51] However, Jobbik brings up BDS from time to time, mostly during demonstrations. In July 2014, for example, Gábor Vona said the following during such a demonstration: "We announce a boycott of all Israeli products imported to Hungary. We will announce a boycott on them; we will not spend our money enriching people who kill children and babies." He went on to say: "Let me remark that this is the most painful kind of strike on them", referencing the widely-held stereotype of rapacious, money-grubbing Jews.[52] Kuruc.info also appealed to its readers to look for the 729 bar-

one of the most well-known exponents of Jobbik's new antisemitism, although he had used this rhetoric before during demonstrations against Israel. For example, in 2011, while protesting against the conference of the International Israel Allies Caucus Foundation (IIACF) in Budapest, he stated that there was a "Zionist dependence in the government's foreign policy".

50 In reaction to Gyöngyösi's speech, tens of thousands of people gathered in front of the parliament building in protest. This was an exceptional event, as it represented the first and last time in the past ten years at least that speakers from the ruling Fidesz party and opposition parties shared the same stage.

51 In connection with the BDS movement, it should be mentioned that the CEU Students for Justice in Palestine organization invited Joseph Massad, a university professor well-known for his hatred of Israel and support for anti-Jewish violence, to Hungary. Massad frequently describes Israel as a "colonialist, racist apartheid state" and sees its elimination as a precondition for peace in the Middle East.

52 "Speech for the Palestine solidarity - Speech of Vona Gábor, president of Jobbik," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0Op3rqdYkYo (accessed December 22, 2016).

code[53] and listed Israeli trademarks to help people avoid them.

Jobbik makes a concerted effort to "educate" its followers to defend their anti-Zionist views by presenting the most popular counter-arguments and counter-accusations. For example, it warns its supporters that they will be condemned as antisemites if they talk about the sins of Israel. Jobbik also teaches its supporters how to respond to accusations regarding Palestinian terrorism and rocket attacks: "This is a war, and unfortunately where there is war there are victims as well". Jobbik does not just mention such counter-arguments but actually provides "good answers" to its followers.[54]

Although Jobbik plays a dominant role in the field of new antisemitism in Hungary, there have been manifestations of new antisemitism that were not – or not directly – connected to the party. For example, during a friendly football match between Hungary and Israel in August 2012, a few dozen fans chanted "filthy Jews" and "Buchenwald" and also voiced support for Palestine.

In December 2012, Balázs Lenhardt, a former Jobbik member and MP, burned an Israeli flag during an anti-Zionist demonstration. The Action and Protection Foundation duly lodged a complaint against him for incitement. Although demonstrators shouted slogans like "filthy Jews" and "to Auschwitz with you all", the Prosecutor's Office considered that his act fell within the bounds of freedom of expression. As a result, he was only convicted of vandalism in 2014.[55]

In August 2014, the Érpatak municipality and the Sixty-Four Counties Youth Movement held a protest in support of Palestine. The mayor of Érpatak, Mihály Zoltán Orosz, first wiped his boots on a paper flag of Israel and then hung effigies of Shimon

53 Many supporters of the BDS movement believe that a barcode starting with the numbers 729 indicates that the product in question was made in Israel. However, this is not entirely accurate. What it actually means is that the barcode on the product was generated or requested by a company based in Israel. Many Israeli-made products are sold by non-Israeli companies and do not have this number.

54 See, for example, "Törődjünk-e Izrael bűneivel és a palesztinok szenvedéseivel? – Morvai Krisztina előadása," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mb8bdNCJG08 (accessed December 15, 2016) and "Speech for the Palestine solidarity – Speech of Vona Gábor, president of Jobbik," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0Op3rqdYkYo (accessed December 22, 2016).

55 Ildikó Barna, Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Incidents Report: Monthly Reports – June, July and October 2013 (Budapest: Brussels Institute, 2013).

Peres and Benjamin Netanyahu. The Israeli ambassador to Hungary filed a complaint with the Chief Prosecutor, while nationalist politician and MEP Krisztina Morvai sent him an open letter defending Orosz by saying that his "performance" had only been an expression of his outrage.[56] The case is still ongoing at the time of writing.

In November 2015, Gábor Huszár, the independent mayor of Szentgotthárd, the western-most town in Hungary, said: "Everyone should acknowledge that what happened in Paris is clear proof that certain business circles want Christian Europe to turn against Islam. And now I will voice that the Jewish state may also be behind all this...". Huszár released an official statement soon after in which he apologized for his words, stating that he had not thought through what he had said and that it was not intended for public consumption. The following month, he paid a visit to Israel's ambassador to Hungary and apologized for his statement.[57]

III. CONCLUSIONS

New antisemitism is less prevalent and less visible in Hungary than secondary antisemitism and conspiratorial antisemitism. This is not simply due to the lower frequency of manifestations of new antisemitism but rather to the fact that it is often interwoven with the other types of antisemitism.

Few people participate in demonstrations against Israel. However, video recordings of such events are widely distributed on the Internet, and it is therefore impossible to estimate the number of people reached. It seems that "Zionism" is a much better buzzword than "Palestine" when it comes to attracting the masses. While demonstrations in support of Palestine attract a maximum of 200-300 participants, an anti-Zionist rally organized by Jobbik in May 2013 drew approximately 1,000 people. This is a considerable number, especially given the fact that the police used all the legal means at their disposal to prevent the event from taking place.

56 Ildikó Barna, Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Incidents Report: Monthly Reports – August 2014 (Budapest: Brussels Institute, 2014).

57 Ildikó Barna, Anti-Semitic Hate Crimes and Incidents Report: Monthly Reports – November and December 2015 (Budapest: Brussels Institute, 2015).

The issue of Palestine is unequivocally regarded as a "Jewish question", and it therefore serves as a code word. This is abundantly clear from the actions of the demonstrators. It was also evident during a football match in July 2014 between PMFC (Pécs) and MTK, which has been regarded as a "Jewish club" since the 1930s. During the match, PMFC supporters chanted political messages relating to Palestine and sang outrageous songs. The word Zionism also serves as a code word and is often used as a synonym for Jews or Judaism in expressions such as "Zionist scum", "Zion-liberalism" and "Zion-liberals".

In light of the many interconnections between the various types of antisemitism that exist in Hungary today, new antisemitism does not require special treatment. Although Jobbik and – to some extent – certain other far-right organizations have undergone a considerable image makeover over the past few years, their inherent character has not changed. It is therefore extremely important to keep the public informed about the true nature of far-right organizations in Hungary.

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05
POLAND

Rafal Pankowski

I. BACKGROUND

Jewish population and community

Historically, Poland was home to a large Jewish population. In the tenth century, the first words about the existence of Poland as a country were penned by Ibrahim ibn Jacob, a Jewish merchant representing the Caliph of Cordoba. For one thousand years, the Jews contributed to the cultural, economic and political life of the country. From the thirteenth century, the Jewish community was granted a degree of legal autonomy by Polish rulers. After the Third Partition of Poland in 1795 and until 1918, the emancipation of the Jews generally followed the diverse paths of the legislative frameworks of the occupying powers (Russia, Austria and Germany). In the interwar period, Polish Jews officially enjoyed full rights as Polish citizens, but in practice they frequently suffered discrimination, especially after 1935.

Before 1939, the Jewish community amounted to 10% of Poland's population. Approximately three million Polish Jews were murdered by the Nazis during the Holocaust. Several waves of emigration after World War II further diminished the Polish Jewish community. According to an official population census conducted in 2011, approximately 8,000 people declared themselves as having a Jewish identity (nationality/ethnicity). Within this group, 2,000 declared their identity as Jewish only, with the vast majority declaring their identity as both Polish and Jewish. According to the census, Poland's total population was 38.5 million. Thus, the Jews constitute only a small fraction of the country's population. No precise data are available on the socio-economic status of Jews in Poland, but it is generally accepted that they are a predominantly urban community, with high levels of secularism and assimilation into mainstream Polish culture.

Historical context of modern antisemitism

Modern political antisemitism surfaced in Poland at the turn of the twentieth century, in conjunction with the rise of the ethno-nationalist "Endek" or "National Democracy" movement led by Roman Dmowski.

Antisemitism became a crucial part of the movement's ideology, and antisemitic propaganda played an important role in the construction of a nationalist political identity. Clearly, the rise of modern antisemitism was made possible by the heritage of traditional Catholic antisemitism, which had existed since the Middle Ages. The Endek movement had a mass following and sought to build a modern national identity rooted in ethnic (or ethno-religious) ties, excluding ethnic and religious minorities from the imagined national identity. When Poland regained independence in 1918, the Endek movement did not obtain power, but it enjoyed mass support during the interwar period, especially among the middle classes and the Roman Catholic clergy. The Endek tradition arguably still has a strong influence on the understanding of national identity in Poland.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the struggle against the Jews gradually became a central element of the Endek ideology, which was permeated with Jewish conspiracy theories. Dmowski opposed the assimilation of Jews even when they converted to Christianity. In 1904, he wrote:

> In the character of this race [the Jews], so many different values alien to our moral constitution and harmful to our life have accumulated that assimilation with a larger number of Jews would destroy us, replacing us with decadent elements, rather than with those young creative foundations upon which we are building the future.[1]

By the mid-1930s, a new, more radical generation of activists grew out of the National Democracy movement. In 1934, they formed their own group, the National-Radical Camp (Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny or ONR), which was strongly inspired by European fascist models. In the wake of the international economic crisis, the ONR included both nationalist and anti-capitalist slogans in its ideology and equated capitalism with Jewish influence. The ONR was notorious for using

1 Roman Dmowski, Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka (1904), quoted in: Rafal Pankowski, The Populist Radical Right in Poland: The Patriots (London: Routledge, 2010), 28.

violence against Jews and political opponents. The bulk of its support came from university students. After several months, it was banned by the Polish authorities for inciting hatred, but it continued to function informally (subsequently splitting into two factions known as ONR-ABC and ONR-Falanga, which was led by Bolesław Piasecki). This extreme nationalist ideology and symbolism made a spectacular comeback among young Poles in the 2010s.

The Holocaust in Poland was perpetrated by German Nazis. This basic fact is not in dispute, but there is a debate about the role of the Polish neighbours of the Jewish victims. The attitudes of the Polish population ranged from sympathy to indifference and hostility. The role of the Polish perpetrators of wartime and postwar anti-Jewish pogroms (e.g. in Jedwabne in 1941 and Kielce in 1946) remains a subject of controversy to the present day.[2]

Both before and after 1939, antisemitic discourse was often intertwined with anti-Communist rhetoric. According to estimates, around one-fourth of the Polish Communist Party's membership was made up of Jews during the 1920s and 1930s. In practice, however, the Jewish Communists were a marginal group within the wider Jewish community in Poland. The Communist Party was illegal in Poland; it remained unpopular and was eventually dissolved by Stalin in 1937. Many of its activists were subsequently murdered by the Soviet secret police (NKVD) during the mass repressions.

After World War II, the stereotype of "Jewish Communism" became even stronger, despite the fact that Jewish Communists constituted a very small part of the postwar Communist leadership and generally did not identify themselves as Jews. Throughout the postwar years, the official propaganda emphasized ethnic homogeneity and the lack of significant minorities as a major achievement of the Communist regime. Symbolically, a group of activists of the prewar ONR-Falanga, led

2 The main contribution to the debate can be found in Jan T. Gross's ground-breaking books: *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz* (New York: Random House, 2006); and *Golden Harvest*, co-authored with Irena Grudzińska-Gross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

by Bolesław Piasecki, was allowed to reorganize legally in the form of the PAX Association, which combined nationalism and Catholicism with Socialist rhetoric. For decades, PAX had its own representatives in Poland's Communist-dominated parliament. Nevertheless, during the first two decades of Communist rule, cases of officially sanctioned, overt antisemitism were relatively rare.

In the latter half of the 1960s, antisemitic rhetoric disguised as anti-Zionism became increasingly common. The antisemitic campaign reached its peak in the wake of Israel's victory in the 1967 Six-Day War. At this time, Israel's success was viewed with some sympathy in certain sectors of Polish society, but the authorities reacted with hostility to any displays of solidarity with Israel. At the same time, a new democratically-minded student movement emerged in Poland, supported by dissident intellectuals such as Jacek Kuron, Karol Modzelewski, Leszek Kolakowski, Zygmunt Bauman, Wlodzimierz Brus and others. The violent crushing of the democratic movement by the authorities in March 1968 was accompanied by aggressive anti-Zionist government propaganda that highlighted the "cosmopolitan" background of the student activists, pointing to their family connections with the Jewish Communists of the Stalinist period. Government-controlled newspapers listed the Jewish-sounding names of the dissidents and stressed their "unpatriotic" outlook.

In particular, the Jewish-Communist family background of the eighteen-year-old student leader Adam Michnik was frequently exploited in the propaganda. Such attacks on Michnik were repeated during the ensuing decades and continue to this day. At present, they feature prominently in the discourse of the Polish extreme right. Since 1989, Michnik has been the editor-in-chief of the country's main liberal newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza*. He is regarded as one of the founding fathers of Polish liberal democracy, which makes him a frequent target of hatred among nationalist populists. Another activist in the student movement of the late 1960s, Jan Gross, later became the author of ground-breaking books on antisemitism in Poland.

In the Communist propaganda of

the late 1960s, the term "Zionism" simply served as shorthand for being Jewish or sympathizing with Jews. The "Zionists" (i.e. Jews) were presented as a united group working for the benefit of Israel and the United States. They were simultaneously accused of "cosmopolitanism" and "nationalism". As a part of the repressive measures that followed the student unrest, hundreds of students were expelled from universities, while professors who were seen as sympathizers of the student movement were sacked. In 1968-1969, approximately 15,000-20,000 Jews were forced to leave Poland amid an atmosphere of intimidation. Roughly 25% of them settled in Israel. Many of the rhetorical themes developed and popularized during the 1968 anti-Zionist campaign have been in circulation ever since, including during the post-1989 period.

Opinion polls on antisemitism

Numerous sociological studies on antisemitism and Polish attitudes towards Jews and Israel have been conducted in recent decades. Due to the different methodologies – and differing ideological perspectives – of the researchers, the results tend to differ considerably. Writing in 2011, Professor Antoni Sułek of the Institute of Sociology at Warsaw University ascertained that there was generally a small (or diminishing) range of antisemitic attitudes in Poland. As an example, he quoted the results of a survey conducted by the TNS OBOP polling institute in 2002 and 2010. Those surveyed were asked to name groups with "too much influence on the country's affairs". Jews were named by a marginal percentage of the respondents (0.8% in 2002 and 1.7% in 2010).[3]

However, a different picture emerges from the research of Professor Ireneusz Krzemiński, also of the Institute of Sociology at Warsaw University, who conducted a series of surveys beginning in 1992. These surveys demonstrate the relative persistence of certain antisemitic attitudes. Elements of "tradition-

3 Antoni Sułek, "Władza Żydów a władza stereotypu," Otwarta Rzeczpospolita, February 11, 2011, http://www.otwarta.org/prof-antoni-sulek-wladza-zydow-i-wladza-stereotypu (accessed January 15, 2017).

al" (i.e. religiously motivated) antisemitism were shared by 11.5% of those surveyed in 1992, 11.6% in 2002 and 8% in 2012, while elements of "modern" (i.e. ideological) antisemitism were shared by 17% of respondents in 1992, 27% in 2002 and 20% in 2012. According to Krzemiński, there is a strong correlation between a high level of religious practice and both types of antisemitism in certain sectors of Polish society.[4]

Yet another picture is presented by the Polish Prejudice Survey, which was conducted by Warsaw University's Faculty of Psychology in 2013. The authors of this survey note a revival in both traditional and modern forms of antisemitism. For example, 22% of those surveyed answered "yes" to the question "Are contemporary Jews to blame for the death of Christ?" In the same poll, a record 67% of respondents confirmed their belief in the statement: "The Jews are trying to impose their influence in the world", while 44% agreed that "The Jews rule the world".[5] These results are supplemented by an additional report on attitudes towards Israel published by the same institute. According to this survey, 7% of informants held a "strongly negative" opinion about contemporary Israel, and 42% held a "rather negative" opinion. At the other end of the spectrum, 4% held a "strongly positive" opinion about Israel, and 47% held a "rather positive" opinion. According to the research, antisemitic views are frequently correlated with anti-Israel opinions. In other words, those who hold antisemitic views are inclined to express negative opinions about Israel.[6]

According to the results of the Anti-Defamation League's 2015 global survey, Poland's antisemitism index (the percentage of adults in the country who answered "probably true" in response to a majority of the antisemitic stereotypes presented to them) was estimated at 45%.[7] The percentage of those answering "probably true" in response to specific stereo-

4 Ireneusz Krzeminski, "Dmowski i antysemityzm narodowo-katolicki," *Nigdy Więcej*, no. 22 (2016): 93-98.

5 Paweł Wronski, "Coraz wiecej Polakow wierzy, że Żydzi porywali dzieci," *Gazeta Wyborcza*, January 18, 2014.

6 Dominika Bulska and Mikolaj Winiewski, *Postawy antyizraelskie a antysemityzm w Polsce. Raport na podstawie Polskiego Sondażu Uprzedzeń* (Warsaw: Centrum Badań nad Uprzedzeniami, 2013).

7 See http://global100.adl.org/#country/poland/2014 (accessed January 15, 2017).

typical statements was as follows:

- "Jews are more loyal to Israel than to [this country/the countries they live in]" – 57%
- "Jews have too much power in the business world" – 57%
- "Jews have too much power in international financial markets" – 55%
- "Jews still talk too much about what happened to them in the Holocaust" – 62%
- "Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind" – 45%
- "Jews have too much control over global affairs" – 42%
- "Jews have too much control over the United States government" – 30%
- "Jews think they are better than other people" – 39%
- "Jews have too much control over the global media" – 35%
- "Jews are responsible for most of the world's wars" – 16%
- "People hate Jews because of the way Jews behave" – 33%

In conclusion, it seems clear that, although the results of the various sociological surveys differ significantly, they illustrate the presence of antisemitic attitudes in Poland despite the very small size of the Jewish community.

Legislative background

On the subject of antisemitism (and other forms of incitement), the Polish legislative framework is similar to that of most European countries. Article 13 of the Polish Constitution states that political parties and other organizations whose programmes are based upon totalitarian methods and the modes of activity of nazism, fascism and communism, as well as those whose programmes or activities sanction racial or national hatred, shall be prohibited. Article 35 gives national and ethnic minorities the right to establish educational and cultural institutions and institutions designed to protect religious identity. Article 32 prohibits discrimination for any reason. Under Article 196 of the Polish Penal Code, anyone found guilty of intentionally offending religious feelings by profaning an object or place of

worship is liable to a fine, a restriction of liberty or imprisonment for a maximum of two years. Under Article 256, anyone found guilty of promoting a fascist or other totalitarian system of state or of inciting hatred based on national, ethnic, racial or religious differences, or for reason of the lack of any religious denomination, is liable to a fine, a restriction of liberty or imprisonment for a maximum of two years. Under Article 257, anyone found guilty of publicly insulting a group or a particular person because of their national, ethnic, racial or religious affiliation, or because of the lack of any religious denomination, is liable to a fine, a restriction of liberty or imprisonment for a maximum of three years.

Although these legal provisions generally seem sufficient, over the years representatives of minority communities (including the Jewish community) and civil society groups have pointed to a discrepancy between the letter of the law and the everyday practices of various institutions. This discrepancy has resulted in the inadequate implementation of the legal provisions against hate speech. A lack of political will has often been noted, such as Poland's failure to ratify the Council of Europe's Convention on Cybercrime and its Additional Protocol concerning the criminalization of acts of a racist and xenophobic nature committed through computer systems until 2015 despite signing them in 2003, and even then only after years of campaigning and lobbying by the "Never Again" association. To date, the implementation of legal norms regarding online hate speech has been particularly lax.

Governmental relations with Israel

Diplomatic relations between Poland and Israel were severed in 1967 and officially restored in 1990. Since then, cooperation at state level has progressed in the political, economic and military fields. For example, bilateral intergovernmental consultations involving several ministers from both countries took place in Israel in November 2016. In 2007, the then Israeli ambassador to Poland, David Peleg, was outspoken in his condemnation of the antisemitism promoted by Radio Maryja, calling

on the Catholic church and the Polish state institutions to intervene.[8]

II. ANTISEMITISM: ACTORS AND MANIFESTATIONS

Actors

Method of selection

Poland is a large country with a population of about 38 million and, traditionally, a plethora of political groups of all shades. The nationalist and antisemitic groups, in particular, have a tendency to split and multiply, and antisemitism is rife within some sectors of Polish society and politics, especially on the Far Right. It is therefore impossible to provide an exhaustive list of the many actors that engage in some form of antisemitism in Poland. As a result, the following selection is somewhat arbitrary, but we have tried to include several actors that are significant on account of their social and political influence and/or their tendency to represent characteristic, and often long-standing, models of antisemitic discourse and activity. Some of these models are similar to the models of antisemitic discourse and activity in other countries, while others are specific to Poland.

Political parties, civic associations and other groups

Kukiz'15

Kukiz'15 is a populist political movement created and led by Pawel Kukiz, a former rock singer, who became a politician in 2015. In May 2015, Kukiz ran for the Polish presidency as an independent candidate and came third with more than three million votes (20.8%). In the parliamentary elections of October 2015, Kukiz'15 received more than 1.3 million votes (8.8% of the national vote) and won forty-two seats in the Polish parliament. Since the elections, however, six MPs have left the movement. Kukiz'15 is composed of several sub-groups, including the far-right nationalist "Endecja" association, which was established in May 2016 and lays claim to the heritage of the historic Endek movement. The

8 Paweł Smolenski, "Imperium antysemityzmu," *Gazeta Wyborcza*, August 30, 2007.

Endecja group within Kukiz'15 consists of seven MPs. Since its creation in 2015, Kukiz'15 has been moving in a radical right direction. It has launched a major "Stop refugees!" campaign and has collected signatures in support of a Hungarian-style referendum on closing Poland's borders to refugees. The campaign employs strong anti-migrant and Islamophobic rhetoric. The Kukiz movement has tried to establish itself as the main right-wing populist opposition to the current conservative-nationalist government of the Law and Justice (PiS) party. However, it has supported the PiS in several key votes aimed at dismantling the liberal-democratic constitutional order. At the same time, it has viciously attacked the liberal and left-wing opposition. For example, in a December 2015 radio broadcast, Pawel Kukiz alleged that the mass demonstrations in defence of democracy were "sponsored from the pocket of a Jewish banker". He later explained that this offensive comment was aimed at George Soros. The Union of Jewish Religious Communities in Poland claimed that Kukiz's remark was antisemitic and demanded a firm response from President Andrzej Duda and Prime Minister Beata Szydło, which did not materialize. The head of the Union of Jewish Religious Communities, Lesław Piszewski, noted that Kukiz's comments set a worrying precedent: "For the first time since [Poland's] democratic elections in 1989, a politician in parliament, who has run for the presidency, has used such obvious antisemitic rhetoric."[9]

National-Radical Camp

The National-Radical Camp (Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny or ONR) is the contemporary incarnation of the fascist ONR originally established in 1934. The modern-day ONR was created as a predominantly skinhead youth group in the early 2000s. Its extremist symbolism came complete with uniforms and fascist salutes. In 2009, the regional court in Opole banned the ONR association in Brzeg for promoting fascism. Nevertheless, the ONR has continued

9 "Jewish Community Accuses Prominent Polish Politician of Anti-Semitism," Radio Poland, December 22, 2015, http://www.thenews.pl/1/9/Artykul/234028,Jewish-community-accuses-prominent-Polish-politician-of-antiSemitism (accessed January 15, 2017).

its activities and today comprises a national network of branches that enjoys considerable support within a certain section of Poland's younger generation. In recent years, the ONR has been particularly active in organizing street marches in various Polish cities, often in cooperation with the All-Polish Youth (Młodzież Wszechpolska or MW). For example, on 18 November 2015, members of the ONR and the MW held a racist demonstration against refugees in Poland in front of Wroclaw City Hall. At the end of the demonstration, Piotr Rybak (a former collaborator of Paweł Kukiz) burnt an effigy of a Jew that was decorated with a skullcap, sidelocks and an EU flag. To the applause of the event's other participants, Rybak shouted: "I'm not going to be told by any German, Jew or American that Islam has any good intentions towards Christianity." The police did not intervene, but the Prosecutor's Office received a crime report from the mayor of Wrocław, Rafał Dutkiewicz, among others. In November 2016, Rybak was sentenced to ten months in prison. In December 2016, the public prosecutor appealed against the sentence, complaining it was too harsh.[10] On 16 April 2016, ONR members marched through the city centre of Bialystok, which was a multicultural and predominantly Jewish town until the Holocaust and has experienced numerous neo-Nazi incidents in recent years. The demonstrators chanted "Zionists will be hanging from the trees instead of leaves", as well as other radical nationalist and xenophobic slogans. Polish priest Jacek Międlar, who is known for his support of far-right nationalist movements, held a holy mass for the ONR members and addressed them with the following words: "The oppressors, together with the dazed, passive Jewish mob, will try to bring you down to your knees, drag you around, grind you down and spit you out because you are an inconvenience." He also called for "zero tolerance for the Jewish cowardice." An investigation was launched into the abovementioned events, but the public prosecutor did not bring any charges.

10 Description of the incident from "Never Again" association sources.

All-Polish Youth

The All-Polish Youth (Młodzież Wszechpolska or MW) movement was recreated in 1989 and continues the tradition of the antisemitic youth organization of the same name that was active in the 1920s and 1930s. It is appropriate to remember that the MW, like the ONR, was responsible for numerous attacks on Jewish students in the interwar period. In 1998, Grzegorz Sielatycki, a leading member of the MW in Gdansk in the 1990s and 2000s, wrote as follows in the pages of the movement's magazine *Walka* (*The Struggle*):

> The pollution of our own culture by alien elements is dangerous. Why do they include Jewish authors such as Julian Tuwim, Bruno Schulz, Bolesław Lesmian, Tadeusz Peiper, Roman Brandstaetter, Andrzej Szczypiorski or many others under the label of Polish culture in Polish textbooks? Why do they consider Jewish literature in the Polish language as ours? The language cannot be a decisive argument that determines the national character of a literature and the aspirations of Jewish writers do not determine it either. Their psyche determines it, and it reveals the Jewish character of the literature they produce. The Jewish psyche is crippled, sick, degenerate and abnormal.[11]

Since 2010, the MW, together with the ONR, has organized an annual Independence Day march in Warsaw on 11 November. It has arguably become the largest far-right gathering in contemporary Europe, if not the world. According to estimates, it attracted between 50,000 and 100,000 participants in 2016. The bulk of the marchers are mobilized by formal and informal football fan networks (Polish football fan culture has been largely hijacked by far-right nationalists). In recent years, the gathering has attracted growing interest from foreign extremists. Numerous representatives of the Hungarian extreme-right Jobbik party are highly visible on the

11 Quoted in Rafal Pankowski, *The Populist Radical Right in Poland: The Patriots* (London: Routledge, 2010), 116.

streets of Warsaw every year. They are joined by extreme-right delegations from other countries, including Slovakia, Sweden, France, Spain, Croatia and many others. One of the keynote speeches in 2016 was delivered by Roberto Fiore, the convicted terrorist and leader of the neo-fascist Forza Nuova. In 2015, the official slogan of the march was "Poland for the Poles, the Poles for Poland." As it happens, "Poland for the Poles" was the main antisemitic slogan of the interwar period. During the march, several far-right extremists interrupted a news report being filmed by Polsat News, with one of them shouting "F*** the Jews" to the camera. In 2016, chants such as "Hit the Jewish scum with the hammer and the sickle" were heard at the march, alongside anti-migrant, anti-Muslim and other xenophobic slogans.

National Movement

The National Movement (Ruch Narodowy or RN) is a far-right political party born out of the cooperation between MW and ONR activists in 2014. In October 2015, ten members and sympathizers of the RN were elected to the Polish parliament after cooperating with the Kukiz'15 movement. As a result of subsequent disagreements, the majority of them left the RN and joined the newly founded "Endecja" association in 2016. As of January 2017, party leader Robert Winnicki (a former chairman of the MW) is the only remaining MP representing the RN. The RN is closely allied with Jobbik and other foreign extreme-right groups. For example, on 10 November 2016, Winnicki hosted leaders of Our Slovakia (Milan Mazurek) and Forza Nuova (Roberto Fiore) in the Polish parliament. On 21 July 2016, he made a speech in parliament protesting against "the history policy ordered by Jewish groups with claims on Poland". His speech was interrupted several times by cheers of support from members of the ruling Law and Justice (PiS) party.

National Rebirth of Poland

National Rebirth of Poland (Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski or NOP) is the radical neo-fascist party associated with the International Third Position and the European National Front. The NOP's annual Independence Day march in Wroclaw at-

tracts between 5,000 and 10,000 participants, including fans of the Slask Wroclaw football club, led by Roman Zielinski (author of the notorious book *How I Fell in Love with Adolf Hitler*). It is also particularly active among the Polish community in the United Kingdom, where it cooperates with the neo-Nazi National Action. For example, on 4 July 2014, the NOP England Division participated in an anti-Jewish rally in Whitehall, London. The NOP is renowned for its open endorsement of Holocaust denial since the late 1990s, including the active promotion of David Irving's writings. It is also particularly outspoken in its violently hostile attitude towards Israel and often uses the slogan "Bombs against Israel now!"

Stanislaw Michalkiewicz

Stanislaw Michalkiewicz is a regular commentator on Radio Maryja and TV Trwam who is notorious for his vicious antisemitism. For example, in a TV Trwam broadcast on 20 April 2013, Michalkiewicz made the following antisemitic statement:

> The Israeli government and other organizations involved in the Holocaust industry are hoping to cadge another 65 million dollars from us. ... The Foreign Office, dominated by the team put together by the late Bronisław Geremek, is continuing to use Communist tactics against Polish emigrants; it prevents any attempts at founding a Polish lobby in the countries of settlement. It is, in terms of national interest, simply unbelievable![12]

Encouraged by TV Trwam presenter Robert Knap, Michalkiewicz elaborated: "In terms of the interests of this particular ethnic group, which makes its presence in the Foreign Office visible – I'm talking about the Jewish lobby – it is understandable, in particular in the case of a conflict of interest between the Polish and Jewish nations." The same programme was broadcast on Radio Maryja on 22 April 2013. On 5 October 2016, Michalkiewicz read one of his columns on air, stating: "The Jewish circles in Poland are

12 Transcripts and recordings in the archive of the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association.

tasked with providing the European Commission with as much proof as possible that democracy and the rule of law in our unhappy country is threatened by the fascist regime." On 20 October 2016, he said: "Today the mischievous Jews understand what it is about and they have transformed themselves into liberals." On 23 November 2016, Radio Maryja aired Michalkiewicz's weekly broadcast, in which he alleged that "the Jewish lobby in Poland demonstrates its racial solidarity with the Ukrainian oligarchs." In December 2016, Michalkiewicz toured Polish churches and cultural centres in the United States, delivering lectures based on his anti-Jewish conspiracy theories.

Leszek Bubel

Leszek Bubel is a publisher of rabidly antisemitic publications and was a member of parliament for the Polish Party of Beer Lovers in the early 1990s. In the early 2000s, he was involved with the populist Self-Defence (Samoobrona) movement and eventually founded his own Polish National Party (Polska Partia Narodowa or PPN). His publications are sold in mainstream distribution outlets and focus on lists of real and alleged Jews who are active in Polish political and cultural life. Bubel's fake lists are a good example of the phenomenon known as the "Judaization of the opponent" in Polish public life.

Grzegorz Braun

Grzegorz Braun is a documentary film maker and far-right activist. In 2015, he ran for the Polish presidency on an openly antisemitic and anti-democratic (monarchist) platform, polling less than 1% of the vote. During the electoral campaign, Braun warned against Poland becoming "a German-Russian condominium under Jewish management". In September 2016, he was shortlisted as one of the top three candidates for the post of chairman of Polish state television by the PiS-dominated National Media Council, although the job eventually went to former PiS MP Jacek Kurski.

Media

Radio Maryja

Radio Maryja, the nationalist-Catholic radio station run by the Redemptorist Order, has been the single most powerful disseminator of antisemitic rhetoric for the past twenty-five years, as documented in numerous reports by the "Never Again" association, the Anti-Defamation League, the Council of Europe and other organizations. According to the US State Department report on global antisemitism that was delivered to Congress in 2008: "Radio Maryja is one of Europe's most blatantly anti-Semitic media venues." Radio Maryja's founder, Father Tadeusz Rydzyk, routinely refers to Polish state television as "TELAVision", suggesting that it is dominated by Jews. During a religious ceremony broadcast on Radio Maryja on 3 September 2016, Father Rydzyk reprimanded the faithful for their misbehaviour, exclaiming: "This is not a synagogue!"

TV Trwam and *Nasz Dziennik*

TV Trwam and *Nasz Dziennik* are Radio Maryja's associated media outlets, comprising a TV channel and a daily newspaper that follow the same editorial line. The network of organizations around Radio Maryja reportedly received approximately $7.5 million in Polish state funds in 2016.

Gazeta Warszawska

Gazeta Warszawska goes by the same name as an historical ultra-conservative and antisemitic newspaper that dates back to 1774. Today, it is a radical nationalist weekly newspaper, published by Polish-American businessman Piotr Bachurski, that follows a particularly hostile anti-Jewish line. For example, in August 2016, in a long article devoted to the recent visit of an Anti-Defamation League delegation to Poland, it alleged that "the ADL in America stands for total destruction: decriminalization of sodomy and abortion and the promotion of racial diversity." It also warned that "the idea of basing Polish security on an alliance with American Jews

is an illusion because they won't care for Polish interests if Putin guarantees Israel's interests in the Middle East."[13]

Manifestations of modern antisemitism

Secondary antisemitism: Holocaust denial, relativization and trivialization

Outright Holocaust denial is rare in Poland, not least because the Nazi Holocaust took place on Polish territory. Nevertheless, Holocaust denial appeared on the right-wing extremist scene in the 1990s. In 1999, a court in Opole declared that Dr Dariusz Ratajczak, a researcher at the University of Opole, had infringed the law against Holocaust denial in his book *Dangerous Topics* but that the crime was socially harmless. Leszek Bubel issued a paperback edition of the book, which was widely distributed by the state-owned company Ruch. Ratajczak and two other historians defended Holocaust denial in a Radio Maryja broadcast in January 2000, after which the University of Opole dismissed Ratajczak from his academic post. Upon his death due to alcohol poisoning in 2010, he again became an icon of the radical wing of the Polish Far Right.

In a more general sense, debates about collective (national) memory and identity in the context of World War II have often led to a radical polarization of views and have been used as a platform for the promotion of antisemitic stereotypes. Ireneusz Krzeminski points to two frequently competing national narratives (Polish and Jewish), both claiming supreme martyrdom or vying with each other in terms of their degree of suffering. The field of history and national memory is arguably the main area in which antisemitic stereotypes are employed in the contemporary Polish public discourse.

In this context, the denial of Polish responsibility for the 1941 Jedwabne pogrom is part of a recurring phenomenon. For example, in a television interview in July 2016, Polish education minister Anna Zalewska claimed that "Jedwabne is a historical fact that has led to many misunderstandings and very biased

13 Krzysztof Balinski, "I ty zostaniesz antysemitą," *Gazeta Warszawska*, August 28, 2016.

opinions." The journalist responded by saying: "Poles burned Jews in a barn." "That's your opinion," retorted Zalewska, adding that Jan Gross's award-winning book on the Jedwabne pogrom was "full of lies". On the subject of the 1946 Kielce pogrom, she claimed that the perpetrators "were not quite Polish".[14]

In addition, two government ministers publicly alluded to the conspiracy theories espoused in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and, when challenged about it by the national and international media, stopped short of condemning the infamous document as an antisemitic forgery.[15]

Conspiratorial antisemitism

Conspiracy theories about Jewish influence occasionally surface in the Polish public discourse. Radio Maryja's Stanislaw Michalkiewicz (see above) is arguably the most prolific author of such theories. American-Hungarian millionaire George Soros is frequently identified as a central figure in the international conspiracy against the Polish nationalist right, despite the fact that Soros's involvement in Polish affairs through the Stefan Batory Foundation, which he established in 1987, has decreased significantly over the past decade. Tellingly, Piotr Rybak, who set the aforementioned effigy of an Orthodox Jew on fire in Wroclaw in November 2015, explained his actions as being directed against Soros. The effigy was said to represent Soros as the author of a secret plan to bring Muslim refugees into Europe. On a more general level, this incident can be interpreted as showing that antisemitism remains the paradigmatic form of xenophobia in Poland. The Jew is a common and deeply rooted symbol of "the Other" in Polish culture, and hence even anti-Muslim demonstrations end up being accompanied by anti-Jewish symbolism.

In a similar vein, an alleged conspir-

14 Vanessa Gera, "Polish Official Criticized over Jewish Massacre Remarks," AP News, July 14, 2016, http://bigstory.ap.org/article/0343e3d10bad435e8ce24d5f9e69c974/polish-official-criticized-over-jewish-massacre-remarks (accessed January 15, 2017).

15 Don Snyder, "Two Polish Right-Wing Ministers Blasted over 'Protocols'," *Forward*, November 17, 2015, http://forward.com/news/breaking-news/324904/2-polish-right-wing-ministers-blasted-over-protocols (accessed 30 May 2017).

acy against the Polish political right was attributed to former Foreign Minister Radoslaw Sikorski and, in particular, his US-born wife Anne Applebaum. Applebaum, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist who writes for *The Washington Post* and other media, has been accused of "inspiring" numerous articles critical of the post-2015 political climate in Poland that appeared in the international media.

New antisemitism

Various factors, including the "richness" of the antisemitic discourse in Poland from the late nineteenth century onwards and a lack of interest in events in the Middle East, have meant that Poland's homegrown antisemites tend not to focus on Israel's occupation of Palestine or other related themes characteristic of the new antisemitism that has swept the Western world. A few small radical left and anarchist groups are preoccupied with the Palestinian question and share a radically anti-Israel position (which is expressed in the low-circulation anti-Zionist magazine *Inny Świat*), but unlike the Far Right they have little or no influence on Polish public opinion. A violently anti-Israel discourse is clearly present in the activities of antisemitic groups such as the NOP (see above), but it appears to accompany more established forms of antisemitism rather than occupying centre stage in their discursive strategy. Some leaders of the Polish nationalist right actually claim to support Israel out of hostility towards Islam and the Arab world, while retaining their anti-Jewish attitudes in the field of domestic policy and national history. In this context, a former PiS MP and leading member of the Nationalist Movement (RN), Artur Zawisza, has publicly described himself as a "pro-Israel antisemite".[16]

In September 2016, Radio Maryja's Tadeusz Rydzyk was received as a guest by the Israeli ambassador to Poland, Anna Azari. In response to this highly publicized meeting, the Israeli embassy received an open letter of protest written by several highly respected figures in the Polish Jewish community, including

16 Konrad Rękas, "Pro-izraelscy antysemici?" Portal Myśli Konserwatywnej, July 21, 2012, http://konserwatyzm.pl/artykul/4861/pro-izraelscy-antysemici (accessed 15 January 2017).

Konstanty Gebert, Stanislaw Krajewski and Joanna Sobolewska-Pyz. Nevertheless, contacts between the Israeli embassy and Radio Maryja continued, and embassy representatives attended ceremonies organized by Father Rydzyk. Another meeting took place on 26 November 2016 in the form of a Shabbat dinner attended by Father Rydzyk, Ambassador Azari, Director of the Zionist Organization of America Morton Kleinand and Deputy Speaker of the Knesset Yehiel Bar. Despite these meetings, Radio Maryja continues to broadcast antisemitic views.[17]

Broadly speaking, the position of the PiS in international affairs has been pro-Israel. Nevertheless, some high-profile members of the party have expressed pro-Palestinian and anti-Israel views. For example, well-known PiS MP Jolanta Szczypińska has for years headed the cross-party Polish-Palestinian Parliamentary Group, which is dominated by PiS MPs. During the Israeli intervention in the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip in 2010, Szczypińska led a group of Polish MPs who flew to Gaza to support the Palestinian resistance in defiance of the Israeli military blockade. According to media reports, she and her colleagues were subsequently detained by the Israeli border police on their way back to Poland from Ramallah later that year. Szczypińska complained of mistreatment and stated in an interview: "Now I know how the Palestinians are feeling."[18] In 2014, she wrote to a pro-Israel right-wing journalist, saying: "I feel sorry for you because it must be difficult to defend the crimes committed by the Israeli army in that occupied land for so many years."[19]

Since the mid-1990s, the "Never Again" association has documented antisemitic and other xenophobic incidents taking place in Poland. What follows is a selection of re-

17 Donald Snyder, "European Jews Alarmed by Israeli Outreach to Anti-Semitic Far Right," Forward, January 18, 2017, http://forward.com/news/world/360436/european-jews-alarmed-by-israeli-outreach-to-anti-semitic-far-right (accessed February 17, 2017).

18 "Szczypińska o zatrzymaniu w Izraelu: to oczywiste szykany," TVN 24, March 26, 2016, http://www.tvn24.pl/wiadomosci-z-kraju,3/szczypinska-o-zatrzymaniu-w-izraelu-to-oczywiste-szykany,129760.html (accessed January 15, 2017).

19 Kamil Sikora, "Prawicowa kłótnia o Strefę Gazy. Janecki do Szczypińskiej: W przeciwieństwie do pani nie kupuję propagandy," na:Temat, n.d., http://natemat.pl/110589,prawicowa-klotnia-o-strefe-gazy-janecki-do-szczypinskiej-w-przeciwienstwie-do-pani-nie-kupuje-propagandy (accessed January 15, 2017).

cent incidents involving Israeli citizens or relating to the theme of new antisemitism in other ways. It is important to point out that the following cases do not include other antisemitic incidents such as cemetery desecrations, neo-Nazi graffiti and so forth.

In September 2011, a gigantic banner with the words "Jihad Legia" was displayed in the Legia Warsaw football stadium during a Europa League game between Legia Warsaw and the Israeli football club Hapoel Tel-Aviv.

On 13 August 2013, while driving his car in the town of Tykocin, Piotr P. shouted "Poland for Poles" and made offensive gestures towards a few dozen Israeli tourists. His behaviour was reported to the police by the tour group's security staff, and he was subsequently detained by the police. The Prosecutor's Office in Białystok charged him with publicly insulting a group of individuals on the grounds of their nationality and religion.

On 18 August 2013, an antisemitic incident occurred in front of Warsaw's main shopping centre, the Golden Terraces. When an Israeli national stepped outside the shopping centre, he was approached by a man who grabbed his skullcap and threw it into a rubbish bin. The victim reported the incident to the police. Officers subsequently launched an investigation regarding the public insult of another person on religious grounds.

On 29 November 2013, unknown perpetrators painted antisemitic slogans and symbols, including "F*** Israel" and the Star of David embedded in a vulgar image, around the platform area of one of Warsaw's railway stations. The incident was reported to the PKP Polish Railways and the graffiti was removed.

In July 2014, Bistro Tel-Aviv in Warsaw city centre was covered with graffiti proclaiming "Zionism is racism", "Boycott Israel" and "Free Palestine". Similar graffiti appeared on the same bistro in March 2016.

On 14 July 2014, supporters of the NOP held an antisemitic rally outside the Israeli embassy in Warsaw using the slogan "Time to bomb Israel!" During the demonstration, the nationalists handed out leaflets containing the following call: "Our

political efforts must be aimed not only at the 'ceasefire' or isolation of this quasi-nation at the international level, but also at its complete abolishment."

On 27 January 2015, the seventieth anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau, during a ceremony commemorating International Holocaust Remembrance Day on Stawna Street in Poznan, near the offices of the Union of Jewish Religious Communities in Poland, members of the Poznan Patriotic Union organized an antisemitic demonstration called "Let's defend Poland lest it becomes another Palestine". The organization's leader, Bogdan Freytag, stated as follows: "There is a similarity between the circumstances of Poles and Palestinians. ... Palestinians are consistently murdered [by Jews], while Poles are being denationalized and exterminated." Participants brandished a banner with a swastika and a Star of David with an equals sign between them, and another banner bearing the racist symbol of the Celtic cross. The police intervened, and four men were apprehended. They were subsequently charged with inciting hatred on religious grounds.

On 2 February 2015, the Dialog-Pheniben Foundation filed a report with the Warsaw district prosecutor's office concerning a suspected unlawful act against Jews committed by a far-right activist who wrote a blog post accusing Jews of "destroying the American and European economies, causing the world crisis and striving towards eradication of the Polish nation". He also labelled Jews "Zionist scum", "Zionist creatures", "Zionist bandits", "Zionist thugs" and "Jewish media thugs". On 27 March 2015, the district prosecutor's office refused to launch an investigation.

In late February 2015, an Israeli journalist notified the police of antisemitic graffiti on the city's buildings, including: "Jews to the furnace" and "Anti-Jude". The police refused to investigate the case.

On 12 January 2017, NOP members confronted a small pro-Israel demonstration in Warsaw, chanting anti-Israel and pro-Hezbollah slogans.

III. CONCLUSIONS

It appears that antisemitism is still a significant feature of public life in Poland, despite the very small size of the contemporary Polish Jewish community. Antisemitism is a popular and deeply rooted way of expressing hostility towards any type of otherness or social diversity. Anti-Zionist slogans were first employed by the Communist authorities in the late 1960s, resulting in a large wave of Jewish emigration from Poland. Today, anti-Israel themes are not central to the antisemitic discourse but still form a part of the discursive repertoire of extremist groups. In this context, the growing popularity of radical nationalist movements such as the ONR must be viewed with particular concern. The delegitimization of Israel and the revival of antisemitic conspiracy theories are both the result of a general rise in xenophobic attitudes in Polish society, especially among the young. These developments have been accompanied and amplified by a sharp rise in antisemitic and xenophobic comments on social media. Clearly, official support for Israel at international level is not sufficient to offset the persistence of antisemitic discourse in domestic contexts. Compared to traditional and modern forms of antisemitism, new antisemitism (directed primarily against Israel) does not take centre stage but forms part of a broader repertoire of antisemitic and xenophobic sentiments. These sentiments have been endorsed, in particular, by a broad spectrum of far-right groups. The number of antisemitic and xenophobic manifestations has risen in recent years, especially since the start of the European refugee crisis in 2015. These two trends are perfectly illustrated by the aforementioned anti-refugee demonstration in Wroclaw in November 2015, which culminated in the burning of an effigy of a Jew. Together with the "older" forms of antisemitism, new antisemitism thus poses a serious threat as part of an even larger social and political trend.

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06

SLOVAKIA

Grigorij Mesežnikov

I. BACKGROUND

Jewish population and community

The first mention of Jews living in the territory of what is now known as Slovakia dates back to the first century, while the first Jewish community in the place that is currently called Bratislava was founded in the thirteenth century. The Jewish population spread throughout this part of Central Europe as a result of migratory movements in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The social status of the Jewish people improved as a result of the Edict of Tolerance, issued by Emperor Joseph II. This document abolished the special individual taxation of Jews, as well as their obligation to wear a distinct yellow badge. Jews were also allowed to attend university and pursue various professions, and restrictions were lifted on their business activities. The first Czechoslovak Republic, which existed from 1918 to 1939, created favourable conditions for the country's Jews by declaring and implementing the principles of equality, democracy, tolerance and freedom of religion.

Prior to World War II, some 88.000 Jews inhabited the territory of Slovakia.[1] Between 1942 and 1944, the pro-Nazi regime of the Slovak state deported as many as 72,000 Jews to death camps in Poland.[2] As a result of the Holocaust and two waves of Jewish emigration during the Communist regime (in 1948 and 1968), the Jewish population of Slovakia was dramatically reduced and currently constitutes less than 0.1% of the country's total population.

The democratic transition that began in 1989 created positive conditions for Jews and Jewish social, cultural and religious life in Slovakia. At the same time, democratization gave rise to activities by political forces with different ideological orientations, including nationalist forces whose stance is characterized by antisemitism, anti-Zionism and anti-Israel rhetoric.

According to a census conducted in 2011, a total of 1,999 Slovak citizens

1 Eduard Nižňansky, "Slováci a Židia – vzťah slovenskej majority a židovskej minority počas vojny," in *Park ušľachtilých duší*, ed. Miloš Žiak and Ladislav Snopko (Bratislava: Izraelská obchodná komora na Slovensku, 2007), 72, 74.

2 Ibid.

declared themselves to be members of the Jewish faith, and 631 claimed to be of Jewish ethnicity. According to other estimates, however, the overall number of persons of Jewish origin in Slovakia, including those who are not formally registered members of a Jewish religious community, is around 4,000. The Central Union (Federation) of Jewish Religious Communities includes twelve communities with approximately 1,500 registered members. Registered Jewish religious communities are located in Bratislava, Trenčín, Dunajská Streda, Nové Zámky, Žilina, Galanta, Komárno, Rimavská Sobota, Košice, Prešov, Nitra and Banská Bystrica. The community in the capital city of Bratislava comprises approximately 600 members. The social status of Jews living in Slovakia may regarded as relatively high today. Their presence in certain professional categories – namely those areas in which Jews have traditionally been active as educated professionals (business, law, healthcare, the economy, academia, higher education, culture, media and the arts) – is evident. The level of secularization among Slovakia's Jews may be defined as fairly high. Although a majority of people of Jewish origin are registered members of religious communities, for many it is an expression of their identification with the Jewish community as such, and with Jewish traditions and culture, rather than being indicative of their status as believers. The level of assimilation is also quite high, with few being able to speak Yiddish or Hebrew.

Historical context of modern antisemitism

From 1939 to 1945, the pro-Nazi regime of Jozef Tiso, president of the puppet Slovak state and leader of the clerical-fascist Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana or HSĽS), pursued a discriminatory and repressive policy towards Jews, which led to the demise of the country's Jewish population. In 1941, Tiso's regime approved the so-called Jewish Code, legislation that deprived Jews of their basic rights. The regime also organized the "Aryanization" (confiscation) of Jewish property and the deportation of the country's Jews to the Nazi death camps in Poland.

Jozef Tiso was a Catholic priest who actively supported the inclusion of the ideas of traditional Christian antisemitism in the regime's anti-Jewish practices and propaganda, specifically the idea of the Jews' collective guilt for rejecting Jesus Christ as the Messiah and bringing about his crucifixion. Tiso publicly characterized the Jews as historical enemies of Slovaks and Christians and encouraged the population to get rid of them. He thus made ample use of religiously motivated anti-Jewish rhetoric.

After the establishment of the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia in 1948, those Jews who survived the Holocaust in Slovakia not only came under the pressure of totalitarian practices, as did all other citizens, but also fell victim to antisemitic government policies. The small minority of Jews who engaged in politics within the Communist party after the war were subjected to persecution and internal party purges in the framework of the fight against "bourgeois nationalism" and "Zionism", with the vast majority of the dramatically reduced Jewish population being deprived of the opportunity to cultivate an authentic cultural and religious life. Under Communism, the activities of Jewish religious communities came under strict state control. In the 1970s and 1980s, many persons of Jewish origin in Czechoslovakia were engaged in the dissident movement, a fact which the Communist regime used to strengthen its antisemitic ("anti-Zionist") propaganda targeting the Jewish population. In 1948, Czechoslovakia recognized Israel and established diplomatic relations with the Jewish state. However, from the early 1950s onwards, bilateral relations were complicated by the pro-Soviet line in foreign policy (including Middle East affairs) and antisemitic excesses in Czechoslovakia's domestic political developments, such as the infamous trials of alleged "Zionist agents" (i.e. Jews) in the leadership of the Communist party. In 1967, after Israel's victory over the Arab states in the Six-Day War, diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Israel were interrupted due to pressure from the Soviet Union. In 1975, Czechoslovakia supported UN Resolution no. 3379, which defined Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination. From 1967 until

1989, the state policy of Czechoslovakia's Communist regime towards Jews was influenced by "anti-Zionist" propaganda and an anti-Israel line in foreign policy and was therefore either openly or covertly antisemitic. Following the USSR's invasion in August 1968, and throughout the period of occupation, anti-Jewish tones were evident in the ruling pro-Soviet Czechoslovak Communist elite's condemnation of the Prague Spring of 1968 and its leaders.

Opinion polls on antisemitism

The results of public opinion polls conducted in Slovakia in the 1990s and 2000s indicated that the degree of social distance towards Jews had decreased.[3] However, although many Slovaks had almost no personal experience or interaction with the country's diminutive Jewish population, the opinion polls revealed the persistence of certain stereotypes concerning Jews and their role in Slovak society and the world. In July 2013, in cooperation with the Political Capital Institute in Budapest, the Institute for Public Affairs (IVO) conducted an opinion poll that revealed various stereotypical views among respondents, such as the perception that Jews are too powerful and form an influential community that is mainly preoccupied with its own interests and tries to dominate other nations. This reveals the persistence of deeply rooted negative attitudes not only towards Jews but also towards the Jewish state, its right to exist, its policies towards other states and its role in international politics, all of which create a broad backdrop for the existence of different and new forms of antisemitism, particularly within certain sections of the population.[4] Opinion polls indicate that Israel does not belong to the cat-

3 In the 1990s, approximately one-fifth of respondents usually expressed their disapproval of Jews as neighbours. However, according to a representative opinion poll conducted in 2008 by the Institute for Public Affairs (IVO) in Bratislava, in collaboration with the Cabinet of Social and Biological Communication of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, only 11% of respondents stated that they would not wish to have a Jewish family as neighbours. This was the lowest level of social distance reported in the entire survey. The figures for other ethnic or religious groups exceeded this level (e.g. Roma family – 69%, Muslim family – 32%, Asian family – 22%, Afro-Americans – 21%, immigrants/foreigners – 21%, Ukrainian family – 17%, Hungarian family – 16%). Source: IVO/KVSBK/COPART, May 2008.

4 Various social factors relating to anti-Jewish attitudes in Slovakia are analyzed in the following paper: Lenka Bustikova and Petra Guasti, "Hating Thy Imaginary Neighbor: An Analysis of Anti-Semitism in Slovakia," *Journal for the Study of Anti-Semitism* 4, no. 2 (2012): 469-493.

egory of countries that are viewed sympathetically by the public in Slovakia. According to the Transatlantic Trends survey conducted by the German Marshall Fund of the United States in selected EU countries and the United States in 2008, respondents in Slovakia gave Israel thirty-two points on a sympathy scale of 0 to 100.[5]

Legislative background

The Anti-Discrimination Act (Act no. 365/2004 Coll. on Equal Treatment in Certain Areas and Protection against Discrimination) protects Slovak citizens belonging to various groups from any form of discrimination. Jews are protected under this law as members of a national, ethnic, racial, linguistic and religious group. Discrimination is explicitly prohibited under Article I, Section 2(2), of this Act. Since 2002, Holocaust denial has been considered a criminal and punishable act in Slovakia. Prior to 2002, the act of supporting and promoting fascism and hate speech (including Holocaust denial) was considered a criminal act. Since 2002, however, Holocaust denial has become a separate criminal offence. According to Section 422(2) of the Penal Code (Act no. 300/2005 Coll.), "imprisonment from six months to three years shall be imposed on a person who publicly denies, puts in doubt, approves or tries to justify the Holocaust". In 2009, penalties for extremist crimes and hate speech became stricter. Under certain circumstances, a Holocaust denier may now be imprisoned for up to five years under Section 424a(2) of the Penal Code.

Governmental relations with Israel

Diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Israel were renewed in 1990 after the Velvet Revolution and the collapse of the Communist regime, and in 1993 the independent Slovak Republic established diplomatic relations with the Jewish state. Slovak-Israeli bilateral relations have been balanced and friendly since their renewal. Slova-

5 In comparison, India gained 33 points, China and Turkey both gained 35 points, the United States gained 50 points, Russia gained 52 points, Spain gained 57 points and the European Union gained 73 points. Palestine gained fewer points than Israel, namely 25. Source: German Marshall Fund of the United States, *Transatlantic Trends 2008* (Washington, DC).

kia generally abides by the line taken by the European Union in handling Middle East affairs and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, although it tends to avoid voting against Israel at the United Nations and in other international organizations. In December 2016, for example, seventy-nine out of 150 Slovak members of parliament signed an appeal condemning the UNESCO resolution denying the link between the Jewish people, the Temple Mount and the Western Wall, calling on the Slovak government to reject the resolution as well as any other similar initiatives leading to the delegitimization of the State of Israel and the dissemination of antisemitism.[6]

II. ANTISEMITISM: ACTORS AND MANIFESTATIONS

Actors

Method of selection

In contemporary Slovakia, the most common antisemitic narratives are spread by right-wing extremist politicians, activists and authors, as well as supporters of neo-fascist or neo-Nazi ideology. Another category of actors includes those who hold "purely" anti-Israel views. Some of them combine anti-Israel rhetoric with anti-Zionism. Others adopting a radical anti-Israel stance do not openly use anti-Zionist arguments, respecting the fact that the existing discourse on antisemitism in Slovakia links criticism of Zionism to antisemitism.[7]

6 The appeal was initiated by MPs František Šebej and Marek Krajčí, both members of the Slovakia-Israel parliamentary friendship group (document in author's personal archive).

7 It should be pointed out that there is a certain consensus within Slovakia's political and ideological mainstream about the link between anti-Zionism and antisemitism. As a result, openly criticizing or attacking Zionism as an ideology risks exposure to allegations or suspicions of antisemitism. For right-wing extremists, neo-fascists and neo-Nazis, such allegations are irrelevant, since they regard them as a badge of honour, but for mainstream actors such allegations would mean an irrevocable loss of reputation and credibility as participants in the public debate. Therefore, for those Slovak authors and activists who criticize Israel as a state (rather than just the policies of the Israeli government or the statements of individual Israeli politicians), use of the word "Zionism" has become more or less taboo. However, the less they focus on Zionism, the stronger their criticism of Israel and the role and policies of the Jewish state becomes. Nevertheless, these authors deny that they are engaging in antisemitism, emphasizing that they are only expressing their views on the inappropriate policies of one of the many states that exist in the world.

The actors: parties, groups, associations and persons

People's Party Our Slovakia

The most prominent political actor combining all forms of antisemitism (old, new and modern) is the fascist, right-wing extremist People's Party Our Slovakia (Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko or ĽSNS), which was officially established in 2009. Following elections in 2016, ĽSNS entered parliament after gaining 8% of the vote. Although voter support was not based purely on the party's antisemitic appeal, antisemitism is a constituent part of its credo and image. ĽSNS representatives openly express their views on issues relating to Jews, the Jewish agenda and Israel. When ĽSNS leader Marian Kotleba was a member and leader of Slovak Togetherness (Slovenská pospolitosť or SP), a right-wing extremist civic association, he often expressed antisemitic views by quoting anti-Jewish remarks made by Slovak personalities such as Ľudovít Štúr, particularly his statements about Jews being a foreign element in the Slovak nation. SP representatives have engaged in the obsessive dissemination of antisemitic views and constructs, usually with conspiratorial undertones. After 1990, no significant political party in Slovakia engaged in or included in its platform or communications anything that could be construed as overt antisemitism. ĽSNS is therefore the first significant political actor in Slovakia to openly use antisemitism as one of its operational tools. Antisemitism manifests itself in the activities of ĽSNS and its representatives in three ways, which correspond to the three basic types of antisemitic discourse in Slovakia, namely: (1) by fostering mistrust and hostility towards Jews as a religious or ethnic community; (2) by praising the fascist Slovak state and its antisemitic genocidal policies; and (3) by delegitimizing Israel and inciting hostility towards the Jewish state under the guise of the struggle against Zionism. Adoration of the fascist Slovak state and its leader Jozef Tiso is an inherent part of ĽSNS's propaganda efforts, which include celebrating the anniversary of its foundation and commemorating its prominent representatives. Criticism of Zionism and Israel forms an integral part of ĽSNS's views on

international relations and foreign policy issues. Hostility towards Jews is being spread through the Facebook pages of L'SNS's regional organizations, which publish posts containing blatant and offensive anti-Jewish content. The authors of these posts include ordinary members and L'SNS sympathizers, local party officials and L'SNS MPs.

Slovak Togetherness

The Slovak Togetherness (Slovenská pospolitosť or SP) association has been a constituent part of the right-wing extremist scene in Slovakia since the mid-1990s. Its activities have contributed significantly to the formation of the present right-wing extremist movement. For nearly two decades, the association was considered a symbol of Slovak right-wing extremism, especially in terms of its operations, rhetoric, organizational basis and the appearance of its members, who for a time attended public events dressed in uniforms emblematic of the country's fascist regime during World War II. Marian Kotleba, the current chairman of the parliamentary L'SNS, is a former leader of the SP. The association's political stance is characterized by open opposition to parliamentary democracy, radical nationalism, fierce anti-Hungarian rhetoric and virulent antisemitism, anti-Zionism and hostility towards Israel. The association lays claim to the legacy of the fascist Slovak state, led by Jozef Tiso. In January 2005, Slovak Togetherness was registered as a political party, the Slovak Togetherness-National Party (SP-NS). However, in October 2005, the attorney general filed a complaint with the Supreme Court requesting the party's dissolution on account of its programme and activities. In March 2006, the Supreme Court duly dissolved the party, concluding that its activities were in breach of the law, since its aim was to establish a political regime in Slovakia similar to the one that existed during World War II. However, the SP put its dissolution as a party down to the fact that its "intense struggle against Zionism attracted attention from state authorities and also from the so-called third sector, organizations

operating in Slovakia and controlled by foreign groups".[8] SP materials refer to the "so-called Holocaust" and characterize the punishment of Holocaust denial as a violation of the right to freedom of expression.[9]

Action Group Resistance Kysuce

Action Group Resistance Kysuce (Akčná skupina Vzdor Kysuce or VK), which was formed in 2011, is one of the most radical and violent groupings within the far-right movement in Slovakia. The group's members conduct forest training sessions in the field of close combat and other military skills and its views are characterized by radical antisemitism, adoration of Jozef Tiso and de facto approval of the Holocaust. The group lays claim to the legacy of the wartime Slovak state army, which fought alongside the German Wehrmacht "against Bolshevism". VK's leader, Marián Magát, is renowned for his vicious hatred of Jews and anything Jewish or Jewish-related.

New Free Slovakia

Compared to other right-wing extremist groups, members of the now diminished radical nationalist New Free Slovakia (Nové Slobodné Slovensko or NSS) association focused more strongly on issues relating to Zionism and Israel. In its prime, the association was notorious for organizing anti-Israel public events and publishing radical antisemitic and anti-Israel documents.

Slovak Movement of Revival

The Slovak Movement of Revival (Slovenské hnutie obrody or SHO) is a radical nationalist organization that has adopted a specific approach to issues relating to Jews, antisemitism, Zionism and Israel. SHO has recently attempted to transform itself into a political party and take a leading role on the ultra-nationalist stage. The movement takes a revisionist approach to Slovakia's twentieth-century history and openly lays claim to the legacy of the country's fascist wartime regime

8 "Obnovená činnosť SP-NS!" *Blog SP*, March 11, 2008. https://pospolitost.wordpress.com/2009/03/11/obnovena-cinnost-sp-ns (accessed January 13, 2017).

9 "Je Ficova vláda skutočne národná, sociálna a kresťanská?" *Blog SP*, June 30, 2008, https://pospolitost.wordpress.com/2008/06/30/907 (accessed January 13, 2017).

led by Jozef Tiso. SHO's representatives justify the regime's genocidal policies towards the Jews, including their deportation, by pointing out that that they were part of "a development of history" in the context of the situation that existed in Europe at that time. References to openly antisemitic publications can be found on the movement's website, and its deputy chairman, Pavol Privalinec, is renowned for his crude and offensive antisemitic posts on Facebook.

Communist Party of Slovakia

The Communist Party of Slovakia (Komunistická strana Slovenska or KSS) is a radical left-wing party with overt anti-Israel leanings. It has long maintained a rigorously anti-Israel stance, combining criticism of Israel and Zionism with resistance to the United States, the European Union, NATO, the Western world and the global economy. It also supports the foreign policy positions of Russia, China and certain Arab states (e.g. Bashar al-Assad's Syria). KSS's deputy chairman, Jamal Suleiman, is originally from Syria himself.

Anti-Israel authors[10]

Slovak anti-Israel authors sharply criticize the actions of the Israeli government, various Israeli politicians and institutions, as well as the State of Israel itself, which they imbue almost exclusively with negative characteristics. Their deliberate selectivity is apparent from their assessment of the role of the two sides to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Responsibility for all events with a negative impact is attributed to Israel (no matter what government happens to be in power at the time), while the positions and actions of the Palestinian side are assessed in a more positive light. Palestinian actions that produce negative effects are circumvented, trivialized or justified and excused.

10 In this country report, the term "anti-Israel" refers to positions, narratives and discourses that are hostile towards Israel as an entity (and whose disseminators position themselves as fierce opponents of Israel), as opposed to critical evaluations of particular aspects of Israel's policies or the performance and conduct of its institutions and nationals. It is important to note that the proponents of anti-Israel positions, whose views are analyzed in this part of the report, publicly distance themselves from antisemitism and refrain from criticizing Zionism. They also reject any allegations of antisemitism as misleading, unfair and offensive.

A selection of posts by two bloggers, Kamil Kandalaft and Barbora Weberová, provides a clear and indicative example of the views outlined above. An analysis of these posts appears towards the end of this report, since both bloggers may be regarded as key opponents of Israel as an entity, and not just as critics of a certain aspect of the Jewish state's policies. Nevertheless, they deny all allegations of antisemitism.

A civil activist with a clear-cut pro-Palestinian position, Kamil Kandalaft blogs on the web portals Sme.sk and Pravda.sk. He presents himself as a representative of the informal civil Initiative for a Just Peace in the Middle East. Of mixed Slovak-Arab/Palestinian descent, he is an Israeli citizen who grew up in Israel and currently lives in Slovakia. He is an active contributor to the public debate about Middle East affairs, Palestine, Israel and related issues, including antisemitism, attitudes towards Jews and interfaith and intercultural relations, to name but a few. In the past few years, he has published dozens of posts, including many relating to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[11]

Barbora Weberová is a blogger and activist who adopts extreme, virulent anti-Israel positions that aim to delegitimize the State of Israel. She publishes her posts on the blog of the liberal (centrist) daily newspaper, *Denník N*, which she sharply criticizes – just like she criticizes other Slovak media, especially another centrist daily newspaper called *Sme* – for its alleged pro-Israel positions, ignorance of Palestine and the Palestinians and its "celebration of the occupation".[12] She even suggests that certain journalists working for *Denník N* should stop writing about Israel (e.g. Peter Morvay) or criticizes them for their ignorance about Palestinians and their justification of all Israeli policies (e.g. Jana Shemesh). Although she denies being antisemitic in some of her posts, her writings on Israel, its policies, its attitude towards Palestinians and life in Israel show that she does not just single out Israel as a state, whose

11 All statements by Kamil Kandalaft quoted in this report are extracted from posts listed in the References.

12 All statements by Barbora Weberová quoted in this report are extracted from posts published on the *Denník N* blog (see References).

right to existence she questions, but also the Jews living there. All her comments on Israel and anything related to Israel are wholly negative, unlike some of the posts written by Kamil Kandalaft, who acknowledges positive elements and occasionally sides with individual Israeli Jews.

Media

Zem a Vek

The monthly *Zem a Vek* (Earth and Age),[13] an "alternative" periodical that deals in conspiracy theories and publishes material about the US and Zionist (i.e. Jewish) domination of the world, is a typical antisemitic and anti-Israel media outlet. It claims to have a circulation of 25,000. Articles published in the magazine are characterized by their total resistance to liberal democratic values and their criticism of the West, the European Union and NATO. The editor-in-chief of *Zem a Vek*, Tibor Rostas, who is a musician and PR expert, started his career by contributing to the public and political discourse as the author of the book *Silence*,[14] in which he explains the "real background and true reasons" for events and trends in global development. The book was full of conspiracy theories centring on antisemitic and anti-Zionist themes. The private radio station VIVA has offered Rostas airtime to read chapters from his book. In 2013, he established a monthly magazine focusing on anti-Western and pro-Russia conspiracy theories, which regularly publishes antisemitic, anti-Zionist and anti-Israel articles. Rostas frequently expresses his views on Jews, Zionism and Israel, claiming inter alia that the word "Jew" was invented in the nineteenth century, that Eastern European "Jews" are not Semites but "Khazars" and that "Israel is a fascist state". He is also quoted as saying: "As soon as possible, I will contribute in my own modest way and will be doing my best for Free Gaza and to stop massacres in Palestine committed by Israeli Nazi commandos."[15]

13 See http://www.zemavek.sk (accessed January 13, 2017).

14 See http://www.databazeknih.cz/knihy/mlcanie-166670 (accessed January 13, 2017).

15 Ján Benčík, "Silvestrovské rostašoviny," *Denník N*, December 30, 2016, https://dennikn.sk/blog/silvestrovske-rostasoviny (accessed January 13, 2017).

Slobodný vysielač

The online radio station Slobodný vysielač (Free Broadcaster)[16] is a fringe "alternative" outlet established in Banská Bystrica in early 2013. In light of its "ideological" orientation and content, it can be regarded as the radio equivalent of *Zem a Vek*. It combines anti-corruption rhetoric with calls for direct or "true" democracy, along with a broad range of esoteric and conspiracy-related topics, criticism of liberal democracy and the West, and anti-American and pro-Russian views. The station has offered airtime to right-wing antisemitic extremists and helped them mobilize support in the 2016 parliamentary elections. Norbert Lichtner, who heads the station, is renowned for his offensive and profane antisemitic statements.

Beo.sk

Established in 2004, Beo.sk (formerly Národný pozorovateľ – National Observer)[17] is a radical nationalist web portal that publishes anti-liberal, anti-Western and, especially, antisemitic, anti-Zionist and anti-Israeli articles. Since its establishment, it has served as a platform for nationalist and right-wing extremist discourse. Since November 2016, however, the portal has been inactive.

Protiprudu.org

Protiprudu.org[18] (Against the stream) is an "alternative" website with a nationalist orientation that publishes anti-American and anti-EU content. It includes a special section on "Zionism"[19] that contains harsh antisemitic and anti-Israel articles.

Manifestations of modern antisemitism

Secondary antisemitism: Holocaust denial, relativization and trivialization

The boundless sympathy of the ĽSNS for Tiso's genocidal regime and its staunch opposition to the anti-fascist Slovak National Uprising

16 See https://slobodnyvysielac.sk/?v=13dd621f2711 (accessed January 13, 2017).
17 See https://beo.sk (accessed January 13, 2017).
18 See https://www.protiprudu.org (accessed January 13, 2017).
19 See https://www.protiprudu.org/category/hs/sionizmus (accessed January 13, 2017).

of 1944 serves as a clear indicator of the party's antisemitic character. Among the contributions posted on L'SNS's Facebook page and those of its regional organizations are paradoxical posts that both deny and support the Holocaust, including positive references to Germany's Nazi regime and its leader, Adolf Hitler. In November 2015, L'SNS filed criminal charges in connection with the anti-fascist exhibition "Stories of the 20th Century", which was organized by the NGO Post Bellum. L'SNS complained that the exhibition presented documents relating to the activities of anti-Nazi activist Štefánia Lorándová, who was a member of the wartime Jewish organization Ha-Shomer. L'SNS demanded that the "offenders" responsible for this "propaganda of Zionism" should be punished, since Zionism was a "form of racism and racial discrimination". The right-wing extremists based this allegation on UN Resolution no. 3379 of 1975, which had actually been revoked by the UN General Assembly in 1991. This was the first case in Slovakia since 1989 in which a legal entity or person had sought punishment for something related to the fight against Nazism and the salvation of the Jews during World War II, although in practice it was an attempt to criminalize the "propaganda of Zionism".

In September 2016, Róbert Švec, the chairman of the revisionist and radical nationalist SHO movement, wrote as follows on his Facebook page:

> The Slovak National Archives released photos of the Slovak labour camps for Jews from the time of the first Slovak Republic [1939-1945]. And these photos are proof that Jews in the camps were treated well. They were provided with medical care and meals. We will continue in the future with what worked well in the past.[20]

The prosecutor's office duly began to investigate whether this statement violated any laws.

20 Filip Struhárik, "Nacionalisti chvália pracovné tábory a chcú ich využiť aj v budúcnosti. Polícia ich vyjadrenia preveruje," *Denník N*, September 22, 2016, https://dennikn.sk/minuta/565697 (accessed January 13, 2017).

Conspiratorial antisemitism

Right-wing extremists and neo-fascists frequently make assertions about sinister Jewish intentions in order to promote a certain interpretation of reality (or particular events) based on the Jewish origin of certain individuals. In the case of L'SNS, a typical way to incite hostility towards Jews involves emphasizing the real or imagined Jewish origin of persons whom L'SNS leaders attack for ideological or political reasons. Examples of this include articles in the L'SNS party newsletter in which former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright is called a "Czech Jew", LGBTI activist Romana Schlesinger is characterized as "making no secret of her Jewish origin" and the American philanthropist George Soros is described as a "Jewish financier".

New antisemitism

New antisemitism in the form of radical anti-Israel positions and anti-Zionism, combined with elements of traditional antisemitism, is typical of the members of right-wing extremist and radical-nationalist associations, who do not mask or camouflage their opposition to Israel. For them, Israel is the embodiment of the worst evil, a symbol of global Jewry that seeks to rule over other nations. The Slovak neo-fascists and neo-Nazis do not recognize Israel's right to exist and openly support any actions leading to its physical destruction, regardless of who undertakes them. They constantly reiterate allegations of "Zionist crimes in Palestine" and call for retribution.

L'SNS equates Zionism with totalitarian ideologies. Politicians and other public officials who display a positive attitude towards the Jewish state are automatically disqualified in the eyes of right-wing extremists. For example, L'SNS reacted to the death of the former Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel by publishing a disparaging text in which it pointed out, inter alia, that Havel was "a big supporter of Israel". In its political materials, L'SNS has called for the introduction of a visa requirement for Israel (as well as for the United States) and announced that it "would always oppose EU enlargement for non-European and non-Christian states", mentioning

Israel and Turkey, although unlike Turkey Israel is not interested in joining the EU.[21]

In late 2009, three NSS activists disrupted a speech delivered at Prešov University (Eastern Slovakia) by the Israeli ambassador to Slovakia, Zeev Boker, by heckling him and brandishing a poster with the words "Stop the Jewish racism" until they were eventually forced to leave. One of the protesters, Igor Cagaň, subsequently published a letter on the radical nationalist web portal Beo.sk in which he elaborated on his views on Zionism, Israel and its policies. He pre-empted any accusations of antisemitism by emphasizing that NSS members "have good relations with the Palestinian Semites", although he was obviously referring to Palestinian Arabs. He also recalled UN resolution no. 3379, which he referred to as "a resolution about Zionism as a form of Jewish racism", a fact he claimed was indirectly confirmed by the Goldstone Report on the Israeli military operation in Gaza in early 2009. Cagaň's letter accused Israel of committing war crimes and causing the overall destabilization of the situation in the Middle East. He also accused Zionism of "inhumanity, racism and war crimes", calling on Israel to "return Palestine to the Palestinians", and concluded with a reference to the book *The Holocaust Industry*, written by Norman Finkelstein, an American anti-Zionist historian of Jewish origin.[22]

In February 2010, the NSS invited Finkelstein to give a lecture in Košice, entitled "Memento of the Age: Zionism". The lecture ultimately did not go ahead, as Finkelstein decided to cancel the event, allegedly after finding out that an antisemitic organization was behind it.[23] In a letter distributed to multiple addresses, the NSS stated that Finkelstein's lecture on Zionism would deal with such issues as "disregard for international law, earning money through the Holocaust industry, broad multinational operational networks, religious intolerance, racial genocide, and world power". The Is-

21 *Naše Slovensko – noviny politickej strany Mariana Kotlebu* (April-May 2014): 2.

22 See https://beo.sk/domace-udalosti/1343-list-izraelskemu-velvyslancovi (accessed January 13, 2017).

23 See http://www.antifa.cz/content/poprask-kolem-normana-finkelsteina (accessed January 13, 2017).

raeli operation in Gaza was labelled as a "genocidal attack by the Israeli army in the occupied Gaza Strip". The writers also claimed responsibility for attempting to disrupt the Israeli ambassador's aforementioned lecture, describing the very notion of delivering such a speech as the "politicization and Zionization of the Slovak education system". The letter also declared that one of the participants in the debate after the planned Finkelstein lecture would be the "well-known expert on the issue", Palestinian writer Nidal Saleh, who lives in Slovakia and has authored several anti-Zionist and anti-Israel publications published in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.[24]

The anti-Israel authors mentioned in the previous section of this chapter have adopted a similar one-sided and biased position concerning Israel. According to Kamil Kandalaft, for instance, Palestinian violence is widely publicized and needs no additional attention and coverage, while Israeli violence is intentionally covered up and consequently needs to be revealed to a wider audience. He has therefore embarked on a personal mission to redress this imbalance. However, Kandalaft's way of describing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict reveals a clear double standard. In the same post, he writes about "violence" and "crimes" committed by the State of Israel and its institutions, such as the armed forces, but with regard to Palestinian acts of violence he only uses the word "violence" but never the word "crimes". Writing in the same post, he attributes all blame for the failure of the peace process to Israel, which he claims has no interest in concluding a peace agreement. This leads him to the conclusion that Israel benefits from the status quo and that it is a "racist, brutal occupation regime" that is erecting a "huge racist wall" around Gaza and committing horrendous crimes, including the "intentional murder of innocent people", who are tyrannized and eventually killed.

Although Kandalaft does not call into question Israel's right to exist, the fact that he only attributes negative characteristics to Israel and Israeli government policy is evidence of his bias and apparent desire to

24 All citations in this paragraph are from a document entitled "Memento doby: Sionizmus," received by email from prednasky@nss.sk (author's personal archive).

demonize Israel. He consistently presents defence and security measures conducted by Israel as baseless and illegitimate, thus effectively delegitimizing certain essential functions of the state.

An example of the way in which Kandalaft shifts and distorts the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can be found in a post entitled "Intifada on the streets of Košice" (a city in eastern Slovakia), in which he compares the Soviet Union's invasion of Czechoslovakia to the occupation of Palestinian territories by Israel and the Slovak citizens' resistance to the Soviet occupiers in 1968 to the Palestinian resistance to Israel during the Intifada. Writing about the visual images of both cases (protests, clashes, stone throwing, civilians resisting troops, fires and burning vehicles, fatalities and so forth), and completely ignoring the substantial differences between the two cases, he comes to conclusion that

> no reason exists to condemn the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia and at the same time defend the Israeli occupation of Palestine. ... Whoever understands that Soviet tanks committed aggression by the very fact of their presence must understand the same about Israeli tanks in Palestinian towns and villages. Whoever understands that the residents of Košice defended their city must understand that Palestinians throwing stones at Israeli tanks were defending their motherland as well. No reason exists for assessing these two situations differently.

Barbora Weberová does not recognize the term "Israeli Arabs" and suggests using the term "Palestinians" to define the Arab population of Israel. This suggestion, which seeks to deny the citizenship status of Israel's Arab population, is a clear attempt to delegitimize Israel. Like Kandalaft, Weberová is convinced that the Slovak media and Slovak politicians – with the exception of the fascists (a fact she says she laments) – are unfairly biased in favour of Israel and against Palestine and the Palestinians. However, she herself clearly demonizes one side of the conflict in her narratives, namely Israel and the Israelis. According

to her, Israel is not a liberal democracy with Western values but a racist state that has established an apartheid regime (both inside Israel and in the Occupied Territories) and is guilty of: conducting a genocidal policy towards Palestinians; violating all the human rights of the residents of Palestinian territories; systematically attacking the Gaza Strip and keeping it on the verge of a humanitarian catastrophe; causing suffering to children in the Occupied Territories; perpetrating ethnic cleansing and racial segregation in the name of the creation of a "Jewish state"; systematically destroying Palestinian Arab heritage in Jerusalem; disseminating "disgusting, racist and xenophobic propaganda"; and many other similar wrongdoings.

Weberová also criticizes Israeli politicians regardless of their ideological orientation or party affiliation. According to her, the late Shimon Peres was guilty of multiple war crimes (together with his colleague Yitzhak Rabin), and she even goes so far as to quote and agree with one Arab scholar who argues that Peres supported all Israel's war crimes. She also criticizes Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas, whom she refers to as "the president elected by nobody", for sending condolences to Peres' family after his death. Her double standards are evident from the fact that she believes that expressions of sympathy towards Israel from certain far-right politicians in Europe and the United States only serve to discredit Israel, while the fact that Slovak fascists sympathize with Palestinians is simply regrettable ("a tragedy"). In her narratives, Weberová uses context shifting and distortion more often than Kandalaft to promote a "better understanding" of her criticisms of Israel (e.g. the occupation of Crimea, the refusal to grant Palestinians from the Gaza Strip access to Tel-Aviv beaches, unlike foreign tourists visiting Israel, the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet oppression of the Hungarian revolution, and so on). Weberová's interpretation of the reasons for Palestinian terrorism comes as no surprise. She writes that it emerged as a "result of Israeli actions in Palestine". In practice, she justifies such acts, arguing that "it is something of an exception in the world not to see a violent response to a vio-

lent occupation". She also expresses passionate support for the anti-Israel BDS campaign and strongly criticizes Slovak officials and politicians for maintaining contact with Israeli partners.

Based on an analysis of selected posts written by Barbora Weberová, it is abundantly clear that many of her statements fall within the parameters of Natan Sharansky's 3D test of antisemitism: demonization, double standards and delegitimization.

The Slovak authors and activists who are fervent critics of Israel are involved in lobbying on behalf of the Palestinian Authority in the form of petitions, appeals and public events, including BDS campaigns and protests against the activities of representatives of Israel in Slovakia. As yet, the BDS movement has not taken any real action in Slovakia, except for issuing verbal appeals for support.

In recent years, a group of anti-Israel activists has succeeded in organizing several petitions. The first was an appeal to President Andrej Kiska to express solidarity with the victims of the massacre in Gaza.[25] No names of signatories appeared on the petition, but one observer subsequently pointed out that the informal civil Initiative for Just Peace in the Middle East had signed the petition and that it was promoted by pro-Palestinian blogger Kamil Kandalaft. However no other names were published and the total number of signatories remains unknown.[26] Another petition demanding the cancellation of the Israeli justice minister's visit to Slovakia was signed by some mainstream, predominantly leftist Slovak civil activists and 135 citizens (including thirty anonymous signatories).[27] Previously, in November 2014, six Slovak organizations with mainly leftist and pro-Palestinian leanings[28] signed a petition calling for

25 "Vyzvali prezidenta, aby vyjadril solidaritu s obeťami masakra v Gaze," Changenet.sk, September 6, 2014, http://www.changenet.sk/?section=spr&x=784754 (accessed January 13, 2017).

26 Kamil Kandalaft, "Keď SME o Palestíne klamali," *Je to tak*, December 18, 2014, http://www.jetotak.sk/ludskeprava/ked-sme-o-palestine-klamali (accessed January 13, 2017).

27 "Za zrušenie návštevy izraelskej ministerky spravodlivosti," Changenet.sk, n.d., http://www.changenet.sk/?section=kampane&x=888110 (accessed January 13, 2017).

28 These organizations were the Slovak Initiative for a Just Peace in the Middle East, the Human Rights Institute, the Palestinian Club in Slovakia, the Slovak Anti-Poverty Network, Slovakia Without Nazis, NGO Utopia and the United for Peace Initiative.

the suspension of the EU association agreement with Israel.[29] None of the petitions had any demonstrable effect.

III. CONCLUSIONS

Antisemitism in Slovakia is a real social problem that has recently acquired special significance as a result of the election of right-wing extremist forces to the Slovak parliament in March 2016. This development has afforded them the opportunity to disseminate their toxic political messages more widely, including the antisemitic ideas and anti-Israel positions that form an organic part of their political platform and ideology. Thanks to the growing role of the "alternative" media and social networks, supporters of all forms of antisemitism have been able to include antisemitic content in their communications with voters and influence the views of ordinary citizens. Slovakia's experience confirms that antisemitism in all its forms usually contributes to the emergence of coalitions or clusters that support or subscribe to illiberalism, anti-Western views, authoritarianism, delusional conspiracy theories, general xenophobia, opposition to the European Union and NATO and anti-Americanism. In many cases, the main actors engaging in new antisemitism in Slovakia are the same as those engaging in traditional antisemitism. They include right-wing extremists, far-right radical nationalists, neo-fascists and neo-Nazis.

The main manifestations of new antisemitism include the delegitimization of Israel as the democratic state of the Jewish people, the questioning or denial of its right to exist and the singling out of the Jewish state for special opprobrium. Such actions are not only common among overt antisemites and right-wing extremists but are also prevalent in circles that publicly distance themselves from antisemitism and anti-Zionism. Objectively speaking, however, biased and one-sided criticism of Israel, especially when coupled with delegitimization or demonization, helps strengthen antisemitic senti-

29 See http://www.eccpalestine.org/a-european-call-to-suspen-the-eu-israel-association-agreement (accessed January 13, 2017).

ments and contributes to the long-term survival of antisemitism in all its forms (old, modern and new).

With the election of the fascist L'SNS to the Slovak parliament, new antisemitism has obtained an additional platform. As yet, however, this type of anti-Jewish sentiment is no more widespread in Slovakia than any of the other types, and there are no tangible indications that it has been on the rise in recent years. On a positive note, moreover, it appears that Slovakia's political, cultural and intellectual elites, its mainstream political forces (both centre-left and centre-right) and its mainstream media do not engage in antisemitic or anti-Israel discourse. In a majority of cases concerning the situation in the Middle East and relations between Israel and its Arab neighbours, they adopt a balanced or even pro-Israel position, showing ample immunity to the various attempts to delegitimize and demonize the Jewish state. Another positive factor is that right-wing extremists are ostracized and heavily criticized by the political mainstream for their antisemitism, while left-wing anti-Israel activists occupy a fairly marginal position on the political spectrum and lack the ability to gain wider support for their views. Efforts to campaign in favour of BDS in Slovakia have so far been largely ineffective, and it is unlikely that they will be successful in the foreseeable future.

At the same time, however, it would be a mistake to underestimate the risk of intensified antisemitic and openly anti-Israel sentiment at a time of mounting turbulence not only in the Middle East but also in Europe and in relations between Europe and the United States. Slovakia's reasonable politicians and mainstream media must therefore continue to oppose all forms of antisemitism and hateful anti-Israel rhetoric.

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The late Congressman Tom Lantos drew attention to the phenomenon of 'new antisemitism' already in his 2002 article, The Durban Debacle.[1] Antisemitism has been around since the existence of Jews. Recently, it has manifested itself worldwide in a contemporary form. New antisemitism refers to the use of double standards towards the State of Israel, demonizing its acts as well as questioning the country's raison d'être. The Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement, present in many aspects of everyday life from trade to academia, is widely regarded as the most obvious type of new antisemitism. While there are several studies focusing on the emergence of new antisemitism in the Western world, there is a lack of academic research regarding its existence and forms of manifestation in Central and Eastern Europe. There are even fewer reports examining the phenomenon from a regional perspective based on a uniform set of criteria. This research fills this gap by examining the different forms of antisemitism in the Visegrád countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia), with a particular focus on new antisemitism. This report examines the phenomenon in country-specific case studies, considering the region's historical, legal, and political context in its comprehensive analysis.

1 Tom Lantos. "The Durban Debacle: An Insider's View of the World Racism Conference at Durban." *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, Winter/Spring, 26:1, 2002.