

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights Agentur der Europäischen Union für Grundrechte Agence des droits fondamentaux de l'Union européenne

Anti-Semitism

Summary overview of the situation in the European Union 2001-2007

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FRA Working Paper

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1. Data availability, reliability and comparability

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights¹ presents in this paper the fourth brief update of its 2004 extensive report "Manifestations of anti-Semitism in the European Union². The overview contains the latest governmental and non-governmental statistical data covering 2001 to 2007 for those EU Member States that have official or unofficial data and statistics on anti-Semitic incidents. The Agency collects regularly publicly available official and unofficial data and information on racism and xenophobia in the EU Member States through its Racism and Xenophobia Network (RAXEN)³ with a special focus on anti-Semitism.

The Agency's data collection work shows that most Member States do not have official or even unofficial data and statistics on anti-Semitic incidents. Even where data exist they are not comparable, since they are collected following different methodologies. For some countries, RAXEN National Focal Points provide the Agency with lists of cases collected either ad hoc by civil society organisations or through the media with varying degrees of validity and reliability. Detailed data and incidents lists are presented in the electronic database of the Agency: InfoBase at www.fra.europa.eu

The Agency's review of data collection systems also indicates that in some Member States there seems to be a serious problem of underreporting, particularly in reference to official systems of data collection that are based on police records and on crime and law statistics, because not all anti-Semitic incidents registered officially are categorised under the label "anti-Semitism" and/or because not all anti-Semitic incidents are reported to the official body by the victims or witnesses of an incident. A complementary problem to underreporting is misreporting and overreporting: This could be the case in unofficial data collection carried out by organisations that do not provide information concerning their methodologies.

¹ The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) in Vienna was established in 2007 by Council Regulation 168/07 (EC). The objective of the Agency is to provide the relevant institutions, bodies, offices and agencies of the Community and its Member States when implementing Community law with assistance and expertise relating to fundamental rights in order to support them when they take measures or formulate courses of action within their respective spheres of competence to fully respect fundamental rights. More information at <u>www.fra.europa.eu</u>

² Available at http://fra.europa.eu/fra/material/pub/AS/AS-Main-report.pdf

³ RAXEN is a group of organisations (National Focal Points) in each EU Member State (usually consortia of research organisations, NGOs, special bodies, social partners, etc) contracted by the Agency to collect official and unofficial data on racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and related intolerances.

2. Data update by country

AUSTRIA

In Austria, anti-Semitic incidents are recorded officially only if committed in an extreme right-wing context. Most anti-Semitic incidents in 2006 were verbal offences, graffiti, property damage and mail, e-mail or cell phone text messages.⁴ Extremist offences under the Prohibition Statute⁵ may encompass the denial of the Holocaust as well as the revitalisation of Nazi ideology. The NGO "Forum gegen Anti-Semitismus" - Forum against Anti-Semitism - also records incidents.

Official statistics display a sharp rise in anti-Semitic offences in 2002 as compared to 2001, followed by a marked decrease in such offences in 2003, and another sharp increase in 2004. In significant contrast to unofficial recordings, official statistics display lower figures for incidents in 2005 and 2006 than in the three previous years. Unofficial data, which generally displays a much higher rate of anti-Semitic incidents than the official data, which records only registered crimes, shows an increase in anti-Semitic incidents in 2005 after a slight decrease in 2004. In the first half of 2007 the Forum against Anti-Semitism reported altogether 47 anti-Semitic incidents.⁶ This is an increase of 17 per cent compared to the first half of 2006 (39).⁷

Official statistics (recorded criminal offences)									
2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006				
3	20	9	17	8	8				
Source: Austria, Bundesministerium für Inneres, Bundesministerium für Justiz, Sicherheitsbericht 2002-2004; Österreich, Bundesministerium für Inneres, Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz und Terrorismusbekämpfung, Verfassungsschutzbericht 2006.									
Unofficial stat	istics – FGA (in	cidents)							
2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006				
Incomplete data ⁸	Incomplete data⁵	134	122	143	Incomplete data				
Source: NGO: Fo	orum gegen Anti-S	emitismus							
Graffiti		2003	2004	2005	2006				
Swastikas and	anti-Semitic	18	17	10	9				
Source: ZARA,	Source: ZARA, Racism Reports 2004,2005, 2006								

⁴ Austria/Bundesministerium für Inneres, Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz und Terrorismusbekämpfung, Verfassungsschutzbericht 2007, p. 71, available at: <u>http://www.bmi.gv.at/downloadarea/staatsschutz/BVT%20VSB%202007%2020070724%</u> 20Onlineversion.pdf

⁵ Verbotsgesetz, Austria / BGBI 127/1945 last amendment by BGBI 148/1992 (19.03.1992).
⁶ Forum against Anti-Semitism, Newsletter September 2007, available at: <u>http://www.fga-wien.at/index.php?option=com_docman&task=cat_view&gid=15&Itemid=34</u>

⁸ Monitoring covers only a few months

⁷ Information provided by the Forum against Anti-Semitism by e-mail, (08.10.2007).

BELGIUM

The Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism (CEOOR), national Equality Body, collects and investigates allegations of anti-Semitism and compiles statistics. Police in general do not officially record anti-Semitic incidents, however, the Federal Police released in 2006, upon request, a more detailed breakdown of incidents by type. This shows one incident in 2006 of "approval or justification of the genocide committed by the Nazis during World War II"; since data collection covering this category started on 1.10.2006 it does not represent the entire year. Official data display a steady number of anti-Semitic acts for 2002 and 2003 and a slight increase in 2004. Contrary to this, unofficial statistics show a marked increase in anti-Semitic acts in 2002 as compared to 2001, followed by a drop in 2003, and a steady increase up to 2005. The NGO "Bureau Exécutif de Surveillance Communautaire" (BESC) also records incidents.

Semi-official statistics – CEOOR (complaints of anti-Semitism)										
2001	2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006									
No data available30306895863										
Source: Centre	e for Equal Oppo	ortunities and O	oposition to Rac	ism.						
Unofficial st	atistics - BES	C (recorded a	inti-Semitic a	cts)						
2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006					
30	30 62 28 46 60 66									
Source: BESC										

CEOOR: Anti-Semitism related complaints by category 2004-2006								
	2004	2005	2006					
Verbal aggression	23	18	14					
Letters, articles	14	9	16					
Media	4	2	1					
Internet	10	11	21					
Violence	9	6	3					
Vandalism	3	6	3					
Genocide denial	3	6	2					
Other	2	-	3					
Total 68 58 63								
Source: CEOOR, Annua	Source: CEOOR, Annual report 2006							

⁹ CEOOR reported new figures for 2004 (originally figure for 2004 was 34, instead of 68)

CZECH REPUBLIC

The Czech Ministry of Interior has set up a new system of categorising various incidents categorising incidents against the Jewish community, Jewish individuals, buildings and cemeteries. According to the system, in 2005 there were 23 incidents of anti-Semitic nature, which amounted to 9 per cent of all incidents with extremist motivation.

The NGO Fórum proti Antisemitismu [Forum against Anti-Semitism] also reports on anti-Semitic attacks. The organisation operates under the Federation of Jewish Communities receiving from them reports on all anti-Semitic attacks, but also collects other data on its own, particularly on Internet harassment. The Forum recorded one assault in 2006 (none in 2005), five attacks against property (seven in 2005), two threats (two in 2005), ten incidents of harassment (two in 2005), and 16 incidents involving anti-Semitic literature - including Internet (eight in 2005).

Official statistics (recorded criminal offences)											
2001	2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006										
No data availableNo data availableNo data availableNo data available2314											
	Source: Czech Republic, Ministry of the Interior, Extremism in the Czech Republic in 2006										
		m proti Antiso -Semitic attac		rum agains	t Anti-						
				rum agains 2005	t Anti- 2006						
Semitism] (re	eports on anti	-Semitic attac	cks)	-							

DENMARK

Racist incidents are officially monitored by the Danish Security Intelligence Service (PET), which does not distinguish between anti-Semitic and other incidents. Unofficially, anti-Semitic incidents are recorded by the Jewish Community "Det Mosaiske Trossamfund" and the "Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination" (DACoRD).

The Eastern High Court sentenced in February 2007 the spokesperson for Hizb-Ut-Tahir in Denmark to 60 days imprisonment for violation of the Penal Code, section 266 b, Subsections 1 and 2 (on propaganda) for distributing material that contained threats against Jews. The same person had been sentenced for similar offence in 2003.

Unofficial statistics - DACoRD										
2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006										
No data reported	No data reported	1	6	3	3 No data yet available ¹⁰					
Source: Docu	Source: Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination.									
Unofficial sta	atistics – Jewi	ish Commu	nity (all inc	idents)						
2001	2002	2003	2004	. 20	05	2006				
No data reportedNo data reported29373740										
Source: Det Mosaiske Trossamfund										

¹⁰ DACoRD recorded one case of anti-Semitism in 2007 (part of the year), but the number of anti-Semitic incidents in 2006 has not yet being released nor is the DACoRD website updated with this information.

FRANCE

Data are collected officially and compiled into statistics by the Ministry of Interior. The Representative Council of Jewish Communities of France - Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juives de France - (CRIF) records complaints and provides unofficial statistics. Official data shows high levels of anti-Semitic acts of violence and threats in 2002 and 2004 and lower rates for 2001, 2003, 2005 and 2006. However, both official and (unpublished) unofficial data point to a decrease of approximately 50 per cent in the number of anti-Semitic incidents between 2004 and 2005.



The Protection of the Jewish Community Service¹¹ (Service de Protection de la Communauté Juive) has recorded for the first eight months of 2007, 122 acts of anti-Semitic nature, against 176 for the same period in 2006 (a

¹¹ Coordinated by the French Central Consistory, the Consistory of Paris, CRIF and the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU)

decrease of 31%). The number of threats has fallen from 139 to 93 (a fall of 33%). For 2007 the total number of all categories of acts is 215, against 315 in 2006, a decrease of 32%.

Offences ¹²	Damage to dignity		Damage to E persons			Damage to property		Discrimination		Verbal abuse and defamation		TOTAL	
	Number of cases	Perpetrators identified	Number of cases	Perpetrators identified	Number of cases	Perpetrators identified	Number of cases	Perpetrators identified	Number of cases	Perpetrators identified	Number of cases	Perpetrators identified	
Anti-Semitism	2	1	39	24	49	6	14	11	88	60	192	10 2	
Source: Crimina Studies and Eva						on des	affaire	s criminel	les et de	s grâces (DA	- CG) -		

Cases registered by Prosecution Services January-September 2007

In 2003 the "referent magistrates" (magistrat référent) were established with a role, among else, to sensitize public prosecution services, regarding anti-Semitism.

The Criminal Tribunal of Paris sentenced on August 28, 2007 a man to nine months prison for violently assaulting with an anti-Semitic motivation a 23-year-old man, as he was entering a Synagogue.

In February 2006 large demonstrations in Paris, and several French cities, like Bordeaux, Lille, Grenoble, Marseille, Nice, Orleans, Strasbourg, Toulouse, etc were organised by the Representative Council of French Jewish Communities SOS-Racisme, and the International League Against Racism to protest the kidnapping, torture and murder of Ilan Halimi, a French Jew of Moroccan origin by a gang of 22 persons of different origins. The case was cited in the European Parliament 2006 Resolution on the increase of racism and homophobic violence in Europe (P6_TA (2006) 0273), as having an anti-Semitic dimension.

The annual report of the League against Racism and Anti-Semitism (la Ligue contre le racisme et l'antisémitisme-LICRA) on racism and anti-Semitism in sports revealed the persistence of anti-Semitic acts, which constitute 13% of reported abuses on and around the football pitch.

¹² Explanation of offences:

^{- &}quot;damage to dignity" is desecration of graves and damage to the integrity of a corpse

^{- &}quot;damage to persons" is murders, wilful acts of violence and threats directed at individuals

^{- &}quot;damage to property" is destruction, deterioration, theft, extortion, and threats directed at property

^{- &}quot;discrimination" is discrimination in hiring or dismissing an employee, discrimination in supplying goods or services (Article 225-1 to 225-4 and 432-7 of the Penal Code)

^{- &}quot;verbal abuse and defamation": verbal abuse, defamation, incitement to discrimination, hatred and racial violence (Freedom of the Press Act)

France is currently the only EU Member States with a comprehensive national data collection system on racist and anti-Semitic incidents in schools. From 2001 till 2005 the Ministry of Education installed in up to 70 per cent of primary and secondary public schools SIGNA (Signalement des actes de violence par les établissements du second degree), a software tool for collecting data on severe acts of violence. According to SIGNA data, during the school year 2005/06, the number of anti-Semitic acts decreased by 40 per cent compared to 2004/2005. At the beginning of the 2007-2008 academic year, SIGNA was replaced by the improved software system SIVIS (Système d'Information et de Vigilance sur la Sécurité scolaire).

GERMANY

Officially police records only "right-wing politically motivated criminality with an anti-Semitic background". Statistical data are provided by the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution - Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz. Most of the crimes registered are non-violent crimes (e.g. 22 people were injured as a result of anti-Semitic crimes in 2004, when a total of 1316 crimes were recorded). German figures show a peak in recorded anti-Semitic incidents in 2002 and 2005. The drop in 2003 was followed by a steady rise until 2005, followed by a slight drop in 2006.



On 7 September 2007, a 42-year old rabbi, recognisable as an orthodox Jew, was stabbed by a 22-year old German of Afghan origin in Frankfurt. According to witnesses, the attack was preceded by anti-Semitic insults and the words 'I'll kill you'. The victim underwent surgery. The 22-year old man was caught a week later; according to the police and the public prosecutor, the man does not have a radical Islamic background, but has a criminal record (several convictions of, among others, bodily harm and threat). He admitted to stabbing the rabbi, though denying any anti-Semitic motives and any intention to kill the victim. Police investigation is ongoing.

¹³ Due to the introduction of a new system in 2001, figures of previous years are not comparable.

THE NETHERLANDS

The Public Prosecution Service recorded 108 criminal acts of anti-Semitism. The NGO Information and Documentation Centre Israel -"Centrum Informatie en Documentatie Israël" - (CIDI) and the "National Federation of Anti-Discrimination Agencies and Hotlines" - Landelijke Vereniging van Anti Discriminatie Bureaus - (LVADB) also collect data.

Official sta	atistics (all inc	idents) ¹⁴						
2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006			
41	106	89	No data available	No data available	No data available			
Source: La	ndelijk Experti	se Centrum Di	scriminatie (LEC	D)				
Unofficial statistics - CIDI (all incidents)								
2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006			
168	359	334	327	159	261			
250 - 200 - 150 - 100 - 50 - 0	168			159	261			
Source: CI	001 2002 DI, Anti-Semiti 5 May 2007.		2004 the Netherlands	2005 s, Report for	2006 2006 and 1			
Unofficial	statistics: Mo	nitor Racismo	e & Extremisme)				
2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006			
Racism & E Stichting / I Wagenaar	184639Not available4135Source: 2003 - 2005 data:Van Donselaar, J., & P. Rodrigues (eds.) (2006)Racism & Extremism Monitor:Seventh report. Amsterdam / Leiden: Anne FrankStichting / Leiden University;2005 - 2006 data:Van Donselaar, J. & W.Wagenaar (2007) Monitor Racism and Extremism:Racist and extreme rightviolence in 2006.Amsterdam / Leiden:Anne Frank							

¹⁴ Following problems with the police systems of registering incidents, the Interior Ministry announced in October 2007 a new uniform registration system to be operational in 2009.

Unofficial statistics - LVADB (all incidents)										
2001	2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006									
154 184 139 119 94 Not available ¹⁵										
Source: LVADB, Jaaroverzicht Discriminatieklachten bij Antidiscriminatiebureaus en Meldpunten, 2004.										

Discriminatory (criminal) acts of anti-Semitism, per field of occurrence, registered by the Public Prosecution Service in 2006

Field	Discrimination ground: anti-Semitism						
Directed to criminal investigation officers	3						
Labour market	4						
School and educational institutions	4						
Sport	7						
Bars, restaurants, catering – general	3						
Housing environment	24						
Street and public places	55						
Internet	5						
Other	3						
Total	108						
Source: National Discrimination Expertise Centre (2007) Figures in focus:							

Discrimination figures 2006

Of these 108 criminal acts with an anti-Semitic element, 47 (44 per cent) where committed by white suspects and 44 (41 per cent) by suspects with an extreme right background. Only two offences were committed by individuals of non-Dutch ("allochtonen") origin.

The NGO Dutch Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet -Meldpunt Discriminatie Internet – $(MDI)^{16}$ deals with complaints about the Internet. In 2006, the Bureau received 1,135 complaints,¹⁷ 463 on anti-Semitism, an increase compared to 2005.

 ¹⁵ Changes in these organisations (see <u>www.lvadb.nl</u>) might affect the availability of data.
¹⁶ More information at <u>http://www.meldpunt.nl</u>
¹⁷ Meldpunt Discriminatie Internet (2007) Jaarverslag 2006, Amsterdam: Stichting Magenta

SWEDEN

The Protection of the Constitution Section (PCS) of the Swedish Security Police (Säpo) collects data regarding anti-Semitic crimes reported to the police. Around a third of anti-Semitic crimes are linked to "White Power" groups. Therefore, caution should be used in comparing data from 2004 with that from previous years, because a new data collection method was implemented by the Swedish Security Police.

in June 2007 statistical data regarding hate crimes in 2006 was published by the National Council for Crime Prevention - Brottsförebyggande rådet -(Brå), a governmental agency which is Sweden's national statistical body in this field, as well as being charged with research on crime and crime prevention. Accordingly of a total of 2,575 hate crimes with xenophobic, anti-Semitic or Islamophobic motive, 134 crimes had anti-Semitic motive.¹⁸

In 2006, 1,049 people were suspected of having committed hate crimes, i.e. crimes committed with a xenophobic, Islamophobic, anti-Semitic or homophobic motive. In 26 per cent of hate crimes reported to the police, a suspect was identified. The number of cases with an anti-Semitic motive, where a suspect has been identified represents 22 per cent the total.



In 3,258 complaints submitted to the police in 2006 with a hate crime motive, 134 were identified as having anti-Semitic motive (4 per cent).

¹⁸ Sweden/Brottsförebyggande rådet (2007), Hatbrott 2006 – En sammanställning av polisanmälningar med främlingsfientliga, islamofobiska, antisemitiska och homofobiska motiv

UNITED KINGDOM

There is some evidence of increased anti-Semitism in the last few years, often in the form of violence against persons and property, as well as incitement to racial and religious hatred.¹⁹

The Community Security Trust (CST), part of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, provides security and defence services and advice to the Jewish community and collects relevant data in collaboration with the police. Regional police forces have also collected data since 2004. In 2005 the CST 455 anti-Semitic incidents, a 14% fall from 2004. In 2006 it recorded 594 anti-Semitic incidents, a 24% increase from 2005 and the highest total since the CST began recording incidents in 1984. The CST recorded 108 physical assaults motivated by anti-Semitism in 2006, and 70 incidents against Jewish property or community buildings in that year.²⁰

The CST recorded in 2006 112 violent assaults, the highest ever recorded and a 37 per cent rise on the 82 violent assaults in 2005. The 112 violent attacks included four that were classified as extreme violence, meaning that the attack potentially caused loss of life or grievous bodily harm. A physical description of the perpetrator was provided in 205 of the 594 incidents recorded by the CST. Of these, 96 were white; four were East European; 28 black; 60 Asian and 16 of Arab appearance.



Source: CST, Anti-Semitic Incidents Report 2006

¹⁹ Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Anti-Semitism, September 2006; Council of Europe (ECRI) Third Report on the United Kingdom, paras 68-69; available at <u>http://www.thepcaa.org/Report.pdf</u>

¹ The Community Security Trust Anti-Semitic Incidents Report 2006, available at <u>http://www.thecst.org.uk/docs/Incidents_Report_06.pdf</u>

Unofficial s	Unofficial statistics – CST (all incidents) by category									
Category	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Extreme Violence	4	0	0	2	1	5	0	4	2	4
Assault	19	17	33	51	40	42	54	79	80	108
Damage & Desecration	58	31	25	73	90	55	72	53	48	70
Threats	19	16	31	39	37	18	22	93	25	27
Abusive Behaviour	86	136	127	196	122	216	211	272	273	365
Literature	33	36	54	44	20	14	16	31	27	20
TOTAL 219 236 270 405 310 350 375 532 455 594										
Source: CST,	Anti-S	Semitio	c Incid	ents R	eport 20	006.				

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Greece: A lawyer was sentenced by the Athens Court of Appeal to 14 months suspended imprisonment sentence on charges of violating antiracist law (n.927/79) for incitement to actions that could provoke discrimination, hatred and violence against Jews, solely because of their racial and ethnic origins through his 2006 book "Jews: The Whole Truth".

Italy: In the OSCE/ODIHR report on "Hate crimes in the OSCE Region. Incidents and responses", the Italian Interior Ministry reported 62 hate crimes with an anti-Semitic background. The NGO Osservatorio sul Pregiudizio Antiebraico Contemporaneo reports various incidents on its website.

Poland: Information prepared on request by the Plenipotentiary of the High Police Commissioner for Human Rights Protection Issues from all Voivodship police headquarters in Poland provides some information on the number and nature of such offences shows that of 86 hate crimes between January-September 2007 at least 18 were of anti-Semitic nature.

Slovakia: In 2006 the Ministry of Justice reported two crimes with anti-Semitic motives.

In November 2006, the European Jewish Congress released a report²¹ on anti-Semitic incidents mainly for the period July - August 2006 showing that the number of anti-Semitic incidents was higher in many European countries increased compared to the same period in 2005. Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Netherlands, Sweden and the UK are singled out, as an increased number of incidents were recorded by Jewish community institutions.

²¹ European Jewish Congress (2006), "Anti-Semitic Incidents and Discourse in Europe During the Israel-Hezbollah War", Paris

3. Anti-Semitic attitudes 2002 – 2007

Anti-Semitic attitudes are surveyed more or less systematically only in Germany and France. In 2006, there has, in addition, been a survey on anti-Semitic attitudes and perceptions in Sweden²² by the Forum for Living History. The methodologies employed in country studies, however, are different and the results are not comparable.

A transnational survey²³ was conducted in 2005 by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) on anti-Semitic attitudes covering the general public in 11 EU Member States, and Switzerland. In 2007 the survey²⁴ was repeated in five EU Member States, and Switzerland. A comparison between the 2005 and 2007 surveys indicates that over the past two years there has been a marked increase in the acceptance of traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes. However, by far the most troubling development has been the increase in the number of respondents questioning the loyalty of Jewish citizens: The percentage of those believing that "Jews are more loyal to Israel than to this country" has increased by 16 percent in Austria, 13 percent in Belgium, 13 percent in Hungary, 10 percent in the Netherlands, 6 percent in Switzerland, and 11 percent in the United Kingdom.



²² The Forum for Living History (2006), Antisemitiska attityder och föreställningar i Sverige (Anti-Semitic images and attitudes in Sweden).

²³

http://www.adl.org/anti_semitism/european_attitudes_may_2005.pdf http://www.adl.org/anti_semitism/European_Attitudes_Survey_May_2007.pdf 24

4. Preliminary conclusions

The available data indicate an increase in anti-Semitic activity between 2001 and 2002, between 2003 and 2004 and again in 2006. Sufficient and comparable data are not available to calculate an overall trend in anti-Semitic activity in the European Union for the period 2001-2005, but eight countries saw an increase in the absolute number of incidents recorded (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Netherlands, Sweden and the UK). Nevertheless, between 2005 and 2006 in Germany and the Czech Republic there was a significant decrease in recorded anti-Semitic incidents, and in Austria there was no change.

France, Germany and Sweden collect sufficient official criminal justice data allowing for a trend analysis of recorded anti-Semitic crimes. To this end we are able to note that, according to official sources, recorded anti-Semitic crime has increased significantly over a period of years in France (2001-2006), but only very slightly in Germany and in Sweden.

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	% change 2005-06	mean % change ²⁶
France Official data	219	936	601	974	508	541	+ 6.5%	+ 62.4% 2001-06
Germany Official data	1,629	1,594	1,226	1,346	1,682	1,662	- 1.2%	+ 1.7% 2001-06
Sweden Official data	115	131	128	151	111	134	+ 26.4%	+ 0.7% 2001-06

Trends in official recorded anti-Semitic crime by Member State²⁵

In France official data show high levels of anti-Semitic acts of violence and threats in 2002 and 2004 and lower rates for 2001, 2003, 2005 and 2006. However, both official and (unpublished) unofficial data point to a sharp drop in the number of anti-Semitic incidents between 2004 and 2005 followed by a small rise in 2006. As reported in the Agency's 2007 Racism Report, it appears that dramatic increases in recorded anti-Semitic crime in France, for example in 2002 and 2004, directly reflect periods of heightened conflict in the Middle East between Israel and Palestine, which then manifests itself as anti-Semitism in mainland France. In addition, it is important to note that the sharp rise in 2004 could, at least partly, be also attributed to improvements in data collection, an increased sensitivity of

²⁵ Note: direct comparisons between Member States of absolute figures should not be undertaken; the table should be read with respect to the trend shown within each Member State.

²⁶ This percentage mean change is calculated on the basis of an average of the year by year percentage changes for the period in question for each country.

the police to record anti-Semitic activities more efficiently. Similarly the sharp drop in 2005 could have been affected by measures of increased vigilance and a greater awareness of the penal sanctions for such acts.

Similarly, in the Netherlands (CIDI unofficial statistics), Sweden (official data) and the United Kingdom (unofficial CST data) a decline in 2005 was followed by a rise in 2006. On the other hand, German official figures show a peak in recorded anti-Semitic incidents in 2001 and in 2005, followed by a slight drop in 2006.

There is a certain contradiction regarding data collection, raised in this report. In the current situation, where there exists a huge variation in the degree to which EU Member States collect data and the ways that they do it, there is always the danger that those with the best data collection systems become portrayed as those with the greatest problems. For example, France is the only EU country with a comprehensive data collection system of anti-Semitic incidents in school, including a new software tool for recording incidents of violence. Yet this appears to have generated the possibility that schools which have collected data most efficiently can be labelled by the media as the 'most violent' schools. This brings the danger of the superficial judgement that those countries with the best systems have the worst problem. Instead, whilst high figures do indicate that a serious problem seriously.

As regards general causes for increases and decreases in anti-Semitic activity, the Agency's Annual Reports have noted that for some countries statistical trends allow us to discern an impact of Middle East political developments on anti-Semitic activity (for example, the impact of the Lebanon war in France and the UK in 2006). However, due to the overall paucity of data, only speculative conclusions can be drawn for the European Union, as a whole, as to how different political developments in the Middle East could influence attitudes and behaviour of Arab and Muslim European communities, as well as the rhetoric and activities of the extreme and far- right and to some extend the extreme left.

A clear distinction must also be made between anti-Semitism in political and media discourses and incidents on the ground directed against Jews. There is no systematic research so far showing the relationship between these two strands. Therefore, the motivation of perpetrators and the relationship between their acts and anti-Semitic attitudes and ideology remains under-researched and unclear. Further national and transnational comparative research is necessary in order to establish causal links between the formation of anti-Semitic attitudes and related anti-Semitic behavioural patterns by specific population groups.

Anti-Semitic activity after 2000 is increasingly attributed to a "new anti-Semitism", characterised primarily by the vilification of Israel as the

"Jewish collective" and perpetrated primarily by members of Europe's Muslim population. The available research dealing with the perception of Jews within the EU indicates that there is little evidence showing changes in the traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes. However, manifestations of anti-Semitism in politics, media, and everyday life, have indeed changed in recent years, especially since the start of the "al-Aqsa Intifada" in 2000.

4.1. Historical background

In Europe, anti-Semitism is a very old and deeply rooted cultural trait that has found a specific political expression since the 19th century initially in the context of the development of racist ideology and later in the context of national socialist ideology. However, in the Arab and Muslim world it is rather the political conflict with Israel that led to a development of anti-Semitism rather than a dominant a priori prejudice against Jews. It is therefore reasonable to assume that anti-Semitism in European Muslim communities is directly linked with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and especially the current crisis that began in 2000 with the collapse of the Oslo peace initiative and the outbreak of the "al-Aqsa Intifada". However, there is also some research evidence that European anti-Semitic stereotypes have in recent decades gradually been adopted by sections of Muslim communities around the world and have to some extent acquired a presence independent of underlying national conflicts.

Major aspects of post-1945 anti-Semitism are the emergence of so-called secondary anti-Semitism and the transformation of anti-Semitic expressions through the existence of Israel. Since open anti-Semitism, in the sense of the often self-declared anti-Semitism from before the Second World War, after 1945 was associated with "Auschwitz" (the main metaphor up to the 1970s for the genocide against the European Jews) and was censored, anti-Semitic statements had to be rephrased so as to avoid being labelled as such. The result of this transformation is that post-1945 anti-Semitism can be characterised as "anti-Semitism without anti-Semites". However, anti-Semitism since 1945 is not just characterised by the absence of self-labelled anti-Semites, but also by "secondary anti-Semitism", which, broadly defined, is any form of anti-Semitism that is itself a reflection of the establishment of the taboo of expressing anti-Semitism. The notion is commonly used primarily to describe anti-Semitism in Austria and Germany, where secondary anti-Semitism is usually considered as a reaction to the debates on national identity and National Socialism. Drawing on older stereotypes about Jewish power and influence in the media, a typical claim of secondary anti-Semitism is, for example, that Jews are manipulating Germans or Austrians exploiting feelings of guilt. The term has proliferated in scholarly analyses particularly to explain the debates on National Socialism and anti-Semitism in Germany in the 1980s. Characteristic of all forms of "secondary antiSemitism" is that they relate directly to the Holocaust and that they allow speakers to avoid expressing open anti-Semitism. Secondary anti-Semitism also has a psychological component. Rather than constituting a form of anti-Semitism that exists in spite of the history of National Socialism, it exists because of it: in the context of the German debates of the 1980s, Henryk Broder coined the aptly provocative phrase: "Germans will never forgive the Jews the existence of Auschwitz."

The impact of left anti-Zionism to this recent wave remains unclear. Both secondary anti-Semitism and the use of anti-Zionism as a form of getting around the anti-Semitism taboo, however, are prevalent among the extreme and far right in Europe. Particularly, Holocaust denial or 'revisionism' has become a central part of the propagandistic repertoire of parties and organisations on the right fringe of the political spectrum throughout Europe. Although "revisionism" is not restricted to the right, it has become a central unifying feature of different right-wing extremist movements – both between the often-divided groups within one country and beyond national borders. In contrast to the extreme and far left, anti-Semitism forms a core element in the formation and networking of right-wing extremist groups.

4.2. Perpetrators of anti-Semitic acts

As with other categories of data under the heading of anti-Semitism, there is a wide variety in the reliability and detail of information on perpetrators of anti-Semitic acts, and therefore in the generalisations that can safely be made about them. In the country sections perpetrators are identified only in France²⁷, Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

In the course of the rise in anti-Semitic incidents in Europe over the past years, there has been a shift in the public perception of the 'typical' anti-Semitic offender, particularly in countries, like Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Sweden, and the UK, from the "extreme right skinhead" to the "disaffected young Muslim", "person of North African origin", or "immigrant" and member of the "anti-globalisation" left.

This shift, although widely reported, is difficult to substantiate on the basis of the available statistical evidence and the situation is probably far more complex. One has to point here to the difficulties in verifying classifications of perpetrators based on the perceptions of victims or witnesses, rather than formal and objective process for determining identity. Furthermore, in a number of countries it is not legally possible to investigate the ethnic or religious background of perpetrators.

²⁷ Although details about their ethnic background are not released.