Situation Report on Antisemitism

July 2020
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A. Introduction

“All Jews are familiar with antisemitism from their everyday lives”, said Dr Josef Schuster, the President of the Central Council of Jews in Germany in June 2019.\(^1\) Shortly before that, the Antisemitism Commissioner of the Federal Government, Dr Felix Klein,\(^2\) had warned Jews about wearing kippas in public and thus revealing that they are Jews. An alarming warning, which Dr Schuster voiced as well.

Over the last few years there have been a great many occurrences making such precautions necessary. However, only very few of these incidents have come to public and media attention, such as the attack by neo-Nazis on a Jewish restaurant in Chemnitz in September 2018, the verbal and physical attacks carried out in broad daylight on rabbis in Munich, Cologne and Berlin or, most recently, the terrorist attack on believers in a synagogue in Halle an der Saale on the most important Jewish holiday Yom Kippur last year. In school playgrounds in many places, the name “Jew” is considered a swear word; in football stadiums, antisemitic abuse of the opposing team or even of fellow team members are by no means isolated incidents. Frequent tirades of hatred on social media, insults and threats are something that not only Jewish institutions and prominent figures inevitably have to deal with.

This is by no means a fundamentally new development; after all, antisemitism is regarded as a feeling of prejudice which has existed for centuries and as a non-negligible factor of European cultural history. Since its beginnings, the history of the Federal Republic of Germany has not been free from antisemitism either. It includes a long series of antisemitic scandals in the 1950s, the “wave of swastika graffiti” in 1959/60, arson attacks against Jewish community centres in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and growing Holocaust denial in the 1970s. In addition, targeted attack attempts and murders were observed especially in the 1980s as well as an increasing number of attacks on synagogues and memorials in the 1990s;

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2 In May 2018 Dr Felix Klein was appointed as Federal Government Commissioner for Jewish Life in Germany and the Fight against Antisemitism. He co-ordinates i.a. the Joint Federal and State Commission to Fight Antisemitism and Protect Jewish Life, a standing commission formed in late 2019.
desecrations of cemeteries have been determined at all times. All of this also continued in the 2000s and 2010s with innumerable insults, assaults and acts of violence as well as time and again with highly emotional sociopolitical debates, partly linked with well-known names of politicians, journalists and writers or referring to Israel’s Palestinian and settlement policies, to violence and counter-violence in the Middle East, and to Iran’s nuclear ambitions.

Many different surveys and empirical studies exist regarding the question of how widespread antisemitism is in Germany.³ In late 2019 a representative poll by the World Jewish Congress (WJC), the umbrella body of Jewish communities and organisations, made headlines: “One in four Germans has antisemitic views.” According to the poll, 21 to 24 per cent of the respondents had classic antisemitic prejudices, for instance, that Jews allegedly have too much power on the international financial markets, in world politics and the media around the globe. No less than 41 per cent thought that Jews call to mind the Holocaust too often.⁴ Following the attack perpetrated in Halle an der Saale in October 2019, the President of the WJC, Ronald Lauder, referred to the poll conducted shortly beforehand, urging: “If there is one country on earth that should be extremely sensitive to antisemitism, it is Germany.”⁵

For some years now there has been a change in the visibility of antisemitic attitudes and acts. Whereas in the past, in mainstream society, anti-Jewish remarks were chiefly uttered in private, they are now expressed publicly, not least by means of social media. Not only the Antisemitism Commissioner, Dr Klein,⁶ but also the President of the Central Council of Jews has pointed out that the boundaries of what can be said are shifting: According to Dr Schuster, “people dare to do and say things that they

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would not have dared to ten years ago.”

The Director of the Centre for Research on Antisemitism at Technische Universität Berlin, Professor Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, has made a similar assessment: “Antisemitism is again becoming more visible; people do not hide any more.” What plays a major part in this is the coarsening of language and political behaviour, the playing down and revaluation of the Nazi dictatorship, and the simultaneous refusal to remember the victims of the Holocaust, all of which is promoted by right-wing populists and right-wing extremists. To a certain extent, however, this development probably also has to be attributed to radical Muslims and the large number of people who, fleeing war and poverty, have come to Germany, mainly from the Middle East, in the last few years and who often have a negative or even hostile attitude towards Jews.

The current forms of antisemitism have also been the subject of extensive research in various disciplines. For instance, a long-term study has examined the increasing antisemitism on the Internet on a broad empirical basis, and extensive research work and interview projects have described particular aspects like antisemitism in football or among Muslims. Case studies have shone a light on the different forms of hostility towards Jews, the ideological interconnections and the emotional foundation of antisemitism, which is characterised by irrationality. Last but not least, current developments have been analysed, taking into consideration the dimension of antisemitism in terms of intellectual and cultural history.

This situation report on antisemitism gives a current overview of the forms of antisemitism in Germany relevant to domestic intelligence work. However, it cannot

provides a complete picture of all forms of antisemitism in the Federal Republic of Germany at the present time. This is especially true for both latent unspoken anti-Jewish attitudes and what is called “everyday antisemitism”. The latter means that those directly concerned sense groundless suspicion every day, which is conveyed through insulting jokes; disparaging looks, gestures and remarks; subtle insinuations, verbalised rejection and also pointed exclusion.

The researcher Professor Monika Schwarz-Friesel emphasises that antisemitism is “by no means primarily a phenomenon among marginal extremist groups”, but that it is “deeply embedded at the heart of society”. According to the historian Professor Wolfgang Benz, the cause of hostility towards Jews lies in “in mainstream society, not in the behaviour or the characteristics of the minority”. For this reason, as Professor Benz states, antisemitism cannot be isolated from its social context, but it rather constitutes an “indicator of the state of society”. Hence, antisemitism is by no means exclusively a problem of Jews but of German society as a whole – and a serious threat to democracy.

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15 Benz, Wolfgang: Was ist Antisemitismus? (What is antisemitism?), Bonn 2004, p. 25f
B. Antisemitism in the present

I. Definition

Neither the scientific nor the political sphere has a generally applicable definition for the complex and multi-layered term of antisemitism. The Federal Government recommends the use of the following definition, which was elaborated in 2005 by representatives of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), which is now the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), as well as by further experts on antisemitism. This definition is used by numerous EU Member States and has also been used by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) since 2016:

"Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred towards Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities."

In addition, the Federal Government has included the following sentence, which goes beyond the version agreed on by the IHRA:

"Manifestations might include the targeting of the State of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity."

This practical definition has first and foremost been developed for political work, the work of authorities and police work. The Independent Panel on Antisemitism, which was appointed by the German Bundestag in 2009, has supplemented it by providing

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16 At a conference of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), which was held in Berlin in April 2004 and which 55 OSCE Member States attended, the participants designated a special representative on combating antisemitism and established a post for an adviser on combating antisemitism at the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR).

17 The task of the EUMC is to analyse the extent and development of racism, xenophobia and antisemitism as well as to examine good practices in the fight against these phenomena. In order to collect the data required for this purpose, the European Racism and Xenophobia Information Network (RAXEN) was established.


19 Translator’s note: The German-language definition whose use is recommended by the Federal Government can be found on https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/de/node/196. The English version of this definition quoted above can be found on https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism.

20 Translator’s note: This sentence in German can be found on https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/aussenpolitik/themen/kulturdialog/-/216610. The English version of this sentence quoted above can be found on https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/themen/kulturdialog/-/229928.
a more abstract scientific perspective. The Independent Panel on Antisemitism defines the phenomenon of hostility towards Jews as:

“Collective term for all attitudes and behaviours which ascribe to individuals, groups and institutions perceived as Jewish negative characteristics because of this membership.”

Antisemitism is hence a hostile position taken towards Jews, who are imagined to be a homogeneous group: “Jews are not seen as individuals but as members of a constructed collectivity with a linking agenda.” Antisemitism may be understood as a collective term for “all forms of hatred, prejudices and dislike against Jews” or, in short, as “hostility towards Jews as Jews.” At the same time, neither the presence nor the actual behaviour of Jews is a precondition for the emergence of hostility towards Jews or for antisemitic positions. The characteristics, intentions and actions ascribed to “the Jews” have “nothing or little to do with real Jewish existence or only with misconceptions about it.” Jews, Judaism and Israel as a Jewish state hence mainly constitute “projection screens”.

Even though antisemitism is directed against Jews, it does not at all exclusively concern people who are Jews or consider themselves to be Jewish and/or reveal themselves as such. Instead, antisemitic insults or attacks directly concern all those whom antisemites regard as Jews or whom antisemites vilify, combat and also murder as alleged or actual supporters of Jews in a similar way. In many cases, antisemitism targets religious or practising Jews and their institutions; nevertheless, secular, converted and assimilated Jews are regularly included as well. Another generalisation of the same type is the equation which is often made between “Jews”, “Zionists” and

21 The Independent Panel on Antisemitism published a first report on “Antisemitism in Germany” in 2012 and a second one in 2017. The first panel was composed of Aycan Demirel, Dr Olaf Farschid, Elke Gryglewski, Professor Johannes Heil, Professor Peter Longerich, Professor Armin Pfahl-Traughber, Dr Martin Salm, Professor Julius H. Schoeps, Dr Wahied Wahdat-Hagh and Dr Juliane Wetzel. The second panel was made up of Professor Werner Bergmann, Marina Chernivsky, Aycan Demirel, Dr Elke Gryglewski, Professor Beate Küpper, Professor Andreas Nachama, Professor Armin Pfahl-Traughber, Patrick Siegele and Dr Juliane Wetzel.


27 For instance, Rabbi Shlomo Lewin was not the only victim of the antisemitic murder perpetrated in Erlangen on 19 December 1980; his non-Jewish partner Frida Poeschke was shot dead as well.
“Israelis” – even though not all Israelis are Jewish, not all Jews or Israelis are Zionists and, above all, not all Jews are citizens of the State of Israel.

Even though antisemites regard Jews as their enemies, Jews themselves may also have antisemitic views and reproduce the corresponding prejudice and images. Referring to these remarks and using the argument that Jews allegedly cannot be antisemites, non-Jewish antisemites then regularly try to justify their own antisemitic comments and actions as being harmless. As a result of his book “The Holocaust Industry”, the American Jewish political scientist Norman Finkelstein is considered to be such a “Jewish crown witness” because he supposedly attests the instrumentalisation of the Holocaust by Jews.\(^{28}\) Antisemites are just as happy to seize on comments, especially by prominent Jews, which state that certain anti-Jewish and anti-Israel remarks are “not antisemitic”. The American Jewish intellectual Noam Chomsky, for instance, wrote an essay defending the Holocaust denier Robert Faurisson against the accusation of being an antisemite. Faurisson promptly used Chomsky’s text as a sort of “clearance certificate”, employing it as a “preface” to a work of justification.\(^{29}\)

Occasionally, some antisemitic stereotypes can be found among people who are involved in combating antisemitism.\(^{30}\) This is especially the case when, in accordance with unreflected philosemitism, the negative collective characteristics that antisemites claim Jews have are, in a sense, replaced by positive ones, and when people attest in an idealising way that all Jews in general are exceptional and have special skills.\(^{31}\)

It can be observed that even those who mean well sporadically speak about “Jews” on the one hand and “Germans” on the other hand in an exclusionary way. In contrast to what remarks about “the Jews” suggest, people of Jewish faith living in Germany

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II. Ideologies and manifestations

Antisemitism is entrenched in European and, not least, German culture. Researchers mostly doubt that there is an "eternal antisemitism", i.e. a hostility towards Jews which has essentially remained stable over its two-thousand-year history. What is undisputed is that antisemitic ideas have continuously altered and have constantly been updated over time in view of changing conditions. New forms of antisemitism have appeared; older forms have faded into the background and been eclipsed, but not at all superseded. Reservoirs of antisemitic images and motifs handed down through the centuries have remained available and have been adapted to new circumstances and linked with contemporary views. In terms of ideology, antisemitism thus seems highly adaptable and linkable. Accordingly, the intentions and convictions it is based on can also be diametrically opposed: Antisemitism can be found in all fields of extremism – but by no means only there.

32 After the experience of the genocide, the body representing the interests of all Jews living in Germany, which was founded in 1950, deliberately chose the name Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland (Central Council of Jews in Germany) in 1950. Its predecessor, founded in 1893 and banned in 1938, however, had been called Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (Central association of German citizens of Jewish faith). This association and numerous other smaller organisations had been set up in response to growing antisemitism.

Six ideal-typical ideologies and manifestations of antisemitism can be identified. Since antisemitic stereotypes and prejudice mostly do not occur in isolation but rather refer to and are interlinked with one another, most antisemitic comments and actions cannot be classified as belonging to only one of the following six forms of antisemitism.

The origins of antisemitism in Europe can be found in Christian anti-Judaism. This form of religious antisemitism is based on Christians presenting their own faith as an absolute and on the related rejection and disparagement of Judaism. This was an integral part of Christian doctrine early on: “Jews were regarded as blind and obdurate because they did not want to recognise Jesus as the messiah; there were allegations of murdering Christ and of hostility towards Christians.” Later, other allegations were added, such as Jews allegedly needing blood for ritual purposes and abducting and killing Christian boys to that end.

34 This typologisation follows: Pfahl-Traughber, Armin: Ideologische Erscheinungsformen des Antisemitismus (Ideological manifestations of antisemitism), in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte 31/2007 of 30 July 2007, pp. 4-11. Other researchers have proposed similar typologisations.

In addition, another ideology developed: social antisemitism, which is based on economic reasoning for the most part. It can be traced back to social conflicts and manifests itself in the idea that Jews allegedly have a particular status within society. Because Jews were barred from many professions in the Middle Ages and in view of the prohibition of interest for Christians, Jews consequently found a niche in trade and moneylending. Their hostile environment soon regarded them as unproductive usurers, swindlers and exploiters, and – in the shape of the financier at royal courts, the “court Jew” – as influential players behind the scenes.\textsuperscript{36}

Political antisemitism is closely connected to this. It claims that this minority, imagined to be powerful, conspires against the majority in order to harm and dominate it. This is epitomised by the image of the Jews as alleged masterminds and puppet masters, who accordingly provoke economic crises, revolutions or wars. The idea of a Jewish conspiracy that ultimately aims for world domination is one of the most potent antisemitic stereotypes, which is represented by the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion”, published at the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Even though this document – a supposed Jewish secret plan – was exposed as a perfidious forgery shortly afterwards, this has not affected the appeal it continues to have to this day.\textsuperscript{37}

Racist antisemitism uses biologic patterns of argumentation and calls Jews an inferior mixed race. Accordingly, Jews can supposedly be identified by their appearance, i.e. they allegedly look weak, walk with a stoop, are hook-nosed and repulsive, and sexually threatening. It is also alleged that all “higher” and supposedly homogeneous races are locked in a struggle with this “low” race, a struggle that is regarded as a social Darwinist existential battle that can only end in either victory or destruction. In contrast to the other forms of antisemitism, Jewishness is considered to be unalterable. It cannot be cast off, neither through conversion nor through change of behaviour.


Another ideology is secondary antisemitism, which is also called “antisemitism not in spite of, but because of Auschwitz” or “antisemitism resisting remembrance”. Remembering the persecution of Jews and the Holocaust is seen as a vilification of German identity and a moral humiliation pursued by Jews; as a means of receiving unjustified reparation payments or of legitimising the Israeli policy in the Middle East. An extreme variant does not just downplay the Holocaust but completely denies it. The strategy of perpetrator-victim reversal is used to accuse Jews of being behind this “lie of the century”, from which they allegedly benefit at the Germans’ cost.\footnote{See Zarusky, Jürgen: Die Leugnung des Völkermords. “Revisionismus” als ideologische Strategie (The denial of the genocide. “Revisionism” as ideological strategy), in: Benz, Wolfgang (ed.): Auf dem Weg zum Bürgerkrieg? Rechtsextremismus und Gewalt gegen Fremde in Deutschland (On the road to civil war? Right-wing extremism and violence against foreigners in Germany), Frankfurt am Main 2001, pp. 63-86.}

Finally, there is anti-Zionist antisemitism, which is also known as “Israel-related antisemitism”. Hostility is directed against the State of Israel, which is delegitimised and – as a Jewish collectivity – vilified. This is done, among other things, by denying Israel’s right to exist, by referring to the handed-down antisemitic reservoir of images, symbols and codes, or by placing Israel’s current policy on the same level as the Nazi state’s. As a rule, the term “Zionists” then refers to “Jews”, who are collectively identified with Israel’s actions and held responsible for them.\footnote{See Salzborn, Samuel: Israelkritik oder Antisemitismus? Kriterien für eine Unterscheidung (Criticism of Israel or antisemitism? Criteria for differentiation), in: Salzborn, Samuel (ed.): Antisemitismus. Geschichte, Theorie, Empirie (Antisemitism. History, theory, empirical analysis), Baden-Baden 2014, pp. 103-115, specifically p. 109.}

This variety of manifestations shows that antisemitism goes beyond other forms of group-related misanthropy.\footnote{See Küpper, Beate/Zick, Andreas: Gruppenbezogene Menschenfeindlichkeit (Group-related misanthropy), 20 October 2015, https://www.bpb.de/politik/extremismus/rechtsextremismus/214192/gruppenbezogene-menschenfeindlichkeit.} Antisemitism can neither be categorised as xenophobia nor only be subsumed under the phenomenon of racism. Antisemitism can appear to be xenophobic, for example, when a non-Jewish majority rejects certain traditions of a Jewish minority as “different” and threatening. Antisemitism can also take a racist form, as it did, for instance, during the time of National Socialism. Nevertheless, both antisemitism motivated by xenophobia and antisemitism motivated by racism constitute only parts of the phenomenon that is hostility towards Jews. For no other religiously, ethnically or politically defined group have there been, for such a long period of time, comparable ideas which have constantly adapted to changing conditions and could – as regards irrationality and delusional thinking – compare to
something like the imaginary construct of a “Jewish world conspiracy”.\textsuperscript{41} The rejection of Jews “is not based on facts, but on traditions and emotions, which are however seen as facts”. Therefore, antisemitism defies rational discussion; it is hermetically sealed against criticism and hence refutation.\textsuperscript{42}

III. Criminal offences motivated by antisemitism

The spectrum of antisemitism ranges from unspoken anti-Jewish attitudes to murder. Latent antisemitism, i.e. tacit agreement with anti-Jewish views or a vague aversion to Jews, is widespread. In the last few years people have ventured more and more frequently to take the step which consists in expressing their dislike of Jews in the shape of subtle “everyday antisemitism”.

Of course, not every antisemitic remark or every approval of antisemitic comments means that what lies underneath is a completely antisemitic world view. However, this observation is in no way reassuring because it is a small step from this to the adoption of another associated antisemitic prejudice to such an ideology becoming firmly established.


\textsuperscript{42} See Benz, Wolfgang: Was ist Antisemitismus? (What is antisemitism?), Bonn 2004, p. 10, 236.
Six ideal-typical levels of radicalisation can be distinguished:\(^{43}\)

1. latent attitudes
2. verbalised vilification
3. political demands
4. discriminatory practices
5. attacks on institutions and individuals
6. systematic destruction, murder

According to the police statistics on politically motivated crime (PMC) collected by BKA (Federal Criminal Police Office), antisemitic criminal offences have been at a high level for many years, as the following diagram shows:

Two aspects are particularly evident from these statistics. Firstly, they illustrate the consistently high level of antisemitic criminal offences: it did not fall below on average 3 to 4 offences per day at any point in time during the last 20 years. Secondly, it becomes apparent that neither the number of antisemitic criminal offences nor the fact of their continual increase is unprecedented. Both aspects were already observed from the early 2000s to the temporary peak in 2006/2007, the time of the Lebanon War.

Nonetheless, these statistics are only partly able to represent reality. The police authorities can only record what is reported to them and constitutes an offence. Moreover, for every incident which involves several offences, only the offence that carries the highest penalty is counted. Also, multiple mentions are sometimes possible for criminal offences. Recording furthermore always takes into account the motivation behind the deeds, which in many cases cannot be established. Last but not least, the officers on the ground must have the necessary background knowledge to be able to
classify the acts correctly, according to the field to which they belong: antisemitism is simply not the same as right-wing extremism.

In spite of such “imprecisions”, the following overview shows that most antisemitic criminal offences are also motivated by right-wing extremism:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2019</th>
<th>2018</th>
<th>2017</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PMC -right-wing-</td>
<td>1,898</td>
<td>1,603</td>
<td>1,412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMC -left-wing-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMC -foreign ideology-</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMC -religious ideology-</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMC -not classifiable-</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,032</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,799</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,504</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the figures of the following chart, antisemitic violent offences nearly doubled between 2017 and 2019. The vast majority of the antisemitic violent offences recorded in the PMC statistics, too, are motivated by right-wing extremism, with a share of just under 85 per cent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2019</th>
<th>2018</th>
<th>2017</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PMC -right-wing-</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMC -left-wing-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMC -foreign ideology-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMC -religious ideology-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMC -not classifiable-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>73</strong></td>
<td><strong>69</strong></td>
<td><strong>37</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the PMC statistics, civil-society initiatives and non-governmental organisations also record antisemitic criminal offences, for instance by means of the reporting portal www.report-antisemitism.de of RIAS (Federal Association of

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Departments for Research and Information on Antisemitism) and other organisations like the Amadeu Antonio Foundation. This concerns both incidents punishable under criminal law and incidents not punishable under criminal law that have not been recorded by the police authorities and have mostly not come to their attention either. Recording of antisemitic incidents by non-governmental bodies makes no claim to completeness because the documentation of cases is for the most part a by-product of other goals and tasks pursued by these organisations and associations, such as counselling for victims.

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45 On 31 October 2018 RIAS (Federal Association of Departments for Research and Information on Antisemitism) was founded in Berlin. This association aims at ensuring consistent recording and documentation of antisemitic incidents by civil society throughout Germany by means of the mentioned reporting portal.

46 The Amadeu Antonio Foundation is a German recognised non-profit foundation governed by private law, which was set up in 1998. This foundation wishes to strengthen civil society in Germany in the fight against antisemitism, racism and right-wing extremism. In 2015 the Amadeu Antonio Foundation co-founded NEBA (Network for Research and Combat against Anti-Semitism).

C. Antisemitism in right-wing extremism

I. General remarks on antisemitism in right-wing extremism

For over a hundred years already, antisemitism has been one of the ideological cornerstones of nationalist and völkisch political movements in Germany. Whereas before hostility towards Jews was expressed through religiously and economically motivated patterns of argumentation, in the 19th and 20th centuries this hostility turned into a rejection of Jews based on social, political and ethno-racist reasoning. This development culminated in the race doctrine propagated by the National Socialists. This doctrine regarded Jews as “vermin on the people’s body”, which had to be cleansed from Jewish influence, not just culturally and spiritually but also physically, first by means of marriage bans, later by means of ghettoisation and destruction.

Antisemitism has several – both internal and external – functions. Internally, it has for one thing an “identity function” (distancing from “the Jews” as a foreign group seen in a negative light enables right-wing extremists to identify with their own group assessed in a positive way), for another thing an “insight function” (the conspiratorial activities of “the Jews” provide a seemingly simple explanation for complex social developments). Externally, antisemitism has for one thing a “legitimisation function” (by delegitimising the existing state and social order as allegedly “Jewish”, right-wing extremists want to present themselves as the only rightful political representatives of their own country), for another thing a “mobilisation function” (right-wing extremists hope to appeal to and mobilise those among the overall population with potentially antisemitic views, estimated at up to 20 per cent by relevant studies).48

II. Antisemitism in violence-oriented right-wing extremism

Antisemitism continues to be an important element of the ideology of the violence-oriented right-wing extremist scene. Large parts of the scene are characterised by a

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latent if not open antisemitic attitude. They use all antisemitic patterns of argumentation.

There are violence-oriented right-wing extremist groups that and individuals who do not hold any or barely any antisemitic views. This is especially true for those who have radicalised in the context of the influx of refugees in the years 2015 to 2017 and who primarily display a strong hostility towards refugees and Muslims, an excessive fear of a collapse of the state order, and a readiness to compensate the alleged failure of the state by activities similar to those of vigilante groups and by other violent acts. These activists focus on “problems of today” such as the supposed risk of an imminent “Islamisation of Germany”. Jews and/or the State of Israel are partly even regarded as allies in the fight against the alleged Muslim “invasion”. In that context, actual or supposed Muslim antisemitism also serves as a justification for the activists’ own xenophobia.

As regards distinctly antisemitic ideology and propaganda, younger virtual groups should be mentioned in particular. The members of such groups explicitly endorse National Socialism, using particularly provocative, partly anarchist language glorifying violence.

1. Nordadler

The Nordadler (Northern Eagles) group mainly communicates via the Internet but is also active in the real world. Its number of members is in the lower two-digit range. Its declared objective is the re-establishment of National Socialism in Germany. The members of the grouping advocate the use of violence against political opponents and extensively dwell on fantasies about violence and the seizure of power. According to its commitment to historical National Socialism, the group subscribes to a form of antisemitism based on National Socialism. As part of its fantasies about violence and the seizure of power, it also voices imaginary scenarios regarding the large-scale annihilation of Jews. On 23 June 2020 the Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community banned and dissolved the Nordadler group on the basis of the Act
Governing Private Associations. Properties of leading members of this association were searched in four federal states at the same time.

2. Atomwaffen Division (AWD)

Atomwaffen Division (AWD / Nuclear Weapons Division) is a group which originated in the USA. It propagates a “total civil war” for the preservation of the white race and expressly approves of terrorist acts. In Germany flyers glorifying violence have been distributed in various places and propaganda videos have been spread on the Internet on behalf of Atomwaffendivision Deutschland.49

The US parent organisation Atomwaffen Division explicitly advocates a form of political antisemitism based on National Socialism. This is also reflected by the propaganda material published on behalf of AWD Deutschland, which claims that Jews are the root of all evil in the world. From AWD’s point of view, besides all other enemies such as Muslims, Jews are the real enemy behind these other enemies.50

49 See the AWD flyer distributed at Humboldt Universität zu Berlin in November 2018.
50 See the AWD flyer distributed in Köln-Mülheim in June 2019, directly before the 15th anniversary of the nail bomb attack staged by NSU (National Socialist Underground).
III. Antisemitism among right-wing extremist music bands

Right-wing extremist music ranges from “extermination fantasies to more subtle forms of antisemitism”. Open hatred of Jews and especially the threat of and calls for violence and murder can mainly be found in texts of “underground productions”. These songs are often recorded by musicians of unknown identity or by musicians who team up for a single disc or a temporary music project only. These recordings that are mostly punishable under criminal law are often produced in small numbers by the musicians themselves. Afterwards they are exclusively offered to known buyers “under the counter”. As a rule, the number of copies of such right-wing extremist discs ranges from several hundred to the lower four-digit range. However, owing to their dissemination in music portals, forums and social networks, these antisemitic productions reach a much larger subcultural audience.

The diverse varieties of rock music continue to dominate the right-wing extremist music scene. The songs of the band 14Winterkampf88 (14 winter battle 88), are among the most radically antisemitic songs. Its CD “Milliarden Leichen für den Endsiege” (“Billions of dead bodies for the ultimate victory”) was classified as being harmful to young people and as inciting hatred by BPjM (Federal Department for Media Harmful to Young Persons). The mere name of the band shows clear links with National Socialism: The figure “88” is code for the Nazi salute “Heil Hitler”. The figure “14” refers to the “14 words” of the US racist David Eden Lane: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.” On the cover, too, the musicians reveal their convictions: Two swastikas are depicted beside Adolf Hitler, who is giving the Nazi salute.

In the song texts, Jews are disparaged as “subhumans” and “vermin among the people” and dehumanised as “parasites” in a typically National Socialist style. Their death is longed for and their right to exist and to live is denied on principle.

Antisemitism is openly assessed as something positive, and diverse methods of murder are imagined: shooting, gassing or burning.

The song entitled “Untergang der Parasiten” (“Downfall of the parasites”) by 14Winterkampf88 i.a. includes the following lines:

You must die, you will be destroyed
You will be executed by headshot
But also by Zyklon B and death in the flames
We will free ourselves from misery
(...)
Death to the subhumans
Death to the parasites
Death to the vermin among the people
DEATH TO YOU

In its song “Fight against ZOG” (“Zionist Occupied Government”), which was classified as inciting hatred in 2015, the music band Wolfsfront (wolf front) openly shows its antisemitic attitude. The mere use of the abbreviation “ZOG”, known in relevant circles, indicates its antisemitic views. The text combines several prejudices and antisemitic codes: the conspiratorially covert exertion of power, the greed for money, the identification of Jews with capitalism, exploitation and the worldwide stirring up of wars. The song calls for the fight against this alleged Jewish occupation:

For a long time, we have been controlled by a global power
That does everything for money and capital
Stirs up misery and war all over the world (...)
Fight against ZOG … (repeat)
Fight against ZOG … (repeat)
Foreign countries are attacked
Borders cease to exist
Entire countries are plundered (...)
For a long time, we have been controlled by a global power
That does everything for money and capital
Stirs up misery and war all over the world (...)
Fight against ZOG … (repeat)
Fight against ZOG … (repeat)
From the quantitatively small segment of right-wing extremist rap/hip-hop, the band A3stus can be mentioned. After its CD “Wehret den Anfängen” (“Nip it in the bud”) had already been classified as being harmful to young people in 2015, the two members of the band were convicted of incitement to hatred in 2017. Antisemitic views can be found among disparaging xenophobic passages:

When we directly go to war, holding up our flag
The world takes cover, we have to tear this rabble to shreds
As yet, it is worthwhile to defend ourselves against their tyranny
Soon you won’t be able to act anymore, then they will have reached their aim
Then the plan of the Elders will be in the German Bundestag
Tick-tock every second, don’t you see your hour has come
The Protocols have been written, nothing is real anymore
The Elders of Zion have made their way
We have to close ranks against the plague
Soon we will all be dead, left or right
I address my words to the people
Germans, defend yourselves
They hate everyone, hoard gold

Jews are described as “the plague” in this song. This refers to the persecution of Jews in the Middle Ages, which was essentially justified by the allegation that Jews triggered plague epidemics. Furthermore, the stereotype of the “greedy Jew” “hoarding gold” is taken up. The song suggests the existence of a Jewish world conspiracy. Modern antisemitism especially is referred to by mentioning the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion”. This document, written in the early 20th century and exposed as a forgery already shortly afterwards, purports to prove the decisions of a secret conference according to which Jews have been endeavouring to obtain world domination in a fraudulent and violent manner for centuries.
IV. Antisemitism among right-wing extremist political parties

Antisemitism plays a major role as an ideological identifier and an area of agitation for right-wing extremist political parties. Antisemitic attitudes and enemy images are deeply rooted in the world of ideas of the parties’ members and activists. At present, though, their agitation and propaganda is dominated by other enemy images that right-wing extremist agitators believe are currently more likely to be taken up in the public discourse, such as the subject areas of “anti-asylum agitation” and “immigration”. However, the importance of antisemitic stereotypes and enemy images as a fundamental characteristic of a right-wing extremist world view is particularly reflected in the combination of these two fields of agitation. Agitation against the allegedly uncontrolled mass immigration and Islamisation of Germany is not infrequently clearly rooted in antisemitism when – in the tried and tested style of conspiracy theories – the US investor George Soros, who is of Hungarian Jewish origin, is identified as the purported mastermind behind these developments.

1. Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD)

Antisemitic views are deeply entrenched in the ideology of NPD (National-Democratic Party of Germany), and they are often linked with positive references to historical National Socialism and views of historical revisionism.

Hostility towards Jews – which is only thinly veiled – is mostly expressed by the use of antisemitic codes and alleged criticism of Israel. Sometimes, however, the profound aversion to Jews manifests itself openly.

The NPD national chair, Frank Franz, seems to be quite aware of the antisemitism in his party. Nevertheless, he dismissed it as a “marginal side issue” on Facebook:

“There are some members whose opinion I do not fully share. And not every member will fully share my opinion. It is like that in every political party and it does not bother me. However, the topic of antisemitism is a marginal side issue. I do not care about it. Freedom of opinion is very important to me and everybody has to be free to say what they think.”

52 Franz, Frank: Facebook post of 9 November 2018 and related comments, https://www.facebook.com/frankfranz
In accordance with openly racist antisemitism, some NPD representatives agitate that all Jews have negative qualities by nature. An example is a statement made by the deputy party chairman Thorsten Heise, who – in a message accompanying the right-wing extremist publication “Volk in Bewegung – Der Reichsbote” (“A people in motion – Messenger of the Reich”) – referred to the alleged existence of a “programming of Jews’ genes”.

“But in view of the names and the nomadic programming of the genes of these family groups, everything becomes clear. Contrary to our ancestors strongly influenced by farming, who have occupied the same agricultural land for centuries and who are well aware of their responsibility for their descendants, nomadic family groups do not know this care for their descendants. When a piece of land has been grazed, they will simply move on to the next one.” (sic)53

On a regular basis, NPD representatives voice conspiracy theories in accordance with political antisemitism by implying that there is a Jewish conspiracy for the purpose of increasing Jewish influence.

In his speech at a demonstration in Erfurt on 1 May 2018, the party chairman Frank Franz said, for example:

*But the worst, dear friends, are not those who wear a kippa on their heads. The worst are the hundreds of thousands and millions who wear their own very special kippa in their napper – as a censorship tool of the Federal Republic, which has obviously completely robbed them of their sanity. The antisocial policies which we have to witness today have only become possible because of the fact that our nation has been re-educated for years and decades.*54

In a Facebook post of December 2018, the NPD chairman in the federal state of Rhineland-Palatinate agitated in a much more aggressive and virtually classic antisemitic way when he commented a video about alleged police violence:

*If a Zionist government succeeds in making the white population slaughter each other, you know that the ETERNAL anti-human is pulling the strings! #NiewiederIsrael [Never again Israel].*55

54 Franz, Frank: Video recording of his speech given at the demonstration in Erfurt on 1 May 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xmo95FPQNNM.
Positions pertaining to secondary antisemitism are regularly voiced too. All Jews in general are accused of exploiting the Holocaust to impose their financial and political interests on Germany.

A former NPD member of the parliament of the federal state of Saxony and press relations officer of NPD in Saxony wrote in an article that Jews aimed at maintaining “a profitable victims’ bonus”. He used the controversial American Jewish political scientist Norman Finkelstein as a “crown witness”:

*“It is known that Jews consider themselves to be major victims of Hitler, well, actually of world history since the beginning of their existence as a diaspora 2,000 years ago. (...) After the end of the war, not only the ‘Holocaust industry’ – designated as such by Norman Finkelstein – but also every single Jew was able to count on the unreserved pity of the world and the profitable victims’ bonus. (...) The historico-political frictions between Warsaw and Jerusalem stem from a bizarre competition for pity and victimhood in which the Jews see their monopoly as victims jeopardised.” (sic)*

In addition, anti-Zionist antisemitism denying Israel’s right to exist and vilifying the Jewish state can be observed. In that context, antisemitic stereotypes are frequently used and couched in supposed “criticism of Israel” and elements of secondary antisemitism, which rejects the remembrance of the Holocaust.

For instance, in May 2018 the NPD youth organisation Junge Nationalisten (JN / Young Nationalists) published a position paper in which Israel was described as the “enemy of all peoples”. According to that paper, solidarity with Israel, whose “parasitic state formation” is allegedly based on American arms deliveries and German funds, is a central pillar of the “FRG system” [FRG – Federal Republic of Germany]. However, the paper says, the “genuflection to the Zionist zeitgeist” clearly contradicts German interests because “guilt cult, ‘over-foreignisation’ and combating the authentic national resistance” are the “apodictic characteristics of the anti-German trinity since the implementation of the FRG system by the Allies”. Furthermore, the text states:

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56 Mitleids- und Opferkonkurrenz zwischen Juden und Polen (Competition for pity and victimhood between Jews and Poles), Deutsche Stimme (German Voice) 05/2018, p.9.
“Zionist tactics aim at playing the different peoples and religious communities off against each other.”\footnote{Position paper “70 Jahre Israel – kein Grund zum Feiern!” (“70 years of Israel – no reason to celebrate!”), 14 May 2018, https://junge-nationalisten.de.}

2. DIE RECHTE

With its behaviour, statements and activities, the party DIE RECHTE (The Right) propagates a right-wing extremist world view, accompanied by revisionist theses and antisemitic positions.

The importance of antisemitic positions within the party is particularly evident from the nomination of Ursula Haverbeck-Wetzel, who has been convicted several times for Holocaust denial, as its top candidate for the 2019 European elections, and from its election campaign focusing on her imprisonment. DIE RECHTE tried to present Haverbeck-Wetzel as a political victim and even as a fighter for “real” freedom of speech. By supporting Haverbeck-Wetzel, the party has shown, too, that it shares her ideological beliefs and considers the offence of incitement to hatred to be illegitimate.

During a solidarity demonstration on the occasion of Haverbeck-Wetzel’s 90th birthday on 10 November 2018, the participants – in an obvious and provocative allusion to the right-wing extremist code for the punishable slogan “Heil Hitler” – released 88 balloons with the imprint “SOLIDARITÄT MIT URSULA HAVERBECK! WWW.FREIHEIT-FUER-URSULA.DE” (“Solidarity with Ursula Haverbeck! www.freiheit-fuer-ursula.de [freedom for Ursula]”). Slogans such as “Nie wieder Israel” (“Never again Israel”) were chanted by participants of the demonstration.

The party’s antisemitic attitude is shown not least by its election posters. For instance, the slogan “Israel ist unser Unglück” (“Israel is our misfortune”) referred to the slogan “Die Juden sind unser Unglück” (“The Jews are our misfortune”), which originated in the 19th century and was printed on every cover of the antisemitic Nazi smear sheet “Der Stürmer” (“The attacker”) from 1927 onwards. Moreover, the Twitter post of the party’s national chair Sascha...
Krolzig of 18 May 2019, stating that the party DIE RECHTE is “the only consistently anti-Israeli party on the ballot paper”, revealed an antisemitic attitude. The party also endorsed that attitude on its homepage when writing about its “anti-Israel agitation”, which did not confine itself to legitimate criticism of the Israeli government’s way of acting.

The party’s antisemitism became evident on numerous other occasions in 2018 and 2019. For example, on 14 May 2018 – the anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel – a vigil was held under the slogan “Der 70. Jahrestag der israelischen Staatsgründung ist kein Grund zu feiern: Wir fordern endlich einen gerechten Frieden im Nahen Osten!” (“The 70th anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel is no reason to celebrate: we demand a fair peace in the Middle East at long last!”). Around the time of the vigil, some individuals made the futile attempt to remove the Israeli flag from the flagpole in front of the city hall of Dortmund. During further gatherings in the course of the year, antisemitic activities were observed time and again, such as the chanting of the slogan “Wer Deutschland liebt, ist Antisemit!” (“Those who love Germany are antisemites!”) on 21 September 2018.

In North Rhine-Westphalia especially and in the Dortmund area in particular, DIE RECHTE is a gathering place for Neo-Nazis from the “comradeships” banned in 2012. That scene is made up of violence-prone right-wing extremists acting in a militant and aggressive way. In 2018 DIE RECHTE focused on the topic of antisemitism, and its related activities did not only include relevant propaganda on the Internet but also demonstrations. In April 2018, during a demonstration under the slogan “Europa Erwache!” (“Europe wake up!”) (referring to the Nazi propaganda slogan “Deutschland, erwache!” [“Germany, wake up!”]), the opening rally was held in front of a huge picture of the former Iranian president and Holocaust denier Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and the phrase “The world without Zionism”, taking up the title of an anti-Israeli and antisemitic campaign led by Ahmadinejad. The speeches delivered

58 https://twitter.com/SaschaKrolzig/status/1129836099533250563.
during that rally also contained antisemitic-racist expressions such as “enemies of the people” or “Rothschild’s financial imperialism”.

3. Der III. Weg

The political party Der III. Weg (The Third Way) outwardly seeks to present itself as not antisemitic. At the same time, however, the party agitates in an antisemitic and revisionist manner.

On the party’s homepage, the State of Israel is described as a “terror state” and under the slogan “Was jeder gegen den zionistischen Völkermord tun kann” (“What everyone can do against the Zionist genocide”), the boycott of products from Israel, the “Zionist ulcer in the Middle East”, the “Zionist predatory state”, is called for. According to Der III. Weg, this will help to “fight the genocide in Palestine”.61

On its homepage, the party has been claiming for years that Israel as a “terror state” “slaughters” Palestinian civilians in the Gaza Strip, among them women and children. The party maintains that this is a brutal genocide62, but that the Federal Republic of Germany still shows backslapping solidarity with Israel.63 In this context, Der III. Weg has called for the abolition of sections 86 (dissemination of propaganda material) and 130 (incitement of masses / incitement to hatred)64 of the German Criminal Code – which, in the party’s view, restrict the right to freedom of opinion and expression – in order to overcome an alleged “cult of guilt” which had been imposed on the German people after World War II. In 2019 the party stated that that legal framework prevented one from defending oneself against reproaches resulting from the Holocaust.65 Der III. Weg asserted that the “Stolpersteine” (literally: “stumbling blocks”) installed in various

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cities also served that “cult of guilt”. “These small brass plates show the engraved names and alleged residences of former Jewish or anti-Nazi inhabitants who left or who had to leave their homes for various reasons in the period of historical National Socialism.” Even if, from the party’s point of view, Jews had a “hostile attitude” to that commemoration, the party claimed that the “Stolpersteine” demonstrated the cult of guilt put into the German people’s mind.\(^6^6\)

In a statement made in 2018, the party emphasised that it deemed the financial support for the Central Council of Jews in Germany inappropriate. It justified that statement by saying that the Jewish population in Germany was decreasing and that the institution was of minor importance. “German tax revenues should rather be used for German citizens.” \(^6^7\) Adopting such positions, Der III. Weg generally negates that Jews represented by the Central Council are or can be Germans, thus following an obviously racist-völkisch idea of citizenship.

In the past few years, with a view to pointing out the allegedly global power of the Jews, the party has published relevant articles on its homepage time and again. For instance, the investment company Black Rock is said to be a company exclusively managed by Jews and to hold the reins in the financial community as a kind of world power.\(^6^8\) According to Der III. Weg, the company Purdue Pharma, as a company managed by Jews, has allegedly sold the painkiller OxyContin by the bulk although that painkiller is a drug. From the party’s point of view, this has led to an increase in drug trafficking on the black market.\(^6^9\) By referring to classic antisemitic ideas, these statements imply that Jews not only control the financial community but also drive the non-Jewish population into drug addiction.

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\(^{68}\) See https://der-dritte-weg.info/2018/08/blackrock-die-heimliche-weltmacht/.

An article published in 2018 comments on the rite of circumcision in Judaism. According to that article, the introduction of “customs foreign to one’s species” is a misfortune for any people and harms the “soul of one’s own people and race”. At the end of the year, the party regularly posts an article with the title “Warum wir keinen guten Rutsch wünschen” (literally: “This is why we do not wish you a good slip/slide”): This article describes the origin of the phrase “einen guten Rutsch wünschen” and points out that this phrase is of Jewish origin. According to the article, the expression corresponds neither with the Germans’ cultural group nor with their traditions and should thus not be used because it means nothing but wishing a “good, contrite Jewish start of the new year”. Der III. Weg, however, wishes all “upright Germans” a good start of the new “combat year”.

4. The group Der Flügel within the political party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD)

Officials and followers of Der Flügel (The Wing) advocate elements of secondary antisemitism. Most of these statements are spread via short posts on social media. Björn Höcke, chairman of AfD (Alternative for Germany) Thuringia and of its parliamentary group in Thuringia’s state parliament and the most prominent Flügel representative, has used motives of secondary antisemitism in his publications and speeches. Höcke

71 See https://der-dritte-weg.info/2017/12/warum-wir-uns-keinen-guten-rutsch-wuenschen-3/. Translator’s note: The expression “einen guten Rutsch wünschen” (“wishing someone a good slip/slide”) is used in German to wish someone a happy New Year.
72 The formal structures of Der Flügel were dissolved by 30 April 2020. BfV assumes that the group behind Der Flügel will continue to pursue its political objectives.
especially refers to the comments made by the member of Baden-Württemberg’s state parliament Wolfgang Gedeon.\textsuperscript{74} Gedeon, who himself did not belong to Der Flügel during his time as an AfD member, propagates an extensive antisemitic worldview, according to which the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion” are considered authentic and a Jewish world conspiracy is therefore regarded as true.\textsuperscript{75} Many remarks made by Gedeon can be assessed as revisionist and as trivialising the Nazi regime. For instance, according to Gedeon, section 130 (incitement of masses / incitement to hatred) of the German Criminal Code, pursuant to which i.a. Holocaust denial is a punishable offence, is “the most important basis of Zionist power in Germany”.\textsuperscript{76}

Höcke explicitly emphasised that his own views were in line with the thoughts expressed in Gedeon’s book:

> “I wish to expressly congratulate him [= Wolfgang Gedeon] on the ‘Bases of new politics – About nationalism, geopolitics, identity and the threat of a dictatorship based on the state of emergency’. […] With the required clarity, he names the enemy of our freedom in diversity: It is the great Gleichschaltung in the form of extremism of human rights and religion. […] Dr Gedeon’s ideas can make an important contribution to the clarification of our self-concept. In the end, it is the ‘Erfurt path’ – allow me to call it like that – which the author follows. I hope that his ‘Bases of new politics’ will find numerous readers among the AfD members […]”.\textsuperscript{77}

In Höcke’s speeches, the phenomenon of globalisation plays a key role. According to him, the EU “in its current form is nothing but a globalisation agency acting in the spirit of George Soros, a spirit which may be described as perverse”.\textsuperscript{78} By referring to the US financial investor George Soros, whose Hungarian Jewish origin can be assumed to be known to Höcke, the latter takes up a widespread antisemitic topos. By calling the Federal Chancellor “Soros’ customer”, Höcke puts into words the alleged dependence of the “cartel parties’ politicians” on a “closed transatlantic elite”.\textsuperscript{79} According to Höcke, the “degenerated financial capitalism” holds the German

\textsuperscript{74} Gedeon had been a member of AfD since the party was founded. He has been an independent member of Baden-Württemberg’s state parliament since 2016. In March 2020 AfD’s federal arbitration court ruled that Gedeon was to be excluded from the party for his antisemitic statements.

\textsuperscript{75} See e.g.: Gedeon, Wolfgang: Ich, die AfD und der Antisemitismus. Populismus oder Mut zur Wahrheit? (Me, AfD and antisemitism. Populism or courage to tell the truth?), Rielasingen 2018, p. 118

\textsuperscript{76} See ibid., p 143.


\textsuperscript{78} Höcke, Björn: Speech delivered in Erfurt on 1 May 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ul-hFo2HuWE

\textsuperscript{79} Höcke, Björn: Speech delivered in Grimma on 9 August 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueeS-mlre
population in its “clutches”. From Höcke’s point of view, that “financial power elite” is the “real political opponent”, acting in secret and striving to systematically dissolve and/or abolish ethnically defined peoples and national states, not least the German one.

These ideas, following the narrative of the “Jewish world conspiracy”, are underpinned by using terms taken from historical National Socialism (e.g. “degenerated financial capitalism”) and by contrasting the “rich and greedy” on the one hand with the “diligent and thrifty” on the other hand. This phrase of the dichotomy between “productive capital” and “money-grabbing capital”, which was common in National Socialism, has merely been replaced by synonymous terms.

In many cases, Flügel adherents indirectly agree with antisemitic statements by calling for Wolfgang Gereon’s rehabilitation, supporting Höcke’s remarks and giving further demonstrations of solidarity. During a panel discussion of COMPACT magazine in October 2019, Jens Maier, “Flügel representative” and member of the German Bundestag, summed up the antisemitic conspiracy theories already mentioned by naming the responsible actors (“small financial power elite”), their form of action (controlling politics through the “compliant serving classes”) and their supposed agenda (“globalisation means destruction”). He cited Höcke as follows:

“Globalisation means destruction. This theory is systematically blind to the regulatory and social conditions in which a working economy has to be embedded. It is even more blind to the social consequences following from its naive application. Transferred one-to-one into reality, it is the perfect ideological vehicle through which a small financial power elite seeks to assert its interests at the cost of all peoples in the world. These interests are those of a tiny minority that means of the few hundred actual owners of the interconnected international business groups, who make use of compliant..."
serving classes including – besides the functional elites – the corrupted political classes of the Western countries. Patriots having realised this have identified their true political opponent!\textsuperscript{84}

Although the wording of the antisemitic codes and conspiracy theories voiced by some officials of Der Flügel differs greatly from the ideologemes of historical National Socialism, the postulated view of the world places enemy images, their actions and goals in an overall context which is then simplified and presented as the cause of actual political developments. It is a congruent antisemitic view of the world, which is widespread among the so-called New Right. Therefore, these statements do not only take up antisemitic elements but they are an integral part of Der Flügel’s overall political agenda.

V. Antisemitism in the New Right

The New Right is an informal network of groupings, individuals and organisations ranging from right-wing extremist to right-wing conservative forces. These forces hold anti-liberal and even anti-democratic positions and intend to impose them in society and politics by means of different strategies. Parliamentary as well as extra-parliamentary movements, metapolitical theory construction and the protest in the streets are closely interlinked within the New Right spectrum. This complexity in combination with a content-related and ideological heterogeneity of the protagonists who coexist and/or co-operate on certain points does not make it possible – or only occasionally – to identify a coherent political agenda. Therefore, general and comprehensive statements on the ideological feature of antisemitism in the New Right can only be made to a limited extent.

It can at least be established, though, that an openly displayed antisemitism accompanied by “tough” language, which may also be pro-violence, is not an ideological feature of the New Right. This is where an ideological dividing line exists with traditional and völkisch right-wing extremism.

\textsuperscript{84} Maier, Jens: Speech delivered at the event “COMPACT Live: Höcke und die Zukunft der AfD” (“COMPACT Live: Höcke and the future of AfD”), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P21SSFaZzZM, quoted from: “Höcke: Interviews, Reden, Tabubrüche” (“Höcke: interviews, speeches, breaches of taboos”), COMPACT edition no. 6, p. 27.
However, there are indications within the New Right suggesting that individual protagonists adhere to political antisemitism. These indications can especially be identified in the agitation against the investor George Soros: Soros spends a large amount of money to promote the concept of an “open” society. This includes, among other aspects the removal of migration barriers, which makes him serve as an enemy image and a personified example of the “globalist elites”, for example in COMPACT magazine. In such portrayals, Soros is described as a supposed mastermind, allegedly pulling the strings behind the scenes, e.g. regarding immigration to Europe, and constituting a catalyst for the “Great Replacement”. The “Great Replacement” refers to a conspiracy theory according to which an unspecified elite aims at replacing the native population by migrants.

In this context, the focus is put on Soros’ being a representative of the hated American financial capitalism. The fact that he, moreover, comes from a Jewish family is not explicitly highlighted by COMPACT, but the magazine addresses “well-informed” readers who already know about this fact or are made aware of it in a roundabout way (“US east coast”).

Antisemitism also surfaces when the State of Israel and its policies are examined. In addition to a neutral stance, two opposing camps can be identified: One camp stands up for Israel’s right to exist along with the Israeli foreign and security policy, placing itself in a Christian-Jewish tradition, which first and foremost has to be defended against (political) Islam. The other camp is explicitly critical of Israel, sees itself more in an anti-imperialist (and thus, for example, pro-Palestinian) tradition of thought and considers liberalism rather than Islamist extremism its main ideological enemy. Within the latter spectrum, the boundary between permissible criticism and anti-Zionist views is sometimes crossed.

Antisemitism accordingly manifests itself within the New Right in the shape of political antisemitism and/or anti-Zionism. One of the reasons why it cannot be observed throughout the whole New Right is likely to be that antisemitism is often eclipsed by Islamophobia in this spectrum. Moreover, the New Right is marked by a high level of
dynamism. This goes for the appearance of new protagonists as well as for possible shifts of emphasis regarding ideological features.

VI. Antisemitism in traditional and völkisch right-wing extremist organisations

As for right-wing extremist organisations and groups considered to belong to the traditional and völkisch spectrum, openly antisemitic agitation continues to be a central ideological feature. The spectrum of antisemitic thought ranges from antisemitic conspiracy theories of a Jewish elite ruling the world to racist antisemitism vilifying the Jewish people as inferior and parasitical.

Organisations and groups with a völkisch-racist orientation strictly reject the three monotheistic religions. They ascribe an originating role to Judaism, which is why they treat it with particularly aggressive hostility. Thus, in many cases, the rejection of Christianity and of Islam is at the same time a manifestation of antisemitic attitudes. Sometimes, these organisations and groups refer to the term of “Judeo-Christianity”, a faith which in their opinion had replaced the genuine beliefs of the Teutons, Celts and other original peoples, removing the “inherent” creed of all those peoples.

The understanding that somebody’s belief is, or should be, genetically determined is of major importance in the völkisch ideology. This goes back to a long tradition of theoreticians who exercised great influence on right-wing nationalist circles in Europe, especially since the turn of the 20th century. Antisemitism always was a central element of that ideology. Prominent representatives of that ideological school of thought were, for example, Hans F. K. Günther, also known as the “Race Pope”, Hitler’s longstanding Reich Minister of Food and Agriculture Walther Darré, as well as Mathilde Ludendorff.
The actors of traditional and völkisch organisations maintain a close link with the ideology devised at that time. The Bund für Gotterkenntnis (Ludendorff) e.V. (BfG / Society for the Knowledge of God (Ludendorff) regd. assoc.), for instance, follows Mathilde Ludendorff’s “religious philosophical ideas”, a faith denominated “God Knowledge”. The latter includes antisemitic conspiracy theories and propagates a strict segregation of the “races”.

The September 2018 issue of the BfG-affiliated publication “Mensch und Maß” states, for example:

“We only have to know why a small Jewish group seeks to assume power … We should know that the Jews were promised in their holy scriptures to rule over non-Jews.”

The völkisch “blood and soil ideology” is another concept disseminated by major völkisch organisations with a neopagan orientation. In this context, the Artgemeinschaft – Germanische Glaubens-Gemeinschaft wesensgemäßer Lebensgestaltung e.V. (AG-GGG / Artgemeinschaft Germanic Faith Community), which is currently the largest German neo-Nazi organisation adhering to völkisch, racist, antisemitic and anti-Christian notions, has a prominent role. Their antisemitic agitation mainly becomes obvious by the general rejection of monotheistic religions.

By establishing their own beliefs in the right-wing extremist scene, organisations such as AG-GGG strengthen the ties within the group, thus planting antisemitism into the members’ consciousness with long-lasting effect.

Also the Freundeskreis Ulrich von Hutten (Ulrich von Hutten Friends) spreads racist and antisemitic theses linked to conspiracy theories, especially in its publication named “Huttenbriefe”:

“With apodictic meticulousness, which makes you shake your head in disbelief, they have been installing a ‘world memory’ which leaves no space other than for the Jewish burnt offering on behalf of ‘humanity’.”

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85 "Mensch und Maß", number 9 of September 2018, p. 455.
86 "Huttenbriefe", December 2019, numbers 5-6, p. 21.
Another ideological player is Rittergut Guthmannshausen (Guthmannshausen Manor), a centre which is active at a supraregional level, where Holocaust deniers and historical revisionists make regular appearances. It is run by Gedächtnisstätte e.V. (Memorial regd. assoc.) and organises lecture weekends on a monthly basis. Officially, the association has the purpose to make the site a “memorial for the German victims of bombs, forced displacement or expulsion and incarceration in prison camps during World War II”. One of its founders and former president is Ursula Haverbeck-Wetzels.

The association has a networking role within the right-wing extremist scene because both individuals from intellectual right-wing extremist circles and young action-oriented right-wing extremists attend its meetings. In this way, the antisemitic views and conspiracy theories presented there can be widely disseminated in the scene.

VII. Antisemitism in the field of publishers/distribution services and in right-wing extremist journalism

Germany-based right-wing extremist publishing houses aim at promoting a right-wing extremist counter-culture in Germany. To this end, such publishing houses and distribution services publish and/or sell – to varying extents – revisionist, xenophobic and also antisemitic books, magazines as well as video and audio material, which seek to engender or strengthen right-wing extremist views in the audience. Such publications can be viewed as “spiritual fire-raisers” because they influence the audience’s mind to make it susceptible to right-wing extremist ideology. It is not rare that violent right-wing extremist offenders have or had literature from publishing houses known in this context in their possession.
Numerous examples of antisemitism and conspiracy theories can be found in the neo-Nazi publication named “Volk in Bewegung – Der Reichsbote” (“A people in motion – Messenger of the Reich”), which is published by Nordland Verlag (Fretterode, Thuringia), owned by the NPD official Thorsten Heise. The authors Roland Wuttke (VIB editor-in-chief) and Rigolf Hennig (one of three VIB editors), in particular, are considered to be regular VIB authors of very firm right-wing extremist convictions. VIB issue no. 5/2019 says, for example:

“… In fact, the Soros disciples’ main concern is not saving the forest, but deindustrialising Germany. The objectives of international high finance are disguised as green policy …” (Wuttke, Roland, p. 5)

“… The other European peoples have, like Germany, the choice to be either exploited and destroyed, by way of the EU, by the powers working behind the scenes or to pursue their own path, together with Germany, leading to a prosperous future …” (Hennig, Rigolf, p. 17)

“… The FRG’s top politicians, with chancellor actress Merkel leading the way … followed by the respective presidents, have their external advisers, who, though remaining invisible, make the decisions. The media and the educational system are in the hands of the occupying forces, and a ‘Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland’ (‘Central Council of Jews in Germany’) has the role, as stipulated by ‘state treaty’, of an influential watchdog …” (Hennig, Rigolf, p. 18)

VIB issue no. 6/2019 states:

“…That strong forces are operating behind the scenes, often having a stronger effect than the government, is a fact that even less able individuals do not fail to notice any more. What is terrifying is the fact that those forces working behind the scenes obviously have a tight grip on the Vatican, the EU, the UN, various governments and even the international media, maybe except for the Russian and Chinese media. What is striking is the fact that in connection with the CO2 fraud and also the controlled immigration catastrophe names such as Soros, Rockefeller, Goldmann Sachs and Al Gore keep popping up … while the media scrum is covering up the actual, lethal risk of destruction of the peoples due to ‘over-foreignisation’ … If the FRG’s, the EU’s and the UN’s ‘climate objectives’ are really accomplished … ‘Germany’ as an industrial site, even Europe as a whole, will collapse and the Morgenthau Plan will become a reality with the help of Mrs Merkel and her accessories …” (Hennig, Rigolf, p. 11)
“… So after completion of the known plans, between 500 million and 1 billion people of mixed race with a reduced intelligence quotient would be left on earth, controlled by an overmighty small group of people that would then be omnipotent …” (Hennig, Rigolf, p. 12)

Another enterprise with a clear antisemitic agenda is the Verlag DER SCHELM publishing house. On its homepage, the owner of the publishing house, the right-wing extremist Adrian Preißinger, calls his company “a non-conformist one-man micro publishing company bearing an increased political risk”. Nevertheless, it is able to produce high-quality reprints of explicitly antisemitic books from the Nazi era. These include “Mein Kampf” by Adolf Hitler (5th edition, 2018), “Die Geheimnisse der Weisen von Zion” (“The Secrets of the Elders of Zion”) by Gottfried zur Beek (2018) or “Der Aufstieg der Juden” (“Rise of the Jews”) by Ferdinand Fried (2016, reprint of the 1st edition published in 1937 by the Blut und Boden Verlag publishing house, Goslar). All the books are assigned an International Standard Book Number (ISBN) and the classification “academic source text”. In addition, each book contains the comment “reprint for research purposes only, to complete collections in particular”.

The above-mentioned book “Der Aufstieg der Juden” (“The Rise of the Jews”) by Ferdinand Fried contains the explicit statement:

“The publishing house does not espouse the depicted views, which can only be understood from a historical point of view, and distances itself from any slanderous, inflammatory or insulting text passages directed against human dignity, especially from any abusive criticism of Judaism. We exclusively report from a neutral perspective on historical events and would like to stress that we are not in accord with the printed statements. – Adrian Preißinger – Verlag Der Schelm, Leipzig-Gohlis, in the spring of 2015.”
According to our assessment, however, this is a mere defensive lie. On the homepage of the publishing house, there is the special category/button “NEUES VOM ST. HOLOKLAUS” (“News from Santa HoloClaus”). When you click on it, a photograph becomes visible above the following book proposals, showing the slogan “HOLOCAUST IS FAKE HI$TORY!” written on a wall.\(^7\) This category offers former German-language publications of the British publishing house Castle Hill Publishers (Uckfield), books by Holocaust deniers such as Carlo Mattogno (e.g. “Auschwitz – Ein dreiviertel Jahrhundert Propaganda” / “Auschwitz – Seven decades and a half of propaganda”, “Auschwitz: Krematorium I – und die angeblichen Massenvergasungen” / “Auschwitz: Crematorium I – and the alleged gassings of masses”), Wilhelm Stäglich (e.g. “Der Auschwitz-Mythos – Legende oder Wirklichkeit? Eine kritische Bestandsaufnahme” / “The Auschwitz myth – Legend or reality? A critical review”), and Germar Rudolf (e.g. “Luftbild-Beweise – Auswertung von Fotos angeblicher Massenmordstätten des Zweiten Weltkrieges” / “Aerial view proof – Analysis of photographs of alleged places of mass murder during World War II”), and other titles of authors denying the Holocaust or distorting it by qualifying statements. Therefore, the statements of the publisher that the books are to serve scientific purposes only are absolutely implausible. It is rather that the publishing house intends to influence its audience via its facsimile publications in the original ideological spirit of those titles originating from the Nazi era.

Another business pursuing an antisemitic agenda is the Verlag Anton A. Schmid publishing house (also known as Pro Fide Catholica), Durach (Bavaria). The publisher’s fundamentalist Catholic range of books includes some religiously antisemitic self-produced publications such as the series “Talmudismus – Erzfeind der Menschheit” (“Talmudism – The arch-enemy of humanity”).

\(^7\) \url{https://derschelm.com/gambio/?cat=c17_Neues-vom-St--Holoklaus-.html}. 

\section*{Antisemitism in Right-Wing Extremism}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{holocaust_fake_history.png}
\caption{Slogan “HOLOCAUST IS FAKE HI$TORY!” displayed on a wall.}
\end{figure}
VIII. Antisemitic agitation on the Internet

Another means for right-wing extremists to disseminate antisemitic ideologemes is the Internet. Anonymous and multilateral online communication has given rise to a new kind of antisemitic propaganda. The possibilities of easy communication in cyber space – via social media, forums, sectional forums or subforums, in particular – result in the formation of a virtual “echo chamber”. Within that echo chamber, the positive responses or references of other people to someone’s views lead them to feel vindicated, thus reinforcing those preconceived ideas, and to block out dissenting arguments.

The following passages give some examples from web pages and social media platforms on which antisemitic contributions are disseminated and then promoted and reinforced through subsequent exchanges. Some platforms offer their users the opportunity to spread right-wing extremist slogans and fantasies of imaginary terrorist scenarios or even to announce concrete acts.

1. Internet and social media platforms

Some users of popular websites and platforms confirm the myth of a “Jewish world conspiracy”. Most of those involved in antisemitic “echo chambers” think that they, in contrast to the rest of society, have realised and identified the alleged “machinations” of a “Jewish clique” controlling “the fortunes of the world”. This may lead to the radicalisation of individual users if they do not meet with contradiction, but with a positively reinforcing feedback from like-minded people. Due to that, they feel their antisemitic views have been vindicated and believe to be part of a globally networked community which claims to understand and see through the “objective” and “true” dealings behind world policy.

1.1 Antisemitic agitation: Der Volkslehrer as an example

The Internet activities of the self-appointed Volkslehrer (“people’s teacher”) are an illustrative example of the way right-wing extremists make use of video logs (vlogs) as an effective means for them to disseminate right-wing extremist views and – like in
this special case – antisemitic conspiracy theories on the web with partly considerable effect, though relatively little effort.

The videos of the YouTube channel Der Volkslehrer have been viewed several million times. Nikolai Nerling is behind Der Volkslehrer. Between 2009 and 2018 Nerling was a teacher at a primary school in Berlin-Gesundbrunnen, up to his dismissal from school service in 2018. The channel Der Volkslehrer was blocked by YouTube on several occasions, which induced Nerling to look for alternatives. He has, for instance, established the domain https://volkslehrer.info and has also posted his videos on the platform BitChute. The individual videos are viewed by several thousands of people on average. Moreover, there is the website “Volkslehrer Freundeskreis” (“Friends of the Volkslehrer”) on Facebook, which regularly posts information on new videos produced by the Volkslehrer.

Nerling managed for a long period of time to keep, though narrowly, within the boundaries of legality with his statements. Nerling has now been sentenced to pay a fine on the grounds of incitement to hatred and trespass. In March 2020 the Berlin public prosecutor’s office brought a charge against Nerling, among other things because of downplaying the atrocities committed under the rule of National Socialism, denying the Holocaust as well as showing the Nazi salute.

In an interview with Ursula Haverbeck-Wetzel, the Volkslehrer refers to her as the “grande dame of the freedom movement (...) and of the truth movement”. Furthermore, he makes favourable comments on Haverbeck-Wetzel’s antisemitic and revisionist statements, also confirming them by nodding.

In another “interview”, the Volkslehrer shows an alleged “conversation” with the imprisoned Holocaust denier Horst Mahler, which he claims was held through an open window in the prison hospital. He comments that what Mahler has done is “great” and that it is “scandalous what happens to him (Mahler) now”. He says that Mahler’s “spirit” has “inspired many of us” and that this spirit will “be kept alive”.

88 As for BitChute, see chapter C.VIII.2.
89 See video “Gespräch mit Frau U.H. Nummer III” (“Interview with Mrs U.H. no. III”).
90 See video “VL trifft Horst Mahler IM GESPRÄCH” (“VL meets Horst Mahler for a conversation”).
The Volkslehrer, however, not only offers a forum for historical revisionists; he also used his YouTube channel to communicate his own antisemitic conspiracy theories. For example, in the video “Das Pentagramm – eine gewagte Erklärung” (“The pentagram – A bold explanation”), he makes the following statement:91

“The Jews had finance in their grip. And they still have. If you look at the percentage of Jewish bank chairmen on supervisory boards, you will see that their share is, in relation to (...) their share of the population, totally disproportionate. They are much, much overrepresented.”

The Volkslehrer uses his YouTube channel not only to disseminate revisionist antisemitic ideologemes, but also to motivate his adherents to carry out concrete actions. On the occasion of his visit to the former concentration camp in Dachau, for example, he called on his audience to go to corresponding “memorial stones (...), to camps (...), to plaques” and to state there that “you don’t feel guilty”. Those who responded to the call were supposed to make a video and to send it to him. The “Volkslehrer’s” web presences contain such videos presumably produced by viewers.92

On his channel, the Volkslehrer spreads antisemitic views combined with conspiracy theories and brings the narrative of an alleged “Jewish clique” well-known in right-wing extremism into play. This refers to a clique which is supposedly pulling the strings of the world in secret solely for their own benefit, suppressing sovereign peoples and playing them off against each other. In his contributions, he brings together views that are aired both by right-wing extremists and supporters of conspiracy theories who are not necessarily extremist as well as by actors from anti-government or anti-asylum circles.

The example of Der Volkslehrer shows how and to what extent the opportunities opened up by social networks and platforms may be used to disseminate antisemitic agitation and propaganda, without filtering and reflection functions such as contradiction or critical questions becoming effective. Another contributing factor are the algorithms of such platforms, which refer their users to thematically similar content and also bring together users having the same interests on one channel, e.g. that of

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91 See video “Das Pentagramm – eine gewagte Erklärung” (“The pentagram – A bold explanation”).
the Volkslehrer. This leads to the creation of filter bubbles of largely shared opinions, which are instrumental in consolidating and disseminating as well as finally “normalising” antisemitic ideologemes.

1.2 Sites of solidarity with convicted Holocaust deniers

On the Internet there are also various websites of solidarity with convicted Holocaust deniers. They voice both implicit antisemitism and open antisemitism. As an example of this phenomenon, the websites of solidarity with Ursula Haverbeck-Wetzel and Horst Mahler are presented below.

In solidarity with Ursula Haverbeck-Wetzel, who was imprisoned on 7 May 2018, the website https://freiheit-fuer-ursula.de (freedom for Ursula) was set up. This website includes, apart from a short outline of Haverbeck-Wetzel’s life, an online petition demanding her release from prison as well as her postal address in the Bielefeld-Brackwede prison accompanied by the request to write her letters. The site notice mentions an official of the party DIE RECHTE as being the one in charge.

Section 130 of the German Criminal Code is discredited as a “section restricting the right to freedom of opinion”, with Haverbeck-Wetzel being quoted as an example. She is presented as a “representative of revisionism and a courageous fighter for freedom of expression”. It is stated that Haverbeck-Wetzel was convicted because she had “defended her political and historical views as an expression of opinion”. Due to her advanced age, the website says, her prison sentence means “nothing less (...) than life imprisonment”.

Apart from various reports on propaganda activities in the real world (mainly of the party Die RECHTE), the website regularly publishes letters written by Haverbeck-Wetzel in prison.

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93 Expressing solidarity with people allegedly wrongfully convicted under section 130 (incitement of masses / incitement to hatred) of the German Criminal Code is an implicit denial of the Holocaust. Holocaust denial is a form of secondary antisemitism.

94 Openly antisemitic narratives can especially be found in texts allegedly written by convicted persons.

95 https://freiheit-fuer-ursula.de/wer-ist-ursula-haverbeck/.

96 https://freiheit-fuer-ursula.de/wir-fordern-freiheit/.
The solidarity website has the primary purpose to express, with reference to Haverbeck-Wetzel’s personal career, criticism of section 130 of the German Criminal Code, which is justified by depicting the conviction as a violation of the right to freedom of expression. Solidarity campaigns in the real world are documented on the website too and thus made accessible to the general public. The website implicitly conveys antisemitic views: Criticism of section 130 of the German Criminal Code is designed to question the Holocaust in coded words or even to present such questioning as defending the freedom of expression as a civil right without crossing the line to criminal liability.

The website https://wir-sind-horst.com (we are Horst) was established in solidarity with Horst Mahler, who was convicted for incitement to hatred. The website contains various texts allegedly written by Horst Mahler, which expressly dwell on the “satanic” characteristics and plans of the “Jewry”.

The following excerpt from the paper “Die Satanischen Verse des Mosaismus” (“The Satanic Verses of Mosaism”) serves as an example of such open antisemitism:97 it contains the following statements, allegedly made by Mahler himself:

“It is disgusting! The Jewish complex can only be grasped by taking in the full impact of both the corruption and the bought toleration of the humiliation. (…) It is not eternal salvation of their souls what Yahweh promises his personally-owned people. As a bait, he uses earthly wealth, earthly power and material well-being, obtained not as the fruit of their labour, which they might be proud of, but as the loot from a gigantic robbery. This bears utmost witness to the Jews’ venality and rapacity as a virtue in the sight of God. Neither is there the slightest trace of decency and morality anywhere else in Mosaism. Morals is something the Jews have never heard of.”

The article “Wer ist Horst”98 (“Who is Horst”) presents Mahler as the “best known critic of the regime in Germany”. Mahler’s conviction is compared to the repressive measures against the Chinese dissident Liu Xiaobo. The latter’s conviction by an authoritarian regime on the grounds of “thoughtcrime” is put on a level with Mahler’s prison sentence for “incitement to hatred” passed under the rule of law. Just like Liu Xiaobo, the article claims, Mahler deserves winning the “Nobel Peace Prize because

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in his writings he has opened up a path of peace to Judaism”. According to the article, the Jews’ “ideology called religion” has made them “the most dangerous force because they have acquired control of the money”. Horst Mahler is said to have “openly opposed the powerful people of this day and age: i.e. those powers which have been responsible for war, terror and exploitation for 70 years.”

The website of solidarity with Horst Mahler is designed to disseminate contributions allegedly written by Mahler himself with antisemitic and conspiracy theory content. Such content is not presented using known codes, but overtly as religiously racist antisemitism. Moreover, Mahler is depicted as a figurehead of the scene, as a martyr of the “FRG judiciary”.

1.3 Antisemitic agitation: Judas Watch as an example

The English-language Internet platform Judas Watch provides another example of open antisemitic agitation on the Internet. This platform, which was set up in November 2015 and is hosted in an anonymised way by a US server, views itself, according to its own statements, as a database that lists subversive “anti-White traitors” and highlights “Jewish influence”. The operators of the platform refer to a database allegedly based on facts which documents “anti-white” and “anti-Western” activities. The aim of the platform is, as stated, to collect evidence of the existence of an internationally co-ordinated network acting against “white people and their interests” and thus undermining Western democracies. The collection of data on individuals and organisations is presented as the “first stage”, which is to be followed by their publication. The operators of the platform encourage antisemitic conspiracy theories which claim that an alleged secret organisation of Jews is striving for world domination, triggering wars and other crises to achieve this end. By doing so, the operators reveal themselves publicly and without any inhibition as being antisemites. As stated by them, the data are collected in a “concerted effort” and everyone is cordially invited to make entries.

Based on the number of entries, Germany is second behind the USA. The collection distinguishes between different categories, e.g. politics, media, science or business, and conducts a prioritisation for each entry according to alleged influence (“high
influence”, “medium influence”, “low influence”). Individuals are listed in profiles in the style of a “wanted poster”, denounced for “multiculturalism, Cultural Marxism, feminism, communism, immigration, globalisation” and other “deeds”. As far as can be identified, the collection is exclusively based on publicly available information, and it lists individuals and institutions that are allegedly working as a “Judas” against the “white race”. Above all, Jewish individuals and institutions figure on the list; they are marked by a Star of David – similar to the one used by the Nazi regime to stigmatise Jews – to highlight alleged “Jewish influencing activities”.

The Judas Watch website was classified as being harmful to young people by BPjM in its decision no. 6298 of 9 January 2020 and blocked.99 Investigation proceedings have been initiated by ZET (Bavarian Centre for Countering Extremism and Terrorism).

1.4 Other examples of antisemitic contributions on the Internet

Due to more restrictive checks of content in major conventional social networks, antisemitic contributions can now increasingly be found in anonymous messenger chats as well as on platforms that are hardly moderated or not at all. One example of such platforms is the Russian network vk.com.

It maintains a high degree of anonymity for its users, which also applies to the creation of profiles. The users mainly choose nicknames to disguise their real identity. In contrast to social networks such as Facebook, there are often no real-world relations. So profile owners use their accounts to communicate with people supposedly sharing their interests who they are not really acquainted with rather than to network with real-world friends and relatives. An example of a group engaged in open antisemitic agitation on vk.com is the so-called Goyim Partei Deutschlands (GPD / Goyim Party of Germany). The word “goyim” is derived from “goy”, the Jewish term for a non-Jew. Their self-designation as a “party” suggests that it is an association of non-Jews which aims at countering Jews in a joint effort. On vk.com, GPD engages in excessive antisemitic agitation. On the whole, the numerous photographs, videos and posts

99 Subsequently, the website was offline for about three weeks; then, after undergoing slight modifications, it could be accessed again. As of June 2020, the website cannot be accessed any more.
shown there provide ample evidence of violations of section 86 a of the German Criminal Code (use of symbols of unconstitutional organisations), of section 111 of the German Criminal Code (public incitement to commit offences) and of section 130 of the German Criminal Code (incitement of masses / incitement to hatred). On 16 July 2020 the Public Prosecutor General at the Federal Court of Justice ordered the arrest of two individuals accused of being the ringleaders and searches of the homes of six other members. They are accused of forming a criminal organisation under section 129 subsection 1 of the German Criminal Code.

On 21 April 2019 alone, the GPD account posted several images with antisemitic slogans:

"Those who want peace in the world have to exterminate the Jews!"
"Abolish religious freedom! Judaism is an anti-constitutional and terrorist organisation!"
"We demand reparations for the 60 million killed goyim of World War II!"
"Germans, defend yourselves! Exterminate the Jews!"
"The Fourth Reich 100% FREE FROM JEWS!"
"THE JEWS' DEATH SOLVES THE WORLD'S MISERY!"

GPD’s contempt for humanity becoming obvious in its highly aggressive antisemitism also shows in the following images posted on its account:

Translation: Germans, defend yourselves! Exterminate the Jews!
Translation: Get Shlomo!
People in public life, politicians in particular, are commonly referred to as “Jewish” or “Jews”. The context of such posts suggests that this denomination is intended to disparage those addressed in that way.

Other particularly cynical examples of antisemitic agitation on the Internet:
The users are aware of their anonymity in the sections of the Internet they are moving in and are not timid about displaying open racism and antisemitism in their contributions posted there. Acts of violence often meet with a positive response in scene-related forums as well.

2. Antisemitic agitation on unconventional Internet platforms

“Unconventional Internet platforms” are websites that cannot be subsumed under the category of traditional (social media) sites, such as Facebook, Instagram or Twitter. Examples of such platforms are microblogging services like Gab, image boards like 4chan, gaming platforms like Steam or video platforms like BitChute. As instruments for communication and propaganda, users employ them to spread antisemitic beliefs by making posts and/or video contributions to that effect or by creating ideologically marked profiles, groups or game modifications, depending on the platform.

The extent of antisemitic communication and/or propaganda differs depending on the platform because the operators fulfil their supervisory and control functions differently. Some platform operators publish their own sets of rules and systematically delete any content that violates these rules and/or laws. Others do not delete as systematically and/or only after some time has passed, which is why individuals with antisemitic beliefs prefer these platforms. The fact that anonymous unconventional platforms can generally be used without undergoing a complex registration process makes these platforms more popular among extremists.

The following four non-extremist websites are examples of the numerous unconventional platforms on which antisemitic agitators operate.
In its structure and functioning, the microblogging service Gab resembles a blog in the form of short messages. According to the company, Gab has more than one million users since mid-2019. Gab became more widely known through Robert Bowers, the perpetrator of the attack on the Pittsburgh synagogue (27 October 2018). He published i.a. extremist and antisemitic posts there, and he announced his attack shortly before carrying it out. Numerous antisemitic posts can be found on Gab. In some cases, the users’ profiles also include relevant elements, for example antisemitic user names or images of burning Israeli flags as profile pictures:

![Image of antisemitic profile picture](image)

4chan is an English-language image board\(^1\), on which users can anonymously publish and discuss images. The topics range from photography through video games, nature and paranormal phenomena to pornography and right-wing extremist content and content liable to prosecution. According to its own statements, approximately 27.7 million individual visitors access the site 4chan.org 703 million times per month. This makes 4chan.org one of the world’s most accessed websites.

Some of the content that is spread is nationalist, racist, antisemitic, Islamophobic and misogynistic, and it is not necessarily related to the current political situation. In many cases, the posts contain right-wing extremist conspiracy theories or express fantasies of violence against minorities. 4chan is considered a gathering place for white supremacists and the US alt-right movement (alternative right), which uses the

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\(^{1}\) An online forum to share images and texts.
platform for its purposes and which has deliberately manipulated public reporting several times already by spreading disinformation via the image board.

Approximately 3 per cent of all contributions on 4chan are posted by users from Germany. Most of the posts that have links to Germany deal with current reporting about migration issues and crimes committed by foreigners, and they comment on these matters in a cynical and derogatory way in order to allegedly prove that the German and/or European policies regarding refugees and/or integration have failed. There are also posts in which users share content glorifying violence or in which they call for violence. These fantasies of violence are mostly directed against Jews and immigrants.

In many cases, the posts contain memes. The best known example is probably “Pepe the Frog”. Pepe is a green cartoon frog who is i.a. depicted as a Jew, Adolf Hitler, a member of the Ku Klux Klan, a soldier of the Waffen SS or Donald Trump.

The gaming platform Steam is the largest online sales platform for computer games. Worldwide, Steam has more than 125 million active user accounts, with approximately 33 million users actively using the platform every day. Steam is very popular in Germany too. The users can communicate via a kind of integrated social network for gamers with user profiles and groups as well as a messaging function (Steam community). Via the integrated messenger service (Steam chat), gamers can – via private direct message or in group chat rooms – exchange text and voice messages and share media and Internet links.

Steam is not a right-wing extremist platform. Every day, millions of people use the gaming platform to play games and they report right-wing extremist gamers to the game publishers and to Steam. Since the operator hardly moderates and controls the content published in the Steam community, Steam has at least partly become a virtual meeting point for right-wing extremists and right-wing Internet trolls who do not necessarily have connections to “comradeships”, political parties and associations. The fact that inhuman, racist and antisemitic content can be published without much interference allows for the use of digital safe havens that normalise right-wing extremist narratives and encourage the radicalisation of other users.
In some cases, relevant profiles have names that immediately display the antisemitic attitude of the users behind these profiles. Some users also use content from game titles linked to World War II to give their profile a völkisch nationalist design. Joint groups allow users to found communities of interest, some of which have relevant names too.

The Internet platform BitChute is a video platform, which was accessed 8.69 million times by users from all over the world in September 2019. Most users had US IP addresses (38.56 per cent), followed by German IP addresses (8 per cent). Just like on established video platforms (e.g. YouTube), users can upload their videos and make them available to other users of the site. In addition to politically controversial videos, there are also videos containing violence, murder and suicidal acts on BitChute. In right-wing extremist circles, the platform has established itself as an advantageous alternative to traditional video platforms such as YouTube because content is rarely deleted on BitChute.

For instance, there are numerous right-wing extremist and racist videos on BitChute containing hate speech (agitation, images of hanged people of colour) as well as videos of right-wing acts of violence. Moreover, there are various channels with right-wing extremist German music. There are also channels that openly agitate against Judaism or Islam, or videos that are generally directed against migration.

3. The role of the Internet for attacks

Several terrible incidents from the recent past have shown what a major role virtual communication spaces play in radicalisation and in spreading right-wing extremist narratives. In a terrorist attack on two mosques in Christchurch (New Zealand) in March 2019, because of Islamophobic motivations, the right-wing extremist Brenton Tarrant killed 51 people altogether and injured 50 more, some of them seriously. He streamed his crimes live on Facebook. Before Facebook blocked the video, it had already been shared millionfold.
In an attack in El Paso (Texas/USA) in August 2019, the right-wing extremist Patrick Wood Crusius killed 22 people in a supermarket and seriously injured several more. He announced the attack in a declaration on the platform 8chan.

On 9 October 2019 the German national Stephan Balliet drove to the synagogue and the Jewish cemetery in Halle an der Saale, carrying firearms and equipped with four kilograms of explosives. Motivated by his antisemitic convictions, he wanted to kill as many synagogue-goers as possible on the Day of Atonement Yom Kippur, the most important Jewish holiday. The security doors of the synagogue withstood the shots and the detonation of an explosive device, though. Balliet shot a woman who was passing by from behind, with the shot killing her. He subsequently threw several explosive devices over the wall of the adjacent Jewish cemetery, some of which detonated. After Balliet had realised that he would not succeed in entering the Jewish cemetery or the synagogue, he drove away in his vehicle. On his journey, he stopped at a kebab restaurant. This target, which he spontaneously chose because of anti-migration motives, obviously served as a substitute for the failed antisemitic attack. Balliet shot and killed a customer of the restaurant and escaped in his car after he was hit in the neck in a shootout with the police. During his flight, he injured two more people and stole a vehicle. He subsequently caused a traffic accident, after which the police were able to arrest him.

During his first interrogations, Balliet gave detailed information on his deeds and his right-wing extremist and/or antisemitic motive. He said that his intention had been to defend himself against the Jews, who were allegedly planning to govern the world. According to his statements, this aspiration to govern the world is i.a. displayed by Jews allegedly controlling the Federal Reserve and by their aim of implementing the “Great Replacement”, a plan to replace the white majority of the population with non-white and/or Muslim immigrants. He claimed that the mass immigration to Germany controlled by Jews was serving this purpose. Moreover, he denied the Holocaust.

A few minutes before committing his crimes, Balliet uploaded various documents to the image board Meguca (meguca.org/meadhall/). The title of the first document was “Dedomesticate yourself and KILL ALL JEWS”. The second document, “A short pre-
action report”, i.a. contained descriptions of weapons and a brief section defining “The Objectives”.

According to this document, Balliet initially planned to attack a mosque or a left-wing cultural centre because these have fewer security measures in place than Jewish institutions. However, he thought it would be useless to murder 100 “golems” when more of them were coming to Europe by ship every day. He believed that the only way to win was to behead the “Zionist Occupied Government”. Balliet said that if at least one Jew was killed, it would have been worth it, even if he himself did not survive. The later perpetrator of the attack concluded with a call to imitate him until one was dead oneself or all Jews were dead. The third document was entitled “READ THIS FIRST” and it contained a link to the live stream. Balliet streamed his attack live via the streaming platform Twitch. The video began with a presentation of his political convictions, which he opened with the antisemitic statement “Hi, my name is ‘Anon’ and I think the Holocaust never happened”. Before the video was deleted approximately 65 minutes after the attack, around 2,200 individuals are said to have watched it online. Moreover, various links to the video and the documents have been found on various Internet platforms, which is why it has been impossible to determine the exact number of individuals who have seen the video.

The attack in Halle an der Saale caused numerous reactions from the right-wing extremist scene, ranging from expressions of condolences through condemnations of the attack to conspiracy theories. The media reporting was criticised; the accusation was that when Islamist extremists and refugees carried out such attacks, they were trivialised as isolated attacks, and that right-wing attacks were presented as a structural problem. The right-wing extremist scene i.a. found fault with the high level of attention for “Jews” even though no “Jew” had been killed.

The attack in Halle an der Saale can be considered a striking example of a globalised form of antisemitism, right-wing terrorism and a digitalised international transfer of ideology. The language and the habitus in Balliet’s documents indicate a massive radicalisation on the Internet. There are similarities to the way Tarrant committed his

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101 Abbreviation for “anonymous”. 
crimes regarding the focus on weapons and their detailed description, and regarding the connection to gaming subculture.

Social networks, Internet platforms and messenger services constitute virtual communication spaces that are anchors and contact points for right-wing extremists where they radicalise themselves, make statements with violent tendencies and even voice intentions to commit crimes, and where they exchange ideas and/or inspire each other regarding the means, potential victims and crime scenes. The extent of that virtual communication is so vast that it is hardly possible to contain it.

IX. Antisemitic agitation in the context of the coronavirus pandemic

The coronavirus pandemic currently dominates the public debate. Right-wing extremists take advantage of the current situation to spread their propaganda, which in many cases is embedded in a conspiracy theory context.

Conspiracy theories offer simple and understandable pseudo-explanations and misleadingly translate complex social processes into plain “concepts of good and evil”. Those who spread such theories make use of patterns, some of which are centuries old, that hold “sinister powers behind the scenes” responsible for the respective current disaster or crisis. The groups considered to represent such dark powers are interchangeable, but in almost all cases antisemitic connotations are involved. The stereotypes that are attributed to these supposed global conspirators – such as being deceitful, greedy, bloodthirsty, malicious, manipulative, and being in control of the economy, politics, the media, culture and education – are identical with the negative attributes antisemites have always associated with people of Jewish faith. Conspiracy theories that reduce complex interdependencies to the malicious intentions of “secret powers” are therefore susceptible to antisemitic interpretation and/or use. Accordingly, conspiracy ideologists often mention the names of Jews or presumed Jews like Rockefeller, Rothschild, Soros or Bill Gates, with the intention to unmask these people as secret masterminds. Right-wing extremist agitators in turn embed the coronavirus pandemic into the conspiracy theory myth of a Jewish world conspiracy.
The antisemitic online publication National Journal argues as follows:

“The coronavirus pandemic is a conspiracy of Soros, Rothschild and the WHO as organ of the world globalists, with the aim of destroying the national economies and building a terrorist world republic on their ruins. For this purpose, the CoV-2 virus was artificially produced in Wuhan and circulated by order of Soros and his lot. In addition to destroying the livelihood of all Western nations, this was aimed at bringing down the globalists’ arch-enemy Donald Trump by means of a coronavirus-induced poverty resulting from a deliberate strangling of the economy. China and the Bill-Gates-WHO are working hand in hand to advance their coronavirus conspiracy.”

Social media and various messenger services in particular are used to spread dubious news, conspiracy theories and doomsday scenarios, many of them with antisemitic connotations. As a result of the lockdown with its confinement measures, bans on public meetings and limitations in the real world, the digital world has become the focus of the efforts to obtain the prerogative of interpreting any development related to the pandemic. There is not always open antisemitic agitation; it may be replaced by allusions and insinuations, in the hope that they will be understood “correctly” and put into the intended antisemitic context.

Some right-wing extremists see the coronavirus crisis as a chance to get a step closer to the eagerly awaited revolutionary change of the “system”. Their “analysis of society” includes, among others, antisemitic elements. The small right-wing extremist party Der III. Weg examines the economic situation in an article published on its homepage. An immediate “collapse of the system (is) unlikely because there are by no means only losers in the coronavirus crisis”. The article continues by explaining that “apart from the usual locusts like the Jewish hedge fund managers Bill Ackman, Boaz Weinstein or David Kalliber”, also large companies determining our life profit from the crisis while small and medium-sized enterprises have to file for bankruptcy. Moreover, a

“worsening of capitalistic conditions” is predicted, driving “our people deeper into poverty”. According to the article, this allows the conclusion that – although the above-mentioned immediate collapse of the system is said to be unlikely – “maybe (...) a situation will arise that makes revolutionary change a solution to an increasing number of people.”

In a video podcast, the former AfD politician Wolfgang Gedeon speculates that the coronavirus outbreak might be a biological weapons attack of the USA, launched by US soldiers on the occasion of the Military World Games in Wuhan in October 2019. Gedeon regards the social distancing measures and stay-at-home orders imposed by the authorities as an attack on democracy: “Now the alleged democrats drop their masks and turn out to be totalitarian politicians.” In line with conspiracy theories, he continues:

“In 2010 already, the Rockefeller Foundation issued a paper describing the scenario we are now witnessing, namely, a virus infection used to cause panic within society, making it easier for political actors to take all kinds of measures they could never impose under normal conditions. This is the dangerous part. Practising dictatorship by means of a state of emergency trial run.”

Gedeon adds that “in retrospect, the coronavirus crisis turns out to be an elegant way for the powerful towards dictatorship”. This conspiracy theory approach shows its antisemitic connotation by blaming the Rockefeller Foundation of developing a plan already in 2010 about how to shake the political system by means of a pandemic and then take over power. Although the Rockefeller family is not of Jewish origin, right-wing extremist conspiracy theorists often refer to it as part of the “international financial oligarchy” in connection with Rothschild and Soros.

The increasing number of events that have been moved online as a result of the coronavirus crisis provides antisemitic right-wing extremists with additional virtual platforms for agitation. In this context, mention has to be made of the new phenomenon of “Zoom bombing”. Zoom bombing means the disruption of online conferences held using Zoom communications technology. For example, an online

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104 Gedeon aktuell (Gedeon up-to-date), no. 1 of 20 March 2020: “Coronavirus: Gesundheit, Wirtschaft, Bürgerrechte, Geopolitik, Biowaffe?” ("Coronavirus: health, economy, civil rights, geopolitics, biological weapon?") in: www.youtube.com/watch?v=LgYz82ihP2o.
memorial event organised by the Israeli Embassy in Germany on the eve of the Israeli memorial day Yom HaShoah (Holocaust and Heroism Remembrance Day) on 21 April 2020 was massively disrupted and disparaged by showing pictures of Hitler and shouting antisemitic slogans.

The Israeli Ministry of Diaspora Affairs (MDA) collected and analysed German-language antisemitic posts from January 2020 until the first half of April 2020. The percentage of antisemitic posts relating to coronavirus increased significantly in the first weeks of April, according to the MDA, with the most common kinds of antisemitic contributions referring to various forms of conspiracy theories. The analysis also found that many contributions associated the virus with George Soros who, similar to Rothschild, is now taken as a synonym for all Jews.

Notwithstanding the tendency of moving antisemitic agitation to the virtual world because of virus-related restrictions, antisemitic protest events continue to take place in the real world. Worries about their livelihood or the fear of losing their freedom have driven demonstrators to attend what are known as “anti-corona protest actions”. Some of these protest actions have been infiltrated by right-wing extremists and used to effectively present their ideology to a broad public. Protests have been instrumentalised to spread, among others, antisemitic ideas in ways that range from openly articulated antisemitism to encoded insinuations.

At many anti-coronavirus demonstrations, the Federal Republic of Germany has been equated with Hitler’s regime in a way that severely plays down the Nazi crimes. Demonstrators have worn imitations of the Star of David used during the Third Reich to identify and stigmatise Jews, reading “Unvaccinated” or “Covid 19”.

Banners bear slogans referring to vaccines as the “Endlösung der Coronafrage” (“Final solution to the corona question”), or provocatively ask “Vaccination will set you free?” insinuating the “Arbeit macht frei” (“Work will set you free”) signs above the entrances to Nazi concentration camps. In such cases, blatant relativisation or trivialisation of the Shoah makes protests against government measures change into antisemitism.
The modification of the known prevention campaign slogan “Gib Aids keine Chance” (“Don’t give Aids a chance”) into “Gib Gates keine Chance” (“Don’t give Gates a chance”) shows that agitation allowing an antisemitic interpretation does not necessarily need a point of reference that is based on facts. Bill Gates is not a Jew, but “Jewishness” is attributed to him because of his seemingly overwhelming influence.

The developments in connection with the coronavirus pandemic exemplify the latent threat that right-wing extremists could use the potential attraction antisemitic views exert within politically heterogeneous protests for the purpose of political radicalisation. Moreover, also in this context, the Internet poses a grave danger because parallel news worlds develop online, quoting themselves as references and enabling adherents of crude myths to encourage each other.

X. Conclusion

Antisemitism is a part of all expressions of right-wing extremism. The violence-oriented right-wing extremist scene in particular is characterised by a hatred of Jews that is based on historical National Socialism and its typical antisemitism. All antisemitic patterns of argumentation can be found in this context, including even imaginary scenarios and wishful thinking about driving Jews out of Germany and annihilating them. Right-wing extremist musicians also describe such fantasies in their lyrics in a radical way, first and foremost in songs that are classified as right-wing rock music. On discs sold privately and in small numbers in particular, statements can be found that glorify National Socialism, spread crude antisemitic comments and call for or condone violent crimes against Jews.

As regards antisemitic views, right-wing extremist political parties are very heterogeneous. Antisemitic views are deeply rooted in the agenda and ideology of the parties NPD and Der III. Weg. Even though anti-Zionist antisemitism especially is of great significance to the parties’ propaganda, it is not the focus of political agitation. Within AfD’s sub-organisation Der Flügel, too, attitudes are repeatedly expressed that can be classified as belonging to political and/or secondary antisemitism. The party
Die RECHTE, however, consistently shows an explicit antisemitic orientation, manifesting itself clearly in the nomination of a female right-wing extremist who has been convicted several times for Holocaust denial and is a known adherent of National Socialism as its top candidate for the 2019 European elections.

Within the so-called New Right, antisemitism is much less pronounced than it is in the traditional and völkisch spectrum, which follows völkisch Nationalism or even National Socialism. While open anti-Jewish agitation and even undisguised racist antisemitism continue to be a key feature of the ideology of traditional and völkisch organisations, antisemitism within the New Right mainly manifests itself in its way of portraying George Soros and/or in common metaphors like “US east coast” referring to the financial community allegedly controlled by Jews.

When it comes to the spreading of antisemitism, apart from music and the classic print products of publishers and distributing services, the Internet plays a major role. There, relatively static web presences like those declaring solidarity with convicted Holocaust deniers can be found, but also platforms like Judas Watch calling for the collection of data on presumed enemies as well as for a documentation of “Jewish influence”. Given the increasing controls of content on large and well-known social networks like Twitter and Facebook, the focus of agitation and propaganda has moved to platforms that are hardly moderated and controlled, or not at all, as well as to anonymous messenger chats where mainly like-minded people meet. Recently, the establishment of “unconventional Internet platforms” has brought about another shift. These microblogging services, image boards or gaming platforms are used by right-wing extremists for propaganda purposes as well as for group-internal anonymous communication. Radicalisation processes take place there and a stage for celebrating hatred against Jews develop, including even live broadcasts of antisemitic violent acts and terrorist attacks.

On the whole, it can be said that antisemitic ideas are virulent in all tendencies of right-wing extremism to varying extents and in different forms. The spectrum ranges from subtle insinuations to fantasies of destruction and open threats of violence, from spreading antisemitic conspiracy theories in connection with occurrences like the coronavirus pandemic on the Internet to the presentation of the ideology during
protests and demonstrations, and from supposedly allowed “criticism” of Israel to völkisch-racist convictions. It turns out that the stronger the orientation towards historical National Socialism and violence, the larger will be the extent of antisemitism, particularly in its racist form.
D. Antisemitism in the field of Reichsbürger and Selbstverwalter

I. General remarks on antisemitism in the field of Reichsbürger and Selbstverwalter

The scene of Reichsbürger and Selbstverwalter (literally “citizens of the Reich” and “sovereign citizens”) is characterised by hostility towards the state and a belief in conspiracy theories. These conspiracy theories go along with an affinity for antisemitic ideas. Reichsbürger and Selbstverwalter therefore often hold antisemitic views and make antisemitic statements. They range from accusations made by some individuals who blame “the Jews” for their unemployment through openly antisemitic conspiracy theories such as that World War I was planned by “the Jews” to Holocaust denial. As a rule, however, antisemitism is neither an essential element of the scene’s ideology nor a focus of its agitation.

II. Antisemitic agitation in the Reichsbürger and Selbstverwalter scene

The Reichsbürger and Selbstverwalter group Geeinte deutsche Völker und Stämme (GdVuSt / United German Peoples and Tribes), which was banned by the Federal Minister of the Interior, Building and Community on 19 March 2020, not only expressed its antisemitic views openly, but also explicitly demanded that Jews be profoundly discriminated against and deprived of their rights.

The idea of a Jewish conspiracy to obtain world domination is found in a number of the group’s publications. GdVuSt, for instance, calls Jews a “dark race that has declared war on the fair one” or people who “(...) in their principles and beliefs are bound to assume world domination without respect for creation by inventing creative stories to repeatedly try to make man believe that they are a persecuted people (...).”
To atone for their alleged “incorrigibility”, Jews – in GdVuSt’s view – ought to be banned from acquiring land and from practising their faith; the group sometimes even denies them the right to vote.

In a letter sent to the Universal Postal Union in 2017 by a leading official of the group, it is insinuated that the “races [descended] from Jacob’s sons” strive to obtain world domination, tell lies and are guilty of causing wars. The letter states that as a penance, Jews should be deprived of the right of assembly and stripped of their land ownership. It says that “white people”, by contrast, enjoy special protection. An excerpt from the letter reads as follows:

“From now on, sovereignty over the named territories will again be in the hands of the rightful representatives elected by the native people. Which means that all companies and economic state institutions, false state institutions and beliefs of the tribes and race of Jacob’s sons are under the order of the Highest Court of the United German Peoples and Tribes. (…)

Knowing that the various races [descended] from Jacob’s sons in their principles and beliefs are bound to assume world domination without respect for creation by inventing creative stories to repeatedly try to make man believe that they are a persecuted people, the highest representatives of the undersigned states have decided that the races of Jacob and their religious leaders must not carry out any events on the territory and on or in their dry-docked religious sites and temples until after their religious writings have been modified as far as their misanthropy and their striving for world domination are concerned. (…)

The first step will be to repeatedly correct, via newspapers, radio and television, the public representation of who is actually responsible for the wars and raids. This includes the propaganda machine in the tenor of six million murdered Jews, which was used for at least the third time already in the Hitler era. (…)

Given their incorrigibility, these creatures shall be deprived of their right to own any real estate or land on the territory of the United German Peoples and Tribes and banned from undertaking any commercial activities on Sundays. Their belongings and the possessions they have appropriated shall flow back into the community’s property (…).”

Another GdVuSt member used the following words to express his antisemitic views in a letter sent to the district office of Steglitz (Berlin) in August 2017:

“Hence, the term ‘owner’ shall only be entered in the land register for those proven to be entitled to property under article 88 of the Introductory Act to the Civil Code in its version of August 1914, notwithstanding the provisions of the law of a Land that makes the acquisition of real estate by foreigners dependent upon authorisation from the state. A foreigner shall be defined as anyone who
cannot trace his ancestry to the natural state membership of the ‘German Reich’ before 1914 or who belongs to races that were not native here at the time or are not native here. This shall include the Arab races as well as Jews and Turks and Asian, African and southern races and others. All followers of misanthropic beliefs as well as Islam and Judaism shall be excluded from the ownership of property with retrospective effect.”

A GdVuSt letter of 25 July 2018 to the Minister for Justice and Equality of Saxony-Anhalt alleges that Jews “struggle for world domination”:

“From the history of the origins of the settling and the struggle for world domination by Jacob’s sons, who came into being on the order of the ‘Gods’, a firm stop is put to the destructible work.”

In an interview\(^\text{105}\) of 1 November 2018, a former official of the group said that children were deliberately traumatised by means of a propaganda of collective guilt in order to make them politically submissive for life:

“It’s particularly interesting for a psychiatrist because this propaganda of collective guilt that is always done and also that even children are deliberately traumatised, taken to concentration camps, told things that are not always true. As a child and adolescent, they used to drag me to Buchenwald, where things were told that were not actually true, that the bones were used to make soap and the skin to make lampshades and such things and it is dramatic to see that young people are deliberately traumatised only to keep them in a state of political submission for their whole lives. And that this affects people’s minds, of course.”

In its press release with the title “Die Angst vorm Schwarzen Mann – Reichsdeutschen- und Nazihetze geht jeden an!” (“Fear of the bogeyman – Reich Germans and Nazi baiting concerns us all!”), GdVuSt refers to the NSDAP politician Graf (Count) Ernst zu Reventlow and to a certain Georg Kausch, author of the book “Die unbequeme Nation: 2000 Jahre Wirtschafts- und Religionskrieg gegen die Deutschen” (“The inconvenient nation: 2000 years of economic and religious war against the Germans”). From this book, the group quotes the following text relating to “court Jews” and “Jewish financial advisors” and their supposedly fatal power over the Reichsbank (central bank) and the currency in the German Reich:

“Otto von Bismarck was not free from avarice. Convincing him of demanding five billion francs in reparations from France to establish a gold standard in the German Reich probably did not cost his Jewish financial advisors Bleichröder and Bamberger a lot of effort. Like so many before him and

\(^{105}\) Interview of 1 November 2018. Jo Conrad (Bewusst.TV) in conversation with Dr Klaus Maurer, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3w_eYmzaSxM.
Antisemitic remarks are also regularly uttered by the Reichsbürger and Selbstverwalter group Verfassunggebende Versammlung (VV / Constituent Assembly). This group does not usually publish its antisemitic online posts on its main website, but in its ddb Netzwerk (ddb network). This was also where VV issued calls to boycott the European elections and spread explicitly antisemitic ideas. In its post entitled “Das ist die ELITE, das ist die NWO!” (“This is the ELITE, this is the NWO!”) of 2019, the group asserted an alleged Jewish world domination. The text says:

“This hood of cousins comprises the Rothschild, Rockefeller, Oppenheimer, Goldsmid, Mocatta, Montefiore, Sassoon, Warbug, Samuel, Kadoorie, Franklin, Stern and Cohen families. (…) These families have monopolies of the worldwide banking system, the entertainment industry, the food industry, the oil and gas industry, the shipping industry, the metal and mining industry. Through this dominance over the financial markets, they pull the strings of every government in the world. The hood of cousins believes in a form of Babylonian Talmudic Judaism. (…) The Jews have seized political power and financial strength in almost every non-Jewish nation because Jewish court bankers have manipulated public funds and taxes.”

The group also uses its ddb Netzwerk to spread other users’ antisemitic posts. For instance, VV has shared a conspiracy theory claiming that “American plans to destroy the German people” were developed during World War II. Allegedly, the “implementation [of these] sinister plans” was partly masterminded by the Jewish Zionist lodge B’nai B’rith. VV establishes a connection between this conspiracy theory

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106 GdVuSt press release “Die Angst vorm Schwarzen Mann – Reichsdeutschen- und Nazi-Netzte geht jeden ant!” (“Fear of the bogeyman – Reich Germans and Nazi baiting concerns us all!”).

107 “Das ist die ELITE, das die NWO!” (“This is the ELITE, this is the NWO!”), 4 May 2019, https://ddbnews.wordpress.com/2019/05/04/das-ist-die-elite-das-ist-die-nwo/.
and the idea of the purported “over-foreignisation” of Europe. An alleged member of the lodge is quoted as follows:

“We strive for an oriental Europe with a Eurasian-Negroid mixed race of the future. This future mixed race will have an appearance similar to that of the ancient Egyptian race. The leaders will be the Jews as a new aristocracy by the grace of the spirit.”

In a post with the title “Die finsteren Pläne der Feinde der Menschen” (“The sinister plans of the enemies of humankind”), VV spreads another antisemitic conspiracy theory via its ddb Netzwerk. According to this theory, the Emergency Council of European Rabbis was convened in early 1952 to discuss “the acceleration of the implementation of the plans for Jewish world domination”. The purpose of this meeting allegedly was to “accelerate the outbreak of World War III” so that the “race [author’s note: the Jews] [can] take its rightful place in the world”. The rabbi chairing the meeting is said to have called out to the plenary “Every Jew a king, every Christian a slave!”, which was met with applause. After the rabbi’s speech had spread and become public, the “Jewish world channel” allegedly felt compelled to postpone its plans. This conspiracy theory is in turn linked to the B’nai B’rith lodge by VV, which comments on this antisemitic theory with the following words:

“Merkel has been honoured by this lodge; it can be assumed that she serves this lodge, which is why she prevented the borders from getting closed in 2015 and has done so to this day. Every one of us knows about the crimes, knife attacks, murders, rapes and robbery committed against the Germans that have plagued this country and its people since then but that neither the politicians nor the courts have adequately prevented. So, it is intended and allowed and the so-called migrants are a means to an end, who will subsequently become victims of these goings-on too, as can be learned from this speech.” [sic!]

Scene members sometimes post antisemitic images on social media.

The YouTube video entitled “Heike Werding – Klappe die Zweite” (“Heike Werding – Take two”) shows an interview by the Volkslehrer with the GdVuSt official Heike Werding, in which she says:

108 “Die Umsetzung finsterer Pläne geschieht” (“The implementation of sinister plans is happening”), available online on ddbnews.wordpress.com.

“In the Vatican there are all Mosaic beliefs and then there is another system launched by Napoleon which, in my view, is ruled by the race of the Jews.”

Another YouTube video called “Halten Familien noch richtig zusammen?” (“Do families still stick together?”) insinuates right at the start that there is a Jewish plan to influence children against their parents:

“I think these times make it very difficult for families. In fact, there are statements by a Mr Rothschild that the aim is to place children in the care of the system increasingly early to turn them against their parents.”

III. Conclusion

Among Reichsbürger and Selbstverwalter, antisemitism does not play as prominent a part as in right-wing extremism. However, given that the Reichsbürger and Selbstverwalter scene partly consists of conspiracy theorists, right-wing extremists and “Reich ideologists”, antisemitic views are likely to be more widespread than has become known so far. In smaller sections, where the Reichsbürger and Selbstverwalter spectrum overlaps with the right-wing extremist scene of Holocaust deniers, antisemitism is clearly evident.

For Reichsbürger and Selbstverwalter, the main topics remain the denial of the legitimacy and sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Germany as well as the rejection of the Basic Law and the existing legal order, which does not necessarily involve primary, but possibly secondary antisemitism. Antisemitic attitudes become particularly apparent in connection with conspiracy theories, especially when they relate to what is allegedly behind “established politics”. Social and political antisemitism both play a role in this context.

110 “Heike Werding, Klappe die Zweite im Gespräch” (“Heike Werding, take two, in conversation”), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mymRCUHX0TI.

E. Antisemitism in Islamist extremism

I. General remarks on antisemitism in Islamist extremism

“Islam” refers to a religion the practice of which is protected by the German Basic Law and the freedom of religion guaranteed therein. By contrast, “Islamist extremism” describes a form of political extremism. Invoking Islam, Islamist extremism aims at the partial or complete abolition of the free democratic basic order of the Federal Republic of Germany. Islamist extremism is based on the conviction that Islam is not only a personal and private affair, but that it rules social life and the political order or regulates at least part of it. Islamist extremism postulates the existence of a divinely ordained – and therefore “true” and absolute – order that overrides the orders made by man. The aim pursued by all Islamist extremists is to establish this divinely ordained order not only in Arab and other Muslim countries, but also in Western states.

With their interpretation of Islam, Islamist extremists are in conflict with principles established in Germany’s Basic Law, in particular the sovereignty of the people, the separation of state and religion, the freedom of expression and equal rights in general.

![The difference between Islam and Islamist extremism](image)

The generic term “Islamist extremism” comprises several tendencies and movements, which often show considerable differences as to their ideological premises, their geographic orientation and their strategies and means. By exerting political and social influence, legalist tendencies such as the Millî Görüş movement try to impose an order they consider to be in conformity with Islam. They reject violence as a means to
succeed with their demands. The followers of Islamist extremist terrorist groups such as HAMAS and Hezbollah striving for the destruction of the State of Israel are focussed on their regions of origin, which is where they commit most of their terrorist acts of violence. In Western countries such as Germany, they try to gain support for their demands through their political and social commitment. Jihadist groups like Islamic State (IS) and al-Qaeda, for example, consider terrorist violence used against “infidels” and supposedly corrupt regimes to be indispensable in their fight for a state system that is based on sharia. Their terrorist agenda is a global one and presents a threat to all countries at international level.

All Islamist extremist tendencies and organisations clearly show antisemitic ideas; the only thing that varies is the way each group represents them in public.

1. Origin and development of Islamist extremist antisemitism

Islamic tradition tells of Muhammad’s attempts to convert three Jewish tribes to his faith. When his efforts failed, armed clashes broke out, ending in the military defeat of the tribes. These events provide the background to the Koran passages that are critical of Jews. The main accusation is that the Jews allegedly broke the covenant with Allah and the Muslims by not accepting Muhammad as the prophet chosen by God.

Nonetheless, Jews lived in safety in Islamic countries for many centuries, especially when compared with Central Europe and its Christian traditions. Antisemitic clashes or pogroms were relatively rare. It was only in the middle of the 19th century that European antisemitism started spreading to the Islamic world too.

Violent clashes between Jews and Muslims increasingly occurred from the 1920s onwards, when large numbers of European Jews emigrated to Palestine, where they faced economic and political competition with the local Arab population. Antisemitic views were also on the rise in organised Islamist extremism during that time. The Mufti112 of Jerusalem, Mohammed Amin el-Husseini, for instance, maintained close contact with the German National Socialists, openly agitating against Jews on the radio. Another example is the spreading, from the 1930s, of the Arabic translations of

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112 A Mufti is an Islamic legal scholar who issues legal opinions on specific aspects of Islamic law (fatwas).
European anti-Jewish writings among the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (MB), where they met with full approval.

The founding of Israel in 1948 and the country’s military triumph over the allied states of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq in the war of independence marked the peak of the conflict. In the course of the war, hundreds of thousands of Muslim Palestinians fled or were driven out of the country, which continues to strain relations between Israel and Palestine to this day. This military defeat caused an increase in antisemitic views among large parts of the population of the other Arab states too, which was a major factor in the emigration of almost 900,000 Jews from these countries. The only possible explanation for the fact that this small and supposedly weak country had managed to defeat the allied states seemed to be the construct of a “Jewish world conspiracy” as described in the antisemitic “Protocols of the Elders of Zion”. Initiated by the Egyptian government, the reprint of an Arabic translation of the “Protocols” finally resulted in their widespread distribution throughout the Arabic-speaking countries.

Published by Sayyid Qutb in 1950, the essay entitled “Our Struggle with the Jews” was an “ideological milestone” of Islamist extremist antisemitism. Qutb was born in Egypt and was already considered one of the most important theoreticians of the Islamist extremist Muslim Brotherhood in his own lifetime. His essay took up European antisemitic stereotypes, the conspiracy theories laid down in the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion” and anti-Jewish quotations from the Koran to form a unit of thought. By adapting traditional European antisemitism to the religious, social and cultural characteristics of the Arab world, Qutb created a new type of antisemitism: Islamist extremist antisemitism. Due to its European roots, Islamist extremist antisemitism continues to attract antisemites from various parts of society. One example of this is the partial co-operation between right-wing extremist and Islamist extremist Holocaust...
The support left-wing extremist groups provide to HAMAS can also be seen in that light. \(^{115}\)


\(^{115}\) As an example, see the pro-HAMAS articles published on the website of the Anti-imperialist Camp on www.antiimperialista.org/de.
2. Antisemitic stereotypes in Islamist extremism

Islamist extremist antisemitism as developed by Qutb is a characteristic feature of all Islamist extremist organisations. This is why all Islamist extremist ideologies have the same or at least a similar conception of Jews. The core idea always is that Jews allegedly endeavour, in secret, to obtain world domination or that they have already obtained it, thus controlling world politics and economy. The “Protocols of the Elders of Zion” are the written basis of this theory of a worldwide conspiracy, which was also taken up by Qutb.

Islamist extremists frequently refer to the following elements and motives:

**Jews controlling the financial and economic systems**

The supposed Jewish conspirators allegedly cause economic crises and deliberately cut back funds with the aim of making the rest of the world dependent on them. This assertion takes up the idea of the “greedy Jew”, which has existed since the Middle Ages, and transfers it to modern times.

**Jews stirring up wars and conflicts**

According to the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion”, Jewish conspirators provoke wars and conflicts all over the world to play peoples and nations off against each other and to wear them down. This allegation can for instance be found in the HAMAS charter of 1988, which in article 22 accuses the Jews of having caused both World War I and II. Allegedly, the Jews’ purported (and achieved) aim was to make money out of these wars, forming the financial basis for their world domination:

> They [author’s note: the Jews] were behind World War I, when they were able to destroy the Islamic Caliphate, making financial gains and controlling resources [...]. They were behind World War II, through which they made huge financial gains by trading in armaments […].”

**Jews enjoying the support of secret agents and organisations**

Part of the Jewish efforts to dominate the world described in the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion” allegedly consists in causing conflicts and tensions in society through secret agents and organisations. This accusation too was taken up by several Islamist
extremist organisations. They allege that Jews are the masterminds behind a variety of associations and movements such as the USA, the UN, liberalism or the Freemasons. Consequently, a common strategy is to discredit political opponents by portraying them as allies or accomplices of the Jews. The third edition of the IS magazine “Dabiq”, for instance, showed the former US President Barack Obama wearing a kippa.

The eternal struggle between Muslims and Jews

Both the Salafist and the jihadist spectrum are particularly prone to dividing the world into believers and nonbelievers. This worldview portrays Jews as belonging to the infidels and often also as their leaders. The Jews’ supposed aim is to systematically fight and destroy Islam. This ideological attitude is mostly based on Qutb’s work, which describes the alleged worldwide conflict in drastic terms. Qutb in turn cited a Hadith containing a prediction of an apocalyptic battle between Jews and Muslims. This apocalyptic idea conveyed in the hadith is frequently referred to in jihadist and other Islamist extremist texts and propaganda material.

3. Rejection of the State of Israel by Islamist extremist organisations

There are organisations within the Islamist extremist spectrum whose primary aim is to fight the very existence of the State of Israel. These include the Palestinian HAMAS and the Lebanese Hezbollah. Both organisations fight against Israel using military and terrorist means while frequently calling for the complete destruction of Israel in their propaganda. One of their commonly used slogans of propaganda is: “Palestine will be free, from the river to the sea!” These words refer to the River Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea, thus denying the State of Israel its right to exist.

While other Islamist extremist groups do not consider the State of Israel their main enemy, they still have a very hostile attitude towards the country. Besides, they show a stronger tendency towards viewing the Middle East conflict as part of a general global conflict between Muslims and the rest of the world (believers – nonbelievers). A statement made by the Islamist terrorist Amedy Coulibaly, who killed several people

116 Hadith are the prophet’s statements and actions handed down over time that serve as binding examples to devout Muslims. Together with the instructions laid down in the Koran, they form the basis for a godly life.
in a kosher supermarket in Paris in January 2015, is a characteristic example of this. When asked why he had chosen that particular supermarket, he answered:

“The Jews! Because of their oppression, mainly of Islamic State, but also anywhere else. It is for all areas where Muslims are being oppressed. Which includes Palestine!”

A characteristic all Islamist extremist organisations have in common is that they hardly make any distinction between the State of Israel and the Jewish people, neither in terms of language nor in terms of content. They often transfer centuries-old antisemitic stereotypes to Israel. A common example is the so-called blood libel, which has its roots in the Christian Middle Ages. It accuses the Jews of baking unleavened flatbread (matzo) using the blood of Christian children during the preparations of the Passover festival. The motif of the child-slaughtering Jew became a central element of anti-Israel agitation after the 2014 Gaza war, which saw many civilians – including children – killed by Israel’s attacks.

Both the slogan “child murderer Israel” used in many demonstrations and the sometimes excessive display of dead children in anti-Israel propaganda material fit into that context.

4. Prevalence of Islamist extremist antisemitism

A worldwide survey conducted by the Anti-Defamation League\textsuperscript{118} has found that antisemitic attitudes are most widely held in Middle East and North African countries (MENA region), where almost three quarters of respondents – 74 per cent, to be exact – agreed with a majority of the antisemitic stereotypes presented to them. Non-MENA countries have an average index score of 23 per cent. Outside the MENA region, the average index scores are as follows:

- Eastern Europe: 34 per cent
- Western Europe: 24 per cent
- Sub-Saharan Africa: 23 per cent
- Asia: 22 per cent
- The Americas: 19 per cent
- Oceania: 14 per cent

The antisemitic ideas spread by Islamist extremist groups and individuals are a serious challenge to peaceful and tolerant coexistence in Germany. In order to obtain detailed information on the extent to which these ideas have spread, the Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, in the last quarter of 2015, started compiling a list of “Antisemitic incidents with a suspected Islamist extremist background”. This list contains all antisemitic incidents that come to the knowledge of the German domestic intelligence services in the course of their work. In this context, an antisemitic incident is defined as any incident directed against Jews as Jews and/or against the Jewish community, regardless of whether such a community is organised within or outside the State of Israel. Anti-Zionism is understood as a subcategory of antisemitism that is often used as a pretext in order to avoid the specific condemnation of antisemitism in Germany and the associated (penal) sanctions.

\textsuperscript{118} The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) is a US Jewish organisation headquartered in New York, which is committed to fighting discrimination and defamation. The organisation’s main activity is combating antisemitism.
One of the prerequisites for entering an incident in the list is that it must have caused harm to people or institutions clearly belonging to the Jewish religious community. Another condition is that the originator of the incident must at least be suspected of having Islamist extremist views – for example through membership of an Islamist extremist organisation or through a clear demonstration of sympathy for it – and that these views must have been a decisive factor in causing the incident.

The list currently comprises more than 676 antisemitic incidents from the period between February 2012 and October 2019. It grows by an average of more than 120 incidents per year, which is approximately 2.5 incidents per week.

The recorded incidents range from anti-Israeli banners at demonstrations through antisemitic sermons in mosques to verbal and physical attacks on people of Jewish faith.

Half of all registered incidents are antisemitic posts on the Internet, especially on social media such as Facebook, WhatsApp or Telegram, thus constituting the largest category by far. Antisemitic incidents involving traditional distribution channels such as print media, sermons and public speeches are much less common. Although Islamist extremist organisations still use such channels to spread their anti-Jewish ideas, they make up only 26 per cent of all registered incidents. Around 12 per cent of all incidents are oral remarks made in private. Taking into account that at least a part of the antisemitic graffiti and posts on social networks also comes from private individuals without a connection to Islamist extremist organisations, it becomes clear that “everyday antisemitism” is even more widespread than that.

The number of physical attacks against Jewish individuals registered so far has been small. However, these few isolated cases already show that the ideological radicalisation and the incitement to hatred and violence fuelled by antisemitic ideas can trigger violent escalations, a part of which may have significant consequences for the victims, even if the perpetrators are neither members nor followers of Islamist extremist organisations.

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119 Date of information: November 2019. It is important to consider, however, that the list was only started in the third quarter of 2015 and initialised throughout Germany in the fourth quarter of that year. The recording of the incidents that happened before mid-2015 was therefore done in retrospect and only insofar as it was possible to identify these past occurrences without extra effort. This is why, for the period between February 2012 and September 2015 (44 months), only 125 incidents were recorded.

120 Physical attacks also include acts that do not cause physical injuries, such as spitting at people.
extremist organisations. This particularly applies to individuals socialised in the Arab world in milieus in which antisemitic views are a common phenomenon.\textsuperscript{121} A typical example of this is a young man from Syria who, in Berlin in April 2018 in broad daylight, used a belt to attack an Israeli wearing a kippa.

More than 70 per cent of all reported incidents were linked with Islamist extremist organisations. This includes numerous supraregional organisations (such as the Millî Görüş movement [MGB], the Muslim Brotherhood [MB], HAMAS, Hezbollah, Islamic State [IS], etc.), but also local and regional mosques and cultural associations.

At the same time, for almost 29 per cent of all incidents, there was no proof of a direct link between the actors and Islamist extremist organisations. These non-organised Muslim individuals may be a gauge of how far antisemitic ideas have spread beyond Islamist extremist organisations and/or of the extent to which, based on the propaganda of such organisations, these ideas have developed a momentum of their own. In any case, these incidents are indicative of a Muslim “everyday antisemitism” in Germany.

Regarding the list of incidents, it must be noted that it contains only those incidents that come to the attention of the German domestic intelligence services in the course of their work. There is no systematic search for such incidents. Likewise, police information is only included in the list if the German domestic intelligence services receive such information in connection with their work. It therefore seems likely that the overall number of incidents is actually much higher and that the list represents only the “tip of the iceberg”.\textsuperscript{122}

To give an impression of the intensity and range of Islamist extremist antisemitism in Germany, some of the incidents from BfV’s list are described below:

\textsuperscript{121} In countries in the Near and Middle East and in North Africa, antisemitic views are prevalent in around 75 to 90 per cent of the total population (see German Bundestag, Printed Paper 18/11970, Report of the Independent Panel on Antisemitism, 7 April 2017, p. 91ff.). See also the chart under item E. I. 4.

\textsuperscript{122} The accuracy of this assumption is i.a. supported by a study of the forms and ideological backgrounds of antisemitic agitation on social networks, for which the domestic intelligence service of the federal state of Hesse analysed the posts relating to 38 articles and videos dating from between 2010 and 2016 on the topics of Jews/Judaism, Israel/Middle East conflict and antisemitism. Of 600 comments containing antisemitic ideas, more than 200 were classified as having a potentially Islamist extremist or at least a Muslim background. None of the more than 100 posts dating from 2013 or later is included in BfV’s list of incidents. See Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz Hessen: “… und die Gerüchte stammen nicht von irgendwelchen Nazis!” (“... And the rumours do not come from some old Nazis!”), Wiesbaden 2017.
12 October 2015: A Facebook user from Berlin publishes a post saying: “It is time to massacre every damned Jew. I say it again and again, you wretched sons of a bitch: There ought to be a hundred dead Jews for every dead Palestinian, Inshallah yarab\textsuperscript{123}! I do not say Zionists any more, I say Jews! The entire damned people, in fact!”

13 November 2015: The participants of a demonstration held in Hamburg city centre by the Palästinensische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland (PGD / Palestinian Community in Germany) chant slogans such as “mass murderer Israel” or “terror state Israel”.

1 December 2015: The following post appears on the Facebook page of an individual living close to Stuttgart: “All the wars in this world are fought on behalf of the empire of Greater Israel. May your line wither, tyrannical Israel!”

4 April 2016: In Berlin two men of Arab ethnicity approach a woman who is wearing a pendant in the shape of the country of Israel. The two men then insult her with, among others, the following words: “You bloody Jews! You are the scum of the earth.”

16 July 2016: Two unknown individuals ask a Jewish person on his way to the synagogue whether he is a Jew. When he answers in the affirmative, one of the two men gets angry and says that he is a Palestinian. He threatens the Jewish person and spits into his face several times.

13 March 2017: A Facebook user posts the following sentence next to the photomontage of a Dutch politician wearing a kippa: “\textit{The Netherlands belong to the Zionists Rothschild and Rockefeller}.”

13 May 2017: Unknown individuals scrawl the word “Haram” (Arabic for impure, forbidden or cursed) on the walls of a synagogue in Berlin.

8 December 2017: In the course of a demonstration at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin against the US government’s decision to move its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, people chant several antisemitic and anti-Israeli slogans, including “\textit{Khaybar, Khaybar, o Jews, the army of Muhammad will return!”}\textsuperscript{124} Moreover, they set an Israeli flag on fire.

\textsuperscript{123} “Allah willing, oh Lord.”
\textsuperscript{124} The Battle of Khaybar was a campaign fought by Muhammad against the oasis of Khaybar, which at the time was inhabited by Jews and which is located in what is today Saudi Arabia. The campaign ended with the victory of the Muslims. The events at
16 December 2017: A video of a vigil held by the association Palästinensische Gemeinde Deutschland – Hannover e.V. (Palestinian Community Germany – Hanover, regd. assoc.) is posted on the association’s Facebook page. It shows a man carrying a megaphone who calls upon people to “go to Al-Qods (Israel) by the millions” in order to “die as martyrs”.

12 January 2018: An inebriated individual of Tunisian origin rampages through Cologne shouting: “I will gas all Jews!”

30 May 2018: An individual running a Telegram channel publishes an article with the headline “Do Jews control the media?” on that channel. In the antisemitic discussion that follows, he writes: “The kuffar and Zionists’ friends always claim that these are all conspiracy theories! [...] Take this proof to shut the kuffar up!!!”

17 June 2018: Several individuals of Turkish origin jump around on the stelae of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin. When approached about his behaviour, one of the perpetrators says: “I fuck the Jews!”

8 September 2018: A Jewish woman visiting a late-night shop in Berlin takes her bunch of keys from her pocket, which is decorated with a Star of David. A Lebanese staff member throws her out of the shop with the words “Piss off, you Jewish whore”.

II. Antisemitism within Islamist extremist organisations and movements

A description of Islamist extremist organisations and movements active in Germany can be found below, including examples illustrating the antisemitic attitude they display in Germany.

Khaybar are an important point of reference for Islamist extremists. Hezbollah, for instance, gave the name “Khaibar-1” to a missile they used during the 2006 Lebanon War to fire at cities in North Israel. The quoted slogan – “Chaibar, Chaibar, yahud, jaish Muhammad sa-ya’ud” in Arabic – also is a recurring phrase in the Islamist extremist context. Amrozi bin Nurhasyim, for example, who was one of the perpetrators of the 2002 Bali attack (killing 202 and leaving 209 injured, some of them severely), used that phrase, popular in Islamist extremist circles, while entering the courtroom.

125 “Nonbelievers”.

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1. Muslim Brotherhood (MB)

Founded by Hasan al-Bannā in 1928, the Muslim Brotherhood is considered the oldest and most influential Sunni movement in Islamist extremism. According to its own statements, it exists in more than 70 countries in various forms. Through missionary work (da’wa) in these countries, MB strives to win a majority of each society over to its conservative interpretation of Islam. Its declared (overall) aim is to establish Islamic political systems based on sharia. Qutb’s essay entitled “Our struggle with the Jews” continues to shape MB’s antisemitic attitude to this day. In May 2017, for instance, MB’s official leadership published a press release stating that the active resistance against Israel and the support for HAMAS were justified until “the entire Islamic land has been liberated from the Zionist occupying forces”\(^{126}\).

Born in Egypt in 1926, Yusuf Abdallah al-Qaradawi has been considered one of the Muslim Brotherhood’s most influential thinkers for decades.\(^{127}\) Through his sermons and his television programme “Sharia and Life” broadcast on Al Jazeera, al-Qaradawi is able to reach an audience of millions, including in Europe. He has an uncompromisingly hostile attitude towards the State of Israel and expresses antisemitic opinions. One example of this is the following statement aired on 28 January 2009 via the channel Al Jazeera, which can be received in Germany too: “Throughout history, Allah has imposed upon the [Jews] people who would punish them for their corruption. The last punishment was carried out by Hitler. By means of all the things he did to them – even though they exaggerated this issue – he managed to put them in their place. This was divine punishment for them. Allah willing, the next time will be at the hand of the believers.”\(^{128}\)

On 9 January of the same year, al-Qaradawi had called the Jews enemies of Allah and of Islam and “treacherous aggressors” before uttering a prayer during a sermon

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\(^{127}\) Regarding al-Qaradawi and his interpretation of Islam, see the dissertation published by the Akademie für Verfassungsschutz (Academy of the German domestic civil and military intelligence services; ed.): Yusuf al-Qaradawi und das Konzept der Wasatiya (Yusuf al-Qaradawi and his concept of wasatiya), https://www.verfassungsschutz.de/oeffentlichkeitsarbeit/publikationen/pb-diplomarbeiten/diplomarbeit-2015-06-al-qaradawi.

broadcast via Al Jazeera that demanded the annihilation of the Jewish people: “Oh Allah, take this oppressive, Jewish, Zionist band of people. Oh Allah, do not spare a single one of them. Oh Allah, count their numbers, and kill them, down to the very last one.”

Al-Qaradawi also was a founding member and long-time chairman of the European Council for Fatwa and Research (ECFR). Founded in London in 1997, this council of Islamic scholars close to the Muslim Brotherhood is particularly committed to issuing Islamic legal opinions incorporating Islamist extremist ideas. In the hands of Islamist extremist scholars, this means of laying down for ordinary believers what is allowed or forbidden in Islam is a powerful weapon when it comes to establishing a conservative interpretation of Islamic law, sharia, as a binding set of rules for all believers. This could affect relations between Muslims and Jews in Europe, which is proven by the fact that during an ECFR meeting one of the scholars cited the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion” as evidence of an alleged Jewish conspiracy aimed at undermining Islamic values through sexual permissiveness.

In Germany, too, there are circles close to the Muslim Brotherhood that try to influence the Muslim community living in Germany by means of legal opinions conforming to their world view. The fatwa committee in Germany, for instance, which was founded in 2016, states that it follows the ECFR. Founded in 2000, the Rat der Imame und Gelehrten in Deutschland e.V. (RIGD / Council of Imams and Scholars in Germany, regd. assoc.) has its headquarters in Frankfurt am Main. Similar to ECFR at European level, RIGD tries to act as an

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130 “The final analysis, in the third part of this dissertation, of the legal opinions issued by the European Council for Fatwa and Research has shown that al-Qaradawi, and with him the entire council, do not at all contribute to a moderate, let alone a liberal interpretation of Islamic law. Both the fatwa on Muslim women’s clothing and the statement on apostasy demonstrate that despite constant affirmations of a moderate and balanced understanding of law, the council continues to cling to conservative and Islamist extremist interpretations of Islamic law. (...) As far as apostasy is concerned, the council makes it quite plain that it considers the execution of believers after public apostasy a legitimate punishment. Furthermore, al-Qaradawi’s remarks on Palestine reveal the conclusions he draws from his opinion that Israel is a country of war. While the fatwa council, in its legal opinion, avoids explicitly calling for violence, some parts of the text are written in a way that may justify suicide attacks. The consideration of several others of al-Qaradawi’s statements and texts has shown that he not only approves of such attacks within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but also that he legitimises them through the fatwas he has issued. Although, in his book Fiqh of Jihad, he claims a moderate position for himself regarding the term ’jihad’ in the context of the Wasatiya’s leitmotif, he is still willing to justify even suicide attacks, which apparently fall within the scope of his principle.” Yusuf al-Qaradawi und das Konzept der Wasatiya (Yusuf al-Qaradawi and his concept of wasatiya), p. 64f.


132 “The fatwa committee is a body of specialists. Its rulings are based on the principles and aims of Islam in order to make life for Muslims in Germany easier. We follow the European Council, the largest and oldest fatwa body of scholars in Europe.” https://fatwarat.de.
authority for the Muslims living in Germany as regards matters relating to the interpretation of Islam.

In Germany the Deutsche Muslimische Gemeinschaft (DMG / German Muslim Community; formerly called the Islamische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland / IGD) is considered the central and most important organisation of MB followers. One of its major goals is to present itself as a respectable, moderate contact for politicians, authorities and social associations. Although official leaders avoid making antisemitic statements so as not to jeopardise this goal, such remarks by German MB followers can be determined time and again.

2. HAMAS

HAMAS was founded in the Gaza Strip at the start of the first Palestinian intifada (“uprising”) beginning in 1987.\textsuperscript{133} Seeing itself as the Palestinian arm of the Muslim Brotherhood, its aim is to establish a Palestinian Islamic state stretching from the Mediterranean Sea to the River Jordan, which would result in the end of the State of Israel. In addition to acting politically, HAMAS also carries out violent activities against Israeli institutions. Its argumentation combines religious, national and territorial motives.

The antisemitic attitude of HAMAS can already be inferred from its founding charter, which includes statements such as the following: “In their Nazi treatment, the Jews made no exception for women or children. Their policy of striking fear in the heart is meant for all. They attack people where their breadwinning is concerned, extorting their money and threatening their honour.”\textsuperscript{134} The charter also claims that the Jews endeavour to control the international media, founding “secret societies […] in different parts of the world for the purpose of sabotaging societies and achieving Zionist interests.”\textsuperscript{135} This document cites the notorious “Protocols of the Elders of Zion” as an

\textsuperscript{133} Hamas: Arabic for “zeal”, “fighting spirit”; it also is the acronym for Harakat al-muqawama al-islamiyya, which means “Islamic resistance movement”.

\textsuperscript{134} Article 20 of the HAMAS charter, accessed on https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp. The clearly antisemitic orientation of the text is also reflected in the fact that its authors deliberately employ the term “Jews” instead of the possible alternatives “Israelis” or “Zionists”.

\textsuperscript{135} Ibid., article 22.
irrefutable proof of Jewish infamy. “The Zionist plan is limitless. After Palestine, the Zionists aspire to expand from the Nile to the Euphrates. When they will have digested the region they overtook, they will aspire to further expansion, and so on. Their plan is embodied in the ‘Protocols of the Elders of Zion’, and their present conduct is the best proof of what we are saying.”

Massive antisemitic propaganda is spread by the HAMAS-controlled television channel Al-Aqsa TV, which broadcasts from Gaza. It was on this channel – which can be received in Europe too – that Rajaa al-Halabi, chairwoman of the HAMAS women’s movement, announced on 5 February 2020 that they would yet have the chance to “stand on the threshold of the Al-Aqsa Mosque and to walk all over the Jews with [their] feet”. In a sermon broadcast by Al-Aqsa TV on 28 June 2019, the preacher said that “Zionists” deliberately ordered women to seduce Arab men in order to pass the HIV infection on to them.

The “new” HAMAS charter published in February 2017, while managing without the traditional forms of antisemitic propaganda found in the original charter, contains paragraphs with a clearly anti-Israeli stance. It also continues to call for violence. In Germany HAMAS has not staged any acts of violence so far. The organisation mainly endeavours to attract new followers among the Palestinians living here and to collect donations. Still, it engages in spreading its antisemitic and anti-Israeli ideas in Germany too.

HAMAS followers and sympathisers holding a demonstration in November 2015, for example, chanted slogans such as “mass murderer Israel”, “terror state Israel” and “child murderer Israel”.

In October 2015 an apparent HAMAS sympathiser published the following post on Facebook: “It is time to massacre every damned Jew. I say it again and again, you wretched sons of a bitch, there ought to be a hundred dead Jews for every dead

136 Ibid., article 32.
Palestinian, Inshallah yarab. I do not say Zionists any more, I say Jews! The entire damned people, in fact.”

3. Hezbollah

The Shia Hezbollah (“Party of God”) was founded in 1982 during the Lebanon War on the initiative of the leader of the Iranian Revolution, Ayatollah Khomeini. Starting as a guerrilla movement fighting against Israel’s occupation of South Lebanon, Hezbollah began a violent terrorist struggle against Israel after the end of the occupation in 1985. Inspired by the ideological and religious model of Iran, the organisation at the same time promoted the “Islamic Revolution” and the worldwide spreading of Islam. Hezbollah has been subject to a ban on its activities in Germany since 30 April 2020 by order of the Federal Minister of the Interior, Building and Community.

Similar to HAMAS, Hezbollah also uses antisemitic statements – in the sense of hatred against all Jews – to support its line of argument against Israel. Referring to the Koran, they frequently describe Jews as devious and dangerous enemies of Islam. The content of the Arabic-language pro-Hezbollah TV station al-Manar TV, which openly calls for the destruction of the State of Israel, is a particularly clear example of this. As early as 13 December 2004, the French Council of State prohibited the French satellite operator Eutelsat from broadcasting this channel. The ban had been preceded by serious accusations of antisemitism made by Jewish groups from the USA and France; for instance, the TV series “al-Shatat” (“The Diaspora”) had told the story of a Jewish rabbi killing a Christian child in order to obtain blood for baking matzo bread. The US State Department even declared al-Manar a “media terrorist” in 2004, putting it on the list of terrorist organisations and withdrawing its national broadcasting licence.

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139 Facebook comment of the user Ahmad Izzedine-Al Qassam (www.facebook.com/prince.auspalastina) of 12 October 2015 regarding a video on the Facebook page www.facebook.com/gazaInfo. The page does not exist any more.
140 The Lighthouse.
On 29 October 2008 the Federal Ministry of the Interior imposed a ban on the activities of al-Manar in Germany. Since then, its programmes may no longer be shown in public buildings in Germany (hotels, cafés, restaurants, clubhouses etc.). However, since al-Manar TV is broadcast via an Egyptian satellite and via Internet, its antisemitic content can still be viewed on private television sets.

Antisemitic incidents also regularly occur in the course of the annual al-Quds Day demonstrations attended by Hezbollah activists and sympathisers.

In July 2017 a group of people hoisted a Hezbollah flag in Berlin. When police officers tried to stop them, one of them shouted: “These bloody Jews are killing our children and we are not even allowed to show our flag! Damn those nasty Jews!”

Hezbollah also uses social media to spread its antisemitic ideas. Various speeches with strong antisemitic content delivered by Hezbollah’s secretary general Hassan Nasrallah in particular can be found on the Internet. One of those speeches was shared as a video entitled “Write with blood, death to Israel” in December 2017.

4. Hizb ut-Tahrir (HuT)

Hizb ut-Tahrir (HuT) was founded in Jerusalem in 1953 by Taqiaddin al-Nabhani, whose principal work, “The System of Islam” (“Nizam al-Islam”), serves as the organisation’s ideological basis still today. HuT’s aim is to unite the Muslim community in a worldwide caliphate with an Islamic legal system. HuT considers Islam and democracy to be incompatible, thus rejecting secular state systems and asserting they must be fought against.

Before being banned, HuT used leaflets, a magazine of its own and the Internet to promote antisemitic views in Germany and to call for the destruction of Israel.
propaganda called the State of Israel “a crime against humanity”\textsuperscript{143} that had to be wiped out. The Jews were referred to as “the lowest part of God’s creation on earth”\textsuperscript{144}. 

HuT caused stir through an event with the title “Iraq – A new war and its impact” held on the premises of Technische Universität Berlin on 27 October 2002. In addition to an audience of around 350 people, mostly students, the then chairman of the right-wing extremist political party NPD Udo Voigt and the then NPD lawyer Horst Mahler attended the event.

Because of its aggressive statements and its ideology directed against the concept of international understanding, the Federal Ministry of the Interior imposed a ban on HuT’s activities in Germany in 2003. While the party has no longer displayed any public activity in Germany since that time, the individuals associated with HuT continue to pursue their activities underground and especially via social media. They strive to spread HuT’s radical ideology and its antisemitic ideas among young people, including in the ranks of the refugees who have come to Germany.

In January 2017 a Facebook user commented on a post published by the organisation Generation Islam, which has ties to HuT: “Israel, a cancerous ulcer that must be removed by force.”

In June 2018 the following quotation can be found on a Facebook page considered to belong to HuT:

“If a single army from among the ummah started to march against Israel at the time of the morning prayer, they would be able to pray in al-Aqsa by the time of the midday prayer. The weakest of people are killing us, not because we have no courage, but because we bow to the traitors.”

\textsuperscript{143} 50 Jahre – Happy Birthday Israel (50 years – Happy Birthday Israel), Explizit, no. 5, April/June 1998.

\textsuperscript{144} Leaflet entitled “Offener Brief der HuT an die arabischen Herrscher, die am Gipfkongress in Kairo teilnehmen” (“Open letter of HuT to the Arab rulers attending the summit in Cairo”) dated 19 October 2000.
5. Millî Görüş movement

Founded by the Turkish politician Necmettin Erbakan, this political religious movement attaches great importance to the terms “millî görüş” (“national vision”) and “adil düzen” (“just order”). The followers of this movement consider to be “just” any order that is based on “divine revelation”. By contrast, they reject as “invalid” any order made by man. They claim that these “invalid” systems have to be replaced by a “just order” exclusively based on Islamic principles instead of adhering to rules made by man and therefore regarded as “arbitrary”. The primary aims pursued by the Millî Görüş movement are the creation of a “new great Turkey” and the establishment of an Islamic social order. The latter is not only demanded for Turkey, but for the whole world, which is why Western democracies are rejected.

While Millî Görüş strives to achieve its aims without violence, antisemitic statements have been an integral part of the movement from the start. One of Erbakan’s texts, “The Just Economic System”, already supported the thesis of “Zionists” controlling “Imperialism” and exploiting all mankind with the help of the capitalist concept of interest. \[145\]

More antisemitic statements can be found up to present times in printed material published by the Millî Görüş movement, especially in the daily paper “Millî Gazete”, whose antisemitic self-concept can be seen i.a. from a column published in August 2015 entitled “To write for Millî Gazete means to oppose the world domination of the Zionist ideology!”

In July 2017 an association based in East Westphalia belonging to the Millî Görüş movement shared a Facebook post quoting the following verses by the poet Necip Fazıl Kısakürek: “Collapse, Israel. I want to see your ruins. I spit in the faces of those who call you a country.” \[146\]

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6. Salafism

Deriving from the Arabic word “Salafiyya”, the term “Salafism” can be translated as “following the pious predecessors”. “Salaf” means “ancestor”.

Salafists claim that their entire way of thinking and acting exclusively follows a literal understanding of the Koran and the Sunna as well as the example of the companions of the prophet and the first three generations that came after him. As a result, they reject not only any democratic orders, but also the subsequent historical development of Islam and its interpretation by Muslim legal schools. Stressing their alleged exclusiveness, Salafists think of themselves as the only “true” believers. Their extreme ideas often lead to radicalisation and an approval of violence towards so-called nonbelievers. Consequently, there is no clear-cut dividing line between political and jihadist Salafism.

Salafism sees itself as a deliberate counter-concept to Western societies and their values, which also shows in Salafists’ clothing and in the language they use. At the same time, Salafism is a product of our Western society. Salafism thus is the first “homegrown Islamist extremism”, which has been profoundly shaped by the Salafists living here and which – unlike the “established” Islamist extremist organisations – does not have to take into account any traditions followed in the respective countries of origin. That is one of the reasons why Salafism continues to attract large numbers of people in Germany. The Salafist scene currently comprises more than 12,000 individuals. In addition to Shias, atheists and converts who had previously professed the Muslim faith, the enemy image of the Jews and/or the State of Israel is a central element within the German Salafist scene too. This is particularly evident on the Internet, which Salafists use to spread antisemitic propaganda on websites,
Facebook profiles and WhatsApp groups. One example of this is the association Islamische Audios (Islamic audio files), which the Federal Ministry of the Interior banned in 2013 and which had used the Internet to publish numerous pictures and statements such as “Nazi & Israel: same shit, different asshole”.

Another example is a Salafist group’s post of a picture showing Adolf Hitler with the text “There will be a time when you will swear at me for every Jew still alive because I did not have all of them wiped out”.

In public, preachers of political Salafism pretend to be moderate and usually avoid making any antisemitic remarks. There are occasional exceptions to this rule though.

7. Islamic State (IS)

Founded as a part of the worldwide al-Qaeda network in late 2003, IS adopted a central role in the Syrian civil war in the course of 2013, conquering areas in Northern Iraq in early 2014. IS proclaimed the “caliphate” on 29 June 2014, which attracted thousands of jihadists from all over the world. In the name of “true” Islam, IS subjugated the population in Syria and in Northern Iraq and committed a large number of terrorist attacks in Western countries. Despite the almost complete military defeat the organisation suffered in 2017, IS and the lone actors and small groups it inspires or controls still pose a major terrorist threat.

IS strives to destroy the State of Israel and the entire Jewish people, a goal regularly found in the organisation’s propaganda. The second edition of the IS magazine “Dabiq”, for instance, states as follows: “It is only a matter of time before it [author’s note: IS] will reach Palestine to fight the barbaric Jews and to kill those who hide behind the ‘Gharqad’ trees, the trees of the Jews.”

When IS reinforced its positions on the Sinai Peninsula in 2016, a series of propaganda videos presented this as a step towards the “liberation of Jerusalem”. The enemy images of “Israel” and the “Jews” are inextricably linked, which is why jihadist groups consider them particularly suitable for mobilising their followers. Consequently, these stereotypes have been continuously present in jihadist propaganda.
In June 2018 a grouping classified as belonging to IS published a video in Arabic calling for a struggle against all IS enemies, including the USA, the Jews, Shias and laics, whose behaviour they compare with metastases. The video further stated that IS was fighting these metastases by “cutting their heads off and spilling their dirty blood without mercy”.

III. Conclusion

The enemy image of “the Jew” is a major common denominator in the ideologies of all Islamist extremist groups. Islamist extremists follow the anti-Jewish traditions of Islam, but the antisemitic narrative in Islamist extremism is also based on European sources and, not least, on National Socialism. For instance, the blood libel, which claims that Jews need children’s blood to bake matzo bread for their Passover festival, has its roots in the Christian Middle Ages, but has been taken up in Islamist extremist circles to this day. As in the case of the television channel of Hezbollah, it has even found its way back to Europe.

Antisemitism in the context of Islamist extremism takes various shapes. Except for its racist form, virtually all of its varieties are present and overlap. Referring to religious sources such as the Koran, Islamist extremists often consider Jews to be murderers of their own prophets and thus rebels against God. Consequently, fighting them is seen as an order from God. In the context of social antisemitism, Jews are also frequently viewed as major actors of the international financial community. A political interpretation of profound impact is that international conspiracies by Jewish actors allegedly target the Islamic world in particular. In this connection, the anti-Zionist idea of a “war of destruction” fought by the State of Israel against the Palestinians is the consensus among large sections of Arab Islamic societies, reaching far beyond Islamist extremist circles. This antisemitic hatred may well develop exterminatory tendencies.

The whole range of antisemitic ideas prevailing among the population of countries in the Near and Middle East finds its way to Germany through various modern communication channels and, to a high degree, also through television. This is not only true for TV stations with direct links to extremist organisations, such as the one
al-Manar has to Hezbollah, but also for those that provide a forum for preachers who are keen to convey the impression of being moderate such as Yusuf al-Qaradawi.

The example of al-Qaradawi may also serve to illustrate the dual strategy pursued by parts of the Islamist extremist spectrum in exporting key elements of their ideology – like antisemitism – to Europe. Despite presenting themselves as representatives of a moderate middle course (“wasatiya”), they make formats such as the television series “Sharia and Life” with its Islamist extremist and antisemitic content available to the Arabic-speaking population in Europe and Germany. At the same time, they try to recommend themselves as a legal authority to the Muslims living here. Many Muslims have questions relating to daily life, such as their relations with Jews, Christians and atheists, to which they seek answers that are in conformity with Islam. They receive these answers through legal opinions, i.e. fatwas, issued by scholarly authorities. If forums influenced by Islamist extremism such as the European Council for Fatwa and Research succeeded in acquiring such authority, this could place a heavy burden on the coexistence of people of different religious affiliations.

Such insights especially gain in importance against the background of the arrival of Muslims in Germany that has taken place over the last few years. Many of these people come from countries where antisemitic views have for many decades been common and have even been propagated by their governments. If integration in Germany failed, the lasting effect antisemitism has had on many refugees could present a starting point for Islamist extremist radicalisation. The latent or manifest antisemitic stereotypes conveyed to them during socialisation in their home countries seem familiar to Muslim refugees who become subject to Islamist extremist recruiting efforts, which may make it more likely that these refugees will also accept other parts of Islamist extremist ideology.
F. Antisemitism in the field of extremism of foreigners

I. General remarks on antisemitism in the field of extremism of foreigners

Antisemites in the field of extremism of foreigners are a subset of all antisemites in Germany.

For Turkish right-wing extremists, antisemitism is a core ideological element. Their ideology is marked by an idealisation of Turkishness (the definitions of which vary) and the simultaneous denigration of other nations, ethnic groups and religions. Hostility towards Jews is of particular significance in this context. While the scene derives other enemy images from historical and territorial (e.g. the Armenians) or ideological concepts (e.g. “Moscow” and “the USA” as embodiments of communism and/or capitalism that must be fought against), Jews are treated with hostility both because of their alleged biological inferiority and because of their purported conspiratorial influence throughout the world. The antisemitism of Ülkücü followers has its roots in specific religious interpretations, conspiracy theories and imputations of inferiority derived from biologism. With the founding of the State of Israel, an anti-Zionism was added that manifests itself in their taking the Palestinians’ side in a biased way.

For secular extremist Palestinians and the “BDS movement”, the principal point of reference of antisemitic agitation is the competition for territory and the labelling of their rivals as “Jews in Israel”. Jews are at best granted the possibility to coexist with Muslim Arabs in a “Palestine” of some kind. The hidden agenda of this concession is that demographic developments would make Jews, compared with the Palestinian Muslim Arabs, an insignificant minority within just a few generations. Imputations of inferiority derived from biologism are of lesser importance.

In other fields of extremism of foreigners, antisemitism does not play an ideological role because there are usually no regional, religious or political links. Only left-wing extremist Turks may occasionally voice criticism of Israel, which, however, is not
ANTISEMITISM IN THE FIELD OF EXTREMISM OF FOREIGNERS

primarily centred on religion and ethnicity, but on the territorial conflict with the Palestinians.

It is difficult to quantify the number of individuals holding antisemitic views in the field of extremism of foreigners. The number of Ülkücü followers is estimated at 11,000. Moreover, there are around 120 PFLP adherents. However, no reliable estimate can be made regarding the number of followers of both groups who have a manifestly antisemitic motivation.

In addition to the members of anti-Israel Palestinian organisations in Germany, a so far unknown number of Palestinians has arrived since 2015 as a result of the civil war in Syria. Work on individual cases has shown that many of them have a hostile attitude towards Israel. The fact that they call themselves “Palestinians” (instead of “Arabs” or “Syrians”, for example, although many of them were born in Arab countries or in Syria) is an implicit commitment to “Palestine” as the territorial opponent of Israel and of the Jews living there.

II. Examples of antisemitism in the field of extremism of foreigners

1. Secular Palestinians

a) Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)

Founded in 1967, the cadre organisation Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which is characterised by secularism, follows Marxist-Leninist principles. Its ideology is marked by a strong nationalism. PFLP strives to establish a Palestinian state, with Jerusalem as the capital, within the borders of historical Palestine before the founding of Israel. The organisation intends to achieve this aim by ending the “Zionist occupation”.

Consequently, PFLP denies Israel’s right to exist and openly propagates the armed struggle against the country. In accordance with its goals and ideological orientation, the organisation’s antisemitic agitation is very anti-Zionist in nature. According to its doctrine, Jews may also live in the state of Palestine which is to be established.
b) Extremist Palestinian individuals

Since 2015 especially, large numbers of secular Palestinians have found refuge in Germany who, within the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, frequently express their anti-Israel views. They often take a Marxist or social-revolutionary stance without being members of PFLP or other Palestinian political organisations.

There are sporadic remarks from among this spectrum that approve of violence, which frequently go along with anti-Zionist antisemitism.

c) BDS movement

Committed to “Boycott, Divestment & Sanctions”, the BDS movement wages a campaign that calls for a complete economic boycott, the withdrawal of investment capital and political sanctions by states against Israel.

According to its own statements, the BDS movement is a (worldwide) union of 171 chiefly Palestinian organisations (including the terrorist organisations HAMAS and PFLP), which was presumably set up in 2005 shortly after the end of the second intifada. It calls for “freedom, justice, equality” for the Palestinians, for an end of Israeli occupation and of the allegedly systematic discrimination against Palestinians by Israel (“apartheid”), and for a right to return for all Palestinian “refugees” (including all descendants of those who fled and/or were expelled in 1948).

On 17 May 2019 the German Bundestag adopted a motion jointly tabled by the political parties CDU/CSU, SPD, FDP and Bündnis90/Die Grünen entitled “Effectively countering the BDS movement – Fighting antisemitism”.\textsuperscript{151} The text says: “The

\textsuperscript{151} German Bundestag, Printed Paper 19/10191, 15 May 2019.
patterns of argumentation and the methods followed by the BDS movement are antisemitic."

2. Turkish right-wing extremism (Ülkücü movement)

The followers of the Ülkücü ideology promote the idea of an empire called “Turan” that unites all Turkic peoples as the ruling race. The intended empire would comprise large areas outside the Turkish national boundaries of today.

One of the characteristic ideological features of the scene is the idealisation of Turkey and Turkishness in combination with the denigration of other ethnic groups. Deeply rooted antisemitism is a core element of their ideology.

The movement, whose followers are called “Grey Wolves”, has an intense hatred of Jews. Nihâl Atsız (1905–1975), one of its leading thinkers, had referred to a number of peoples as enemies as early as in 1941 in what is called his “Testament to his son”; “in secret”, he said, “the Jews are the enemies of all peoples”.

Antisemitic propaganda generally pictures Jews as the controlling shadowy force in the background that manipulates the media and incites Muslims to turn against one another.

The image below shows a Facebook post along those lines, which was published by an Ülkücü follower in July 2019:
Antisemitism in Turkish right-wing extremism is not a specific independent form of antisemitism. Its stereotypes and prejudices are the same as those in other fields of extremism.

For strategic reasons, the Ülkücü scene, which is organised in associations\(^{152}\), avoids expressing antisemitism openly so as not to jeopardise its outward appearance of respectability.

Outside these organised Ülkücü associations (which comprise around 1,000 individuals), antisemitic agitation is shown openly and overtly.

In this connection, followers of the Ülkücü ideology frequently create, share and favourably comment on antisemitic posts in social networks. The below post of September 2019 denounces Israel as a terror state and represents the prime minister as a vampire with a Star of David on his forehead:

Translation:

"Hello
My name is Jacob Rothschild.
My family is worth more than 500 trillion dollars.
We own almost every central bank worldwide.
We always finance both sides of each war, ever since Napoleon.
We control your news, media, oil and your government.
... You have probably never heard of me ...
"

\(^{152}\) These include the umbrella organisation Föderation der Türkisch-Demokratischen Idealistenvereine in Deutschland e.V. (ADÜTDF / Federation of the Turkish Democratic Idealists’ Associations in Germany regd. assoc.) and the Union der Türkisch-Islamischen Kulturvereine in Europa e.V. (ATIB / Union of the Turkish Islamic cultural associations in Europe regd. assoc.).
ANTISEMITISM IN THE FIELD OF EXTREMISM OF FOREIGNERS

The same Ülkücü follower also denies the State of Israel its right to exist, openly propagating its destruction: “We will wipe Israel off the map!” (Translation).

Depending on political events, the ideologically justified hostility towards Jews is cloaked in seemingly legitimate criticism of Israel. The post opposite by an Ülkücü follower in 2019 is an example of this.

3. **Turkish left-wing extremism**

Antisemitism does not play a role in the ideology of Turkish left-wing extremism. No acts motivated by antisemitism committed in Germany by Turkish left-wing extremists have become known so far.

As regards left-wing groups, antisemitism goes against their idea of an idealised, secular and egalitarian state and social order. Examples of such groups are the Revolutionary People’s Liberation Party-Front (DHKP-C) and the Turkish Communist Party / Marxists-Leninists (TKP/ML).

The aim pursued by the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) – greater political and cultural autonomy for Kurds in their countries of origin – does not have any antisemitic points of reference either.

Translation:
If the #EU had for other peoples in the region e.g. the Palestinians the kind of attachment and commitment it shows to its favourite terrorists of #PKK “Kurds”, they would theoretically have to declare war on #Israel!
The Marxist-Leninist DHKP-C now and then launches verbal assaults on the State of Israel. For instance, the organisation voices sharp criticism of the way Israel treats the Palestinians. DHKP-C shows solidarity with the Palestinians, whom it considers an ally in the fight against “imperialism”.

Below is an older example taken from DHKP-C’s weekly newspaper YÜRÜYÜS no. 426 of 20 July 2014, p. 42:

“The liberation of Palestine will be possible through the organised force of the people, which defends its native soil against Israel and imperialism, and through the armed struggle led by a Marxist Leninist organisation. (...)

The USA and Israel, which live on the blood of the peoples, shall fear the wrath of the peoples in the world! Those Palestinian women will give birth to new sons, and these children will come and slit your throats. There will be no scores left to settle!

Bloodthirsty Zionist Israel, clear off of the Middle East!

Down with Zionism and imperialism!

Long live the fraternity of peoples!

The peoples that offer resistance will win victory!”

III. Conclusion

Antisemitism exists in varying degrees in the field of extremism of foreigners. Whereas hostility towards Jews – with a few rare exceptions – does not play a role in Turkish left-wing extremism, it is of central importance in the different forms of Turkish right-wing extremism (Ülkücü ideology). However, the extent to which the followers of this ideology show the core ideological element of antisemitism to the outside world varies. While the followers organised in associations deliberately refrain from making antisemitic remarks, non-organised Ülkücü followers make no secret of their hatred of Jews. Political and anti-Zionist antisemitism are particularly relevant in this context; for example, Jews are accused of turning Muslims against one another.

In the last few years there have been signs of a rapprochement between the Turkish nationalist scene, individual Ülkücü followers and supporters of Turkey’s current ruling party AKP. In these mixed circles that exist in Germany, the influence from Turkey is
often obvious, and it must be assumed that antisemitic attitudes gain further currency via Ülkücü followers.

Like in other fields of extremism, the Internet and especially social media play a major part. Antisemitic propaganda is often spread there by individuals who are not organised in any extremist groups and many of whom have only come to Germany in the years since 2015. Consequently, the immigration from Israel’s neighbouring countries triggered by the crises there increases the risk of growing antisemitism in Germany.
G. Antisemitism in left-wing extremism

I. General remarks on antisemitism in left-wing extremism

Antisemitism is neither a characteristic feature of left-wing extremism, nor an elementary part of its ideology. One of the fundamental constants of left-wing extremist ideology and agitation is the “antifascist fight” and the fight against antisemitism that goes along with it. In consequence, consciously and openly declared antisemitism is practically impossible since it is in opposition to the political self-conception of left-wing extremists. However, this does not exclude individual antisemitic attitudes and the use of antisemitic stereotypes among left-wing extremists.

Still, the German left and/or left-wing extremist scene has an “antisemitic tradition” that began with the early socialists and the labour movement and proceeded with attacks against Jewish institutions staged by left-wing extremists in the late 1960s[^153], as well as an anti-Israeli attitude assumed by first-generation members of the RAF (Red Army Faction).[^154] This form of antisemitism was motivated by anti-capitalism, among other things, and its historical basis was an equation of “Jews” and “capital” – thus, it was not guided by ethnic characteristics, i.e. not directed against “the” Jew as such. This would be irreconcilable with the field of “anti-racism”, which is of core importance in left-wing extremism.

Today, anti-Israeli positions are assumed rather than decidedly antisemitic ones; in this context, “criticism of Israel” is also combined with criticism of capitalism.

II. Anti-imperialist spectrum

Anti-Israeli attitudes exist especially among a particular tendency in German left-wing extremism: the “anti-imperialists”. Anti-imperialist groups, e.g. Roter Aufbau Hamburg

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[^153]: Attack on the Jewish community centre in West Berlin on 9 November 1969 (the anniversary of the beginning of the November pogroms of 1938), staged by the left-wing extremist group Tupamaros West-Berlin, which was headed by Dieter Kunzelmann.

(Red Construction Hamburg), are mainly based in Northern Germany – including Hamburg, for instance, but also Bremen and Berlin.

Anti-imperialists condemn Israel as an extension of the “imperialist” USA, particularly with regard to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. When referring to Israeli actions against the Palestinians, they occasionally also use antisemitic stereotypes, e.g. the terms “apartheid regime”, “Holocaust”, “pogrom”, “war of destruction” and “genocide”. In this sense, anti-imperialists put Israeli policy on a level with the crimes of National Socialism, and they also deny Israel’s right to exist.

For instance, Jugendwiderstand Berlin¹⁵⁵ (Youth Resistance Berlin) and individual local Antifa groups have been found to call for participation in demonstrations and to carry out actions in their context, or to issue invitations to local lecture events.

On 17 April 2017 the group Jugendwiderstand Berlin called for participation in the “1 pm demonstration” in Berlin, which was under the slogan “Heraus zum 1. Mai! Keine Befreiung ohne Revolution!” (“Take to the streets for May Day! No liberation without revolution!”).¹⁵⁶ The speakers focused on criticising capitalism from different angles, and expressed fundamental criticism of “imperialist powers”. In this context, there was heavy criticism of Israel’s policy with regard to Palestine.¹⁵⁷

In the context of the mobilisation for May Day 2017, Jugendwiderstand Berlin had also registered a demonstration in Berlin-Neukölln which was advertised with the slogan “Fuck Israel and the USA” and a picture of the Palestinian flag.¹⁵⁸

The anti-Zionist stance of the group Jüdische Antifaschistische Aktion¹⁵⁹ (Jewish Antifascist Action), which was founded in Berlin in April 2017, is illustrated by the following quotation from their founding declaration:

“We are solidary with the BDS movement (BDS Berlin), which is probably one of the most vilified movements of the left (...). Its opponents use the instruments of the Israeli state, with support from

¹⁵⁵ The group declared its dissolution on 9 June 2019; this is assumed to be based on exclusively tactical motives.
¹⁵⁶ jugendwiderstand.blogspot.com: 1. Mai 2017 – Auf die Straße (May Day 2017 – To the streets); flyer printed in large quantities.
¹⁵⁷ Wochenspiegel BR 2017_18, p. 8ff.
¹⁵⁹ According to its own statements, the group consists of “Jewish members of the left, especially migrants from Israel” who have a critical attitude towards Israel’s policy.
Hasbara organisations like ‘Stand with US’, which has demonstrably used fake information and lies. We believe that the call for ‘Boycott of (sic) Divestment and Sanctions’, which has been signed by 195 civilian and social Palestinian organisations, is a necessary minimum in order to be on the right side of history.

(...)

We are solidary with For Palestine. For Palestine’s vision of a decolonisation of Palestine in order to head towards a democratic and secular one-state solution, which includes the right of return for Palestinian refugees and their families, and For Palestine’s uncompromising way of defending that vision are an inspiration to us.”

In June 2018 several house walls in Berlin showed calls for the killing of “Zionists” by use of the slogan “9 mm for Zionists” and the logo of the group Jugendwiderstand.

Jugendwiderstand’s militant anti-Zionist stance also becomes clear from the following quotation:

“We will continue to resist attempts of anti-Germans, Zionists or fascists to spread their reactionary propaganda in our neighbourhoods. We owe this to the peoples of the world. Their fight is our fight too.”

Furthermore, members of Jugendwiderstand violently attacked a block of the “Revolutionary May Day Demonstration” in Berlin in 2018 and tried to wrest a banner against antisemitism from demonstrators which showed a crossed-out symbol of a pro-Palestinian group.

On 22 November 2019 the group Zusammen Kämpfen (ZK / Fighting Together) organised a discussion event on the BDS campaign at the scene’s property F52 in Magdeburg which had the motto “The Palestinians’ anti-colonial struggle for liberation”. The invitation uncritically advertised the BDS campaign, as is evident from the following quotation:

“The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions campaign (BDS) is a Palestinian-led movement for freedom, justice and equality. It is based on the simple principle that Palestinians are just as entitled to have their rights respected as everyone else. Israel occupies and colonises Palestinian land, discriminates against Palestinians with Israeli citizenship, and denies Palestinian refugees the right to return to their home…”

The group Revolution Hessen (Revolution Hesse) made the following statement in a Facebook post in April 2019:

"Neither Netanyahu’s right-wing government, nor the Israeli settlements in the West Bank, nor a capitalist State of Israel as a whole have any right to exist whatsoever."

However, the above calls and actions cannot serve as proof that the anti-imperialists have an antisemitic motivation. Anti-imperialists do not primarily regard Israel as a Jewish state, but rather as an imperialist and capitalist one. This position essentially differs from traditional antisemitic views. While classic antisemitism regards the USA as a tool used by Israel and/or “the Jews”, anti-imperialists believe the opposite. They rather consider Israel as an instrument of the USA, which are perceived as the epitome of capitalism and imperialism by anti-imperialists. The main reason why Israeli policy is regularly equated with National Socialism is that the term of (anti-)fascism is used excessively in order to label political opponents of all kinds as “fascist” at numerous occasions.163

With regard to their position on Israel, anti-imperialists are attacked within their own spectrum by members of an opposed left-wing extremist tendency, the “anti-Germans”. Anti-Germans declare their solidarity with Israel and the USA by referring to Germany’s historical guilt. In their view, national identity in Germany is exclusively constituted in a “völkisch” way and by means of antisemitism. Anti-Germans, as opposed to anti-imperialists, thus regard themselves as allies of Israel and the USA.

III. Antisemitism and criticism of capitalism

Occasionally, antisemitic elements can also be found as part of left-wing extremist criticism of capitalism. A simplified criticism of capitalism, as can predominantly be found among Marxist-Leninist groupings, personalises the effects and deficiencies of the economic system and holds them against a concrete group. It is thus no coincidence that the differentiation between financial and real capital that is employed in this argumentation is reminiscent of the differentiation between “money-grabbing”

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and “productive capital” in National Socialism. The intention may differ, but the points of commonality are conspicuous. The anti-imperialism that ensues in terms of ideology often leads to a criticism of Israel which can be rated as antisemitic due to its one-sidedness and intensity. The more dogmatically a group defends its anti-imperialism, the more likely it is to cross the line to antisemitism. For instance, one-sided solidarity with the Palestinians, as advocated by the autonomous group Zusammen Kämpfen from Magdeburg, offers a starting point for antisemitic thought patterns.

The group Rote Arbeiterjugend Magdeburg (Red Workers Youth Magdeburg), a now dissolved branch of Jugendwiderstand which was radically anti-Zionist and crossed the boundary to antisemitism, formulated even more explicit phrases. So far there has been no direct confrontation with people of Jewish faith, but the graffiti slogans “Bombs on Tel Aviv” and “Beat up all anti-Zionists” in Magdeburg-Stadtfeld speak for themselves.

During a demonstration against “fascism, poverty, war and crisis” in Giessen in February 2020, a speaker of the Kommunistische Organisation (KO / Communist Organisation) made a comment to the effect that the anti-Jewish pogroms in November 1938 had been “orchestrated by the Nazi elites” and had not been supported by the population (according to a publication of other participants in the demonstration). In November 2019 the same individual had already shared a declaration of KO on his Facebook page, which said: “We consider this mad-appearing pogrom and its consequences to have been, first and foremost, an attack on fascism’s main enemy: the revolutionary working class”.

IV. Conclusion

Antisemitism is not a part of left-wing extremist ideologies. Still, there are individual positions in the left-wing extremist spectrum that can be classified as belonging to anti-Zionist antisemitism. For example, certain left-wing extremist notions regard Israel’s allegedly aggressive behaviour towards the Palestinians as the sole cause for the Middle East conflict while viewing the Arab and/or Palestinian side exclusively as victims. In this way, extremist Palestinian groups – from the secular and/or left-wing
extremist, but also from the Islamist extremist spectrum – receive moral support for their cause while Israel’s security interests are disregarded or described as unjustified. In this left-wing extremist approach, Israel represents “imperialism”, which must be fought, and the “suppression” that goes along with it.

Overall, it can be said that the majority of the left-wing extremist spectrum is not receptive to antisemitic positions and that they do not pass unchallenged. Even among the members of the anti-imperialist spectrum, which has stood out due to its anti-Zionist statements, the anti-capitalist and anti-religious left-wing extremist attitude is not explicitly directed against Israel, let alone “the Jew” as such, but against the abstract concepts of imperialism, capitalism and religion in general. Even though left-wing extremist criticism of capitalism and religion shows elements of antisemitic – especially anti-Zionist – prejudice, it can definitely be said that antisemitism is not a general phenomenon in the left-wing extremist field.
H. Assessment

The phenomenon of antisemitism is as ancient as it is vibrant. One of its paradoxical characteristics is the fact that in spite of its considerable changes and differentiations over the centuries, essential elements have remained stable. Due to the changing historical context, new variants of hostility towards Jews have regularly developed, but they have also incorporated traditional antisemitic ideas of “the Jew” and adapted them to the new circumstances.

These antisemitic ideologemes remain potent to this day. This situation report on the current forms of antisemitism that are relevant to domestic intelligence work in Germany shows that in general, hostility towards Jews is common in all fields of extremism, i.e. among right-wing extremists, among Reichsbürger and Selbstverwalter, in Islamist extremism, extremism of foreigners and left-wing extremism. This common feature is as astonishing as it is conspicuous, but it must under no circumstances obscure the striking differences that exist, especially with regard to the importance of antisemitism to the various ideologies. Clear differences can also be found in the degree of its development and in its forms. Not least, the significance of antisemitism also varies among actors of the same field.

Antisemitic models to explain the world are probably most relevant in right-wing extremism; by far the highest number of relevant criminal offences and especially violent crimes have been recorded in this field. For the traditional and völkisch part of this spectrum in particular, hostility towards Jews, mostly based on racist reasoning, is a constitutive element. This hostility is imparted in an especially brutal form through music, i.e. the song lyrics which are often punishable under criminal law. This area, most of all, also shows overlaps with the violence-oriented scene. However, several other forms of anti-Jewish attitudes that differ from classic racist antisemitism can be found within the right-wing extremist spectrum too. Right-wing extremist parties are by far not the only ones holding views that can be classed as secondary and anti-Zionist antisemitism, i.e. that make positive references to National Socialism or denounce the State of Israel as illegitimate.
In the heterogeneous scene of Reichsbürger and Selbstverwalter, antisemitism does not play a comparably prominent role – except with those groups and individuals belonging to both the Reichsbürger and Selbstverwalter scene and the right-wing extremist scene. However, conspiratorial thinking, which is widespread among Reichsbürger and Selbstverwalter, goes along with an affinity for the antisemitic idea of a Jewish world conspiracy.

By contrast, antisemitism carries much more weight in the various Islamist extremist tendencies and movements. In this field, hostility towards Jews can be seen as a common denominator and as having a similarly central role as in right-wing extremism. Based on a certain understanding of Islamic texts and traditions on the one hand, but mostly fed from (Christian) European reservoirs on the other hand, all forms of hostility towards Jews exist in Islamist extremism, except racist antisemitism. Some of these forms overlap; however, the most important one within Islamist extremism is anti-Zionist antisemitism which is directed against the “Jewish state of Israel”. Following right-wing extremism, although far behind, Islamist extremists commit the next highest number of antisemitic criminal and violent offences.

As regards extremism of foreigners, antisemitism takes various shapes. Turkish right-wing extremists in particular, who propagate a united empire of the Turkic peoples under the banner of the Ülkücü ideology, resort to traditional prejudice: in the form of political and social antisemitism, hostility towards Jews is a central element of this ideology. On the other hand, anti-Zionist antisemitism plays an enormous role in the context of the “BDS campaign” of secular Palestinians, which is directed against Israel. However, the campaign is also supported by Palestinian terrorist organisations from the spectrum of Islamist extremism.

In left-wing extremism, antisemitism is only of secondary importance. Unlike in right-wing extremism or Islamist extremism, it is not a part of the ideology. Nonetheless, left-wing extremist anti-Jewish stances draw on the same prejudices and antisemitic ideas as other forms of extremism. They primarily express anti-Zionist attitudes.

Overall, anti-Zionist antisemitism is currently the most important form of hostility towards Jews. Its central role is mainly due to three aspects which are interconnected.
Firstly, it is the form of antisemitism that has been observed most frequently for years; secondly, it exists in all fields of extremism; thirdly, more than any other form, it can be linked to current debates taking place among a larger public.

This last point – i.e. the potential to link extremist views to non-extremist discourses – is especially dangerous. In the context of recurring debates on the political situation in the Middle East, antisemitic statements can appear less objectionable and stigmatising than on other occasions. This is mainly due to widespread uncertainties on how to draw the line between legitimate criticism of the Israeli government’s actions and hostility towards Israel that is based on antisemitism. Antisemitic argumentation makes use of those very uncertainties, e.g. by claiming that criticism of Israel is a taboo that can only be broken at the price of being unjustly labelled as an antisemite. Revealingly, such suppositions also resort to images of Jews that are of an antisemitic character and according to which Jews supposedly claim a special status and use the allegation of antisemitism as a weapon and an instrument of power.

The Internet in general and social media in particular provide the most prominent space for this antisemitism to become visible; here, it finds a much larger number of recipients than before the era of the Internet. However, the relevant websites, discussion and blog platforms, image boards, video portals and gaming servers, just like various sometimes anonymous communication channels, do not only serve to make antisemitic statements and to spread propaganda. In fact, this is where radicalisation processes take place. In this environment, users affirm each other, encourage and strengthen each other in their views; they utter concrete threats, use a language that can be quite misanthropic, indulge in fantasies of destruction, and even announce antisemitic acts of violence which are then streamed live and subsequently acclaimed. However, antisemitism also becomes increasingly visible beyond those communication spaces, which are mostly isolated and closed: e.g. in the comments columns of newspapers’ websites and news portals, or on social media profiles that are publicly accessible and run without any perceptible editorial moderation.

Thus, the constantly changing and evolving technical possibilities of the Internet and/or the means and channels of communication that it provides constitute a major
factor of dynamism. Of course, this development of disinhibition and coarsening, of controlled campaigns or fast-building shitstorms which has been observable for years does not only concern antisemitism, but it is a general phenomenon which can be found in other areas as well, e.g. hostility towards Muslims. Though it may be a banal observation, it must always be pointed out that the antisemitism that comes to light in the virtual space of the Internet cannot be separated from the antisemitism in the “real world”. In fact, the Internet is best understood as an extension of the “real world”.

Besides the fact that antisemitic content is often better visible and can reach a larger audience on the Internet than in the “real world”, that it can usually be accessed permanently, and that it can have effects even years after its publication, the current virulence of antisemitism is, to a considerable extent, due to a distinctive characteristic of the form of antisemitic ideology that is dominant at the moment: more than in other forms of hostility towards Jews, various fields of extremism come together in the anti-Zionist variant – essentially right-wing extremism and Islamist extremism, but to a much lesser extent also extremism of foreigners and left-wing extremism, and partly Reichsbürger and Selbstverwalter. Instead of exclusively cultivating specific variants of hostility towards Jews, the adherents of various extremist world views propagate the same views in a similar or even identical manner; in a new way, this fact draws attention to the challenge that antisemitism poses for the free democratic basic order.

In the foreseeable future, antisemitism will continue to be a major issue in all fields of extremism – especially in right-wing extremism and Islamist extremism, for which hostility towards Jews is of constitutive importance. Furthermore, it can be assumed that the relevance of the Internet and electronic means of communication will remain high and even tend to increase as regards the spreading of antisemitic propaganda, radicalisation processes, and the organisation and implementation of anti-Jewish actions that can go as far as attacks. Jews clearly are the foremost target of all this, but they are not the only one: antisemitism is directed against Jews, but it always affects everyone.
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