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## ANTISEMITISM AMONG WESTERN EUROPEAN MUSLIMS

*ABSTRACT: Antisemitism is on the rise in Europe, which many experts call a “new antisemitism”, because its source is different from the traditional, racially motivated European antisemitism. The perpetrators are mostly young men of Muslim immigrant origin. This antisemitism has its roots in Islamic doctrine. The size of the communities where such views are present is growing because of immigration and higher fertility rate. Their level of integration into the host societies is not improving over time, on the contrary, each subsequent generation is distancing further from the host society, locked in self-reinforcing circle of separation and exclusion. The ever-growing and culturally increasingly separated Muslim communities are significantly more antisemitic than the rest of the rooted Western European populations, and a central topic of their anti-Jewish sentiment is the Middle East conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. It is likely that this antisemitism will increase over time, and with the growing of this population, it will have an influence on state and indirectly EU policymaking in connection with the Middle East conflict. In this article three case studies will show the situation in France, the UK and Germany, countries with the three largest Jewish communities in the EU. The fourth would be Hungary, and the rest are significantly smaller, so this sample is appropriate to draw conclusions about the Western European situation.*

*KEYWORDS: antisemitism, Europe, integration, Muslims*

### DOCTRINE

It is a subject of debate whether the undeniable prevalence of antisemitic attitudes among Muslims is a result of the core teachings of Islam, or of entirely unrelated reasons. Some opinions recognize the presence of Muslim antisemitism, but they fail to find Islamic political doctrine at its source, instead, they blame it on the influence of European imperialism and Christianity.<sup>1</sup> According to this point of view, it was the Christian European colonial powers and missionaries, who injected their own antisemitic worldview into the innocent Muslim Middle East, which would otherwise have remained in its earlier state of tolerance and peaceful coexistence with Jews. They state that Islamic antisemitism has no religious roots by itself<sup>2</sup> – albeit they do not cite their doctrinal sources for such claims, and confuse historical experiences in various political circumstances with the doctrine of political Islam. Bassam Tibi argues that the first instances of Islamic antisemitism arose with

<sup>1</sup> Schulze, R. “Importierter Hass”. *Die Zeit*, 1 September 2016. <http://www.zeit.de/zeit-geschichte/2016/02/antisemitismus-juden-europa-islam-christentum-vertreibung>. Accessed on 18 January 2018.

<sup>2</sup> Wetzel, J. *Moderner Antisemitismus Unter Muslimen in Deutschland*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2014. 5.

Sayeed Qutb, whose twisted worldview was centered around a Christian-Jewish world conspiracy against Islam.<sup>3</sup>

This would logically mean that the Christians, who had taught the Muslims to hate the Jews, all of a sudden became their best friends and secret allies. Now they are leading a common charge against the Muslims, who would otherwise never have started to hate Jews. All this without any deeper religious or ideological precedence, invented entirely in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. This line of thought also assumes that Christian missionary activity and the few decades of Western European imperialism in the Levant region had a deeper antisemitic impact than the previous thirteen centuries of Islamic imperialism.

It might be true that *some topics* of European antisemitism, like the blood libel or the Protocols of the Elders of Zion and their dark occult conspiracy found their way to the Islamic world from the West. However, denying the indigenous religious roots and deep civilizational embeddedness of Islamic antisemitism would be close to ignorance. It is not the objective of this article to compare the level of antisemitism in the Islamic and the Western world. All forms of antisemitism are equally reprehensible, racially motivated or otherwise, even if it is mandated by the core tenets of a world religion. It must also be clarified at the beginning of the article what we mean by antisemitism. Here, just like at its conception, this word is exclusively used for hatred and discrimination against the Jews, and no other ethnic or linguistic group.

The religious scriptures of Islam, the Quran and the Sunna contain a substantial amount of antisemitic thoughts. The following incomplete list of examples will give proof of that.

Jews are the main enemies of the Muslims: “Strongest among men in enmity to the believers wilt thou find the Jews and Pagans” (Quran 5:82).<sup>4</sup>

A Muslim must not take a Jew as a friend or ally: “O ye who believe! take not the Jews and the Christians for your friends and protectors: They are but friends and protectors to each other. And he amongst you that turns to them [for friendship] is of them. Verily Allah guideth not a people unjust” (Quran 5:51).<sup>5</sup>

Jews hinder people in Allah’s way, commit usury and take other people’s wealth unjustly. Only the ones who become Muslims will be rewarded among them. “Wherefore for the iniquity of those who are Jews did We disallow to them the good things which had been made lawful for them and for their hindering many [people] from Allah’s way. And their taking usury though indeed they were forbidden it and their devouring the property of people falsely, and We have prepared for the unbelievers from among them a painful chastisement. But the firm in knowledge among them and the believers believe in what has been revealed to you and what was revealed before you, and those who keep up prayers and those who give the poor-rate and the believers in Allah and the last day, these it is whom We will give a mighty reward.” (Quran 4:160–62).<sup>6</sup>

Jews reject Muhammad, they are disobedient and defiant, so Allah curses some of them and turns them into apes and pigs: “Say: ‘O people of the Book! Do ye disapprove of us for no other reason than that we believe in Allah, and the revelation that hath come to us and

<sup>3</sup> Tibi, B. “Der Importierte Hass”. *Die Zeit*, 6 February 2003. [http://www.zeit.de/2003/07/Islamismus\\_neu/komplettansicht](http://www.zeit.de/2003/07/Islamismus_neu/komplettansicht), Accessed on 18 January 2018.

<sup>4</sup> Yusuf Ali, A. “The Quran”. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3atext%3a2002.02.0004>, Accessed on 19 January 2018.

<sup>5</sup> Yusuf Ali. “The Quran”.

<sup>6</sup> Yusuf Ali. “The Quran”.

that which came before [us], and [perhaps] that most of you are rebellious and disobedient?' Say: 'Shall I point out to you something much worse than this, [as judged] by the treatment it received from Allah? those who incurred the curse of Allah and His wrath, those of whom some He transformed into apes and swine, those who worshipped evil; these are [many times] worse in rank, and far more astray from the even path!'" (Quran 5:59–60, but also 2:65 and 7:166).<sup>7</sup>

Muhammad said that the end of the world will come when even the trees will help the Muslims to find and kill Jews: "Abu Huraira reported Allah's Messenger as saying: The last hour would not come unless the Muslims will fight against the Jews and the Muslims would kill them until the Jews would hide themselves behind a stone or a tree and a stone or a tree would say: Muslim, or the servant of Allah, there is a Jew behind me; come and kill him; but the tree Gharqad would not say, for it is the tree of the Jews" (Sahih Muslim 54:105).<sup>8</sup>

Muhammad said that Allah had transformed some Jews into rats: "Abu Huraira reported that Allah's Messenger said: A group of Bani Isra'il was lost. I do not know what happened to it, but I think [that it underwent a process of metamorphosis] and assumed the shape of rats".<sup>9</sup>

Muhammad said: "Kill any Jew that falls into your power".<sup>10</sup>

Muhammad attacked a hostile Jewish tribe, who broke their alliance with him. After defeating them, he ordered the execution of the captured males, and the enslavement of women and children. Muhammad and his child wife watched together as all the 7–800 Jewish men were slaughtered and their bodies were thrown into a ditch.<sup>11</sup>

The most common topic of antisemitism in the Quran is the Jews' stubborn rejection of Allah's truth and Muhammad's prophethood. The hadith goes even further, and accuses the Jews of poisoning Muhammad. Jews are depicted as falsifiers, treacherous conspirators and usurpers, ignorant of the truth and killers of the final Prophet Muhammad. They are an "eternal enemy" of Islam, ever since the time of the Prophet, trying to destroy Islamic creed.<sup>12</sup> These labels do not originate from any Christian missionaries or colonizers. They are the perfect words of the only God of the Universe, and Muhammad, the supposedly perfect example for all of humankind.

## HISTORY

Another debate is going on about the effect of Islamic political dominance over Jewish populations. One side claims that the inherent tolerance of Islam towards religious minorities, in particular towards Jews, led to unprecedented flourishing of their culture and science. The other position is that they were subjugated, sometimes persecuted, expelled or even slaughtered. Both statements can be true, but the most important question is the role of Islam in any of these outcomes. It is important because of the ever-growing religiosity

<sup>7</sup> Yusuf Ali. "The Quran".

<sup>8</sup> Sunnah.com. <https://sunnah.com/muslim/54/105>, Accessed on 19 January 2018.

<sup>9</sup> Hadith Collection. <http://hadithcollection.com/sahihmuslim/170-Sahih%20Muslim%20Book%2042.%20Piety%20and%20Softening%20Of%20Hearts/15384-sahih-muslim-book-042-hadith-number-7135.html>, Accessed on 19 January 2018.

<sup>10</sup> Guillaume, A. *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004. 369.

<sup>11</sup> Guillaume. *The Life of Muhammad...* 461–68.

<sup>12</sup> Wistrich, R. S. *Muslim Anti-Semitism: A Clear and Present Danger*. New York: American Jewish Committee, 2002. 9–10.

among European Muslim populations, and the increasing role of Islam in their identity.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, it is worth discussing some claims about Islam's role in the treatment of Jews in historic situations when they were under Islamic political authority.

A good example of such a situation is Muslim Spain in the Middle Ages. Before the Muslim invasion, Jews had already suffered under Catholic Visigoth rule, so they eagerly supported the Muslim attackers, and even secured captured cities. The Muslims, however, did not treat the Jews as allies, as it would have contradicted their sacred religious teachings, as discussed above. Muslim rulers referred to them as “servants”. While it is true that their living conditions improved compared to Visigoth times, and some of them made a scientific or political career under Islamic authority, none of this meant that Islamic Spain was an example of tolerance and multicultural coexistence. Muslim masses resented the relative wealth and well-being of Jews, looked jealously at their political influence, education and urban lifestyle, which led to violence against them in the form of riots and pogroms. Eventually, under the religiously stricter Almohad dynasty, their influence declined significantly, and they had to seek refuge and a better life in the Christian kingdoms, contrary to the claim that their life conditions were much worse under Catholic rule.<sup>14</sup> Over the centuries, Jews continued to migrate from the Islamic world to the Christian world, and by the end of the Islamic empire, the majority of the world's Jews lived in the West.<sup>15</sup> We will see that the same resentment over the relative success of Jews compared to Muslims is rather widespread among contemporary Muslim immigrant communities in Europe.

The favoured status of Jews in Islamic Spain did not mean any kind of tolerance or attraction to religious pluralism, as those who want to compare this historical situation to modern European multiculturalism would like to portray it. Jews were used as a counterbalance against the Christian majority, in a similar way as Sunnis were used by the British mandate in Iraq, as the Spanish conquistadors used smaller tribes against the main rival Aztecs, or as Belgians used the Tutsi minority against other tribes in the Congo.<sup>16</sup> This technique creates a supported minority that is dependent on the goodwill and backing of the rulers, which was the case with Jews under Islamic rule. The periods, when religious law was less strictly enforced, or entirely ignored, coincided with the economic and intellectual flourishing of Jewish communities, but circumstances could change rather quickly with deadly consequences.

The ulama has always criticized the lukewarm religiosity of those Muslim rulers, who disobeyed the sacred law and favoured Jews. A prominent Islamic scholar of al-Andalus, Abu ibn Ishaq wrote a satiric poem about the ruler of Granada, ripe with anti-Jewish sentiments. He calls them outcast dogs, lamenting why the ruler does not deal with these lowest of the low, as earlier pious rulers did, and he also uses the best-known antisemitic stereotypes, branding the Jews as usurpers and evil conspirators. Finally, he encourages the ruler to massacre the Jews without discrimination.<sup>17</sup> These emirs used Jewish or Christian functionaries in their administration because they were more loyal to their person than to the ulama or

<sup>13</sup> Adida, C. L., Laitin, D. D. and Valfort, M. *Why Muslim Integration Fails in Christian-Heritage Societies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016. 123–36.

<sup>14</sup> Fernández-Morera, D. *The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise: Muslims, Christians, and Jews Under Islamic Rule in Medieval Spain*. Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2017. 177–79.

<sup>15</sup> Lewis, B. *The Jews of Islam*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984. 67.

<sup>16</sup> Fernández-Morera. *The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise...* 178.

<sup>17</sup> Lewis, B. *Islam in History: Ideas, Men, and Events in the Middle East*. La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1973. 159–61.

the Muslim population.<sup>18</sup> It was not a uniquely Islamic practice either. Christian kings of the same period also used Jewish functionaries in their courts, who were loyal to their person, for financial and other professional purposes.<sup>19</sup>

The main conclusion here is that the historical precedence of European coexistence between Jews and Muslims is not a good example of multicultural tolerance and peaceful convivencia. When Islamic religious teachings became more prevalent in the political domain, as under the devout Almoravids or Almohads, Jews faced persecution, expulsion or worse. In general, their status was that of a dhimmi, a subjugated infidel, a second-class citizen, who belongs to the People of the Book. A dhimmi accepts to live under the dominance of Islamic law, and pays a racket to be allowed to live under the “protection” of their Muslim overlords. We will also see that this is relevant even today, as a large proportion of Islamic antisemitism stems from the fact that Jews today are not dhimmies. Instead, they have their own state, carved out of once Muslim-owned land, where they are sovereign, militarily and technologically superior. This is unacceptable from doctrinal Islamic point of view.

## GERMANY

Antisemitism is once again on the rise in Germany, despite the nation’s heavily burdened conscience after the Holocaust. It is also to be highlighted however, that the perpetrators of the best-published antisemitic rants are not indigenous German right-wing radicals, but Muslim immigrants. An angry mob of true believers was chanting anti-Jewish slogans and burning Israeli flags on a rally to protest Donald Trump’s decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Each year on Al-Quds day, an event initiated by Ayatollah Khomeini to be held on the last Friday of Ramadan, crowds march to condemn the Israeli “occupation” of Jerusalem. These marches are attended mainly by Shiites with an Iranian, Turkish or Iraqi background.<sup>20</sup> One could argue that anti-Israeli and antisemitic political sentiments are not the same thing, but in reality, they are very closely interwoven.

Antisemitism in Germany has three main sources: right wing radicals, left wing radicals and it also permeates the entire spectrum of Islamists.<sup>21</sup> German authorities and scholars alike quickly emphasize the point that the greatest threat of antisemitism in Germany stems from the right-wing extremist political milieu and not from Muslims,<sup>22</sup> but the facts do not seem to support this claim. In the annual report of the German Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz) the reader can find some handpicked incidents of antisemitism, racism and other hate crimes, grouped under the chapter committed to each of the above mentioned political extremist communities. These reports are to highlight the seriousness of these transgressions and to inform the reader about the nature of the incidents that had indeed occurred.

In the entire chapter of right-wing radicals, there are only three instances of antisemitic hate crime mentioned. On 7 October 2016 a party day of the SPD (Social Democratic Party

<sup>18</sup> Fernández-Morera. *The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise...* 181.

<sup>19</sup> Baer, Y. *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*. I. Skokie, IL: Varda Books, 2001. 65.

<sup>20</sup> “Verfassungsschutzbericht 2016”. Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz. 4 July 2016. <https://www.verfassungsschutz.de/de/oeffentlichkeitsarbeit/publikationen/verfassungsschutzberichte/vsbericht-2016>. 186–87, Accessed on 3 January 2018.

<sup>21</sup> “Verfassungsschutzbericht 2016”. 184.

<sup>22</sup> Wetzel. *Moderner Antisemitismus Unter Muslimen in Deutschland*. 21.

of Germany) had to be cancelled because of a threat directed at them, saying “we will crush your Jewish skulls<sup>23</sup>”. The neonazi group Europäische Aktion<sup>24</sup> lamented over the grim future of Europe under the yoke of “Jewish banks and media tzars” in its new year’s letter. Finally, one internet website, Altermedia Deutschland was banned for containing antisemitic and other racist material – this note does not elaborate further on the exact nature of the antisemitic content.<sup>25</sup>

On the other hand, we find countless examples of violent and non-violent hate crime against asylum seekers, people of dark complexion and third world immigrants in general. There are detailed descriptions of these incidents in the report, like “on 18 September a right wing extremist hit a person of darker skin complex in the face, telling him racist slurs like ‘you brown pig’, ‘foreign piece of sh...’ and called him the derogatory term ‘Fugee’, derived from the word refugee.”<sup>26</sup> It is quite hard to imagine that in the German political milieu of Holocaust-guilt, where antisemitism is entirely discredited and punished by law, right-wing antisemitic incidents of the same nature would not have been included in the annual report of the security services.

It is also telling to look at the report’s estimation of the manpower behind each of these extremist political ideologies. The German security agency identified about 24 000 individuals as followers of the Islamist ideology, including several thousand active members of Middle Eastern militant organizations, like HAMAS and Hezbollah, and an unspecified number of supporters of the Islamic State.<sup>27</sup> The followership of right wing extremist movements is estimated to be 23,000, with approximately 12,000 potentially violent.<sup>28</sup> The report classifies Islamists to be either political or violent, but rightly acknowledges that the boundary between the two is “blurred”. Therefore, it seems to be justified to consider the two threats as approximately equal. There is a difference not to overlook however – Muslims currently constitute about 5–7 percent of Germany’s population. Some topics of antisemitic propaganda, for example the worldwide conspiracy of Jews, are shared between the two groups, however, this does not prove that Jew hatred itself would be taken over from right wing extremism into Islamism. Furthermore, a central theme of antisemitism is the Middle East conflict between Israel and the Palestinians.<sup>29</sup>

Even though people from this conflict zone represent only a small minority of all Muslim immigrants in Europe, this topic continues to have a significant impact on the wider Muslim public opinion. After the level of violence increased in the Gaza strip in 2002–3 and in 2008–9, in both cases there was a significant increase in antisemitic incidents reported

<sup>23</sup> The targets were not necessarily Jews, but political opponents. Still, the wording used classifies the incident as antisemitism. Indeed, the vast majority of right wing radical violence in Germany today is directed against third world immigrants and political opponents, predominantly left wing radical groups. The redirection of hatred, violence, and attention in general, from Jews to more recent third world immigrants is a wider Western European phenomenon. Rudgard, O. “Rising anti-semitism in the UK fuelled by social media, report finds”. Telegraph, 23 April 2017. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/04/23/rising-anti-semitism-uk-fuelled-social-media-report-finds/>, Accessed on 8 January 2018.

<sup>24</sup> This party, with the membership of about a hundred people, also wishes to re-establish “freedom of speech”, including the possibility of denying the Holocaust, which is an antisemitic hate crime in itself. But this is not an antisemitic “incident” per se, instead a continuous political aim. “Verfassungsschutzbericht 2016”. 88.

<sup>25</sup> “Verfassungsschutzbericht 2016”. 51–63.

<sup>26</sup> “Verfassungsschutzbericht 2016”. 48.

<sup>27</sup> “Verfassungsschutzbericht 2016”. 160.

<sup>28</sup> “Verfassungsschutzbericht 2016”. 40.

<sup>29</sup> “Verfassungsschutzbericht 2016”. 181–87.

in Germany. Protests organized by mainstream Muslim organizations also attracted several other ones, even the outlawed Hizb ut-Tahrir, quickly mobilizing the entire Islamist political spectrum. On fashion products popular among German Muslim youth and in the lyrics of popular Muslim rappers, jokes about the Holocaust and slogans about the Gaza strip and the Israeli conflict intermingle with the propagation of the hijab, reading the Quran and reinforcing one's religiousness. In these messages, the common Muslim struggle for Palestine is a key element.<sup>30</sup>

Antisemitism is an integral part of all those Islamist groupings, which define Islam not only as a religion, but also as a concept of society. For them, some scholars claim, religion is only a tool for a political end, and it is irrelevant, whether Muhammad agitated against Jews, or whether the Quran has antisemitic suras. They acknowledge the presence of a special "Islamicized" antisemitism, but blame it on the social exclusion and lower integrational status of Muslims, compared to that of Jews.<sup>31</sup> The problem is that Islam is indeed not only a religion as we conceptualize it in our secular societies, but also a complete civilizational manual, a political ideology and a legal system. Since Muslim immigrant societies are more and more adherent to their religious and civilizational roots, these questions will be more and more relevant. Salafism is the most dynamically growing Islamist current in Germany.<sup>32</sup> Salafists are the ones, who follow the sacred scripture and Muhammad's example to the letter.

## UK

In the United Kingdom, far-right remains the largest antisemitic political group, but the far-left is also catching up by its sheer numbers<sup>33</sup> and its influence on British politics. The trend of redirecting right wing extremist violence from Jews to third world immigrants is also present in the UK, as it is in Germany.<sup>34</sup> However, there is one social group, the Muslims, who are markedly more antisemitic than the rest of the population. It is not right to contribute this entirely to the followership of "radical" or "Islamist" political ideas, because after the removal of the adherents of fundamentalist ideologies from the sample, the remaining Muslims still showed higher levels of antisemitism than the rest of the population.<sup>35</sup> Again, just like in Germany, the levels of anti-Israeli and antisemitic sentiments are both higher among Muslims, and they are also correlated, albeit not identical. Among those, who have no anti-Israel attitudes, only a minority has antisemitic attitudes, and the vast majority of those who have strong anti-Israel attitudes have at least one antisemitic attitude as well.

<sup>30</sup> Nordbruch, G. "Dreaming of a 'free Palestine'". Syddansk Universitet. May 2009. [https://static.sdu.dk/mediafiles/Files/Om\\_SDU/Centre/C\\_Mellemoest/Videncenter/Nyheder/2009/090505GN.pdf](https://static.sdu.dk/mediafiles/Files/Om_SDU/Centre/C_Mellemoest/Videncenter/Nyheder/2009/090505GN.pdf), 2–8, Accessed on 6 January 2018.

<sup>31</sup> Wetzel. *Moderner Antisemitismus Unter Muslimen in Deutschland*. 4–8.

<sup>32</sup> "Verfassungsschutzbericht 2016". 183.

<sup>33</sup> It is very important to note here that this increase in sheer numbers can at least partially be attributed to a rapidly growing Muslim community, which overwhelmingly favours the political left in the current political spectrum. See Clement, B. "The British Election Study 2015: Religious affiliation and attitudes". *British Religion in Numbers*. 17 October 2014. <http://www.brin.ac.uk/2014/the-british-election-study-2015-religious-affiliation-and-attitudes/>, Accessed on 26. April 2018.

<sup>34</sup> Rudgard. "Rising anti-semitism in the UK fuelled by social media, report finds".

<sup>35</sup> Daisley, S. "Britain has an anti-Semitism problem. Here are the numbers that prove it". *Spectator*. 13 September 2017. <https://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2017/09/britain-has-an-anti-semitism-problem-and-now-we-have-the-numbers-to-prove-it/>, Accessed 8 January 2018.

The presence of such attitudes is two to four times higher among Muslims than among the general British population. Interestingly, and again pointing at the highly important and relevant role of religiosity, the least antisemitic segment of the Muslim population is the least religious ones, but even they are more antisemitic than non-Muslims.<sup>36</sup>

Community Security Trust's annual reports show that the number of antisemitic incidents have a correlation with the flare-up periods of violence in the Middle East, particularly between Israel and the Palestinians. Past trigger events have been the Second Intifada in 2000, the 9/11 attacks in 2001, the outbreak of the Iraqi war in 2003, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 2006, and the Gaza conflict in 2009. The collected data also show, when these trigger events occur frequently, the increase in antisemitic incidents shows a gradual increase over the long term.<sup>37</sup> Since 2014, when a similar trigger event happened in the Gaza, for a consecutive three years, antisemitic incidents have been at a very high level, breaking the previous record of 2009, and then again the 2014 record in 2016. In those months, when the hostilities were at their highest level in the Middle East, the nature of antisemitic incidents also showed the pattern of political alignment, with significantly more incidents with anti-Israel, Islamic-related, or Islamist political motivation. Almost half of the incidents in June and July had direct or indirect connections with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.<sup>38</sup>

The physical appearance of the perpetrators also differed significantly from the rest in those two months. Whites were 34 percent, South Asians 50 percent, Arabs or North Africans 12 percent, compared to 44 percent, 37 percent and 10 percent respectively.<sup>39</sup> The 2013 survey conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights showed that over a twelve-month period in the UK, only 33 percent of those victims, who could identify the offenders, said that they were someone with right wing extremist views. On the other hand, 56 percent said they held Islamist extremist views, and even more, 57 percent said the offender had left wing political views.<sup>40</sup> Again, as in the case of Germany, it should be stressed that Muslims make up 3–4 percent of UK population.

In 2015 and 2016 however, there were no such trigger events. The high number of the 2015 incidents might show that Jews were more anxious and vigilant because of the Jihadist attacks in France and Denmark against Jews. In earlier years, after trigger events were over, the number of reported incidents declined, but in 2015 they remained at a high level throughout the year.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, the 2016 survey showed a new record level, breaking the 2014 one, but in 2016 there was no trigger event in the Middle East, neither in Europe to cause higher anxiety. The explanation can be the prolonged effect of previous trigger events, Jihad attacks in Europe, the feeling of insecurity caused by them, and the “perceived climate

<sup>36</sup> Staetsky, L. D. “Antisemitism in contemporary Great Britain: A study of attitudes towards Jews and Israel”. Institute for Jewish Policy Research. September 2017. 5–6. [http://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/JPR.2017.Antisemitism\\_in\\_contemporary\\_Great\\_Britain.pdf](http://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/JPR.2017.Antisemitism_in_contemporary_Great_Britain.pdf), Accessed on 8 January 2018.

<sup>37</sup> “Antisemitic Incidents Report 2014”. Community Security Trust. 2015. <https://cst.org.uk/docs/Incidents%20Report%202014.pdf>, 11, Accessed on 5 January 2018.

<sup>38</sup> “Antisemitic Incidents Report 2014”. 28–9.

<sup>39</sup> “Antisemitic Incidents Report 2014”. 7.

<sup>40</sup> “Discrimination and hate crime against Jews in EU Member States: experiences and perceptions of antisemitism”. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. November 2013. 27. <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2013/discrimination-and-hate-crime-against-jews-eu-member-states-experiences-and>, Accessed on 8 January 2018.

<sup>41</sup> “Antisemitic Incidents Report 2016”. Community Security Trust. 2017. 4. <https://cst.org.uk/data/file/b/e/Incidents%20Report%202016.1486376547.pdf>, Accessed on 7 January 2018.



of increased racism and xenophobia in Britain following the EU referendum”.<sup>42</sup> However, the first half of 2017 showed further increase. Eighty violent attacks were recorded against Jews, out of a total of 727. This is again a new record since the start of the surveys in 1984.<sup>43</sup>

Another survey conducted by the Channel 4 television documentary “What British Muslims really think” also underlined that Muslims are significantly more antisemitic than the general population. This survey was criticized by some Muslims for being only conducted in areas where Muslims make up at least 20 percent of the population. This circumstance would make the poll inaccurate, because Muslims living in these areas are much less integrated into the society than elsewhere.<sup>44</sup> This is also part of the problem, namely that about 50 percent of the UK Muslim population live in areas, where they represent at least 20 percent of the local population. According to Shiraz Maher, this half is not integrated enough into UK society to have the same level of antisemitic attitudes.<sup>45</sup>

## FRANCE

The most serious problem among the three countries examined is in France. This country hosts the largest Jewish population in Europe, estimated at about 5–600,000, with half of them living around the Paris area. Their numbers have been steadily decreasing in the past years, because of emigration to Israel, with about 10 000 Jews moving there in 2015 alone.<sup>46</sup> Others have become “internal refugees”, which means they are moving from their former homes to more gentrified areas, where they are not harassed on a daily basis.<sup>47</sup> But from whom are these people fleeing? Some districts, formerly densely populated by Jews, like Sarcelles or Creteil, are now being abandoned for more “peaceful neighbourhoods”, where hardly any Muslims live. Places of everyday life, like public schools are also undergoing the same process of segregation for security reasons – most Jewish children have to attend private schools, because these are guarded by the police or the military, and they are now entirely missing from public schools of the banlieus, which a lot of Muslim children attend.<sup>48</sup>

French antisemitism exists in all the previously mentioned political currents, far-right, far-left and Islamists, and it is also distinguished in Europe for its higher level of violence,

<sup>42</sup> “Antisemitic Incidents Report 2016”. 4.

<sup>43</sup> Dearden, L. “Anti-Semitic attacks hit record high in UK amid warnings over rise of ‘hatred and anger’”. *Independent*, 26 July 2017. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/anti-semitic-hate-crime-attacks-british-jews-assaults-uk-incidents-record-high-cst-research-a7861721.html>, Accessed on 8 January 2018.

<sup>44</sup> JTA. “UK Muslims more anti-Semitic than general population, poll finds”. *The Times of Israel*, 13 April 2016. <https://www.timesofisrael.com/uk-muslims-more-anti-semitic-than-general-population-poll-finds/>, Accessed 8 January 2018.

<sup>45</sup> Brooks-Pollock, T. “What British Muslims really think about poll that asked: ‘What do British Muslims really think?’”. *Independent*, 12 April 2016. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/the-big-problem-with-that-poll-of-british-muslims-a6980411.html>, Accessed on 8 January 2018.

<sup>46</sup> Enstad, J. D. “Antisemitic Violence in Europe, 2005-2015”. HL-SENTERET. June 2016. 5. [https://www.hlsenteret.no/publikasjoner/digitale-hefter/antisemittisk-vold-i-europa\\_engelsk\\_endelig-versjon.pdf](https://www.hlsenteret.no/publikasjoner/digitale-hefter/antisemittisk-vold-i-europa_engelsk_endelig-versjon.pdf), Accessed on 21 January 2018.

<sup>47</sup> Kern, S. “The Islamization of France in 2016”. Gatestone Institute. 17 January 2017. <https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/9791/france-islamization>, Accessed on 12 January 2018.

<sup>48</sup> Alfon, D. “Analysis: What’s Behind the Drop in anti-Semitic Incidents in France?”. *Haaretz*. 16 November 2017. <https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/europe/premium-1.822965?&ts=1515670536174>, Accessed on 1 January 2018.

including attacks, abductions and murder.<sup>49</sup> Differences should be highlighted though. According to the FRA (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights) survey, the highest percentage of victims who identified the perpetrators as “someone with a Muslim extremist view” is by far the highest in France, while at the same time “someone with a right-wing political view” is the lowest.<sup>50</sup> French Muslims are two to three times more antisemitic than the general French population. While there were no significant differences among them based on their age, education, or social status, religiosity was relevant here again. For example, with the statement “Jews have too much political power”, 19 percent of the French people agreed, and so did 51 percent of all Muslims. Among Muslims with no religious involvement, this number was 37, among believers 49, and among practicing believers 63 percent.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, beyond the mandatory condemnation of right-wing political extremism, there is not much else to support the claim that these problems are equal, or that the seriousness of Islamic antisemitism should be denied. Research shows that young Muslim men stand out in statistics as perpetrators of violent antisemitic attacks not just in France but also in all of Western Europe. It is also shown that the level of religiosity matters – the more devout the person is, the more likely he/she is to have antisemitic attitudes.<sup>52</sup>

Yet, even after acknowledging the problem of existing antisemitism among Muslims, its root causes are still debated. Among them are mentioned the “manipulation of the Palestinian cause, failure of integration into French society, radical preachers and the funding of mosques, and satellite television stations broadcasting a steady stream of anti-Semitic discourse”.<sup>53</sup> This list draws closer to reality, but fails to take the last step. Preachers preaching the same attitude towards Jews as Muhammad’s tradition and the Quran do, are not radical, they are just strictly following the core tenets of the religion. Realizing this publicly is very risky in today’s France, as the example of Jewish historian Georges Bensoussan shows. A Muslim lobby group and a French human rights organization sued him for hate speech after citing an Algerian sociologist, Smain Laacher. Laacher said that “it is a disgrace to maintain this taboo, namely that in Arab families in France and elsewhere everyone knows that anti-Semitism is spread with the mother’s milk”. Merely citing this sentence was enough for accusation of hate speech.<sup>54</sup>

Another opinion points at the differences between the success of integration of Jews and Muslim. At the level of French society, Muslims look upon Jews jealously because of their relatively successful integration, and this is mirrored at global level with Arabs being oppressed by Jews everywhere. In the eyes of many North African Muslims, Palestine is the primary example of this cruelty. Back in their own countries, they knew Sephardic Jews, but the circumstances are reversed in Western Europe. Those, who used to be equal, or even inferior (dhimmies), are now superior. This sentiment also has its roots in the traditional sentiment of Muslims, which holds Christians and Jews impure, therefore inferior. The discrepancy

<sup>49</sup> Rodan-Benzaquen, S. “Muslim Anti-Semitism Threatens France’s Democracy”. *Newsweek*, 19 November 2017. <http://www.newsweek.com/muslim-anti-semitism-threatens-frances-democracy-716055>, Accessed on 12 January 2018.

<sup>50</sup> “Discrimination and hate crime against Jews in EU Member States...” 27.

<sup>51</sup> Reynié, D. and Rodan-Benzaquen, S. “Anti-Semitism in France: Facing Reality”. Huffington post. 18 November 2014. [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/dominique-reynie/antisemitism-in-france-fa\\_b\\_6178804.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/dominique-reynie/antisemitism-in-france-fa_b_6178804.html), Accessed on 12 January 2018.

<sup>52</sup> Enstad. “Antisemitic Violence in Europe, 2005-2015”. 25.

<sup>53</sup> Rodan-Benzaquen. “Muslim Anti-Semitism Threatens France’s Democracy”.

<sup>54</sup> Kern. “The Islamization of France in 2016”.

is caused by these inferiors becoming superior in terms of military and technology, as opposed to the old times when they respected Muslims, and were even subordinated to them.<sup>55</sup>

It is true that, as in all other Western European countries, antisemitism in France is also closely related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It does not only manifest in the perception of French Jews, 90 percent of whom answered that the Arab-Israeli conflict matters to their safety in France “a great deal” or “a fair amount”, but also in the number of antisemitic incidents over the period of ten years from 1990 to 2000, the year of the Second Intifada. The number of all incidents were: 372 in 1990, 143 in 1991, 94 in 1992, 156 in 1993, 120 in 1994, 86 in 1995, 90 in 1996, 85 in 1997, 74 in 1998, 60 in 1999, then 603 in 2000. The number of violent incidents showed a similar pattern: 20 in 1992, 14 in 1993, 11 in 1994, 2 in 1995, 1 in 1996, 3 in 1997, 1 in 1998, 9 in 1999, then 116 in 2000. At that time, after hundreds of cases of antisemitic intimidation, over sixty suspects were questioned by police, but only five were subject to legal procedures, for being far-right.<sup>56</sup> These numbers only increased over time (808 incidents in 2016), but they are not so closely connected to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict anymore – the problem is now more persistent.<sup>57</sup> With the perpetrators of most antisemitic attacks now being predominantly Muslim, the communal conflict between Jews and Muslims is extended “into the heart of Europe”.<sup>58</sup>

Failure of integration into French society can also be a topic of a much wider debate to discuss here, but at the minimum we need to take a look at the research carried out by David Laitin, Claire Adida and Marie-Anne Valfort among French Muslims. Their selection of the sample population for the survey made it possible to exclude all other variables and focus only on religion. The Senegalese Serer and Jola immigrants meet all the necessary conditions of belonging to the same ethnic group, coming from the same country at the same time, and living under similar conditions at home and in France, regardless of their conversion to one faith or the other.<sup>59</sup> This research showed among other results that the reason for the large gap between the levels of integration of the two immigrant communities can be attributed to their religious background only<sup>60</sup>. The discrimination they face has rational and irrational elements, and can be divided into three larger groups, religious norms, gender norms (very closely connected to religious norms), and mastery of language.<sup>61</sup> Other than language, we

<sup>55</sup> Khosrokhavar, F. “Anti-Semitism of the Muslims in France: the case of the prisoners”. 8 November 2005. 3–5, 12. <https://stanford.edu/dept/france-stanford/Conferences/Islam/Khosrokhavar.pdf>, Accessed on 14 January 2018.

<sup>56</sup> Samuels, S, and Knobel, M. “Antisemitism 2002 in France: ‘Intifada’ Import or Domestic Malaise?”. Simon Wiesenthal Center. January 2002. 7–11. <http://www.wiesenthal.com/atf/ct/%7B4BBE989B-D21C-4116-BC6F-92CE75144F83%7D/antisemitismfrance.pdf>, Accessed on 10 January 2018.

<sup>57</sup> Rodan-Benzaquen. “Muslim Anti-Semitism Threatens France’s Democracy”.

<sup>58</sup> Suzan, B. and Dreyfus, J. “Muslims and Jews in France: Communal Conflict in a Secular State?”. Brookings. 1 March 2004. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/muslim-and-jews-in-france-communal-conflict-in-a-secular-state/>, Accessed 12 January 2018.

<sup>59</sup> Adida, Laitin and Valfort. *Why Muslim Integration Fails in Christian-Heritage Societies*. 32–3.

<sup>60</sup> Muslims not only separate from the host society more than other immigrants, but this situation does not improve over time. On the contrary, each subsequent generation will be less integrated. Muslims and the host population are locked in a sub-optimal discrimination equilibrium. Muslims’ separation from the majority is at least partially caused by rational and irrational discrimination, based on their religion. Muslims and the host society are acting towards each other negatively in mutually reinforcing ways, which causes further separation. This finding applies to other Western European Muslim communities as well. Adida, Laitin and Valfort. *Why Muslim Integration Fails in Christian-Heritage Societies*. 121–25, 138–45.

<sup>61</sup> Adida, Laitin and Valfort. *Why Muslim Integration Fails in Christian-Heritage Societies*. 79.

see that the differences are in fact related to religion. It is quite interesting to note that this is the case even in France, home of secularism and *laïcité*, where one would think that religion does not matter at all.

This separation is what creates the *banlieus*, the problematic suburbs, or “no-go zones”, which Georges Bensoussan refers to as “lost territories”. Most antisemitic offenses are committed by young men of North African descent, who live in these suburbs, socially segregated from the rest of society.<sup>62</sup> In such areas, where Muslim population is growing, Jewish inhabitants are moving out at a remarkable pace.<sup>63</sup> In Seine-Saint-Denis, Muslims account to about 40 percent of the population. According to police statistics, most antisemitic incidents around the Paris area take place in this suburb,<sup>64</sup> and in general, most of the incidents happen in areas where Jews and Muslims live in close proximity, typically in suburbs of major cities. Already around the time of the Second Intifada, Jews felt that the government was ignoring this problem because of the perceived voting power of the Muslim population.<sup>65</sup> As we shall see, this is a very well-founded consideration, and the situation is likely to worsen in the future.

## DEMOGRAPHY

Currently, Europe has a Muslim population of about 26 million. The future growth of this population depends mostly on the level of immigration to Europe from Islamic heritage societies. Pew Research Center’s study projects three different scenarios, the first one with all Muslim immigration stopping completely, the second one where regular immigration continues for economic, educational and family reasons, but not asylum seeking, and the third scenario is where high immigration will continue as we saw in the years 2015 and 2016. In the first – obviously imaginary – scenario, Muslim population by 2050 would increase by 10 million to about 36 million exclusively because of demographic reasons, higher fertility and lower average age. Even in this scenario, France would face the biggest change, with its currently 9-percent Muslim population growing to about 13 percent.<sup>66</sup>

In the second scenario, where only regular migration continues in the coming decades, but refugees do not arrive, the UK would have the largest Muslim population in Europe, since it has received more regular Muslim immigrants than any other country. It is unclear though, how the UK will regulate immigration after Brexit. Finally, in the third scenario, which is also unlikely to continue unchanged, Europe’s Muslim population would be about 75 million, or 14 percent of the continent’s population. Under this scenario, Germany and Sweden would be the most Islamized countries, with roughly 20 and 30 percent Muslims. Pew Research Center estimates the most realistic scenario to be between the second and third one, with an overall percentage of Muslims between 11 and 14 percent.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Khosrokhavar. “Anti-Semitism of the Muslims in France: the case of the prisoners”. 1.

<sup>63</sup> Meotti, G. “France: Muslims In, Jews Out”. Gatestone Institute. 15 November 2017. <https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/11311/france-muslims-jews>, Accessed on 11 January 2018.

<sup>64</sup> Alfon. “Analysis: What’s Behind the Drop in anti-Semitic Incidents in France?”.

<sup>65</sup> Samuels and Knobel. “Antisemitism 2002 in France...”. 2–3.

<sup>66</sup> Lipka, M. “Europe’s Muslim population will continue to grow – but how much depends on migration”. Pew Research Center. 4 December 2017. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/12/04/europes-muslim-population-will-continue-to-grow-but-how-much-depends-on-migration/>, Accessed on 25 January 2018.

<sup>67</sup> Lipka. “Europe’s Muslim population will continue to grow – but how much depends on migration”.

Not all European countries will equally experience such huge changes in their demographic situation. Even in the third scenario, it is estimated that the Central-Eastern European member states' Muslim population will remain well under 5 percent. If these states are able to stop all Islamic immigration to their territories, then this number will remain as low as 0,5 percent.

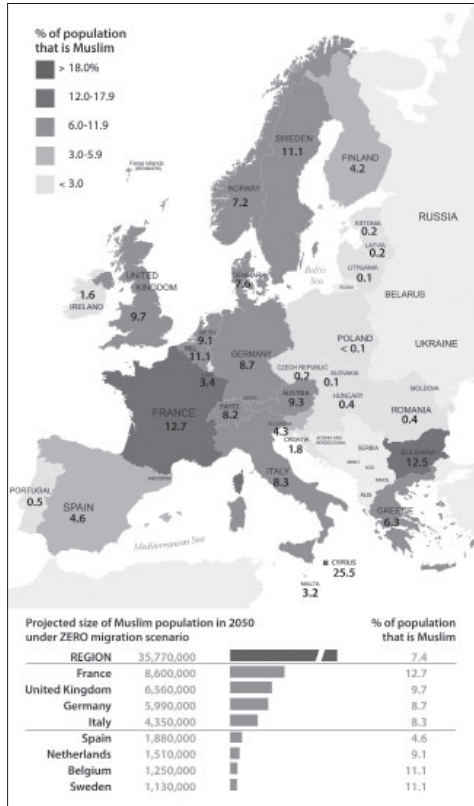


Figure 168: Muslims in the EU, Norway and Switzerland in 2050: zero migration scenario. Projected % of Muslims among total population in each country

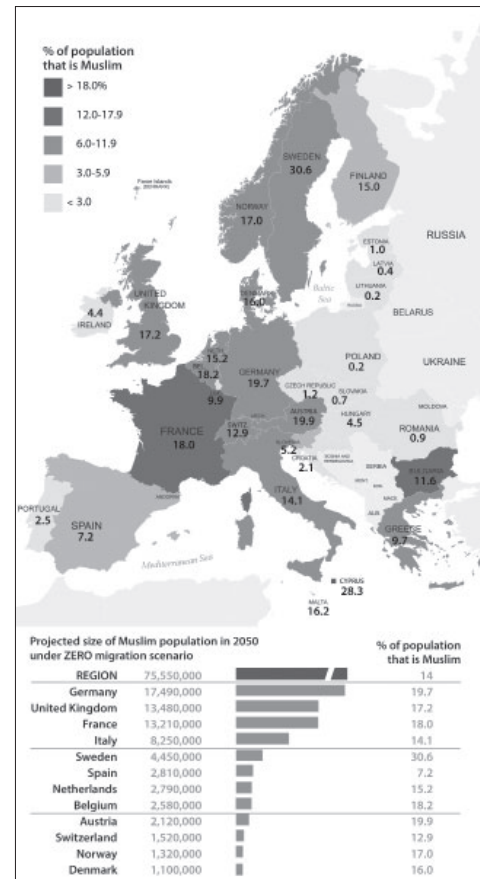


Figure 269: Muslims in the EU, Norway and Switzerland in 2050: high migration scenario. Projected % of Muslims among total population in each country

68 “Europe’s Growing Muslim Population”. Pew Research Center. 29 November 2017. <http://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/>, Accessed on 14 January 2018.

69 “Europe’s Growing Muslim Population”.

Table 1: *The size of the European Muslim population in 2050 depends largely on the future of migration*

Estimated and projected Muslim population shares					
Country	2010 (%)	2016 (%)	2050 zero migration (%)	2050 medium migration (%)	2050 high migration (%)
Cyprus	25.3	25.4	25.5	26.6	28.3
Sweden	4.6	8.1	11.1	20.5	30.6
France	7.5	8.8	12.7	17.4	18.0
United Kingdom	4.7	6.3	9.7	16.7	17.2
Belgium	6.0	7.6	11.1	15.1	18.2
Norway	3.7	5.7	7.2	13.4	17.0
Netherlands	6.0	7.1	9.1	12.5	15.2
Italy	3.6	4.8	8.3	12.4	14.1
Denmark	4.0	5.4	7.6	11.9	16.0
Finland	1.2	2.7	4.2	11.4	15.0
Europe overall	3.8	4.9	7.4	11.2	14.0
Germany	4.1	6.1	8.7	10.8	19.7
Austria	5.4	6.9	9.3	10.6	19.9
Switzerland	4.9	6.1	8.2	10.3	12.9
Malta	0.2	2.6	3.2	9.3	16.2
Bulgaria	11.1	11.1	12.5	9.2	11.6
Greece	5.3	5.7	6.3	8.1	9.7
Spain	2.1	2.6	4.6	6.8	7.2
Luxembourg	2.3	3.2	3.4	6.7	9.9
Slovenia	3.6	3.8	4.3	5.0	5.2
Ireland	1.1	1.4	1.6	4.3	4.4
Portugal	0.3	0.4	0.5	2.5	2.5
Croatia	1.5	1.6	1.8	2.0	2.1
Hungary	0.1	0.4	0.4	1.3	4.5
Czech Republic	0.1	0.2	0.2	1.1	1.2
Estonia	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.8	1.0
Romania	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.8	0.9
Slovakia	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.7
Latvia	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4
Poland	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2
Lithuania	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2

Notes: In zero migration scenario, no migration of any kind takes place to or from Europe. In medium migration scenario, regular migration continues and refugee flows ease. In high migration scenario, 2014 to mid-2016 refugee inflow patterns continue in addition to regular migration. Estimates do not include those asylum seekers who are not expected to gain legal status to remain in Europe.

Source: Pew Research Center estimates and projections. See Methodology for details. "Europe's Growing Muslim Population"

## CONCLUSIONS

The case studies of the three European countries with the largest Jewish population showed that antisemitism is on the rise, and there are three main groups that harbour antisemitic views: the far-right, the far-left, and Muslims. Several surveys gave proof that Muslims are significantly more antisemitic than the general population in each country. Research also showed that the level of antisemitism among Muslims correlated with the level of religiosity.<sup>70</sup> Islamic core doctrinal sources indeed contain a significant amount of antisemitism as shown in the first chapter. The analysis of the FRA survey and other sources showed that in each country, the flare-ups in the Middle East conflict served as trigger events for antisemitic incidents. This conflict is not the cause for violent attacks on Jews; rather it just provides an occasion for antisemitic violence for those people who are prone to violence and hate Jews anyway.<sup>71</sup>

Demographic tendencies in Europe predict that the percentage and the absolute number of Muslims will increase in the coming decades, with the most likely scenario forecasting the proportion of Muslims in Europe to be around 11–14 percent in 2050. This increase does not affect all countries evenly though – most of Central-Eastern Europe will remain almost entirely without any Muslim minority if they are able to restrict immigration to their territory. Laitin, Adida, and Valfort showed that the attachment to the ancestral culture and religious norms, and the importance of religion in the identity of Muslim immigrants is not decreasing, but increasing over time. The more generations these communities live among Christian heritage societies, the less and less they are integrated. The research also proved that this is not only a French phenomenon, but applies to all of Western Europe.

In Western democratic societies, the ultimate source of sovereignty are the people. As long as our political system functions on the foundation of equal rights and individual liberties, including the freedom of vote, the political will of an ever-growing Muslim minority will eventually find ways to surface at governmental level. Those, who fear that the governments of some Western European countries favour the voting power of their large Muslim populations over the small and decreasing Jewish communities, are entirely right. Muslim voting tendencies are not overly simple to predict. For example, it is not guaranteed that they will choose a right wing, a left wing, or even Islamist party, especially as a collective community. However, it can be predicted what they will *not* vote for. We can estimate from the research results presented in the article that they will *not* support a foreign policy which favours Israel. No Muslim-majority country voted against the UN resolution to condemn Trump's decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Even among the abstaining countries, we find only one country with a significant Muslim population, Bosnia and Herzegovina – because its delicately balanced presidential system requires all ethnic communities to agree on foreign policy matters, and the Serbs vetoed the other two party's attempt to support the UN resolution.<sup>72</sup>

This growing Muslim population will certainly limit the freedom of action of those governments, which have to consider the vote of the Muslims at the next elections. Not only is it

<sup>70</sup> Reynié and Rodan-Benzaquen. "Anti-Semitism in France: Facing Reality".

<sup>71</sup> Enstad. "Antisemitic Violence in Europe, 2005-2015". 24.

<sup>72</sup> "Why Bosnia and Herzegovina did not vote against the US". TRT World. 21 December 2017. <https://www.trtworld.com/jerusalem/why-bosnia-and-herzegovina-did-not-vote-against-the-us-13509>, Accessed on 25 January 2018.

likely that Muslim antisemitism will get worse over time, but also that the already troubled and complicated foreign policy formulation of the EU regarding the Middle East will further slide towards the support of the Palestinians and abandoning Israel. This is likely to cause collisions with the United States, and might also become a further point of friction between the Eastern (V4) and Western European member states. Musu argues that there are three main shared interests between the US and Europe in the Middle East: the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the free flow of oil, and regional stability.<sup>73</sup> However, the Arab-Israeli conflict can have several outcomes, so while it is in everyone's interest to settle the conflict, it can be vastly divergent, how it will be settled. The free flow of oil and regional stability affects Europe much more than the US, mainly because of the difference in the availability of natural resources and geographic proximity. Therefore, there are also divergences in the strategic approach to the Middle Eastern conflict. One of the main causes of this is an extremely well-funded Israel-lobby, and a large Jewish community in the US, which is much more influential than the current Muslim interest groups. They are able to influence both the Congress and the President, who in turn cannot afford to neglect the Jewish electorate. On the other hand, Europe's long-established Jewish communities are far less numerous than their rapidly increasing Muslim electorates.<sup>74</sup>

In the Eastern European countries, the Muslim voting power will still be at a negligible level in all of the projected demographic scenarios, so foreign policy regarding the Middle East will not be affected the same way as in Western Europe. Signs of this are already visible. While all Western European countries condemned Trump's move to recognize the capital of Israel, Prime Minister Netanyahu invited the V4 leaders to Israel in 2018. As an example, the Hungarian government's intention to increase the EU support for Israel is not very likely to receive very much appreciation in the EU, where the most influential member states have large and ever-growing Muslim constituencies.

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<sup>73</sup> Musu, C. *European Union Policy Towards the Arab-Israeli Peace Process: The quicksand of Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010. 144–45.

<sup>74</sup> Musu. *European Union Policy Towards the Arab-Israeli Peace Process...* 146–48.



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