

**ANTI-SEMITISM, ANTI-ZIONISM AND ISRAELI-
PALESTINIAN CONFLICT FROM 2000 TO 2014:
SOME VISIONS FROM LATIN AMERICAN SOUTHERN CONE**

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Abstract. In this article are examined Semitism and anti-Zionism in the period since September 2000 (start of second intifada) to August 2014 (end of intervention by Israel in Gaza), considering a theoretical and a conceptual framework regarding these terms. Then we analyse the global context of this phenomenon and finally study the cases of Argentina and Chile. The growth of groups, movements and political parties of the extreme right, the economic crisis, the emergence of a discourse from the radical left, are factors that, to a lesser or greater extent, contribute to this phenomenon of intolerance towards the Jewish world. Also the conflict that Israel maintains with Palestine is a substantial source of biases against Jews and Israel. Latin America in general and Argentina and Chile, in particular, are no strangers to this problem.

Keywords: anti-Semitism, Israel, Judaism, Chile, Argentina, Zionism

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1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to examine anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism in the period from September 2000 to August 2014, considering some insights from the southern Latin American Cone. It is assumed that the increase of both forms of intolerance are largely related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, whose important milestones are September of 2000, with the start of the Second Intifada; March and April of 2002, when Israel went on a military offensive in the West Bank; and the three operations carried out by Israel in Gaza: “Cast Lead” in December 2008 and January 2009; “Defensive Pillar” in November 2012; and finally “Wall Protector” in July and August 2014.

In the context of the Post-Cold War era, the struggle of the international community against various forms of intolerance, particularly those related to anti-

Semitism, made a new dynamic, which is demonstrated by the resolution 4686 on 16 December 1991 of the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) adopted by 111 votes in favour, 25 against and 13 abstentions. This instance revoked Resolution 3379 of November 10, 1975 that it considered Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination. In contrast, resolution 1991 considered Zionism as a legitimate form of expression for the Jewish people.

During the Cold War, the old anti-Semitism was characterized by various manifestations including their first religious roots of accusing Jews of deciding for or causing the death of Christ, conspiracy theories about Jewish world domination, and stereotypes about racial inferiority of Jews; all united to Zionism or the anti-Israel attitude. This anti-Zionist position is especially expressed in the context of a bipolar discourse, which has had an important milestone since 1967 when after the Six-Day War the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries broke diplomatic relations with Israel. The UN resolution of 1975 reproduces the characteristic bipolar scheme of the Cold War: Arab and Muslim countries as well as the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe voted for this instance, while Israel, along with the US, Europe Western, Australia and New Zealand voted against. Until 1990, both within the framework of the UN and international agencies, a rejection of Israel and the Jewish national movement dominated. This situation changed with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, and the resulting attacks by Iraq against Israel, where the international community begins to adopt new attitudes to Israel and Zionism (Perednik 1999).

The events of the first half of the 1990s seemed promising in the creation of a new international multipolar order for a safer and more peaceful Middle East. Revocation of resolution 3379, and therefore consideration of Zionism as a legitimate expression of the Jewish people, required the Israeli government to attend the Madrid peace conference which took place in an emerging multipolar context where both powers, the US and the Soviet Union – then Russia – seemed to agree on international security issues, as evidenced by the common position regarding the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and the joint call to the Madrid conference in 1991.

The context of rapprochement between Israel and the Arab world is materialized in the Declaration of Principles between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1993; the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan in 1994; and the signing of the Declaration of Barcelona in November 1995, all in which the European Union with Turkey, Israel, the Palestinian Authority and seven Arab countries (Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia), expressed a goal that was ambitious: to make the Mediterranean a common area of peace, through political and security dialogue, the creation of a free trade area, and the promotion of a cultural association through intercultural and interreligious dialogue (Euro-Mediterranean Conference 1995). However, the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and the consequent irresolution in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, produces again a new wave of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism, which has had a steady growth since 2000, coinciding with the second Palestinian intifada and the rise of Ariel Sharon as prime minister of Israel.

The anti-Semitism of the new millennium has new sources, such as the growth of extreme right movements represented by European populism; the persistence of a radical leftist speech with populist elements, as is shown by some Latin American cases; increase of Muslim presence in Europe and the US; and persistent economic crisis. However, all these sources use the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a propitious element to express anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism, which operate in a related and indiscriminate manner, blaming Israel and the Jews for Palestine problem. Latin America is no stranger to these manifestations of the 'new anti-Semitism'. In Venezuela and other 'Bolivarian' countries, such as Bolivia and Nicaragua, some anti-Semitic incidents are linked with anti-Zionist positions of the respective rulers reflected in the breaking of diplomatic relations of these three countries with Israel within the framework of the conflict in Gaza in 2009. Argentina and Chile have different expressions and anti-Semitic incidents in light of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, all tending to increase both quantitatively and qualitatively, which are related to the presence of neo-Nazi movements and activity of some Arab organizations.

This article has three objectives. First, consider a theoretical and conceptual framework with regard to anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism. Second, establish the evolution of this phenomenon worldwide since 2000, based on the various existing reports on anti-Semitism. Third, reflect on the impact that this kind of intolerance has in South America, particularly Argentina and Chile; establishing what their most characteristic features are. It is based on the assumption that the increase of anti-Semitism during the last decade and half, is especially linked to some events of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict since the second intifada, which began in September 2000. In this sense, there is a tendency to associate Jews with the policies implemented by the State of Israel and consider that they tend to be more loyal to Israel than to the countries in which they live. This trend is exacerbated after the start of Israel's conflict with Hamas in July and August 2014.

It is important to make two observations. First, we must distinguish between legitimate criticism that may exist in the policies undertaken by Israel in Palestine and anti-Semitic or anti-Zionist attitudes. Second, many of the anti-Semitic and anti-Zionists attitudes are promoted by the governments of Israel themselves, such as the initiative of November 2014, in which Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, seeks to promote the "law of the Jew State", enshrining the Jewish character of the state, strongly resisted by the opposition and ultimately leading to the dissolution of the government and a call for new elections. In the first case, it is a certain specific criticism of Israeli government policies, while in the second it comes to accuse the Jews of the policies implemented by Israel and / or ignore the existence of the State of Israel.

2. Conceptual development and contemporary approaches of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism

The term ‘anti-Semitism’ was created in 1879 by Wilhelm Marr (1814–1904), known as ‘the father of anti-Semitism’ in a design that emphasized racial elements rather than religious elements. This word is derived from an analysis by this author, which differentiated between Aryans and Semite racial groups, where the Jews were ‘Semites’. Before the German word ‘Judenhass’ was used to refer to the hatred of Jews, but this term had religious connotations Marr preferred to circumvent this to emphasize the racial traits (Jewish Virtual Library 2013).

Some authors question the use of the term ‘antisemitism’, showing at first that there are no ‘Semites’, but Semitic languages, of which today Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic remain; and second, that there was never an anti-Semitic people. In this sense it is indicated as the most appropriate use of ‘Judeophobia’, a word used by the Zionist activist Leon Pinsker, to characterize the hatred of Jews (Braylan 2012, Perednik 1999). Although this analysis is correct, in this work it is best to continue using the concept of anti-Semitism for a more practical reason: Jewish leading academic institutions in the US and Europe reporting hostility towards Jews in the United States, Israel and Argentina, among other countries, some of which are mentioned in the present study, still use the term ‘anti-Semitism’.

What is anti-Semitism? A complete and comprehensive definition is used by the European Forum on Anti-Semitism, a forum which consists of representatives of the Jewish world, public opinion leaders and members of non-governmental organizations. For the Forum, anti-Semitism is a perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward them; where demonstrations, whether verbal or physical, are directed against both Jewish and non-Jewish people or their property, community institutions or places of worship. These manifestations may be aimed also to the State of Israel, conceived as a Jewish entity. Contemporary examples of anti-Semitism in everyday life include the following (European Forum on Anti-Semitism 2008):

- Encourage, support or justify “the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion”.
- Make false accusations or stereotypes about Jews or the power of Jews, such as “the myth of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy.”
- “Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group”.
- Denying the Holocaust; this is the genocide of the Jewish people committed by Nazi Germany.
- “Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own countries.”

Meanwhile, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of US that leads the annual study on anti-Semitic attitudes in 100 countries, built an index with 11 characteristics of anti-Semitism. This study argues that those who respond that at

least six of these traits as ‘probably true’ have anti-Semitic attitudes. These 11 stereotypes of anti-Semitism are (Anti-Defamation League ADL 2014b):

- “Jews are more loyal to Israel than the country in which they live”
- “Jews have too much power in the business world”
- “Jews have too much power in international financial markets”
- “Jews still talk too much about what happened in the Holocaust”
- “The Jews do not care what happens to them other than their own people”
- “Jews have too much control over global affairs”
- “Jews have too much control over the US government”
- “The Jews think they are better than other people”
- “Jews have too much control over global media”
- “The Jews are responsible for most of the world wars”
- “People hate the Jews because of the way they behave”

In all, the problem with anti-Semitism during part of the twentieth century, especially after the 1940s, can be set into various schools of thought, depending largely on the regional context: critical theory, anti-Semitism in modern Europe, anti-Semitism the Muslim world, the Zionist analysis. As a result of World War II, anti-Semitism is located primarily within the broader issue of prejudice and discrimination. These studies had a major boost as a result of violence by Nazi Germany against the Jews. Some investigations were conducted in the US. They were placed in critical theory and were conducted by the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt, better known as the Frankfurt School.

In *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 1944, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer studied the ‘philosophical prehistory’ of anti-Semitism and ethnocentrism, postulating that their irrationalism arose from a ‘dominant reason’ that Jews in the country introduced capitalist forms of life, then attracted the hatred of those who had to suffer under these forms (Adorno and Horkheimer 1971). In *The Authoritarian Personality* Adorno and collaborators were basing this theory on two assumptions: a.) anti-Semitism is not a specific or isolated phenomenon but part of a broader ideological framework; b) the susceptibility of an individual to this ideology primarily depends on their psychological needs (Adorno 1950).

These studies have been strongly criticized for being framed primarily in the field of psychology and more specifically in the field of prejudice. In addition, a research design, expected to locate the roots of anti-Semitism in the authoritarian personality, was unable to explain why the Jews were chosen as scapegoats. There was willingness among researchers against seeing Jews as different simply by virtue of their Judaism. Thus, the attempt to counter anti-Semitism mentioning the Jewish contribution to culture was discarded (Halpern 1988).

Other studies fail to consider this phenomenon within the theme of prejudice. Hannah Arendt notes that modern anti-Semitism grew when traditional nationalism declined and reached its peak when the European system of national states and the balance of power was collapsing. Arendt argues that the history of anti-Semitism is the history of relations between Jews and those who are not in special conditions of the Jewish diaspora. The most direct and pure consequence of anti-Semitic

movements of the nineteenth century was not the Nazi totalitarianism, but, on the contrary, Zionism, which in its western ideological form was transformed into a counter ideology, i.e. the response to Semitism (Arendt 1951).

As for anti-Semitism in the Muslim world, under the Project for the Study of Antisemitism at the University of Tel Aviv anti-Semitic motifs and ideologies of some radical Islamist organizations such as Hezbollah and Hamas are researched. It is claimed that there is a high correlation between the development of anti-Semitism in the Arab world and the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Koran and Muslim tradition are used in a process of rationalizing the rejection of Zionism, Israel and Jews in general. However, it is emphasized that while anti-Semitism is a basic principle of these movements, it is not a central principle as it was in the western racial and religious ideologies (Webman 1994).

Meanwhile, the Zionist analysis of anti-Semitism and 'anti-Zionism' has placed emphasis on the influence that the creation of the State of Israel has had on anti-Semitic demonstrations. Sidney Liskofsky and Donna E. Arzt address the history of Zionism, from its beginnings to the present, showing undeniably a connection with anti-Semitism; anti-Zionism is anti-Semitic, because it denies the right of the Jewish people to national liberation and self-determination, while served as an inspiration and instrument of anti-Semitism long before the establishment of Israel. Thus, the authors argue that there are ample signs of current anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist sources of past policies, actions and expressions of whatever governments, private groups and individuals. In particular, they note that there is an anti-Zionist, anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli rhetoric at the UN and other organizations such as the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of Islamic States, and the Non-Aligned Movement, which came to be in an important milestone: the resolution 3379 of the General Assembly of the UN (1975), equating Zionism with racism (Liskofsky and Arzt 1988).

In this article, we consider a differentiation between the persistence of stereotypes that define the 'old anti-Semitism', formed by a merger of racial, religious and nationalist ideologies' elements of the extreme right, and the emergence of a 'new anti-Semitism', which refers to holocaust denial, conspiracies about Jews and Israel, all movements made by both the right and left; also including prejudicial attitudes of Muslim minorities and/or Arabs as anarchist sectors, feminists and anti-globalizer sectors related to 'anti-Zionism' and their rejection of Israel (Brackman 2012, Laqueur 2003).

3. Increase of anti-Semitism in Europe and North America

Globally, according to a study on anti-Semitism conducted by the Anti-Defamation League in 2013, the region with a higher percentage of anti-Semitic attitudes is the Middle East and North Africa with an index that reaches 74% of the population, followed by Eastern Europe with 34% and Western Europe 24% (Anti-Defamation League ADL 2014b). In the European context, since the

beginning of the century, a presence of anti-Semitism is observed, which is particularly associated with the block in the process of Israeli-Palestinian peace and the outbreak of the Second Intifada which began in September 2000, as well as with the offensive of Israeli military forces in the West Bank and Gaza since 2002. The reports of anti-Semitism from the University of Tel Aviv, which are among the most comprehensive logging for all anti-Semitic incidents reported in the world, emphasize that the total annual of anti-Semitic incidents in the last decade have been significantly higher than those recorded in the 1990s (Tel Aviv University 2010).

The most acute phase of anti-Semitism in Europe was recorded in the spring of 2002, coinciding with the Israeli military offensive in the West Bank. In France, two synagogues were burned in Strasbourg and Marseille, Molotov cocktails were thrown at a synagogue in Montpellier and one in Paris, while a group of masked men attacked 14 footballers of Maccabi sports group. These attacks added to two attacks on synagogues in Istanbul in November 2003 that caused more than 20 deaths. That same year, in an unveiled Eurobarometer survey poll for the Parliament, it is stated that a majority of Europeans believed that Israel is the country that most threatens world peace (Sales 2003, Prieto 2003).

2009 was another special year in anti-Semitic incidents due to Israel's war in Gaza. Jews and Israelis are portrayed in the same group, so that events in the Middle East influence hostile activities against Jews (Tel Aviv University 2010). There seems to be a corresponding trend between increases in anti-Semitic acts and development of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In 2012, the increase in violence and vandalism followed two years in which the numbers declined after the boom they had in 2009. The combined number of 686 incidents of physical violence, direct threats and vandalism represents an increase of 30% compared to 2011. One of the main factors that affected this growth was the Pillar of Defence operation, carried out by Israel in the Gaza Strip in November 2012, implying an increase in anti-Semitic violence (Tel Aviv University 2012). See Figure 1.

The report that covers the year 2012 shows a significant level of violence and vandalism against individuals, sites and private property of Jews, especially in Western Europe, North America and Australia, here being the 10 countries with

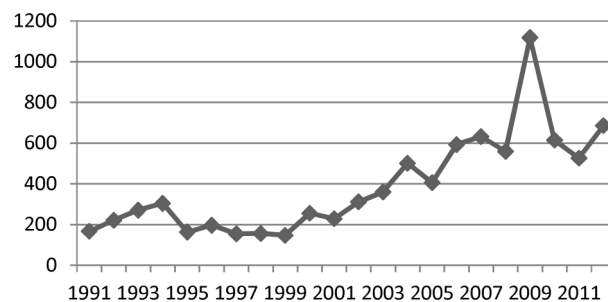


Figure 1. Violent anti-Semitic incidents worldwide. 1991–2012.

Source: Tel Aviv University 2012b.

the highest anti-Semitic incidents. Distributed by countries, the highest number of violent incidents were recorded in France, US, UK and Canada, representing 60% of all global incidents, and already being in these higher ranked countries compared to 2009 (Tel Aviv University 2010). See Figure 2.

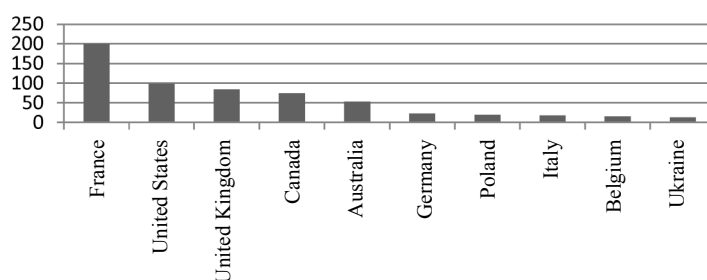


Figure 2. 10 countries with the highest number of violent anti-Semitic incidents in 2012.
Source: Our own elaboration from Tel Aviv University (2012).

In regard to Europe itself, in a comprehensive study on anti-Semitism, prepared by the Simon Wiesenthal Center 2012, the following is found (Brackman 2012):

- Almost a third of Europeans have significant levels of anti-Semitism.
- More than half of Europeans see Israel as ‘the greatest threat to world peace’.
- There is an increased “‘new antisemitism’, which uses the ‘anti-Zionism’ as a cover for hatred toward Jews.
- Hate crimes against Jews, from the verbal attack vandalism, are a fact of everyday life in Europe.
- Laws against Holocaust denial have not prevented the emergence of extremist movements, both right and left, with an anti-Semitic discourse.
- The growing Muslim minorities in Europe provide elements for intolerance towards Israel and the Jews.
- Anti-Semitism in Europe has grown, returning to levels not seen since the Hitler era.

Linking the anti-Jewish feelings with the State of Israel, which is mentioned in previous reports, is also reinforced in a study on anti-Semitism by the Anti-Defamation League, which shows that in the 10 European countries surveyed, over 40% of people responded that “Jews are more loyal to Israel than to their country”, being the highest rates in Spain (72%), followed by Italy and Poland (61% each), Norway (58%) , Hungary (55%) and Germany (52%), with lower case in Britain (48%), the Netherlands and Austria (47% each) and France (45%) (Anti-Defamation League ADL 2012b). See Figure 3.

As for Spain, some studies indicate a high percentage of anti-Semitic sentiments, with a growth from 21% in 2005 to 46% in 2008. The most cited reasons for negative feelings toward Jews relate to Israeli action in the Middle East

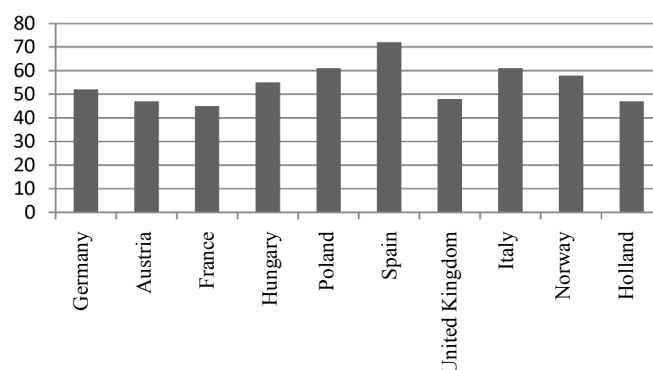


Figure 3. “Los judíos son más leales a Israel que a su país”. Porcentaje de personas que responden “probablemente verdadero”.

Source: Anti-Defamation League ADL 2012b.

conflict, whereby there is a trend in the Spanish population to associate the Jewish group with the State of Israel and its policies (DYM Institute 2010). Later during the Spanish economic crisis, the results of the Report on Anti-Semitism in Spain 2010 discloses that this country is at the head of the European Union in relation to violent acts and manifestations of racial hatred of Jews (Bedoya 2011a, 2011b).

Both in Europe and North America, it is noted that since the beginning of the century, anti-Jewish and anti-Israel hatred has four main stages: a) protests in Europe during the second intifada in 2000; b) campaign of the war in Lebanon and Israel's war against Hezbollah, 2006; c) search for an enemy by the financial crisis of 2008; d) anti-Israeli campaign led by Hamas after the operation in Gaza in 2009 (Brackman 2012). Of these four stages, three are linked to the Arab-Israeli conflict. In addition, within the last confrontation between Israel and Gaza, in July and August 2014, a report by the ADL shows an increase in anti-Semitism, once again heard in Europe expressions “Death to the Jews” and “Jews to the gas chambers”, while Jewish communities around the world are paying for the perceived ‘sins’ of Israel (Anti-Defamation League ADL 2014a).

4. Anti-Semitism in Latin America: the case of Argentina and Chile

In Latin America, it is possible to follow a quantitative analysis of anti-Semitic incidents from the annual reports of the University of Tel Aviv, as mentioned above, as well as those of Anti-Semitism in Argentina, published continuously since 1998 by the Delegation of Israelites Argentinians Associations (CS), which are the most comprehensive in the Latin American region. These reports find that an important milestone in anti-Semitism throughout the region is given by the AMIA bombing, in July 1994, which although it has been considered by the Argentine authorities as an attack on the whole society, its objective was focused on the Jewish collective. In

regards to the last decade, these studies report an increase in attacks on Jewish sites during the second half of 2010, probably influenced by the events of the flotilla to Gaza (Tel Aviv University 2012). Meanwhile, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of the United States has a global index of anti-Semitism, which is considered the survey with a more complete review of attitudes toward Jews, which is conducted in more than 100 countries, 2013 marking the first time Latin American countries were included, where anti-Semitic attitudes reached 31% of respondents (Anti-Defamation League ADL. 2014b)

Countries where higher rates of anti-Semitic attitudes are given are Panama (52%), Colombia (41%), Dominican Republic (41%) and Peru (38%), where there is no significant Jewish population. In contrast, in Chile the rate reached 37%, in Uruguay 33%, in Venezuela 30%, in Argentina and Mexico 24% and in Brazil, number was lower, 16% (Foxman 2014, Anti-Defamation League ADL 2014b). These last six countries where antisemitism rates tend to be lower, are those with the largest Jewish population in the region according to estimates from 2012: Argentina (181,000), Brazil (95,000), Mexico (39,200), Chile (18,500), Uruguay (17,300) and Venezuela (9500) (Della Pergola 2012). In countries where Jews have the most favourable position are Uruguay (76%), Brazil (65%) and Argentina (63%), which are three of the six largest communities, while the most favourable views on Israel are in Uruguay (63%) Trinidad and Tobago (61%).

See Table 1.

Table 1. Jewish population and indicators of anti-Semitism in Latin America 2014

	Jewish population	Anti-Semitism index	Position towards Jews		Position towards Israel	
			Favourable	Unfavourable	Favourable	Unfavourable
Argentina	181.000	24	63	29	47	13
Bolivia	500	30	29	11	38	17
Brasil	95.000	16	65	08	57	17
Chile	18.500	37	57	12	53	20
Colombia	2.500	41	53	19	56	25
Paraguay	900	35	34	14	48	20
Perú	1.900	38	37	17	47	22
Uruguay	17.300	33	76	06	63	08
Venezuela	9.500	30	27	11	42	19
Costa Rica	2.500	32	46	15	57	16
Guatemala	900	36	30	20	55	19
Haití		26	57	33	51	40
Jamaica	200	18	56	17	52	18
México	39.200	24	37	10	41	23
Nicaragua		34	20	12	51	18
Panamá	8.000	52	41	29	42	33
R. Dominicana		41	40	28	59	28
Trinidad y Tobago		24	58	15	61	19

Source: Own elaboration from data of (Anti-Defamation League ADL 2014b) (Della Pergola 2012)

In reports from the University of Tel Aviv, spanning 2010 to 2012, seven Latin American countries, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela are cited, of which those who receive most attention are Venezuela, Argentina and Chile. With respect to Venezuela, where the rate of anti-Semitism of ADL reached 30%, an increase in anti-Semitic incidents is observed as part of the anti-Israel propaganda of Chavez's government, which also includes heavy criticism and opposition towards candidate Capriles Radonsky, for his Jewish descent (Tel Aviv University 2010, Tel Aviv University 2011). Some accusations against Capriles include being part of an international Zionist organization which controls the media and finance, being an agent of the Israeli Mossad, seeking to import the Arab Spring to Venezuela, and using oppressive tactics as used by Israel against the Palestinians (Anti-Defamation League ADL 2012a). In Venezuela, it is important to add a component of anti-Semitism related to a Latin American populism's 'extreme left', which involves four dimensions: maintains ties with the tradition of the Holocaust denier, tends to use anti-Semitic phrases and favours a Christian perspective, manifests through diplomatic channels hostility towards the State of Israel (favouring its relationship with Iran), associates centres of Jewish studies with agents of the Israeli intelligence organization Mossad (Fregosi 2009). These features are also applicable to other 'Bolivarian' countries such as Bolivia and Nicaragua, whose presidents broke diplomatic relations with Israel in January 2009 and June 2010, as the effects of Israel's incursion into Gaza, and the flotilla affair he went to Gaza, respectively.

Argentina, meanwhile, with the largest Jewish community in the region, is the country most cited with reports of anti-Semitism according to University of Tel Aviv and CS. The first show that in 2010 there were 274 anti-Semitic acts reported in Argentina, while the following year this figure dropped to 263. During 2011, including attacks against an Orthodox Jew outside a synagogue in Buenos Aires, graffiti with anti-Semitic expressions appeared at the door of a synagogue in Bahia Blanca, and increased internet sites that disseminate anti-Semitic speech also were created (Tel Aviv University 2012). Meanwhile, reports from CS distinguish nine major categories such as hard-core anti-Semitic expression, one of which is related to anti-Zionism or 'contemporary anti-Semitism'. At the same time, we see that whenever the conflict in the Middle East intensifies this impacts directly on an increase in anti-Semitic expressions. These categories are (Braylan 2010, 2011):

- Xenophobic expressions, which are attacks on Jews without further explanation, simply because of their difference in terms of 'otherness'.
- Religious / theological anti-Semitism: accusations of deicide, discrimination or exclusion for not accepting the Messiah.
- Appeal to greed or exploitation: references to Jews as greedy and as moneylenders.
- Nationalist anti-Semitism: relates to discriminatory expressions in which 'the Jew' is opposed to 'national'. Here the Marxist / anti-Semitism are included.
- World Domination / conspiracy: Related to the rhetoric of 'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion' refers to conspiring Jews or 'Jewish power'.

- Nazi Symbols: Expressions in which elements referring to Nazi symbols such as swastikas, Nazi idolatry, or its figures are used.
- Denialism / trivialization: Reviews and demonstrations aimed to question the existence of the Holocaust (*Shoa*).
- Middle East, Zionism or ‘contemporary anti-Semitism’: Anti-Semitic discourse structures that are used to criticize the state of Israel, the Zionist movement, or to Jews in general. This category includes the following statements: a) deny the right of existence of the State of Israel; b) homologated with the *Shoah* every policy actions taken by the State of Israel; c) identify all Jews as carriers of Israeli nationality.
- Assault: When to exceed anti-Semitic discourse and move on to violence understand

Figure 4 Looking at these different types of aggression, the first are those that occur in social networks, followed by graffiti, then oral and written expressions in media, then verbal aggression and to a lesser extent other incidents, such as physical damage, threats, vandalism and injuries (Braylan 2011). Nazi symbols represent some quintessential anti-Semitic remarks made in Argentina with 36%, followed by xenophobic expressions, 25% with ‘theories’ about a Jewish conspiracy, 12% with Zionism or Israel related expressions, and 11% with (see Figure 4). Meanwhile, note a trend of rising anti-Semitic incidents perpetrated on the web, which in 2012 most notably reached 8 openings representing sectors of the extreme right, extreme left, and Catholic fundamentalism (Braylan 2012). These portals are: a) “Political Tsunami” page linked to Alejandro Biondini, linked to nationalist political groups; b) “Today Currents”, a news portal of Corrientes; c) “Actualidad.rt.com” which is defined as an alternative to the major international media; d) “Youth Awake,” a blog belonging to young nationalist sectors; e) “Cabildo Magazine” media outlet Catholic nationalism; f) “Journal Proclamation of La Plata”, founded in 1942 in La Plata; g) “Infocon News”, an alternative news media; h) “Social Alternative” page belonging to the Argentine National Socialist movement.

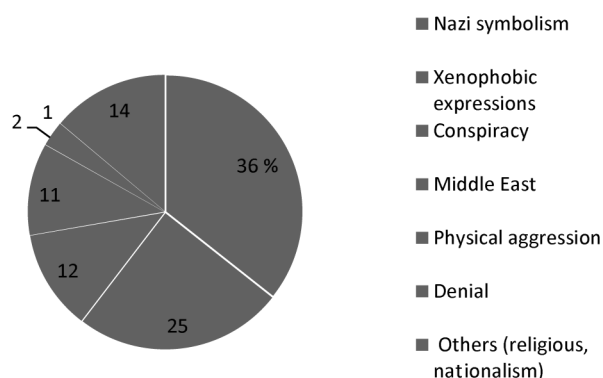


Figure 4. Typology of anti-Semitic discourse in Argentina 2012.
Source: (Braylan 2012).

CS reports seek to establish that the influence of the State of Israel and its foreign policy is based “on the representations that are made about people of Jewish origin” in the Argentine case. One of the questions formulated was: “In your opinion, what is said and acts of violence against Jews, are the result of anti-Jewish sentiment or feeling against Israel?”. The answers pointed to indicate that such violence is the result of anti-Jewish sentiment (66%) rather than anti-Israel sentiment (21%). This means that the ‘other’ is not considered as different by their national membership (as is the relationship towards the State of Israel) but for its religious and cultural belonging. In other words, “the difference, now identifies as religious-cultural, when in the past conceived differences were based on the concept of a biological *race*”. Another question was as follows, “Your opinion about Jews is influenced by the measures taken by the State of Israel?”. The vast majority, 69% responded negatively, compared with 14% who chose the affirmative. Hence it is concluded that “the influence of the state policy of Israel is not significant in the formation of opinions and representations of people of Jewish origin” (Braylan 2012).

As for Chile, reports indicate that anti-Semitism anti-Semitic acts were particularly evident in this country during the period 2010–2013, again in the context of a worsening of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The following are listed as some causes of anti-Semitism: first, that the Palestinian diaspora in Chile is the world's largest; second, the presence of neo-Nazi movements; third, the persistence of leftist discourse that tends to support the Palestinian cause. In particular, three main facts concentrated anti-Semitic incidents in the mentioned period. First, some spoke against the then Interior Minister Rodrigo Hinzpeter, for his ‘Jewishness’, discharged by the president of Teachers College, Jaime Gajardo, and the Communist deputy Hugo Gutiérrez, in the face of his involvement with student marches. Second, are the accusations against Israeli girl, Rotem Singer, involved in a fire in Torres del Paine. From this fact, the presence of Israeli youth in the south were reported, and prejudice around an ‘Andinia Plan’ were revived, suggesting that the Jews wanted to take control of Patagonia, a phenomenon that is derived from neo-Nazi movements and particularly of one of its ideologues, Miguel Serrano (Caro 2007). Thirdly we must mention the statements by some Palestinian leaders, as the leader of the Palestinian Federation of Chile, Abu Gosh accusing Israel of genocide and comparing the Jews with Zionists. Responding to an interview with the then president of the Jewish community in Chile, Shai Agosin, which appeared in *The Jerusalem Post*, Gosh said the Jewish state was a product of Nazism, and rejected Agosin’s comments that the ties between Jews and Palestinians in Chile were good before the worsening of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

In the view of some Jewish-Chilean community leaders anti-Semitism is linked to three main factors that are related to the neo-Nazi violence, the eventual Islamic extremism in the north and the growing influence of the Palestinian community against Israel. Regarding the first issue, the Jewish leaders have repeatedly denounced and rejected the actions of neo-Nazi movements and, on the occasion

of homophobic attack by these groups against the young Daniel Zamudio in March 2012, condemned this act while insisting on the need to enact a law against discrimination. A second cause of concern has been the influx of people from the Middle East to Iquique: the former president of the Jewish Community of Chile, Shai Agosin, said immigrants from Lebanon and Iran have entered Iquique, and that the authorities are concerned that the city can become a centre of Islamic extremist activity (Shefler 2012a). Notwithstanding the foregoing, there is no empirical evidence to prove these allegations of an Iranian connection in northern Chile, unlike what happens with the triple border of Argentina, Paraguay and Brazil (Caro 2012).

However, the more relevant and restless issue, also associated with anti-Semitism, is the import of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to Chile. The relations between the Jewish and Palestinian communities in Chile have been gradually deteriorating since the Second Intifada (September 2000), acquiring some high points in relation to the action of Israel in Gaza. It is found that after the last outbreak of war in July 2014, anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic incidents in the country

Table 2. Some anti-Semitic and / or anti-Zionist statements expressed in Chile 2010–2013

Author-Title	Declarations	Fuente
Jaime Gajardo, President of the Teachers' School	“The methods that today have been applied to the movement for public education, are reminiscent of the apartheid Zionist methods”. “Many of the tools and what was used and how was typical of the Zionist movement.” “We mean that if Hinzpeter has any training in a school of Israel, because here you are repeating the same methods as were expressed today to young people, students and people who have fought for public education in Chile”	(La Tercera 2011).
Hugo Gutiérrez, Communist Party Deputy	“Hinzpeter has abused child syndrome. A Jew who acts as nazi “	(Krausz 2012)
Fuad Chahin, Christian Democracy Deputy	The Israeli tourist, Rotem Singer “is one of those sent by your State after killing Palestinian children”.	(Krausz 2012)
Eugenio Tuma, Party for Democracy Senator	Thousands of Israelis come to Chile financed by the State of Israel, which “should take care of how to repair our heritage.” Israeli tourists every year visiting our country, are part of a ‘battalion’ which aims to ‘take over’ Patagonia.	(Radio Jai 2012) (El Mostrador 2013)
Abu Gosh, President of the Chilean Palestinian Federation	“The Nazis were children compared to what the Zionists are embodied in the State of Israel”. “The Palestinians are suffering directly from a brutal genocide by the Israeli army.”	(Shefler 2012b)

Source: compiled from press reviews.

through statements have substantially increased, as well as burning Israeli flags and protests outside the Israeli Embassy, which have been organized or promoted by radical Palestinian groups. Additionally, the Jewish Community of Chile, through its president Gerardo Gorodischer, categorically rejected the call to query the Chilean ambassador to Israel arranged by the government of Michelle Bachelet. In the minds of community leaders there exists an asymmetric approach of Chancery to the conflict; to the opposition of calling an ambassador to the Palestinian Authority since Hamas is part of the government of Palestinian national unity, or to Syria, where a civil war that has left thousands dead (Emol 2014). It is important to note when differentiating between criticisms of the policies of the State of Israel that those views are contrary to the very existence of the State.

Consider also a phenomenon that occurs in both Chile and Argentina, which is anti-Semitism in sport. In Argentina, anti-Semitic incidents have been linked with certain hooligans, characterized by explicit acts of racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism (Braylan 2012). In the case of Chile, a single event in early 2014 was recorded when the Club of Palestinian Professional Soccer belonging to the National Association of Professional Football in Chile (ANFP) appeared to play their official championship game, using jerseys where instead of having the number 1 used the territory of Israel as if it were an integral part of a Palestinian state (Radio Jai 2014a).

Moreover, from the 'Andinia Plan' above, there is a conspiracy myth, which states that the Jews want to take over the Chilean Patagonia and Argentina. The neo-Nazi movements and their ideologues seek to provide some 'evidence' to confirm that in his 'thesis' Theodor Herzl actually considered doing so; Herzl, considered one of the main representatives of political Zionism, in his book "The Jewish State" (1896), is suspected by these groups of proposing the creation of a Jewish national home in Argentina, as an alternative to Palestine. The presence of young Israelis is also mentioned, many backpackers visit southern Chile and Argentina. In 2014, following an agreement with the Argentine government to be part of local television programming, Russian state television presented a report that a conspiracy between the government of Cristina Kirchner and Zionism arose to seize Patagonia Argentina and Chile (Radio Jai 2014b). Thus, some views of neo-Nazi ideologues are repeated and revived, such as Miguel Serrano Chilean and Argentine Marcos Ghio in the 'Andinia Plan'.

Finally, we can establish some comparative data for Argentina and Chile considering two indicators: attitudes towards religious groups and attitudes towards Israel and Middle East issues. In both countries, there are more favourable views toward Jews (63% in Argentina, 57% in Chile) than to other religious groups, be they Muslims 47% in Argentina, 40% in Chile), Hindu 49% and 52% respectively) or Buddhist 48% and 49% respectively). However, these favourable opinions are so far about 20% of the positive attitudes that facing Christians (83% in Argentina, 76% in Chile). Moreover, in the case of Chile Jews are the second group which suffers the most negative, with 12%, being surpassed only by

Muslims, reaching 17% of negative attitudes. In both Chile and in Argentina there is a more favourable opinion of Palestine than Israel (47% versus 36 in the first, and 43% versus 20 in the second). However these figures contrast sharply with what happens in the US, where favourable opinions toward Israel rise to 73% (Anti-Defamation League ADL 2014b).

5. Final thoughts

In the context of the Cold War, there is a new dynamic in the treatment that the international community has with respect to anti-Semitism, which has a fundamental background in the repeal of Resolution 3379 (1991), equating Zionism with racism. The end of the Cold War allowed a rapprochement between Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe to Israel, which will have an important incentive for these countries to adopt a more favourable view of Israel and Zionism incidence.

A second substantial process is the emergence of a 'new antisemitism', based on the growth of parties and movements of the extreme right, the growing Muslim presence in Europe and the US, irresolution in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Thus, in the period of the Cold War this new anti-Semitism coexists with the old anti-Semitism, characterized by various manifestations, including their first religious roots indictment of the Jews of deicide and death of Christ, conspiracy theories and stereotypes about racial inferiority the Jews.

Anti-Semitism appears related largely, though not exclusively, with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, showing that much of the anti-Semitic incidents recorded in the last decade and a half are linked to the Palestinian cause, and specifically to the Second Intifada as well as operations carried out by Israel in the Gaza Strip. In addition, some European surveys recorded that over 50% of citizens of the European Union considers Israel as the country's threat opposed to world peace, while stating that Jews are more loyal to Israel than to their host countries.

In Latin America it is found that an important milestone in Semitism is represented by the bombing in Buenos Aires against the AMIA in 1994. Meanwhile, reports of anti-Semitism from the University of Tel Aviv, which are among the most important globally, in their editions of 2010-2012, concentrate on three Latin American countries in terms of anti-Semitic incidents: Venezuela, Argentina and Chile.

In Venezuela, anti-Semitism associated with Zionism and with a leftist populism, embodied in the figure of President Chávez and other 'Bolivarian' forces, resulting in the breaking of diplomatic relations between Caracas and La Paz with Israel in 2009 and Managua with Jerusalem / Tel Aviv in 2010.

In Argentina, although the influence of the policy of the State of Israel is not significant in opinions about Jews in Europe as if it is confirmed that anti-Semitic incidents are also related to the development of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, there being a important precedent in the AMIA bombing.

In the case of Chile, the main elements of anti-Semitism are: the radicalization of some Palestinian leaders and sectors, the presence of neo-Nazi movements and a leftist discourse that support the Palestinian cause.

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