



# ANTISEMITISM WORLDWIDE REPORT FOR 2025



**The Center for the Study of  
Contemporary European Jewry**  
The Lester and Sally Entin  
Faculty of Humanities  
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**The Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry at Tel Aviv University** supports research on Jewish history, culture, politics, and interfaith relations. It publishes the annual For a Righteous Cause Report and co-publishes the flagship annual Antisemitism Worldwide Report. Every year, the Center organizes three seminars on Jewish affairs that are open to the public and publishes eight issues of Perspectives – analytic essays on contemporary Jewish life and thought.

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**The Irwin Cotler Institute at Tel Aviv University** is devoted to instruction, training, and policy-oriented research on human rights, democracy, justice, and the fight against antisemitism and racism at large. It co-publishes the flagship annual Antisemitism Worldwide Report.

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The views and opinions expressed by the authors in this report do not necessarily reflect those of the Center for Contemporary European Jewry or the Irwin Cotler Institute.

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# FOREWORD

The fight against antisemitism is of a peculiar nature. It involves vast investments, strongly worded political statements, and well-intending activism, yet lacks – wherever it is staged – transparent and measurable objectives, clear and broadly agreed upon legal definitions, determined police and prosecutorial work, and scientifically rigid scholarship to guide it. In recent years, our Annual Antisemitism Worldwide Report has sought to break down crude data into nuanced analysis to help guide policymakers. Among others, studies we published demonstrated that certain Jewish demographics are far more likely to be the victims of antisemitic attacks than others are, and that a negligible number of antisemitic attacks result in arrests.

This Report features an extensive study profiling the individuals who were indicted for antisemitic offenses between 2020 and 2025 in the four countries with the largest Jewish populations outside Israel: the United States (federal cases only), France, Canada, and the United Kingdom. The study involved examination of almost 100 cases through the reading of thousands of court records and media reports, as well as interviews with defense lawyers and local journalists (p. 81).

While by no means exhaustive, the profiles offer some indication as to why antisemitic incidents are difficult to preempt. The team of researchers found that the indicted tend to be “lone wolves” whose actions were not directed through hierarchical networks (notwithstanding evidence for Russian involvement in instigating anti-Jewish violence in Europe). The indicted span two ends of the political spectrum – from Christian white supremacists to anti-Zionist Muslims. While the vast majority of the indicted are men, they belong to diverse age groups, ethnicities, and areas of residence.

Our annual analysis of data on antisemitic incidents worldwide, led for the fifth year by Dr. Carl Yonker, is discouraging. Despite the end of the war in Gaza in October 2025, the number of antisemitic incidents in countries with major Jewish populations remained in 2025 by dozens of percent higher than in 2022, the year before the war (p. 11). This raises concerns that, rather than a backlash to a specific geopolitical crisis, high levels of antisemitism have become a normalized feature in societies with large Jewish minorities. Moreover, in several countries, including Britain, Australia, Italy, and Belgium, the number of incidents in 2025 increased in comparison to the previous year. In some, like France, the overall number of incidents declined, but the number of physical assaults increased. The number of casualties resulting from four separate antisemitic attacks in 2025 was 20. This is the highest figure in decades.

The prevalence of antisemitism in healthcare systems in the West is an ethical stain that injures the ability of medical faculty to provide good service and of patients to feel safe. A survey of studies from several countries, including the United States, points to the severity of this problem in the post October 7, 2023 world (p. 31).

Last year, our Report highlighted the dire state of the fight against antisemitism in Australia, and cautioned about its implications. This was no prophecy, nor a wild guess. Where minor

attacks are dismissed, major ones will ultimately follow, in one way or another. Rather than act in hindsight, other countries should learn from the mistakes of Australia and combat antisemitism decisively before tragedy befalls them.

In a special contribution for the Report, Jillian Segal, Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism, charts the road that led to the Bondi Beach attack in December 2025, as well as the steps needed in order to provide a more secure future for Australian Jewry (p. 35).

The most worrying phenomenon of 2025 has been the normalization of antisemitic rhetoric in American political discourse, to which this Report dedicates a special section. An essay that offers historical context to the battle over antisemitism in the conservative movement begs the uncomfortable question whether technological changes make the fight against Jew-hatred and conspiracy theorists in America a lost cause (p. 43). In an interview with the Report, Prof. Christopher Browning, the most senior living American scholar of the Holocaust, discusses his legacy, the past and the present of antisemitism in the United States, the state of Holocaust studies, and the dangerous waters that are American politics under Donald Trump (p. 61).

Browning raises concerns about Trump that are particularly challenging for people who happen to be both Zionists involved in the fight against antisemitism and advocates for the causes of human rights, democracy, and justice. The Middle Eastern policies of Trump's two administrations have so far been, as opposed to a number of careless and dangerous statements he made, by and large commendable. These include the just decision to finally recognize Jerusalem for what it is, the capital of Israel; the groundbreaking Abraham Accords; the ending of the war in Gaza (under far from ideal terms, yet still arguably the best that could be achieved); and the efforts to destroy Iran's nuclear and ballistic capabilities and bring its ruthless dictatorship down.

Yet Trump is also the president who has tolerated, as no contemporary president has, deep-seated, loathsome antisemites within his camp, and continues to do so for cynical political reasons. The result is a new culture of everything-goes that is undermining the sense that Jews have had for decades that their future in America is secure. More broadly, Trump's inflammatory, degrading political rhetoric, disrespect of the sovereignty of democratic allies, lack of recognition of the evil that is fascist Russia, contempt for the rule of law, and dismissal of scientific findings that show our planet is under threat, make him a danger to the future of the Union – and liberal democracy at large.

For the first time since polling on the matter began, in the past year, more Americans stated that they favor the Palestinian side to the conflict than the Israeli. Trump is an exceptionally unpopular president who has, at best, two and a half more years in office. Tying Israel's fate exclusively and jubilantly to his persona, let alone bragging about the sway Israeli politicians or philanthropists have on him, is irresponsible folly of existential measure.

Some issues for the consideration of Israeli agencies and Jewish organizations that are part of the fight against antisemitism. As this Report already noted several times, the Israeli Ministry for Diaspora Affairs and Combating Antisemitism has not contributed in any meaningful way to the cause, and in some cases has been an embarrassment. It serves as an example of the

## FOREWORD

way petty politics and ever-expanding bureaucracies injure policies. It is thus imperative on the next Israeli government, whatever its composition may be, to close that ministry down and transfer its authorities and budgets to the Israeli Foreign Ministry. Only diplomatic missions have the capacity to engage in the kind of in-person contacts with Jewish communities, public officials, and civil society activists that are necessary for impacting and adjusting counter-antisemitism policies.

We have noted for some time, with concern, that not a few antisemitism-related publications have developed the habit of presenting data that lacks empirical rigidity and nuance, and often reads as if it was tailored-made for publicity purposes. This harms the righteous cause, and must stop.

In an Israeli society and a Jewish world so deeply divided on pretty much everything, including the definition of who is a Jew, the fight against antisemitism presents a unifying pole. Perhaps the only one. The temptation to make it an ultimate definer is great, but it must be avoided. The enemies of Jews should never be allowed to define them. A small nation that endowed humanity with some of its greatest ethical, cultural, and scientific treasures has more, much more, to draw from.

Israeli politicians and media have, particularly in recent months, continuously expanded the scope of what qualifies as antisemitism, at times in absurd or hasty ways. In doing so, they do not win arguments or silence critics, as they perhaps believe; rather, they discredit a crucial fight by politicizing it and emptying it of analytic meaning. The label of antisemitism is harsh and should be applied only after careful consideration and based on solid criteria.

Caution must also be exercised not to inadvertently imply that politically-motivated attacks against Israeli-Jews or Jews are a wrong only if proven to be motivated by antisemitism. This is not the case, neither in the legal nor in the moral sense.

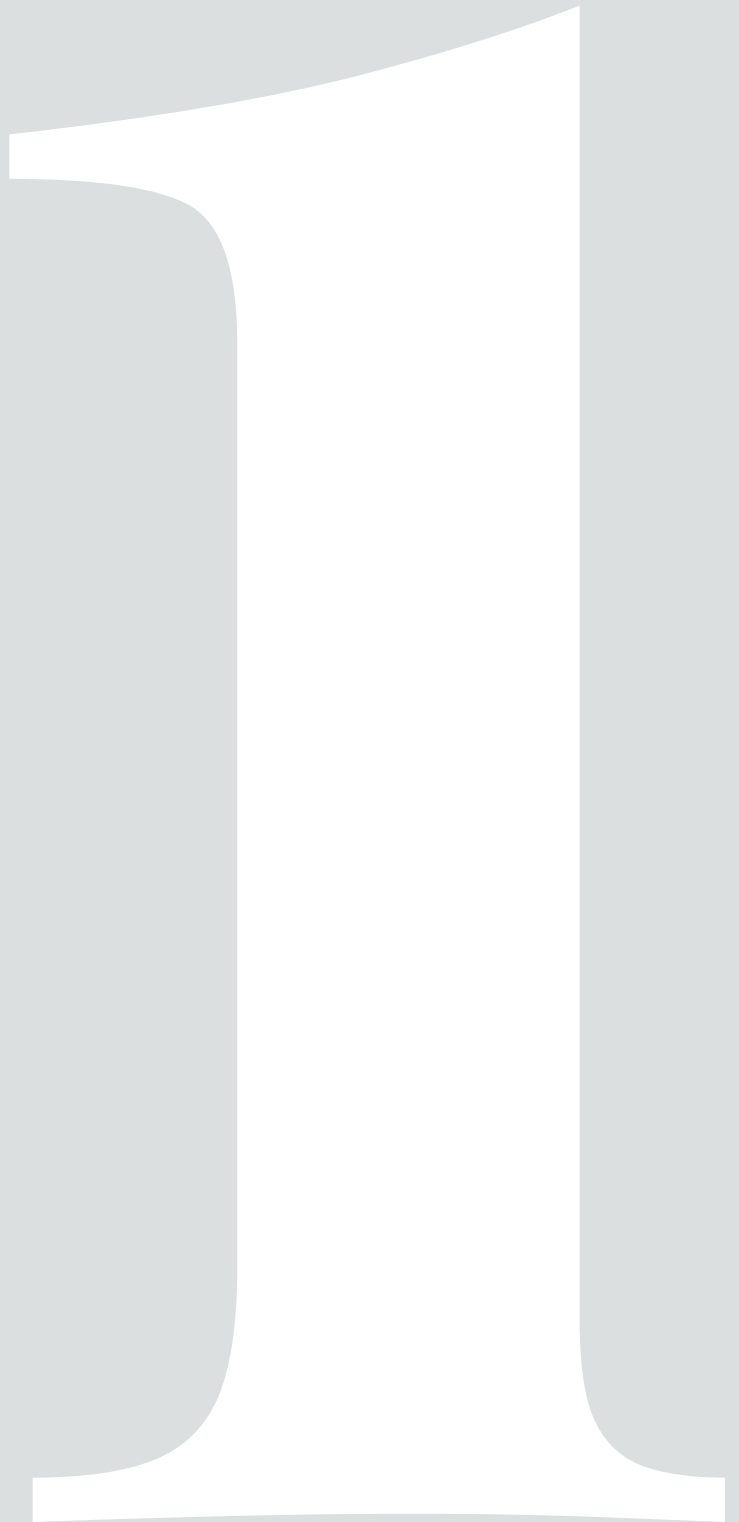
The war crimes committed by Hamas justified an unwavering military campaign as well as retribution against those responsible, including their accomplices. This, foremost, as a matter of serving the cause of justice. However, what those war crimes did not do is to legitimize racist rhetoric or actions. Some in Israeli society must be reminded that there is no good racism and bad racism. There is nothing the enemies of Zionism like more than to argue that Kahanism is reflective of the spirit of Zionism rather than a despicable mutation thereof. They must be proven wrong.

In more than four years of aggression against Ukraine, fascist Russia, the ally of Hamas, Iran, and North Korea, justified its war crimes through Holocaust distortion and abuse of the term de-Nazification. It is frightening to think where the world would be today if the Russian attempt to take over Ukraine, terrorize Europe, and shatter the American-led world order would have succeeded. It failed foremost because of the tremendous courage and sacrifice of the Ukrainians, and the leadership of their president, Volodymyr Zelensky. The greatest living Jew of our time deserves recognition and support.



# **SECTION 1**

## **GLOBAL OVERVIEW**





# ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS WORLDWIDE 2025

The Antisemitism Worldwide Report has not been a messenger of good news in recent years. Still, a year ago, the Report for 2024 introduced an optimistic note. It corrected the conventional wisdom according to which the number of antisemitic incidents increased since 2023 as the war in Gaza progressed and demonstrated that hate crimes against Jews reached their peak in the immediate aftermath of October 7, 2023, and then were on the decline. There were thus reasons to hope that a downward trend would continue in 2025, especially with the ending of the war in October, and with governments around the world affirming their commitment to combating antisemitism.

Unfortunately, this has not been the case.

Our data for 2025 points to worrying trends. The year witnessed 20 casualties killed in four antisemitic attacks in three countries. This is the highest number of casualties in one year for over three decades. While in several countries the total number of incidents moderately decreased in 2025 in comparison to 2024, in several other countries, including Britain, Australia, Italy, and Belgium, it moderately increased. In several countries that saw a decrease in the total number of incidents in comparison to 2024, including France, the number of incidents that involved physical assaults increased. Across the globe, the number of antisemitic incidents remained dozens of percent higher than in the period before the war.

The data is based on information provided to the Report by dozens of police departments, specialized agencies, organizations that monitor and combat antisemitism, Jewish community organizations, activists, media reports and field observations.

## United States (Jewish population 6,300,000)

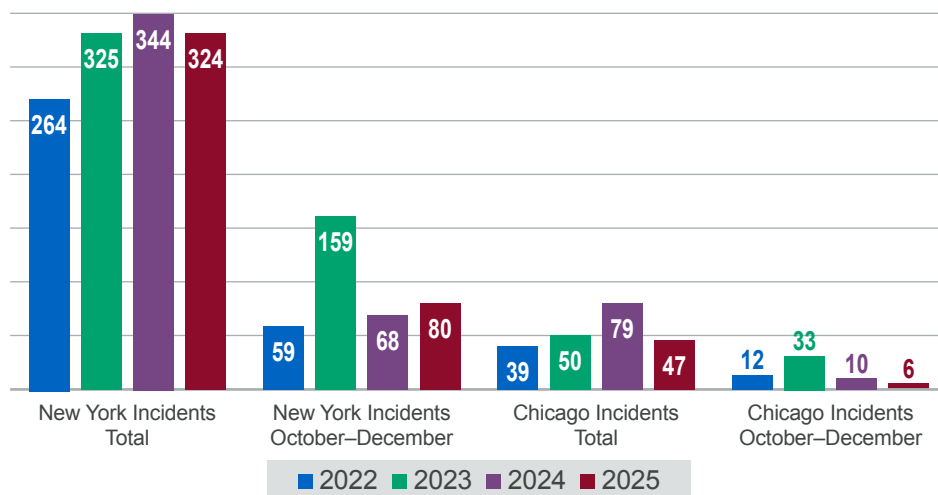
With a population of about 1.5 million Jews, New York is the largest Jewish city in the world, accounting for almost 10% of world Jewry in total. In 2025, the New York Police Department (NYPD) recorded 324 reports on anti-Jewish hate crimes, compared to 344 in 2024, 325 in 2023, and 264 in 2022. Between October and December 2025, the NYPD recorded 80 anti-Jewish hate crime reports, compared to 68 in 2024, 159 in 2023, and 59 in 2022 during the same period.

The election of anti-Israel Mayor Zohran Mamdani, sworn in on January 1, 2026, raised concerns. In his first two months in office, the number of antisemitic incidents increased in comparison to the previous year, yet with February showing a welcomed decline (31 and 21 incidents

respectively in January and February 2026, compared to 11 and 28 respectively in 2025).<sup>1</sup> The city announced important legislation that, if applied, would make synagogues protected areas.

The Chicago Police Department (CPD) recorded 47 reports on anti-Jewish hate crimes in 2025 compared to 79 in 2024, 50 in 2023, and 39 in 2022. The number of reported anti-Jewish assault and battery incidents was ten in 2025, compared to eight in 2024, and the number of reported anti-Jewish vandalism, defacement, and property damage incidents was 24 in 2025, compared to 36 in 2024. Between October and December 2025, the CPD recorded six anti-Jewish hate crimes, compared to 10 in 2024, 33 in 2023, and 12 in 2022 during the same period. The CPD recorded two anti-Jewish hate crimes in January 2026 compared to five in January 2025.<sup>2</sup>

### Antisemitic Hate Crimes in New York and Chicago 2022–2025



Los Angeles is home to the second-largest Jewish population in the United States. As was the case last year, data for anti-Jewish hate crimes in 2025 was not provided. The Los Angeles Police Department was unable to explain why it was the only major city in the United States unable to produce the data again for the second straight year.

In 2025, Austin (Texas) police recorded nine reports on anti-Jewish hate crimes, compared to 15 in 2024, six in 2023, and four in 2022.

In Denver (Colorado), Denver police recorded 13 reports on antisemitic attacks in 2025, compared to 31 in 2024, nine in 2023, and 12 in 2022.

<sup>1</sup> New York Police Department, “Hate Crimes Reports and Dashboard,” <https://www.nyc.gov/site/nypd/stats/reports-analysis/hate-crimes.page>, and JNS Staff, “NYPD Stops Reporting Hate Crimes Still Being Probed, Finds Slight Drop in Anti-Jewish Ones in February,” *Cleveland Jewish News*, March 3, 2026, [https://www.clevelandjewishnews.com/jns/nypd-stops-reporting-hate-crimes-still-being-probed-finds-slight-drop-in-anti-jewish-ones/article\\_642eba00-b09f-5de0-93f6-8d4a7fcd0d3c.html](https://www.clevelandjewishnews.com/jns/nypd-stops-reporting-hate-crimes-still-being-probed-finds-slight-drop-in-anti-jewish-ones/article_642eba00-b09f-5de0-93f6-8d4a7fcd0d3c.html).

<sup>2</sup> Chicago Police Department, “Hate Crime Dashboard,” <https://www.chicagopolice.org/statistics-data/data-dashboards/hate-crime-dashboard/>, and Chicago Police Department, “Hate Crimes Annual Reports,” <https://www.chicagopolice.org/statistics-data/statistical-reports/hate-crimes-annual-reports/>.

## ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS WORLDWIDE 2025

In Seattle (Washington), police recorded 12 reports on anti-Jewish hate crimes in 2025, compared to five in 2024, 13 in 2023, and six in 2022.

In Portland (Oregon), police recorded 12 reports on anti-Jewish hate crimes in 2025, compared to 13 in 2024, 15 in 2023, and five in 2022.

In San Francisco (California), police recorded ten reports on anti-Jewish hate crimes in 2025, compared to 13 in 2024, 23 in 2023, and five in 2022.

In Washington, D.C., police recorded 15 reports on anti-Jewish hate crimes in 2025, compared to 20 in 2024, 36 in 2023, and nine in 2022.

Major incidents in the United States included the May 21, 2025, killing of two Israeli Embassy staff members, Yaron Lischinsky and Sarah Milgrim. The two were shot after leaving a reception at the Capital Jewish Museum in Washington, D.C.<sup>3</sup>

On April 13, an arsonist set fire to the Pennsylvania governor's residence just hours after Governor Josh Shapiro and his family had held a Passover Seder there, attacking the home of the Union's most prominent Jewish governor on a major Jewish holiday.<sup>4</sup>

On June 1 in Boulder, Colorado, a man shouting "Free Palestine" threw incendiary devices at participants in a Run for Their Lives march for the Israeli hostages, injuring thirteen and causing the killing of one, Karen Diamond.<sup>5</sup>

In Houston, a Lebanese man on an expired student visa was arrested after allegedly sending roughly thirty threatening emails to Young Israel of Houston synagogue and then attempting to enter the synagogue during Shabbat services on August 29.<sup>6</sup>

On November 5, swastikas were spray-painted outside Magen David Yeshiva in Brooklyn, while nearby Jewish sites, including a cemetery and a Jewish social-services organization,

<sup>3</sup> US Department of Justice, "Alleged Perpetrator of Shooting in Washington, D.C. Charged with Hate Crimes," August 7, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/alleged-perpetrator-shooting-washington-dc-charged-hate-crimes>, Andrew Goudsward, "US Brings Hate Crime Charges against Suspect in Killing of Israeli Embassy Staffers," Reuters, August 6, 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/us-brings-hate-crime-charges-against-suspect-killing-israeli-embassy-staffers-2025-08-06/>.

<sup>4</sup> Mark Scolforo and Marc Levy, "Consultant Says Security Report into Arson at Pennsylvania Gov. Shapiro's Home Won't Be Made Public," AP News, May 3, 2025, <https://apnews.com/article/8f49b7de163c9eedd8712fee164cea61>, and Peter Hall, "Governor's Mansion Arson Suspect Cited Shapiro's Positions on Israel-Palestine Conflict, Police Say," *Penn Capital-Star*, April 16, 2025, <https://penncapital-star.com/uncategorized/governors-mansion-arson-suspect-cited-shapiros-positions-on-israel-palestine-conflict-police-say/>.

<sup>5</sup> US Department of Justice, "Egyptian National Charged with Hate Crime in Attack on Boulder Gathering," June 2, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-co/pr/egyptian-national-charged-hate-crime-attack-boulder-gathering>; Jasper Ward, Kristina Cooke and Mark Makela, "Man Attacks Colorado Crowd with Firebombs, 8 People Injured," Reuters, June 2, 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/world/us/fbi-investigating-targeted-terror-attack-boulder-colorado-director-says-2025-06-01/>; and Luke Barr et al., "Boulder Attack Suspect Charged with Federal Hate Crime, Said He 'Wanted to Kill All Zionist People': Court Documents," ABC News, June 2, 2025, <https://abcnews.com/US/boulder-attack-suspect-us-illegally-homeland-security/story?id=122409898>.

<sup>6</sup> Matt Samuels, "Man Arrested at Houston Synagogue after Making Threats," *Jewish Herald-Voice*, September 4, 2025, <https://jhvonline.com/man-arrested-at-houston-synagogue-after-making-threats-p35332-89.htm>.

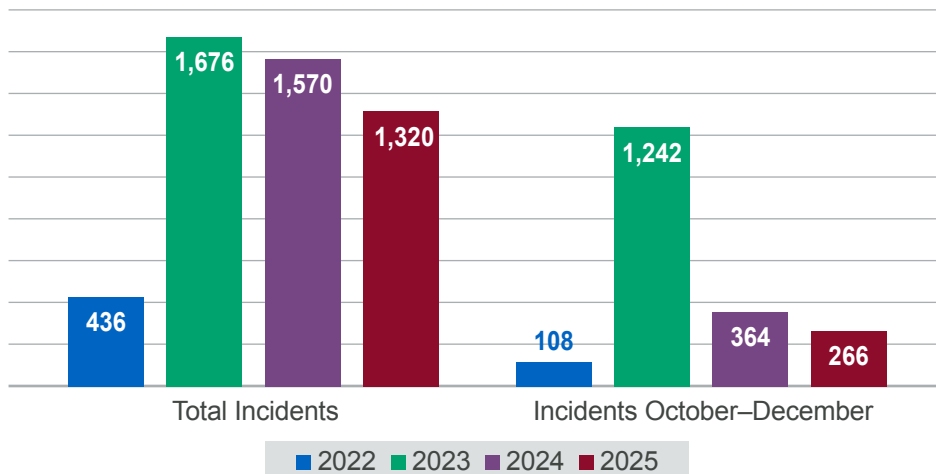
were also defaced, prompting a hate-crimes investigation and public condemnation from New York officials.<sup>7</sup>

In Los Angeles, the Israeli-American Council’s headquarters in Woodland Hills was vandalized in August with swastikas, SS bolts, the word “Burn,” and anti-Jewish graffiti reading “Fuck Jews BDS.”<sup>8</sup> On the second anniversary of the October 7 attacks, Temple Israel in Minneapolis was defaced with pro-Hamas graffiti, including the warning “Watch out Zionists.”<sup>9</sup>

## France (Jewish population 438,500)

In cooperation with the French Ministry of Interior, the Service de Protection de la Communauté Juive (SPJC) recorded 1,320 antisemitic incidents in 2025, compared to 1,570 in 2024, 1,676 in 2023, and 436 in 2022.<sup>10</sup> Between October and December 2025, the SPJC recorded 266 incidents compared to 364 in 2024, 1,242 in 2023, and 108 in 2022 during the same period.

**Antisemitic Incidents in France  
2022–2025**



The number of incidents involving physical violence reached 126 in 2025, up from 106 in 2024, 85 in 2023, and 43 in 2022. Among the acts of violence were the March 2025 assault of Chief Rabbi Arié Engelberg of Orléans while he was walking home from synagogue with his young son.

<sup>7</sup> Jesse Zanger and Lisa Rozner, “Jewish Sites Sprayed with Swastikas in Brooklyn, Officials Say,” CBS New York, November 5, 2025, <https://www.cbsnews.com/newyork/news/brooklyn-swastika-incident/>.

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth Chavolla and Bill Feather, “Swastikas Spray-Painted Outside School, Elementary School near Freeway in the San Fernando Valley under Investigation,” NBC Los Angeles, August 17, 2025, <https://www.nbclouangeles.com/news/local/swastikas-spray-painted-outside-school-near-freeway-in-the-san-fernando-valley-under-investigation/3765577/>, and Ayala Or-El, “Swastikas and Hate Messages Sprayed Outside IAC Los Angeles Office,” August 11, 2025, <https://jewishjournal.com/community/383357/swastikas-and-hate-messages-sprayed-outside-iac-los-angeles-office/>.

<sup>9</sup> Lonny Goldsmith, “Minneapolis Synagogue Targeted with Pro-Hamas Graffiti on Oct. 7 Anniversary,” *The Times of Israel*, October 10, 2025, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/minneapolis-synagogue-targeted-with-pro-hamas-graffiti-on-oct-7-anniversary/>.

<sup>10</sup> For the SPJC’s annual antisemitic incidents reports, see: <https://www.spcj.org/>.

The attacker reportedly confirmed that Engelberg was Jewish and then beat and insulted him.<sup>11</sup> Later that spring, Rabbi Elie Lemmel was attacked twice within one week: first punched in the stomach in Deauville, and then struck in the head with a chair at a café in Neuilly-sur-Seine.<sup>12</sup>

The 76 incidents of vandalism were down from 88 in 2024 and from 102 in 2023, but remained higher than the 48 in 2022. Sixty-seven percent of the incidents recorded by the SPJC in 2025 targeted people, rather than property, compared to 65% in 2024. Among the acts of anti-Jewish vandalism was the overnight defacement of five Jewish sites in Paris at the end of May 2025, when the Shoah Memorial, three synagogues, and a restaurant in the Marais were sprayed with green paint.<sup>13</sup>

## Canada (Jewish population 400,000)

B'nai Brith Canada recorded no less than 6,800 incidents (computing not finalized) in 2025, compared to 6,219 in 2024, 5,791 in 2023, and 2,769 in 2022.<sup>14</sup>

The year's most serious physical assaults on Jews in Canada included the August 27 stabbing of a Jewish woman in her seventies while she was shopping in the kosher section of an Ottawa grocery.<sup>15</sup> On August 8, a 32-year-old Hasidic Jewish father was beaten in a park in Montreal in front of his children in an assault partly captured on video and widely circulated online.<sup>16</sup>

Synagogues were also targeted in 2025 with explicitly antisemitic vandalism. On August 2, congregants arriving at Congregation Emanu-El in Victoria found graffiti reading, "Jews are evil! Because genocide is evil!" together with a threat that "Palestinians will get their revenge against you child-killing Jew monsters."<sup>17</sup> In Halifax, antisemitic graffiti was discovered in September at Beth Israel Synagogue, Shaar Shalom Congregation, and a building linked to the Chabad-Lubavitch of the Maritimes Rohr Family Institute. The vandals painted the slogan

<sup>11</sup> "French President Condemns Antisemitism after Attack on Orléans' Chief Rabbi," AP News, March 23, 2025, <https://apnews.com/article/france-macron-rabbi-attack-antisemitism-orleans-2618957ae166c99809ccd659afb2e2e8>.

<sup>12</sup> "French Rabbi Tells of Two Attacks in One Week as Hate Crimes Rise," Reuters, June 6, 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/world/french-rabbi-tells-two-attacks-one-week-hate-crimes-rise-2025-06-06/>.

<sup>13</sup> "Several Paris Jewish Institutions Sprayed with Green Paint," Reuters, May 31, 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/world/several-paris-jewish-institutions-sprayed-with-green-paint-2025-05-31/>.

<sup>14</sup> For B'nai Brith Canada's annual audit of antisemitic incidents, see: <https://leagueforhumanrights.ca/>.

<sup>15</sup> Lila Sarick, "Stabbing of Jewish Woman at Ottawa Grocery Store Classified as a Hate Crime," *The Canadian Jewish News*, August 29, 2025, <https://thecjn.ca/news/stabbing-of-jewish-woman-at-ottawa-grocery-store-classified-as-a-hate-crime/>.

<sup>16</sup> Sidartha Banerjee, "Montreal Police Investigate Assault of Jewish Father Caught in Part on Video," *St. Albert Gazette*, August 9, 2025, <https://www.stalbertgazette.com/national-news/montreal-police-investigate-assault-of-jewish-father-caught-in-part-on-video-11055740>.

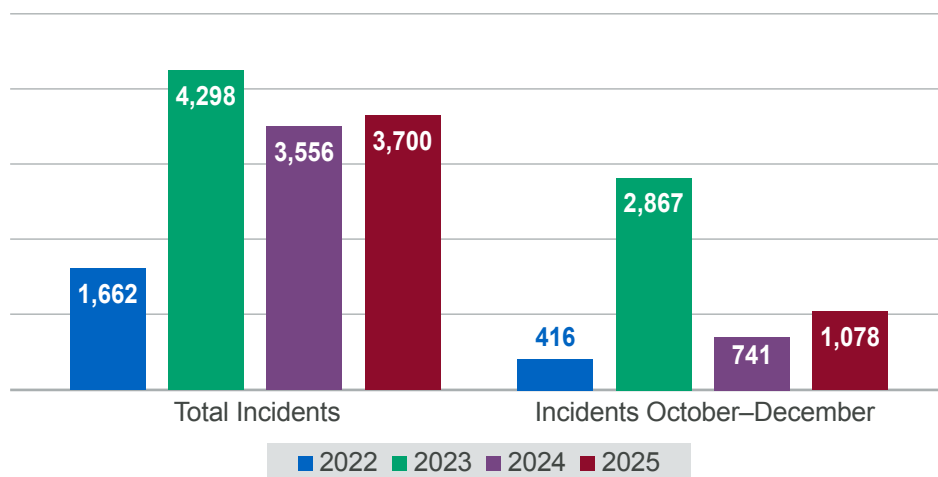
<sup>17</sup> Amy Judd and Kylie Stanton, "Victoria Synagogue Defaced with Graffiti, Police Investigating," *Global News*, August 5, 2025, <https://globalnews.ca/news/11318388/victoria-synagogue-defaced-graffiti/>, and "Montreal Police Investigating after Antisemitic Symbol Spray-Painted on Synagogue," *Lethbridge News Now*, February 17, 2025, <https://lethbridgenewsnow.com/2025/02/17/montreal-police-investigating-after-antisemitic-symbol-spray-painted-on-synagogue/>.

“Jews did 9/11” on Beth Israel and the Chabad-linked building, while a swastika was spray-painted on Shaar Shalom’s signage.<sup>18</sup>

## United Kingdom (Jewish population 313,000)

The Community Security Trust (CST) in the United Kingdom recorded 3,700 antisemitic incidents in 2025, compared to 3,556 in 2024, 4,298 in 2023, and 1,662 in 2022.<sup>19</sup> Between October and December 2025, CST recorded 1,078 antisemitic incidents, compared to 741 incidents in 2024, 2,867 in 2023, and 416 incidents in 2022 during the same period.

**Antisemitic Incidents in the United Kingdom  
2022–2025**



The CST recorded four incidents of extreme violence (an attack with the potential or intention of causing death or grievous bodily harm) in 2025, compared to two incidents in 2024, none in 2023, and one in 2022. The most grievous incident was the October 2025 terrorist attack on the Heaton Park Synagogue in Manchester on Yom Kippur that resulted in the killing of two people. It was the first fatal antisemitic attack recorded by the CST since it began its surveys in 1984.

The 170 incidents of assault in 2025 were fewer than the 202 recorded in 2024 and the 273 in 2023 but exceeded the 136 assaults in 2022. Forty-seven assaults involved throwing stones, bricks, bottles, eggs, or other objects at victims. Thirty-two assaults involved punching or kicking victims, while 21 involved the use of weapons, fake firearms, vehicles, fireworks, knives or other objects to strike, threaten, or attempt to assault victims.

<sup>18</sup> Richard Robertson, “Halifax Hate Graffiti Reemphasizes Need for Task Force,” B’nai Brith Canada, September 15, 2025, <https://www.bnaibrith.ca/halifax-hate-graffiti-reemphasizes-need-for-task-force/>; Grace Gilson, “‘Jews Did 9/11’: Synagogues, Chabad Building in Canada Daubed with Antisemitic Graffiti,” *The Times of Israel*, September 16, 2025, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/jews-did-9-11-synagogues-chabad-building-in-canada-daubed-with-antisemitic-graffiti/>; and Michael Starr, “Canada Synagogues Vandalized with ‘Jews Did 9/11’ Graffiti,” *The Jerusalem Post*, September 15, 2025, <https://www.jpost.com/diaspora/antisemitism/article-867536>.

<sup>19</sup> For the CST’s annual antisemitic incidents reports, see: <https://cst.org.uk/>.

## ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS WORLDWIDE 2025

The 217 incidents of damage and desecration of Jewish property marked an increase compared to 157 incidents in 2024, 195 in 2023, and 74 in 2022. Most incidents recorded fell into the category of abusive behavior, with 3,086 incidents recorded in 2025 compared to 2,917 in 2024, 3,493 in 2023, and 1,339 in 2022.

In 2025, the London Metropolitan Police recorded 1,124 reports on antisemitic offenses, compared to 1,414 in 2024, 1,642 in 2023, and 551 in 2022. Between October and December 2025, the Met Police recorded 297 antisemitic offenses, compared to 290 in the same period in 2024 and 116 in 2022.<sup>20</sup> Through November 2025, the Greater Manchester Police recorded 167 antisemitic offenses, compared to 284 in all of 2024, 303 in 2023, and 125 in 2022. Between October and November 2025, Greater Manchester Police recorded 43 antisemitic offenses, compared to 25 in the same period in 2024 and 23 in 2022.<sup>21</sup>

### Argentina (Jewish population 170,000)

The Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas (DAIA) recorded 673 antisemitic incidents in 2025, compared with 687 in 2024, 598 in 2023, and 427 in 2022. Among the incidents were nine instances of assault and vandalism compared to ten in 2024, three in 2023, and one in 2022.

According to DAIA Director Dr. Marissa Braylan, most complaints DAIA receives concern incidents that occur online, but the number of “real-world” complaints is increasing. She told the Report: “We have recorded seven cases of antisemitism involving physical assaults, as well as an increase in the number of cases that have gone to court.” In 2025, 18 cases were registered in Argentina’s courts, bringing the total number of active cases to 47.<sup>22</sup>

Among the incidents documented by DAIA were: a June incident in which an ambulance driver threatened to run over a community member, shouting, “Great, start a world war, that way I’ll have work”; a July incident in which a community member was spat on and had his kippah knocked off calling him and “his people” “genocidal maniacs”; and an October incident in which a neighbor threw a piece of iron on a Jewish woman playing with her children in their apartment courtyard, and yelled “Jew! And now you have a Jewish son, how disgusting.”<sup>23</sup>

### Germany (Jewish population 125,000)

The Federal Criminal Police Office’s (Bundeskriminalamt, BKA) Criminal Police Notification Service – Politically Motivated Crimes (KPMD-PMK) recorded 5,729 reports on politically motivated crimes with an antisemitic background in 2025, compared to 6,560 in 2024, 5,671 in 2023 and 2,811 in 2022. Between October and December 2025, the BKA recorded 829 reports

<sup>20</sup> London Metropolitan Police Service, “Monthly Crime Data Dashboard,” <https://public.tableau.com/app/profile/metropolitan.police.service/viz/MonthlyCrimeDataNewCats/Coversheet>.

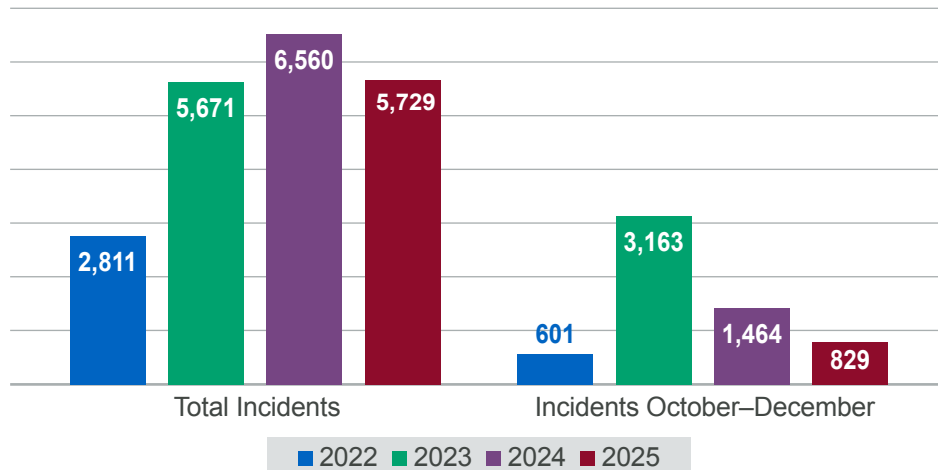
<sup>21</sup> Greater Manchester Police, “Hate Crime Performance Data,” <https://www.gmp.police.uk/police-forces/greater-manchester-police/areas/greater-manchester-force-content/sd/stats-and-data/hate-crime/>.

<sup>22</sup> Email Correspondence, February 2026. For DAIA’s annual antisemitic incidents reports, see: <https://www.daia.org.ar/>.

<sup>23</sup> Email Correspondence, February 2026.

on politically motivated antisemitic crimes compared to 1,464 in 2024, 3,163 in 2023, and 601 in 2022 in the same period.<sup>24</sup>

### Politically Motivated Antisemitic Crimes in Germany 2022–2025



The BKA recorded 144 reports on acts of violence in 2025, compared to 148 in 2024, 151 in 2023, and 88 in 2022. In February 2025, a Spanish tourist was attacked with a knife by a Syrian refugee at Berlin’s Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. German authorities later concluded that the attacker had deliberately chosen the site and victim in order to kill Jews.<sup>25</sup> In April 2025, prosecutors announced the arrest of a 19-year-old suspect accused of preparing a violent attack on the synagogue in Halle, a plot of particular symbolic gravity given the city’s association with the 2019 Yom Kippur attack.<sup>26</sup>

### Russia (Jewish population 123,000)

In 2025, the SOVA Center for Information and Analysis recorded no acts of antisemitic violence and three acts of antisemitic vandalism, compared to no acts of antisemitic violence and only a single act of antisemitic vandalism in 2024 and one act of antisemitic violence and one act of antisemitic vandalism in 2023.<sup>27</sup>

Data from Russia-based sources cannot be trusted as exhaustive, given the current state of oppression and misinformation in Putin’s fascist regime.

<sup>24</sup> For the BKA’s KPMD-PMK reports, see: <https://dip.bundestag.de/>.

<sup>25</sup> “Police Arrest a Suspect in a Stabbing at Berlin’s Holocaust Memorial That Injures 1 Person,” AP News, February 21, 2025, <https://apnews.com/article/1710be90a0e733d016e32db4d8353e1c>, and “A Syrian Man is Convicted of Stabbing a Spanish Tourist at Berlin’s Holocaust Memorial,” AP News, March 5, 2026, <https://apnews.com/article/38a831db3fb7ae0ad9a70f62059724b4>.

<sup>26</sup> Nissan Shtrauchler, “Teenager Arrested for Planning Synagogue Attack in Germany,” *Israel Hayom*, April 29, 2025, <https://www.israelhayom.com/2025/04/29/germany-teenager-arrested-for-planning-synagogue-attack/>.

<sup>27</sup> For the SOVA public database on acts of violence and vandalism since 2020, see: <https://www.sova-center.ru/en/database/>.

Media reports pointed to a number of severe incidents. In May, a man attacked with a hammer a synagogue in Sochi, a Black Sea resort city. The attacker attempted to enter the synagogue building while a children’s club was in session. He was arrested, and no one was injured. Authorities later said the suspect had been planning further attacks on synagogues throughout Russia. State media also reported that he had been under psychiatric supervision.<sup>28</sup>

In August, at least three firebombs were thrown at a synagogue in Obninsk, a science-oriented city southwest of Moscow. The incident happened just over a year after the synagogue was targeted in a previous arson attack. The assault damaged the building’s entrance, with photos showing a scorched door and a warped metal canopy.<sup>29</sup>

In December, a 15-year-old was severely beaten by his classmates in St. Petersburg after posting a social media profile photo featuring an Israeli flag. According to media reports, the dispute began with threats and antisemitic insults, including references to the Holocaust. The boy was attacked in a school restroom, suffering an eye socket fracture that required surgery.<sup>30</sup>

In the Russian cultural sphere, the most striking example of antisemitism in 2025 was the movie “Good Neighbors,” initially presented as a family comedy about mutual assistance and everyday solidarity. The film contains extended monologues on national issues, many of which focus on Jews and reproduce long-standing antisemitic conspiracy narratives. Following public criticism, the distributor removed the movie from its official online platforms, although it still remains accessible on other websites.<sup>31</sup>

## Australia (Jewish population 117,000)

The Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ) recorded 1,750 antisemitic incidents in 2025 compared to 1,727 in 2024, 1,200 in 2023, and 472 in 2022. Between October and December 2025, ECAJ recorded 588 antisemitic incidents, compared to 492 in the same period in 2024, 837 in 2023, and 122 in 2022.

A number of antisemitic incidents were particularly severe. On December 14, 2025, two gunmen opened fire on a Hanukkah celebration on Bondi Beach near Sydney, killing 15 victims and injuring dozens more in an antisemitic terror attack that was the country’s worst mass shooting in nearly three decades.<sup>32</sup> In July, a man set fire to the entrance of the East Melbourne Hebrew

<sup>28</sup> “In Sochi, a Man with a Hammer Attacked a Synagogue during a Children’s Activity [Russian],” rbc.ru, May 30, 2025, <https://www.rbc.ru/society/30/05/2025/6839eaae9a79472b86220742>.

<sup>29</sup> “Unknown Individuals Attempted to Set Fire to a Synagogue in Obnisk [Russian],” rbc.ru, August 13, 2025, <https://www.rbc.ru/society/13/08/2025/689c35839a7947c9dfe63ba9>.

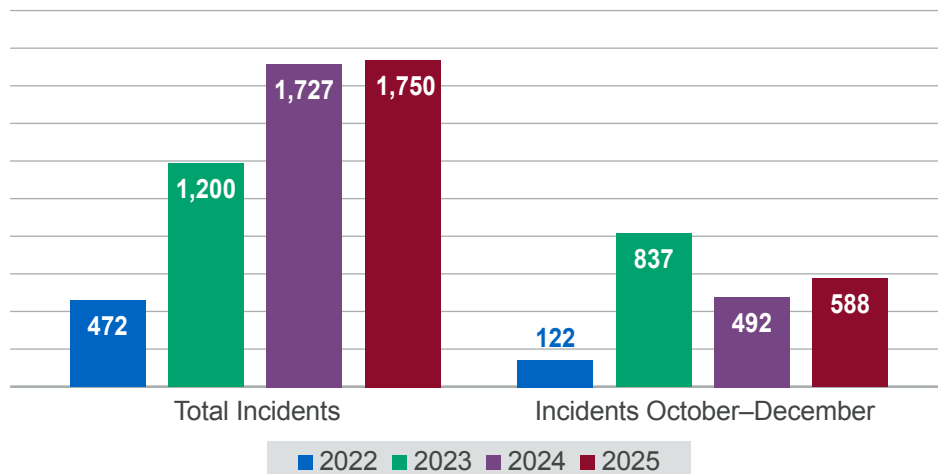
<sup>30</sup> “A 15-Year-Old Boy was Brutally Beaten at School in St. Petersburg for His Profile Picture [Russian],” Gazeta.ru, December 28, 2025, [https://www.gazeta.ru/social/news/2025/12/28/27519937.shtml?utm\\_auth=false](https://www.gazeta.ru/social/news/2025/12/28/27519937.shtml?utm_auth=false).

<sup>31</sup> “A ‘Kind Family Film about Friendship and Love’ Was Made in Russia... [Russian],” meduza.io, November 17, 2025, <https://meduza.io/feature/2025/11/17/v-rossii-snyali-dobroe-semeynoe-kino-o-druzhbe-i-lyubvi-film-horoshie-sosedi-on-sostoit-iz-ksenofobii-antisemitizma-i-otbornoy-konspirologii>.

<sup>32</sup> Scott Murdoch and Alasdair Pal, “Alleged Bondi Gunman Charged with 15 Murders as Funerals of Victims Begin,” Reuters, December 17, 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/sydney-funerals-begin-bondi-beach-hanukkah-shooting-victims-2025-12-16/>, and Alasdair Pal and Christine Chen, “Australia Begins Inquiry into Antisemitism after Bondi Shooting,” Reuters, February 23, 2026, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/australia-begins-inquiry-into-antisemitism-after-bondi-attacks-2026-02-23/>.

Congregation while about 20 people were inside for Shabbat dinner, forcing worshippers to flee through a rear exit.<sup>33</sup> At the start of the year, a caravan containing explosives and the address of a Sydney synagogue was found by police in northwest Sydney. While investigators initially investigated the incident as a mass-casualty terrorism plot, they dismissed it as a criminal “hoax” since no detonator was found, suggesting the intention was only to spread fear, terrorize Jewish Australians, and provoke panic.<sup>34</sup>

**Antisemitic Incidents in Australia  
2022–2025**



Julie Nathan, ECAJ’s Research Director, told the Report: “2025 began in the shadow of the arson attack on the Adass Israel synagogue in Melbourne in December 2024 and ended with the massacre of 15 people and the wounding of 40 more at a Hanukkah event at Bondi Beach in Sydney on December 14, 2025. The Jewish community in Australia was shocked but not surprised by the massacre at Bondi. Many of us knew that Jewish blood would be shed and lives lost; it was only a matter of when, where, and how many. It was a culmination of more than two years of vilification and demonization of Jews and Israel, and of incitement and increasing violence against Jews.

“Even after the massacre of 15 people at a Hanukkah event in Bondi, the Prime Minister and the federal government still appeared to grapple with what antisemitism is, what the Jewish community is facing, and the threats it poses to Australian society. Australian Jews justifiably have, until more recently, felt abandoned and betrayed by our federal government, and so

<sup>33</sup> “Australian Authorities Condemn Arson Attack on Melbourne Synagogue,” Reuters, July 5, 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/australia-police-search-suspect-arson-attack-melbourne-synagogue-2025-07-05/>, and “Australia Police Charge Man over Alleged Arson on Melbourne Synagogue,” Reuters, July 6, 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/australia-police-charge-man-over-alleged-arson-melbourne-synagogue-2025-07-06/>.

<sup>34</sup> Alasdair Pal, “Fake Plan to Attack Australia Synagogue Fabricated by Organized Crime, Police Say,” Reuters, March 10, 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/fake-plan-attack-australia-synagogue-fabricated-by-organised-crime-police-say-2025-03-10/>, and Australian Federal Police, “AFP Deputy Commissioner National Security Krissy Barrett: Statement,” March 10, 2025, <https://www.afp.gov.au/news-centre/media-statement/afp-deputy-commissioner-national-security-krissy-barrett-statement>.

too do many other Australians who are disgusted with the antisemitism and angry with the unravelling of Australian society.

“The Prime Minister eventually agreed to hold a Royal Commission into ‘Antisemitism and Social Cohesion’ [...] a valuable opportunity to investigate antisemitism and to make recommendations to counter it. The Australian Jewish leadership and community is looking forward to participating in the inquiry, and are hopeful for a positive outcome in acknowledging and dealing with antisemitism.”<sup>35</sup>

## Brazil (Jewish population 90,300)

The Brazilian Israelite Confederation (Confederação Israelita do Brasil, CONIB) recorded 989 incidents in 2025 compared to 1,788 incidents in 2024, 1,410 in 2023, and 432 in 2022. Of the 989 incidents, 800 occurred online and 189 occurred in the “real-world.”<sup>36</sup>

In August 2025, the Cemitério Israelita in Belo Horizonte was vandalized with swastikas and antisemitic slogans, prompting condemnation and a police investigation.<sup>37</sup> The previous month, in São Paulo, a court ordered the provisional detention of a 13-year-old after allegations that he glorified Nazism and directed antisemitic abuse at school, including Nazi gestures and pro-Hitler statements.<sup>38</sup>

In a statement to the report, CONIB noted that “Antisemitism in Brazil has entered a phase characterized by persistent levels of hostility above historical norms. While the sharp surge observed after October 7 has moderated, the phenomenon has stabilized at levels significantly higher than those recorded in previous years. Much of this hostility now circulates through digital platforms, which have become the primary vector for the dissemination of antisemitic narratives, disinformation, and threats. Although incidents of physical violence remain relatively limited, the widespread presence of antisemitic discourse online contributes to an environment that can facilitate discrimination, intimidation, and social hostility toward Jewish individuals and institutions.”<sup>39</sup>

## South Africa (Jewish population 49,500)

According to its annual report, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies (SAJBD) and its Community Security Organization (CSO) recorded 95 antisemitic incidents in South Africa in

<sup>35</sup> Email Correspondence, February 2026.

<sup>36</sup> Email Correspondence, March 2026. For CONIB’s antisemitism monitor, see: <https://combateaantisemitismo.org.br/monitoramento/>.

<sup>37</sup> “Jewish Cemetery in Belo Horizonte Covered in Nazi Swastika Graffiti [Portuguese],” *O Tempo*, August 15, 2025, <https://www.otempo.com.br/super-noticia/crimes/2025/8/15/cemiterio-israelita-de-bh-amanhece-com-pichacoes-de-suasticas-nazistas>, and Larissa Ricci, “Jewish Cemetery in Belo Horizonte Is Vandalized with Swastikas and Antisemitic Graffiti [Portuguese],” *Rádio Itatiaia*, August 16, 2025, <https://www.itatiaia.com.br/cidades/cemiterio-israelita-de-bh-e-pichado-com-suasticas-e-frases-antisemitas>.

<sup>38</sup> Leonardo Ribbeiro, “A Court in São Paulo Orders the Detention of a Student for Advocating Nazism [Portuguese],” *CNN Brasil*, July 18, 2025, <https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/nacional/sudeste/sp/justica-de-sp-determina-internacao-de-aluno-por-apologia-ao-nazismo/>.

<sup>39</sup> Email Correspondence, March 2026.

2025, compared to 128 in 2024, 207 in 2023, and 68 in 2022. Between October and December 2025, SAJBD recorded 33 incidents, compared to 35 in the same period in 2024, 139 in 2023, and 16 in the same period in 2022.

The organization recorded a slight decrease in the number of assaults and vandalism. In 2025, three assaults were recorded compared to four in 2024, six in 2023, and zero in 2022. In one case, a man carrying an axe approached the Durban Holocaust and Genocide Centre, in which a progressive synagogue, community hall, and kosher restaurant are also located. Engaged by security personnel before he could enter, the man threatened to return with a firearm before fleeing to a nearby park, where he was apprehended by community security and police. The seven incidents of vandalism recorded in 2025, compared to four in 2024 and six in 2023, involved incidents of mezuzahs being stolen, “fuck Jewish” being sprayed on the home of a community member, and blood being spread on the steps of a synagogue.<sup>40</sup>

SAJBD’s Adam Charnas told the Report: “South Africa remains relatively safe for Jews, with a high degree of freedom of religious practice and expression, including in the public space and at universities. While only three incidents of actual or threatened physical assault were recorded across the country throughout 2025, the community has witnessed a marked escalation in antagonistic behavior and antisemitic rhetoric, characterized by increasingly hostile tone and aggression [...] notably driven by influential figures.<sup>41</sup>

## Hungary (Jewish population 45,000)

In April 2025, eight Orthodox Israeli Jews in central Budapest were assaulted by a group of German tourists who reportedly shouted “Heil Hitler” and other antisemitic abuse before police intervened and detained one attacker. In January 2025, the large Budapest mural of Hannah Szenes was defaced with red paint in an incident described by Jewish organizations as anti-Israel and anti-Jewish, after which the damaged mural was left unrestored as a memorial to the attack. In May 2025, Eger municipal councilor Rák Sándorné Mária provoked national controversy after sharing a Facebook post describing politician Klára Dobrev as a “Judeo-Bolshevik” and “genetically predisposed anti-Hungarian,” language condemned by Jewish groups and followed by her removal from a committee chairmanship.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> SAJBD reports for 2019-2025 were generously provided to the Center.

<sup>41</sup> Email Correspondence, February 2026.

<sup>42</sup> Itamar Eichner, “German Tourists Assault 8 Israelis in Antisemitic Attack in Budapest,” *Ynetnews*, May 12, 2025, <https://www.ynetnews.com/jewish-world/article/s1acps1bll>; “The Mural of Hanna Szenes, Damaged by Red Paint, will not be Restored [Hungarian],” Neokohn, February 12, 2025, <https://neokohn.hu/2025/02/12/mazsok-szenes-hanna-falfestmeny/>; Kovács Pál, “Fidesz Politician from Eger Shared an Antisemitic Post Insulting Klára Dobrev [Hungarian],” *Telex*, May 13, 2025, <https://telex.hu/belfold/2025/05/13/eger-fidesz-rak-maria-poszt-zsido-dobrev-klara>; and “The Fidesz Organization in Eger Spoke Out Regarding Its Councilor Who Shared the Antisemitic Post [Hungarian],” Neokohn, May 14, 2025, <https://neokohn.hu/2025/05/14/megszolalt-az-egri-fidesz-az-antiszemita-posztot-megoszto-kepviseloje-kapcsan/>.

## Mexico (Jewish population 41,000)

The Tribuna Israelita recorded 70 antisemitic incidents in 2025 compared to 53 in 2024, 78 in 2023 and 21 in 2022. The majority of incidents fall into the categories of graffiti (2025: 23; 2024: 23; 2023: 47; 2022: 7), “other” (2025: 17; 2024: 20; 2023: 9; 2022: 5), and verbal and written threats (2025: 27; 2024: 4; 2023: 15; 2022: 6). In June 2025, The Angel of Independence, an emblematic monument of Mexico City, was vandalized with antisemitic and anti-Zionist graffiti, comparing the Star of David with the swastika.<sup>43</sup>

Renee Dayan-Shabot, the Executive Director of Tribuna Israelita, told the Report: “During 2025, it was observed that in Mexico, incidents at universities as well as negative mentions related to Israel and the Jewish world decreased, compared to the previous year. Still, most antisemitic expressions were linked to the conflict in the Middle East. During this period, as in previous years, effective communication and constant cooperation were maintained with government authorities, the media, and universities, with the aim of addressing and following up on antisemitic incidents.”<sup>44</sup>

## The Netherlands (Jewish population 35,000)

Full data on antisemitic incidents recorded in the Netherlands was not available this year. In February 2025, police and prosecutors investigated an emailed threat sent to Amsterdam’s Cheider Jewish school stating that three children would be shot and that the school would “pay with blood.” In May 2025, Dutch police investigated an attempted arson at the Orthodox synagogue in Amersfoort after a man carrying matches and an aerosol can approached the building following Shabbat services and made antisemitic remarks to congregants. In June 2025, police in Noord-Holland opened an investigation after residents in Heerhugowaard and surrounding areas received envelopes containing racist and antisemitic flyers, with authorities requesting unopened letters for forensic examination.<sup>45</sup>

## Belgium (Jewish population 29,000)

Antisemitisme.be, a civil society organization, recorded 232 antisemitic incidents in 2025, compared to 129 incidents in 2024, 117 in 2023, and 34 in 2022. In 2025, there were 32 physical assaults and 52 incidents of vandalism recorded, compared to 27 physical assaults and 35 incidents of vandalism in 2024.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> José Luis Pérez, “The Angel of Independence has been Vandalized Again; It Was Restored in February [Spanish],” *La Prensa*, June 10, 2025, <https://oem.com.mx/la-prensa/metropoli/el-angel-de-la-independencia-fue-nuevamente-vandalizado-24180051>.

<sup>44</sup> Email Correspondence, February 2026.

<sup>45</sup> “Police Investigating Threat to Shoot Three Children at Jewish School in Amsterdam,” *NL Times*, February 25, 2025, <https://nltimes.nl/2025/02/25/police-investigating-threat-shoot-three-children-jewish-school-amsterdam>; JNS Staff, “Dutch Police Investigating Report of Attempted Arson Attack at Shul,” *JNS*, May 14, 2025, <https://www.jns.org/dutch-police-investigating-report-of-attempted-arson-attack-at-shul/>; “Racist, Antisemitic Flyers Distributed in Noord-Holland Prompt Police Probe,” *NL Times*, June 7, 2025, <https://nltimes.nl/2025/06/07/racist-antisemitic-flyers-distributed-noord-holland-prompt-police-probe>

<sup>46</sup> For antisemitisme.be’s annual incidents reports, see: <https://www.antisemitisme.be/fr/reports>.

According to Antisemitisme.be: “The data collected highlight several major trends, [including] a significant increase in physical and verbal violence, particularly in Flanders, [and] a multiplication of acts of vandalism in Brussels, often calling for violence and sometimes directly targeting symbolic places or monuments.”

## Italy (Jewish population 26,800)

The Observatory of Antisemitism of the Contemporary Jewish Documentation Center (CDEC) recorded 963 incidents in 2025 (643 incidents online, 320 in the “real world”), compared to 877 incidents in 2024 (600 incidents online, 277 in the “real-world”), 454 incidents in 2023 (259 incidents online, 195 in the “real-world”) and 241 incidents in 2022 (164 online, 77 in the “real-world”).<sup>47</sup>

The 320 “real-world” incidents included 11 physical assaults, compared to eight in 2024, one incident in 2023, and two in 2022. In one case, a Pakistani citizen with a criminal record assaulted an American ultra-Orthodox Jew at Milan’s central train station, punching him and kicking him, leaving the victim with a head injury before he was subdued and arrested by police.

As in 2022, 2023, and 2024, CDEC did not record a single case of extreme violence. These instances are extremely rare in Italy (in 2021, a Jewish man was attacked and wounded with a knife; no such incidents were recorded in 2020 and 2019). In 2025, CDEC recorded 18 acts of vandalism and 103 acts of graffiti compared to 11 acts of vandalism and 95 acts of graffiti in 2024, ten acts of vandalism and 67 acts of graffiti in 2023, and six and 28 in 2022.

According to the CDEC in its statement for the Report, “2025 marks a normalization of hatred against Jews, manifested through unprecedented levels of graffiti on walls, vandalized and desecrated synagogues and Jewish symbols, discrimination, intimidation, threats, and physical attacks [...] The social spaces in which being Jewish in Italy today is considered normal and acceptable, as guaranteed by the Constitution and ensured by normal civil conduct, are alarmingly shrinking.”<sup>48</sup>

## Switzerland (Jewish population 20,500)

The Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities (SIG), in collaboration with the GRA Foundation Against Racism and Antisemitism, recorded 177 “real-world” antisemitic incidents in Switzerland’s German, Italian, and Romansh language areas in 2025 compared to 221 in 2024, 155 in 2023, and 57 in 2022. This included: five physical assaults compared to 11 physical assaults in 2024, ten in 2023, and a single incident in 2022; 42 incidents of verbal abuse compared to 42 in 2024, 47 in 2023 and 16 in 2022; and 28 incidents of graffiti compared to 44 in 2024, 42 in 2023 and nine in 2022. Of the 221 incidents recorded in 2024, 22 occurred in October 2024, compared to 50 incidents in October 2023 and three in October 2022. Between October and December

<sup>47</sup> Email Correspondence, February 2026. For the CDEC’s annual antisemitic incidents reports, see: <https://www.cdec.it/>.

<sup>48</sup> Email Correspondence, February 2026.

2025, SIG/GRA recorded 33 incidents, compared to 49 in the same period in 2024 and eight in the same period in 2022.<sup>49</sup>

## Uruguay (Jewish population 16,100)

In the early hours of May 15, 2025, in Pocitos (Montevideo), the façade of the building housing the Nueva Congregación Israelita (NCI) and B'nai B'rith Uruguay was vandalized with graffiti reading “Israel estado genocida. Palestina resiste” and a Star of David containing a swastika.<sup>50</sup> In September 2025, a cluster of antisemitic graffiti attacks hit three Jewish community institutions in Montevideo, which CCIU executive director Gabriela Fridmanas described as an “escalation.”<sup>51</sup>

On November 25, 2025, in Punta Carretas, two Jewish students (13 and 14) were chased and threatened with paving tiles while assailants shouted antisemitic taunts, prompting the CCIU to pursue criminal action.<sup>52</sup> The following month, Uruguayan courts formally charged the aggressors under hate-crime provisions and imposed three months of supervised liberty plus a restraining order.<sup>53</sup>

## Chile (Jewish population 15,500)

The community security organization of the Jewish Community in Chile recorded 27 antisemitic incidents compared to 51 in 2024 and 26 in 2023. 2025 saw 10 acts of vandalism, compared to 17 in 2024 and five in 2023.<sup>54</sup>

In August 2025, the Bikur Cholim synagogue in Santiago was vandalized with red paint and posters depicting Benjamin Netanyahu with a bullet hole in his forehead alongside the message “Your silence is complicity in genocide,” marking the fourth attack on the synagogue since October 2023.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>49</sup> For SIG’s annual antisemitic incidents report, see: <https://swissjews.ch/en>.

<sup>50</sup> “The Jewish Organization B’nai B’rith Reported an Act of Vandalism at Its Headquarters; They Graffitied ‘Israel Genocidal State’ [Spanish],” Teledoce, May 15, 2025, <https://www.teledoce.com/telemundo/nacionales/la-organizacion-judia-bnai-brith-denuncio-acto-de-vandalismo-en-su-sede-grafitearon-israel-estado-genocida/>, and “Statement by the Central Israelite Committee of Uruguay Regarding Antisemitic Graffiti [Spanish],” Comité Central Israelita del Uruguay (CCIU), May 15, 2025, <https://cciu.org.uy/comunicado-del-comite-central-israelita-del-uruguay-ante-pintadas-antisemitas/>.

<sup>51</sup> “Acts of Violence: After Graffiti on Jewish Institutions in Uruguay, the Israelite Committee Expressed Its Concern [Spanish],” *El Observador*, September 16, 2025, <https://www.elobservador.com.uy/nacional/actos-violencia-pintadas-instituciones-judias-uruguay-comite-israelita-manifesto-su-preocupacion-n6017300>.

<sup>52</sup> Pedro Tristant, “Uruguay: Young People Who Chased Jewish Students Must Comply with Measures Ordered by the Justice System [Spanish],” Infobae, December 22, 2025, <https://www.infobae.com/america/america-latina/2025/12/22/uruguay-jovenes-que-persiguieron-a-alumnos-judios-deben-cumplir-medidas-dispuestas-por-la-justicia/>.

<sup>53</sup> “‘Acts of Hate’: Aggressors Who Chased High-School Students for being Jewish are Formally Charged [Spanish],” *Montevideo.com.uy*, December 19, 2025, <https://www.montevideo.com.uy/Noticias/-Actos-de-odio--imputan-a-agresores-que-persiguieron-liceales-por-su-condicion-de-judios-uc947055>.

<sup>54</sup> Email Correspondence, February 2026.

<sup>55</sup> Martín Neut, “Santiago’s Oldest Synagogue Vandalized for the Fourth Time: People were Praying Inside [Spanish],” *adnradio.cl*, August 25, 2025, <https://www.adnradio.cl/2025/08/25/sinagoga-mas-antigua-de-santiago-es-vandalizada-por-cuarta-vez-habian-personas-rezando-en-su-interior/>.

In December 2025, individuals with Hamas and Palestinian flags approached a Hanukkah celebration in the city of Puerto Montt organized by the Jewish community in coordination with evangelical Christians, and harassed the participants. The day before, the hanukkah that was to be used in the event was vandalized.<sup>56</sup>

In its statement to the Report, the Jewish Community in Chile noted: “Recent trends show that 2024 marked a peak in reported antisemitic incidents and 2025 showed a relative decrease. Still, the underlying concern persists – the Chilean Jewish community continues to be particularly vulnerable in relation to events linked to Israel [...] Among the main challenges are the normalization of hostile narratives in digital spaces, disinformation, the difficulty of distinguishing between legitimate political criticism and the demonization of Israel expressed as antisemitism, and the various boycott initiatives that have existed in the country against people, institutions, or activities that have some type of relationship with Israel.”<sup>57</sup>

## Spain (Jewish population 13,000)

The Observatorio de Antisemitismo en España, established by the Federation of Jewish Communities of Spain (FCJE) in 2009, recorded 207 antisemitic incidents in Spain in 2025, compared to 193 in 2024, 60 in 2023, and 34 in 2022.<sup>58</sup>

According to the Observatorio, “anti-Israel sentiments affect Spanish Jews across all areas – political, cultural, sports, educational, media, social networks [...] In all these spheres, there have been open calls for the disappearance of the State of Israel, and practices of targeting, public judgment, and social condemnation have been documented, resulting in hostility, discrimination, and exclusion. The term ‘Zionism’ has been demonized, and it has been assumed that Israel committed genocide in Gaza, with ‘genocide’ being selected as the word of the year for the newspaper *La Vanguardia*.”<sup>59</sup>

Among the incidents of graffiti and vandalism recorded by the Observatorio were graffiti on a primary school building in Roquetas de Mar stating “genocidal Jews” in October 2025, and graffiti calling Jews “pedophiles” near the Chabad Lubavitch headquarters in Madrid in November 2025, and “Jews cursed yesterday, today and forever” and “Netanyahu exterminator = Hitler” in Alicante.

## Austria (Jewish population 10,300)

The antisemitism reporting office of the Vienna Jewish Community (Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Wien (IKG)) issued a report covering the period of January 1 through June 30, 2025. It recorded a total of 726 antisemitic incidents in Austria during that period, including five physical assaults and 78 incidents of damage and desecration. Complete data on 2025 was not available.

<sup>56</sup> Email Correspondence, February 2026.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Email Correspondence, February 2026. Previous reports and a chronology of antisemitic incidents recorded by the Observatorio de Antisemitismo en España is available on its website: <https://observatorioantisemitismo.fcje.org/>.

<sup>59</sup> Email Correspondence, February 2026.

## ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS WORLDWIDE 2025

In 2024 (the entire year), the IKG recorded a total of 1,520 antisemitic incidents, including 24 physical assaults and 216 incidents of damage and desecration, compared to 1,147 incidents in 2023 (18 physical assaults and 149 incidents of damage and desecration) and 719 incidents in 2022 (14 physical assaults and 122 incidents of damage and desecration).

### New Zealand (Jewish population 7,500)

The Community Security Group (CSG) and New Zealand Jewish Community (NZJC) recorded 143 antisemitic incidents in the country in 2025, compared to 131 incidents in 2024, 134 in 2023, and eight in 2022.<sup>60</sup>

In 2025, the CSG recorded five incidents of assault, compared to two in 2024, four in 2023 and zero in 2022, as well as 15 incidents of damage and desecration in 2025, compared to four incidents in 2024, 17 in 2023 and none in 2022. The majority of incidents recorded were in the category of abusive behavior, with 100 incidents occurring in 2025 compared to 123 in 2024, 58 incidents in 2023 and six in 2022.

In February 2025, New Zealand Police investigated vandalism at the former site of Auckland's Kadimah School, used for Jewish community facilities, after graffiti appeared, including "Genocide High School" and "God hates you."<sup>61</sup> In May 2025, antisemitic graffiti was reported near Wellington's Holocaust Centre, drawing public condemnation from Race Relations Commissioner Meng Foon as an alarming normalization of antisemitism.<sup>62</sup>

### Poland (Jewish population 9,600)

The Polish Prosecutor's Office was unable to provide timely data on the state of antisemitism in the country in 2025. In 2024, there were 200 anti-Jewish hate crimes, compared to 190 in 2023 and 111 in 2022.<sup>63</sup>

According to Czulent, a Jewish organization that collects data on anti-Jewish hate crimes in Poland, 2025 saw the rise of explicit statements denying the Holocaust in the public sphere. Such Holocaust denial had appeared mainly in online discussions. Most notably, this rhetoric was used by Member of the European Parliament Grzegorz Braun and his allies on the far right.<sup>64</sup> In July 2025, Police prosecutors opened a probe into MEP Braun after he claimed the Auschwitz gas chambers were "fake" and repeated the antisemitic blood-libel trope of "ritual murder."<sup>65</sup>

<sup>60</sup> For the CSG's records on antisemitic incidents in New Zealand, see: <https://csg.org.nz/antisemitic-incidents/>.

<sup>61</sup> Michale Starr, "New Zealand's Only Jewish School Targeted by Vandals," *The Jerusalem Post*, February 23, 2025, <https://www.jpost.com/diaspora/antisemitism/article-843415>.

<sup>62</sup> "Race Relations Commissioner Condemns 'Shocking' Antisemitic Graffiti," 1News (TVNZ), May 7, 2025, <https://www.1news.co.nz/2025/05/07/race-relations-commissioner-condemns-shocking-antisemitic-graffiti/>.

<sup>63</sup> Email Correspondence, February 2026.

<sup>64</sup> Email Correspondence, February 2026.

<sup>65</sup> "Polish Prosecutors Investigate Far-Right Lawmaker for Comments on Auschwitz," AP News, July 11, 2025, <https://apnews.com/article/83bdcddef4749dc79ccd4c8a78975ad10>.

In July 2025, unknown perpetrators vandalized Jewish heritage sites in Dukla. They scrawled an antisemitic inscription on the synagogue wall and defaced the Jewish cemetery memorial with a swastika and a pro-Palestinian inscription.<sup>66</sup>

## The Czech Republic (Jewish population 3,500)

According to data from the Police Presidium of the Czech Republic, in 2025, there were 31 criminal incidents targeting Jews in the country compared to 30 criminal incidents in 2024, 18 in 2023, and 25 in 2022.<sup>67</sup>

A Jewish souvenir and kosher-food shop in Prague's Vinohrady was vandalized repeatedly in late summer 2025; in the third attack within about a month, an unknown perpetrator sprayed slogans including "Holocaust 2025," and police opened an investigation.<sup>68</sup>

Czech authorities detained five teenagers described as radicalized online by Islamic State propaganda. The group was accused of spreading hate content targeting minorities, including Jews. Two of the teens were charged with terrorism-related offenses linked to an attempted arson attack on a synagogue in Brno (January 29, 2024), which the investigation said was connected to the broader online-radicalization case.<sup>69</sup>

## Bulgaria (Jewish population 2,000)

The chief security officer of the Organization of Jews in Bulgaria (Shalom) informed the Report that the number of real-world antisemitic incidents recorded in the country increased from 50 in 2024 to 55 in 2025. In 2023, there were 107 incidents. There were 18 incidents of physical assault and vandalism in 2025 compared to 16 in 2024 and 14 in 2023.

In October, monuments for the salvation of Bulgarian Jews in Burgas and Sofia, and synagogues in Varna and Sofia were vandalized.<sup>70</sup>

Shalom's chief security officer told the Report: "The situation in the country is not stable as we are again going to elections for a new parliament (eighth elections in the last five years). These changes also reflect on the fight against antisemitism from the government, as it is not stable, and this fight is not its priority. We see a big rise in the antisemitic cases since October 2025."<sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Klaudia Falat, "In Dukla, a Historic Synagogue and a Jewish Memorial were Destroyed [Polish]," Radio Rzeszów, July 13, 2025, <https://radio.rzeszow.pl/227890/w-dukli-zniszczono-zabytkowa-synagoge-i-pomnik-pamieci-zydow/>.

<sup>67</sup> Email Correspondence, February 2026, and Police Presidium of the Czech Republic, "Development of Registered Crime in 2024 [Czech]," police.gov.cz, January 24, 2025, <https://policie.gov.cz/clanek/vyvoj-registrovane-kriminality-v-roce-2024.aspx>.

<sup>68</sup> Zuzana Najvrtová, "Holocaust 2025: Vandal Spray-Painted Window of a Jewish Store [Czech]," *Seznam Zprávy*, September 3, 2025, <https://www.seznamzpravy.cz/clanek/domaci-zivot-v-cesku-holokaust-2025-vandal-posprejoval-vylohu-zidovskeho-obchodu-285247>.

<sup>69</sup> "Czech Authorities Detain 5 Teens Over Online Radicalization by IS and Charge 2 with Terror Plot," AP News, June 25, 2025, <https://apnews.com/article/97d0ee730763a53ac69508309ec48db4>.

<sup>70</sup> Email Correspondence, February 2026.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

## Colombia (Jewish population 1,900)

On August 27, 2025, vandals spray-painted antisemitic graffiti on the façade of the Sociedad Hebrea de Socorros synagogue in Cali, the oldest in the city. The markings included equating the Star of David with a Nazi swastika and the phrase “Israel genocida.”<sup>72</sup>

## Norway (Jewish population 1,300)

In 2025, Norwegian Police recorded 40 antisemitic hate crime complaints compared to 46 in 2024, 51 in 2023, and 19 in 2022. There were 12 incidents of vandalism in 2025, compared to 13 in 2024, nine in 2023, and eight in 2022. Most significantly, four incidents of assault and physical violence were recorded in 2025, compared to one in 2024, one in 2023, and none in 2022. Most other incidents fall under the category of hate speech.

## Luxembourg (Jewish population 700)

The nongovernmental Research and Information on Antisemitism in Luxembourg (RIAL) recorded 115 incidents in the ten months ending in October 2025. In comparison, in all of 2023, 105 incidents were recorded. Incidents included the alleged October 2025 physical assault of a ten-year-old Israeli Jewish pupil by four classmates who taunted him, and the antisemitic views posted on social media by a female teacher, leading to her dismissal by Luxembourg’s Ministry of Education.<sup>73</sup>

– **Dr. Carl Yonker, with contributions from Dmitrii Sukhanov and Miguel Leboso Moriano**

<sup>72</sup> Redacción Colombia, “The Façade of a Synagogue in Cali was Vandalized with Antisemitic Graffiti [Spanish],” *El Espectador*, August 29, 2025, <https://www.elespectador.com/colombia/cali/vandalizaron-fachada-de-una-sinagoga-en-cali-con-grafitis-antisemitas/>.

<sup>73</sup> “Bernard Gottlieb Criticizes Political Rhetoric and Cultural Pressure Amid Rising Antisemitism,” RTL Today, October 7, 2025, <https://today.rtl.lu/news/luxembourg/bernard-gottlieb-criticises-political-rhetoric-and-cultural-pressure-amid-rising-antisemitism-2344072>; “Assault on 10-Year-Old Jewish Pupil to be Addressed within School Community,” RTL Today, October 7, 2025, <https://today.rtl.lu/news/luxembourg/assault-on-10-year-old-jewish-pupil-to-be-addressed-within-school-community-2344122>; and “Teacher Dismissed over Political Social Media Activity,” RTL Today, December 5, 2025, <https://today.rtl.lu/news/luxembourg/ministry-of-education-dismisses-teacher-due-to-social-media-acr-1008937593>.



# ANTISEMITISM IN HEALTHCARE

Since the October 7, 2023, Hamas attack on Israel, Jewish healthcare professionals and trainees in the West have reported an increase in antisemitic experiences in clinical workplaces and instructional settings. Antisemitism in healthcare operates through traditional stereotypes, tropes, insinuations, and anti-Zionist and anti-Israel political framings that render Jewish identity suspect, conditional, or illegitimate. These dynamics usually surface not as explicit slogans but as informal exclusion, boundary violations, and institutional non-response.

Anti-Jewish discrimination was legitimized within healthcare institutions across the West well into the mid-twentieth century, including admissions quotas limiting Jewish enrollment and systematic exclusion from hospital positions.<sup>1</sup> In the decades following the Second World War, labor shortages, political pressure, and evolving professional norms contributed to the weakening and eventual abandonment of restrictive institutional practices. In the United States, scrutiny of admissions quotas and the growth of public universities that did not enforce such quotas facilitated gradual change, reinforced by anti-discrimination laws in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>2</sup> In Canada, the dissolution of quotas occurred less uniformly and was phased out over time by individual universities.<sup>3</sup>

In present-day healthcare environments, a substantial share of reported anti-Jewish discrimination is not institutional but rather involves microaggressions – insults, slights, and derogatory comments or behaviors that create a hostile environment. Such comments or behaviors are difficult to address precisely because they are often framed as humor, curiosity, or political “discussion,” or minimized and explained away.

Recent studies and reports from the United States, Canada, Britain, and Australia raise concern. Michelson and colleagues found in their 2025 study of Jewish healthcare providers in the United States that 39.2% of respondents reported experiencing antisemitism in their work environment, and 26.4% reported feeling threatened or unsafe.<sup>4</sup> Fishman and Auerbach report that, compared to community hospitals, working in an academic medical center increased the odds of experiencing antisemitism by 381%, while private practice increased the odds by

<sup>1</sup> Rael D. Strous, “Antisemitism and the History of Medicine: The Challenge Then and Now,” *IMAJ* 12 (April 2010), pp. 229-230, <https://www.ima.org.il/FilesUploadPublic/IMAJ/0/39/19771.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> Edward C. Halperin, “Why Did the United States Medical School Admissions Quota for Jews End?,” *The American Journal of the Medical Sciences* 358, no. 5 (2019), pp. 317–325, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amjms.2019.08.005>.

<sup>3</sup> Joanna Krongold, *In Their Own Words: Jewish Doctors, Antisemitism, and the Restrictive Quota System at the University of Toronto’s Faculty of Medicine* (Toronto: Temerty Faculty of Medicine, University of Toronto, 2022), [https://temertymedicine.utoronto.ca/sites/default/files/inline-files/In\\_Their\\_Own\\_Words\\_JKrongold\\_2022\\_c.pdf](https://temertymedicine.utoronto.ca/sites/default/files/inline-files/In_Their_Own_Words_JKrongold_2022_c.pdf).

<sup>4</sup> KN Michelson et al., “Antisemitism in American Healthcare: A Survey Study of Reported Experiences,” *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 40, no. 8 (2025), <https://link.springer.com/epdf/10.1007/s11606-024-09159-x>.

241%.<sup>5</sup> Schwartz and colleagues reported that nearly 90% of Jewish healthcare professionals and students in the United States experienced antisemitism after October 7, compared with roughly 40% before that date.<sup>6</sup> Posts by self-identified healthcare professionals sharing antisemitic content increased in the United States during 2023–2024.<sup>7</sup> Specifically, posts by healthcare providers invoking the claim that Israel harvests blood and/or organs from Palestinians increased by 2.6-fold.<sup>8</sup>

In Canada, Dr. Ayelet Kuper, a physician and professor at the University of Toronto’s Faculty of Medicine, published in April 2023 an account of her experience serving as Senior Advisor on Antisemitism (June 2021 – June 2022) in her Faculty. Kuper recalled how she “overheard faculty colleagues complaining about ‘those Jews who think their Holocaust means they know something about oppression,’ [and] about non-Jewish students who thought a Jewish classmate had the power to block their residency matches.”<sup>9</sup> Among the instances of antisemitism she personally experienced were “being told that all Jews are liars; that Jews lie to control the university or the faculty or the world, to oppress or hurt others, and/or for other forms of gain; and that antisemitism can’t exist because everything Jews say are lies, including any claims to have experienced discrimination.”<sup>10</sup>

In 2024, Gil Kazezman, an Israeli student in the same faculty at the University of Toronto, described experiences beginning at the application stage.<sup>11</sup>

He reported being encouraged to remove references to Israel from his CV to improve acceptance prospects, and described encounters that included overt antisemitism (including Holocaust denial) alongside hostility framed as anti-Israel animus, including being declared an enemy when his nationality became known.<sup>12</sup>

In May 2025, medical school applicants in Quebec were reported to have posted antisemitic content on a public Discord server. Screenshots included remarks such as “you can trust me as long as you don’t have a kippah under your wig,” and “you gotta look like this during interview time,” accompanied by an image of an Orthodox Jewish man.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Alexandra Chana Fishman and Charles Auerbach, “Antisemitism in American Healthcare: The Role of Workplace Environment,” *Journal of Religion and Health* (2025), <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10943-025-02330-6>.

<sup>6</sup> Daniella M. Schwartz, Rotem Leiba, et al., “Social Media, Survey, and Medical Literature Data Reveal Escalating Antisemitism within the United States Healthcare Community,” *Journal of Religion and Health* 64, no. 1 (February 1, 2025), pp. 206-223, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-024-02191-5>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ayelet Kuper, “Reflections on Addressing Antisemitism in a Canadian Faculty of Medicine,” *Canadian Medical Education Journal* 14, no. 2 (April 8, 2023), pp. 158-170, <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC10254102/>.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Gil Kazezman, “Hiding in Canadian Medicine,” *Canadian Medical Education Journal* 15, no. 4 (August 30, 2024), pp. 118-119, <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC11415729/>.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Mathilda Heller, “Quebec Medical Applicants Post Antisemitic Content to Discord Channel,” *The Jerusalem Post*, May 11, 2025, <https://www.jpost.com/diaspora/antisemitism/article-853570>.

## ANTISEMITISM IN HEALTHCARE

A survey of Jewish healthcare providers in Quebec found that 45% reported experiencing antisemitism at work after October 7, compared to 34% before; 30% indicated this occurred weekly.<sup>14</sup>

Comparable concerns about antisemitic experiences were made by Jewish health providers in Australia and Britain.<sup>15</sup> In Australia, in February 2025, two healthcare workers were suspended after making antisemitic remarks on a TikTok livestream.<sup>16</sup> One stated: “You have no idea how many Israeli dog(s) came to this hospital and I send them to Jahannam [Hell].”<sup>17</sup>

In the UK, a National Health Service (NHS) surgeon was removed from his job and had his medical license revoked in 2025 for comments he made following the October 7 attack. Among his remarks: “When dealing with circumcised vermin like you, not even the strongest measures will help [...]”<sup>18</sup>

In response to reported increases in antisemitism, several Jewish professional associations have been established, including The American Jewish Medical Association (AJMA) and the Association of Jewish Doctors of Quebec (AMJQ).<sup>19</sup>

These organizations have advocated for institutional recognition of antisemitism as a professional issue, reflecting a perception that existing channels have often been inadequate for documenting and addressing the problem.

The effects of antisemitism in healthcare extend beyond immediate incidents. Repeated exposure to bias can shape workplace climate, professional behavior, and the functioning of clinical teams. Some providers report persistent identity-based stress and hypervigilance, including speech-monitoring, avoidance of personal or religious disclosure, and continual assessment as to which colleagues and supervisors are safe.<sup>20</sup>

Such strategies are best understood as adaptive responses to environments perceived as unpredictable or hostile.

<sup>14</sup> Anne Caroline Desplanques, “Antisemitism: Nearly Half of Quebec’s Jewish Doctors Targeted in Our Hospitals [French],” *Le Journal de Québec*, February 7, 2025, <https://www.journaldequebec.com/2025/02/07/pres-de-la-moitie-des-medecins-juifs-du-quebec-subissent-lantisemitisme-dans-nos-hopitaux>.

<sup>15</sup> Michael Gordon, Jerome Teitel, Ted Rosenberg, Ruth Oratz, et al., “Antisemitism in Medicine: An International Perspective,” *Rambam Maimonides Medical Journal* 16, no. 1 (January 30, 2025), <https://www.rmmj.org.il/issues/65/articles/1949>.

<sup>16</sup> Canaan Lidor, “Aussie Medical Staff Suspended for Anti-Israel Hate Speech,” *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, February 12, 2025, <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/aussie-medical-staff-suspended-for-anti-israel-hate-speech/>.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Naomi Canton, “Indian-Origin Surgeon Struck Off UK Medical Register for Antisemitic Comments on Facebook,” *Times of India*, October 10, 2025, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/uk/indian-origin-surgeon-struck-off-uk-medical-register-for-antisemitic-comments-on-facebook/articleshow/124434782.cms>.

<sup>19</sup> Bernie Bellan, “Jewish Physicians in Manitoba Form Association in Response to Antisemitism,” *Jewish Post & News*, May 24, 2024, <https://jewishpostandnews.ca/faqs/rokmicronews-fp-1/jewish-physicians-in-manitoba-form-association-in-response-to-antisemitism/>, and AJMA, “About,” <https://www.theajma.org/about>.

<sup>20</sup> Andrew F. Beck et al., “Standing Up to Antisemitism, Together,” *Academic Pediatrics* 25, no. 1 (2025), [https://www.academicpedsjnl.net/article/S1876-2859\(24\)00282-1/abstract](https://www.academicpedsjnl.net/article/S1876-2859(24)00282-1/abstract).

Jewish patients are also affected. A report from Australia noted that some have described taking steps to conceal their identity in healthcare settings, including removing visible Jewish symbols, avoiding Hebrew names, or changing names on hospital intake forms out of fear of biased treatment.<sup>21</sup>

Such actions reflect a breakdown of trust at moments of vulnerability. Patient trust depends not only on technical competence. Patients need to have confidence that the medical staff provides them equitable and neutral care.<sup>22</sup>

**– Lindsay MacKinnon and Mazal Van Dam**

<sup>21</sup> Bruce Hill, “Jewish Patients are Hiding Their Identity,” *Australian Jewish News*, February 27, 2025, <https://www.australianjewishnews.com/jewish-patients-are-hiding-their-identity/>.

<sup>22</sup> Beck et al., “Standing Up to Antisemitism, Together.”

# THE ROAD TO BONDI BEACH AND BEYOND

All visitors to Sydney set their sights on three iconic locations: the Sydney Opera House, the Sydney Harbour Bridge, and Bondi Beach.

There is now no way around the fact that these icons have become a pilgrimage of antisemitism. In just over two years, each was appropriated for the cause of antisemitism. The incidents reflect the changing environment in Sydney – and Australia more generally – and highlight the challenge faced when antisemitism is unchecked.

I have watched this change from the center of the Australian Jewish community, initially as President of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), the national representative roof body of the Jewish community, and then as Australia’s Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism.

While anti-Jewish incidents collected by the ECAJ had been increasing before October 7, 2023, the first dramatic signs of this profound cultural shift were seen clearly on October 9, 2023, when the sails of the Sydney Opera House were to be projected in the colors of the Israeli flag in solidarity with the Israeli victims of the attacks on October 7. Jews and their supporters were subsequently asked not to attend the Opera House by the police on the grounds that they feared for the safety of people who were identifiably Jewish or Zionist.

This was because a rally was being held on the Opera House forecourt at which the participants appeared to be celebrating the Hamas attacks on October 7. The Israeli flag was burnt, and recordings suggest that chants included, “Gas the Jews,” although some claim that the chant was in fact, “Where’s the Jews?” and “F- - the Jews.” Many felt that these latter chants were no less intimidating.

The failure of the police and the New South Wales government to prevent and immediately condemn this rally emboldened others. The ECAJ subsequently reported 2,062 antisemitic incidents between October 2023 and September 2024, compared with 495 in the previous twelve months.

February 2024 saw the emergence of a different form of antisemitism, with the “doxing” of six hundred Jewish artists. A WhatsApp group for Jewish creatives was infiltrated, and their personal information was shared publicly by people who encouraged others to shun, if not intimidate, these artists. These artists were ostracized by their colleagues, losing lifelong friends, work, and even accommodation.

By the middle of 2024, vandalism of buildings (including schools and synagogues) and firebombing of cars was escalating sharply. After more than six months of inadequate government response, the Office of Australia’s Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism was established, and I was

appointed as Special Envoy. It was announced at the same time that there would also be a Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia.

Aside from the breakdown in controlling antisemitic acts in neighborhoods surrounding Jewish schools, communities, and synagogues, there was also a serious problem developing on the campuses of major universities around the country, mirroring events in the US, UK, and Europe. This took a range of forms, but most prominently the sudden emergence of encampments. These were allegedly constituted by students and staff of the universities who sought to demonstrate solidarity with the Palestinian people in the aftermath of the Israeli response to Hamas attacks. However, there is reason to believe that agents outside the university community were driving these activities and related demonstrations. Antisemitic posters and graffiti also proliferated, leaving Jewish students and staff on campus feeling intimidated and unsafe. The inadequate response of many universities was to encourage Jewish students to study from home.

One of my first tasks as Special Envoy was to prepare a submission to a Senate inquiry into whether a judicial enquiry should be held into antisemitism on Australian university campuses. This involved interviewing dozens of traumatized university students and staff who had been affected by antisemitism on university campuses. As someone who had a long involvement in university governance, I was genuinely shocked by how serious and pervasive the problem of antisemitism had become, how impacted the students were, and how profoundly inadequate the response of university leaders had been.

The situation deteriorated further on December 6, 2024, with an arson attack on the Adass Israel Synagogue in suburban Melbourne. This was by far the worst attack to date. I inspected the very serious damage done to the fabric of the building, but perhaps most poignantly, the charred Torah scrolls and many holy books that had been desecrated. At this point, it was impossible for the Jewish community's memory of *Kristallnacht* not to instill a sense of fear and apprehension.

The new year brought no improvement. In January 2025, a childcare center near a synagogue in suburban Sydney was firebombed. Graffiti, vandalism, and threats became the norm. Many in the wider community, as well as in the Jewish community, felt that all levels of government had lost control of the situation. A joint federal and state terrorism police taskforce was established by the federal and state governments and the states engaged in law reform, but it was a case of too little, too late.

A particularly shocking incident was revealed in February 2025, when antisemitism within the healthcare system was exposed in the most striking way. A video emerged of two nurses at a hospital in suburban Sydney speaking to an Israeli influencer via an online video chat platform. The two nurses claimed that they had deliberately killed Israeli patients and would continue doing so if the opportunity arose again.

Confronted by these reports that antisemitism was rife in once-trusted institutions ranging from universities to hospitals, from social media to the arts, and from school to streets, I spent my first year as Special Envoy listening to the community around the country, speaking with university presidents and public officials. I also used this time to research international best

## THE ROAD TO BONDI BEACH AND BEYOND

practices, including attending meetings and discussions with envoys from other countries. This resulted in the *Special Envoy's Plan to Combat Antisemitism*, which was launched by Prime Minister Anthony Albanese in July 2024 in the week following a particularly serious antisemitic incident.

My plan involved thirteen strategic priorities:

- Definition of antisemitism
- Law and order reform
- Education
- University reform
- Increased coordination of security services
- Regulation of internet and social media
- The arts and public broadcasting
- Social cohesion building across Australian society
- Migration
- Multicultural and interfaith dialogue
- Engagement with other countries
- Advancement of vibrant Jewish life
- Ongoing data collection

The Australian Government did not issue any immediate public response to my Plan. The official response was that the Government would wait and consider this together with plans from the Islamophobia envoy and the racial discrimination commissioner, and then issue a response to all three at once.

In practice, I was given support in a number of areas, particularly educational initiatives, as well as for an organized review of universities (the University Report Card).

On August 3, 2025, mounting concern about the situation in Gaza prompted a demonstration that involved a march across the Sydney Harbour Bridge, involving some 9,000 people. While motivations for participating in the demonstration may have varied, it was apparent that some of those present harbored antisemitic attitudes. Much attention focused on the image of Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, which was visible at the front of the protest.

Shortly afterwards, the ECAJ announced that 1,654 incidents had been reported by September 30, 2025. This was three times above pre-October 2023 levels. Australian Security Intelligence Organization head Mike Burgess warned that antisemitism was the greatest threat his agency was monitoring, and the community continued to be fearful.

On December 14, 2025, everyone's worst fears were realized when two men opened fire on a community gathering to celebrate Hanukkah at Sydney's Bondi Beach. Fifteen innocent people were killed – the youngest only ten years old – and more were injured by gunfire before one gunman was shot dead and the other incapacitated. Islamic State flags and explosives were

found, suggesting that the attack was intended to be far graver than the massacre that in fact occurred.

The incident was immediately recognized officially as an act of terrorism according to Australian law. It was the worst targeted terrorist attack that has ever occurred on Australian soil.

Within a week of the massacre, the Australian Government issued Eliminating Antisemitism: Australian Government response to the Special Envoy's Plan to Combat Antisemitism. In this document, the government outlined what it was doing to address each of the thirteen priority areas in my Plan. Prime Minister Albanese announced that the Government accepted the Plan "in full."

A New South Wales state-level inquiry was announced into the events leading up to the attack. There were, however, also growing calls from all sections of the community to establish a Commonwealth Royal Commission to investigate the attack and the rise in antisemitism. In Australia, such a commission has the widest-ranging powers of any form of public inquiry.

Notwithstanding heightened security arrangements and nationwide shock after the terror attack, a rabbi's car displaying a Happy Hanukkah sign was set on fire on Christmas day.

In the new year, the Prime Minister announced that parliament would be recalled early to pass emergency legislation, dealing with vilification, hate speech, and prescribed organizations, as well as gun law restrictions, and that an official inquiry into any security failings prior to the terrorist attack would be established, but that this would not be a Commonwealth Royal Commission.

The emergency session of parliament successfully passed laws dealing with gun control, prescribed organizations and immigration, but not hate speech, despite the Jewish community leaders calling for this.

Finally, on January 9, 2026, the Prime Minister acquiesced to mounting pressure and agreed to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the attack at Bondi Beach as well as the conditions that had led to rising antisemitism and deteriorating social cohesion. The community and my office will be active participants in the Royal Commission.

A national day of mourning was proclaimed for January 22, 2026, with a memorial event held at the Sydney Opera House that evening. The theme chosen by the Chabad Community in Bondi for the event was "Light will win, a gathering of unity and remembrance." The Prime Minister delivered a strong speech at the Sydney Opera House in support of the Jewish community, expressing regret that "we could not protect your loved ones from the evil." He repeated that "an attack on Jewish Australians is an attack on all Australians."

Further, the Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia, acting on the advice of the Prime Minister, extended an invitation to the President of the State of Israel to pay an official visit to Australia in February 2026. This was described by the Prime Minister as a 'pastoral visit' intended to offer consolation to those directly affected by the massacre at Bondi Beach and the wider Jewish community.

## THE ROAD TO BONDI BEACH AND BEYOND

Although the President did spend time with those affected by Bondi and did also start the process of a relationship reset between Australia and Israel, his visit was met with large protests, including antisemitic slogans. The world was left in no doubt that his visit revealed the extent to which social cohesion in Australian society had deteriorated in measures not recorded in living memory.

This brief sketch of an explosion of antisemitism is unprecedented in Australian history, as Australia has traditionally been a largely safe and welcoming country for its Jewish population. What is notable is the diversity of expressions of antisemitism in contemporary Australia. It has involved hate crimes, violence, and terrorism, but it has also involved the non-violent behavior that has prevented students from going about their studies at university, academics being de-platformed, and artists being denied opportunities to perform or exhibit their work.

*My Plan for Combating Antisemitism* is ambitious. There is no quick fix and no single answer. My office is leading efforts ranging across law and order, eSafety, healthcare, school education, universities, and the arts. There can be no doubt that addressing the surge in Australian antisemitism requires a whole-of-society response. Much is happening in each area.

In the months since the massacre at Bondi Beach, I have been struck by a renewed sense of support for the Jewish community and regret that their concerns had not been taken more seriously. Australians across all walks of life were urged to perform ‘a mitzvah’ in honor of those killed. None of us can look at the Opera House, the Harbour Bridge or Bondi Beach in quite the same way anymore, but I am hopeful that as the country struggles to rebuild social cohesion, these will once again become unifying landmarks.

***– Jillian Segal AO is Australia’s Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism and a former President of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry.***

The author is grateful for the contribution of Dr. Damien Freeman to the preparation of the essay.



## **SECTION 2**

# **THE CLOSING OF THE AMERICAN MIND**





## THE FADING VOICE OF BUCKLEY

Last fall, the confidence of conservative American Jews that their political home is safe was repeatedly undermined. On September 10, 2025, hours after the murder of Charlie Kirk, the co-founder of the conservative student organization Turning Point USA,<sup>1</sup> social media filled with claims blaming Israel, the Mossad, “the Zionists,” or nameless “globalists” – a codename for conspiring Jews – for the crime. The phrase “Israel killed Charlie Kirk” proliferated across X.<sup>2</sup>

Among the pro-Trump activists who advanced such narratives was the popular right-wing podcaster and conspiracy theorist Candace Owens. She suggested Jewish figures had sought to silence Kirk because he was going to abandon his pro-Israel stances and move Turning Point USA away from supporting Israel.<sup>3</sup>

Owens was careful not to declare outright that Israel killed Kirk; that work was done through implication. “I’m not trying to mutter darkly or imply anything,” she said at one point, before naming Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu as a leading “liar” and asserting that “there are many liars out there trying [...] to distort the truth, a truth that I know and can prove.”<sup>4</sup> She tried to deflect accusations of hating Israel and Jews, claiming she had never been “an Israel hater. Obviously, I’m not an antisemite,” and insisting that her insinuations were not “just about Israel.” Yet she named no other countries but Israel and no other politicians but Netanyahu.<sup>5</sup>

Following the assassination of Kirk, Tucker Carlson’s memorial broadcast lingered on the insinuation that “powerful people” wanted him dead. Carlson is one of the most influential media personalities in the MAGA movement and lobbied for Donald Trump in his 2024 campaign’s final mega-event.

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Ax, Brad Brooks, and Andrea Shalal “Conservative Influencer Charlie Kirk Shot Dead, Manhunt Launched for Suspect,” Reuters, September 11, 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/world/us/conservative-influencer-charlie-kirk-shot-dead-manhunt-suspect-2025-09-11/>.

<sup>2</sup> Anti-Defamation League, “Antisemitic and Anti-Israel Conspiracy Theories Follow Fatal Shooting of Charlie Kirk,” September 2025, <https://www.adl.org/node/93251>; Mathilda Heller, “Antisemitic Posts Spike after Kirk Killing, Israel Blamed,” *The Jerusalem Post*, September 14, 2025, <https://www.jpost.com/diaspora/antisemitism/article-867435>; and Counter Extremism Project, “Eye on Extremism: September 15, 2025,” September 15, 2025, <https://www.counterextremism.com/roundup/eye-extremism-september-15-2025>.

<sup>3</sup> Hatewatch Staff, “Antisemitic Conspiracy Theories Claim Israel, Mossad to Blame for Kirk Killing,” Southern Poverty Law Center, October 28, 2025, <https://www.splcenter.org/resources/hatewatch/charlie-kirk-antisemitic-conspiracy-theories/>.

<sup>4</sup> Candace Owens, “Charlie Kirk Shooting Suspect Charged. Something Isn’t Right... | Candace Ep 236,” YouTube, September 17, 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q7f8r-THr84>; Candace Owens, “Who Ordered the Hit on Charlie Kirk? | Candace Ep 237,” YouTube, September 18, 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2WEHTk0Xewg>; and Sam Wolfson, “Rightwing Podcasters Run Rampant with Charlie Kirk Conspiracies: ‘It’s Craven Opportunism,’” *The Guardian*, September 24, 2025, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2025/sep/24/charlie-kirk-conspiracies-rightwing-podcasters>.

<sup>5</sup> Candace Owens, “Who Ordered the Hit on Charlie Kirk?”

Law enforcement investigations pointed toward a lone-wolf, radicalized young man as the killer. That mattered little to Carlson. Without foundation, he stated: “I can just sort of picture the scene in a lamp-lit room with a bunch of guys sitting around eating hummus, thinking about what to do about this guy telling the truth about us. We must make him stop talking. And there’s always one guy with the bright idea, and I could just hear him say, ‘I’ve got an idea. Why don’t we just kill him? That’ll shut him up.’”<sup>6</sup>

Carlson’s insinuations appeared on fringe social media accounts remixed with Stars of David and Israeli screenshots. He did not blame Jews explicitly for the murder, yet his conspiratorial style surfaced in an environment in which antisemitic inference is easy for the audience, a fact he was aware of all too well and which did not seem to bother him.<sup>7</sup>

On October 14, *Politico* reported on almost 3,000 pages of leaked Telegram chats, spanning a seven-month period, by leaders of Young Republicans chapters across the United States that contained explicitly racist and antisemitic slurs. It turned out that for certain twenty-something Republicans, references to African-Americans as monkeys, praise for Adolf Hitler, and a desire to see political rivals sent to the gas chambers were a joke (that is, at best, a joke). Other Young Republicans were indifferent to such rhetoric.<sup>8</sup>

A day later, *Politico* reported that a modified American flag, containing a swastika, was pinned to a cubicle wall in the office of Congressman David Taylor, a Republican from Ohio.<sup>9</sup>

The response of several Republican national leaders to the Telegram scandal was swift and unequivocal. Several Young Republicans chapters were disbanded. Several young activists were forced to resign. Yet that response was far from uniform. Vice President J.D. Vance, for example, shamefully dismissed the gravity of the scandal by saying that “kids do stupid things, especially young boys.”<sup>10</sup>

None of the Republicans involved was a kid.

Yet another shock came in late October when Carlson hosted the antisemite streamer Nick Fuentes for a long, almost convivial interview. A Christian nationalist and long-time Holocaust denier, who, despite his racist views, was hosted in 2022 by Donald Trump in Mar-a-Lago, Fuentes combines adolescent trolling with Holocaust denial, casual racism, misogyny, open admiration for Nazi Germany, and obsessive hostility toward Jews. He has been actively trying to infiltrate and undermine mainstream conservative institutions and influence the conservative

<sup>6</sup> Tucker Carlson, “Full Speech: Tucker’s Charlie Kirk Memorial...,” YouTube, September 22, 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zfl-JZEBNss>.

<sup>7</sup> Ben Shapiro, “Tucker Carlson Sabotages America,” YouTube, November 3, 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OaRJL5mOF8>.

<sup>8</sup> Jason Beeferman and Emily Ngo, “‘I Love Hitler’: Leaked Messages Expose Young Republicans Racist Chats,” *Politico*, October 14, 2025, <https://www.politico.com/news/2025/10/14/private-chat-among-young-gop-club-members-00592146>.

<sup>9</sup> Marina Dubnar, “US Capitol Police Investigating Flag with Swastika in Republican Representative’s Office – Report,” *The Guardian*, October 15, 2025, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2025/oct/15/capitol-us-flag-swastika-republican-dave-taylor>.

<sup>10</sup> CNN, “Vance Downplays Leaked Racist GOP Texts: ‘Kids Do Stupid Things,’” YouTube, October 16, 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s0tiFfkp1q8>.

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movement's rightward shift through his America First platform, becoming ever more openly hostile toward Jews in the process.<sup>11</sup>

In the kind of blunt distillation that travels online precisely because it is blunt, Fuentes stated in March 2025: "Jews are running society." He also stated: "Women need to shut the fuck up, Blacks need to be imprisoned for the most part, and we would live in paradise. It's that simple."<sup>12</sup>



Photo by Rumble

Nick Fuentes during his America First podcast, February 2026

In video remarks defending Carlson after the Fuentes interview, Kevin Roberts, President of the Heritage Foundation, called him a "close friend," condemned the "venomous coalition" criticizing him, and offered a line that read like a creed: "The American people expect us to be focusing on our political adversaries on the left, not attacking our friends on the right."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Carl Yonker, "The United States: Far Right and Wrong," in *Antisemitism Worldwide Report for 2023* (Tel Aviv University – The Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry and the Irwin Cotler Institute for Democracy, Human Rights and Justice, 2024), pp. 38-39, [https://cst.tau.ac.il/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/AntisemitismWorldwide\\_2023.pdf](https://cst.tau.ac.il/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/AntisemitismWorldwide_2023.pdf).

<sup>12</sup> Michelle Goldberg, "Nick Fuentes was Charlie Kirk's Bitter Enemy. Now He's Become His Successor," *New York Times*, November 3, 2025, <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/11/03/opinion/nick-fuentes-kirk-successor.html>, and William Oremus, "Far-Right Provocateur Nick Fuentes is Triggering a MAGA Civil War," *The Washington Post*, November 8, 2025, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2025/11/08/nick-fuentes-tucker-carlson-hate-speech/>. For the original recording: Nicholas J. Fuentes, "Andrew Tate's Persecution PROVES Women are OUT OF CONTROL," Rumble, March 28, 2025, [https://rumble.com/v6rds6a-andrew-tates-persecution-proves-women-are-out-of-control.html?e9s=src\\_v1\\_ucp\\_v](https://rumble.com/v6rds6a-andrew-tates-persecution-proves-women-are-out-of-control.html?e9s=src_v1_ucp_v).

<sup>13</sup> Kevin Roberts (@KevinRobertsTX), "There has been Speculation..." X, October 30, 2025, <https://x.com/KevinRobertsTX/status/1983958755613262324>; Rachel Leingang, "Tucker Carlson's Interview with Far-Right Antisemite Nick Fuentes Divides Conservatives," *The Guardian*, October 31, 2025, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2025/oct/31/conservative-reaction-tucker-carlson-nick-fuentes-interview>; and Caitlin Yilek and Fin Daniel Gómez, "Backlash Erupts at Heritage Foundation after Leader Defends Tucker Carlson's Interview with White Nationalist Nick Fuentes," CBS News, November 7, 2025, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/heritage-foundation-kevin-roberts-tucker-carlson-interview-nick-fuentes/>.

The Heritage Foundation is a Washington think-tank that has helped shape the conservative movement since the 1980s, and the organization behind Project 2025, the (often denied to be so) blueprint for Trump's second term.

Following the outcry also within the Foundation, including the resignation of three trustees and a handful of staffers, Roberts apologized for his support of Carlson, but rejected the calls for his resignation.

The Republican Jewish Coalition (RJC) had planned its fortieth-anniversary summit set for the final weekend of October as a celebration of Donald Trump's return to power and the stronger-than-ever Israeli-American alliance. Instead, the summit in Las Vegas was reoriented to confront something that, until recently, some conservatives, including conservative Jews, deceived themselves to see as a problem mainly on the left: antisemitism among their party's own voters, donors, influencers, and rising stars, and the imposing question whether the conservative coalition still possessed the institutional capabilities to enforce a boundary against it.<sup>14</sup>

The RJC's official messaging during the conference tried to keep the debate contained. Sam Markstein, the RJC's spokesman, discussed with naïve or cowardly spirits "the specter of rising antisemitism on the far-right fringe." He said Republicans could be "unambiguously pro-Israel and pro-Jewish while still fighting the Woke left."<sup>15</sup>

Some donors were shortsighted enough to wonder whether the party should court Carlson's enormous audience; yet for others, especially older Jewish Republicans who had spent decades selling the GOP to wary co-religionists, the question was whether a party that treated flirtations with Nazism as a communications problem rather than a red line deserved to be trusted at all.<sup>16</sup>

Several non-Jewish national Republican leaders were unequivocal in distinguishing right from wrong. Addressing the RJC audience in Las Vegas, Texas Republican Senator Ted Cruz warned: "Now is a time for choosing. Now is a time for courage [...] If you sit there with someone who says Adolf Hitler was very, very cool and their mission is to combat and defeat 'global Jewry,' and you say nothing, then you are a coward, and you are complicit in that evil."<sup>17</sup>

Cruz lingered on the image of an influential conservative media host listening "placidly" to the slurs of his young guest. The young guest who praised Hitler and railed against "organized Jewry." The young guest who pivoted to denouncing pro-Israel evangelicals by claiming they

<sup>14</sup> Jonathan D. Salant, "'Clearly Have Antisemitism Element of Our Party,' McCormick Says at RJC," *JNS*, November 2, 2025, <https://www.jns.org/clearly-have-antisemitism-element-of-our-party-mccormick-says-at-rjc/>.

<sup>15</sup> Newsmax, "Republicans are Unafraid to Call Out Far-Right Fringe Antisemitism: RJC Spokesman | National Report," YouTube, November 3, 2025, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O9FQ\\_pckKAw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O9FQ_pckKAw).

<sup>16</sup> The Economic Times, "'Tucker is not MAGA': Furious GOP Lawmakers Label Carlson an 'Antisemite' over Anti-Israel Stance," YouTube, November 4, 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LIX93ZhG2Nk>.

<sup>17</sup> Republican Jewish Coalition and Ted Cruz, "Ted Cruz's Passionate Defense of the American Jewish Community, Calling Out Antisemitism," YouTube, October 31, 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2AqNraNbiOQ>. See also: Samuel Benson, "Ted Cruz Accuses GOP Senators of Being 'Frightened' to Call Out Tucker Carlson," *Politico*, November 7, 2025, <https://www.politico.com/news/2025/11/07/ted-cruz-accuses-gop-senators-tucker-carlson-00642198>.

were being infected by a “brain virus.” The young guest who said about those evangelicals that he “[dislikes] them more than anybody. Because it’s Christian heresy.”<sup>18</sup>

A personal offense was involved. In an interview with Cruz in June 2025, Carlson wittingly asked the senator about the Biblical references for his support for Israel. The usually confident and righteous Cruz, evidently embarrassed, was unable to point to one relevant Biblical verse according to which Christians who support Israel would be blessed.<sup>19</sup>

Joining Cruz in his criticism, Senator Mitch McConnell, former majority leader, warned conservatives against “[carrying] water for antisemites.”<sup>20</sup> House Speaker Mike Johnson called Carlson’s interview with Fuentes a “big mistake.”<sup>21</sup> Ambassador to Israel Mike Huckabee compared Carlson’s search for theological counsel from Fuentes to “asking Hannibal Lecter for recipes,” and likened the interview’s tone to treating “Springtime for Hitler” as serious dialogue.<sup>22</sup>

The question that cast its shadow over the RJC summit will continue to cast its shadow over the Republican Party at large in years to come: How far should conservatives go in tolerating, let alone allying, with racists, conspirators, and blatant antisemites only because those despicable people are useful in the fight against the Democrats? Phrased differently: In the age of post-truth and post-decency, otherwise known as Trumpism, are there still any red lines and codes of honor that must not be crossed, whatever the political price is?

For Jewish Republicans, this question is particularly painful. Given the current climate among the Democrats, some of them are certain that they have no alternative but to remain loyal Republicans no matter what.

That is not a good place to be.



It is tragic that in 2026, the question of how to deal with antisemites who happen to vote for your political party is still so relevant in America. In fact, more relevant than at any other time since the end of the Second World War and the Holocaust.

<sup>18</sup> Carlson, “Tucker Carlson Interviews Nick Fuentes.”

<sup>19</sup> Tucker Carlson, “Ted Cruz Uses the Bible to Justify Israel Support,” YouTube, June 18, 2025, <https://youtube.com/shorts/4YgM2dswgdw?si=5WhXe8W0YXvdPtFf>.

<sup>20</sup> Meredith Lee Hill, “McConnell Pans Heritage Foundation for Its Defense of Tucker Carlson’s Nick Fuentes Interview,” *Politico*, October 31, 2025, <https://www.politico.com/news/2025/10/31/mcconnell-heritage-foundation-tucker-carlson-00631510>.

<sup>21</sup> Olivia Beavers, “Johnson: Carlson Interview with Fuentes was a ‘Big Mistake,’” *Politico*, November 25, 2025, <https://www.politico.com/news/2025/11/25/mike-johnson-tucker-carlson-nick-fuentes-interview-00668135>.

<sup>22</sup> Ambassador Mike Huckabee (@GovMikeHuckabee), “Giving a Platform...,” X, October 31, 2025, [https://x.com/govmikehuckabee/status/1984355974832894149?s=46&t=\\_PvZCal4UXyjdpDdKxuf0A](https://x.com/govmikehuckabee/status/1984355974832894149?s=46&t=_PvZCal4UXyjdpDdKxuf0A); Theodor Meyer, “Tucker Carlson’s Interview with White Nationalist Triggers GOP Backlash,” *The Washington Post*, October 31, 2025, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2025/10/31/carlson-fuentes-heritage-antisemitism/>, and The Editors, “A Time for Choosing on Antisemitism,” *National Review*, October 30, 2025, <https://www.nationalreview.com/2025/10/a-time-for-choosing-on-antisemitism/>.

Republicans may find comfort in learning that this question is not entirely new. Some lessons can be learned from how it was treated in the past by a great conservative American thinker, William F. Buckley Jr (1925-2008). Sadly, not all of them are entirely relevant.

From the outset of his career as a conservative intellectual and writer, Buckley made “kookery” not merely an insult but a strategic diagnosis. He believed conspiracy and antisemitism were moral failures and political liabilities, toxins that could keep conservatism from ever governing. He “made it his mission to rid conservatism of antisemites and conspiracists.”<sup>23</sup>

Buckley, a Roman Catholic, was all too familiar with antisemitism. He saw as a young man how easily it could exist inside a respectable environment. His father was an antisemite with a tendency to share his prejudice and conspiracy theories when the family dined together. Reflecting on his childhood, Buckley stressed that children pay little attention to their father’s ideological statements (which is not true) but also recounted how, in 1937, several of his older siblings burned a cross outside a nearby Jewish resort, and that he had been upset for not participating. Later, he dismissed the incident as “a Halloween prank,” while still acknowledging it was a “thoughtless” act.<sup>24</sup>

This background clarifies what Buckley’s later doctrine of exclusion required: not merely condemning antisemitism in principle, but treating it as a temptation the conservative movement must refuse even when it feels, to some, like a joke or unserious.

His mission began in the early days of the *National Review*, a conservative intellectual magazine Buckley founded in 1955. As editor of the *National Review* and intending to shape the future of the conservative movement, Buckley treated antisemitism less as an embarrassing eccentricity than as a kind of poison destroying the movement’s claims to seriousness, and – worse – its ability to agree on what was real.

One of the first challenges Buckley faced was from *The American Mercury*, a conservative magazine. Once a respectable home for his essays, in the mid-1950s and 1960s, it underwent an antisemitic turn, first under the leadership of Russell Maguire, owner of an arms development firm and financial analyst, and then under the guidance of Defenders of the Christian Faith, Inc., when it was owned by the fundamentalist activist and author Gerald Burton Winrod. Known as the “Jayhawk Nazi,” during the Second World War, the pro-German Burton was charged with sedition (charges later dropped).<sup>25</sup>

In December 1958 and January 1959, columns published in *The American Mercury* suggested a Jewish conspiracy lay behind the Seventeenth Amendment (the direct election of US senators).

<sup>23</sup> Matthew Continetti, “Up from Kookery,” *National Review*, December 19, 2024, <https://www.nationalreview.com/magazine/2025/02/up-from-kookery/>.

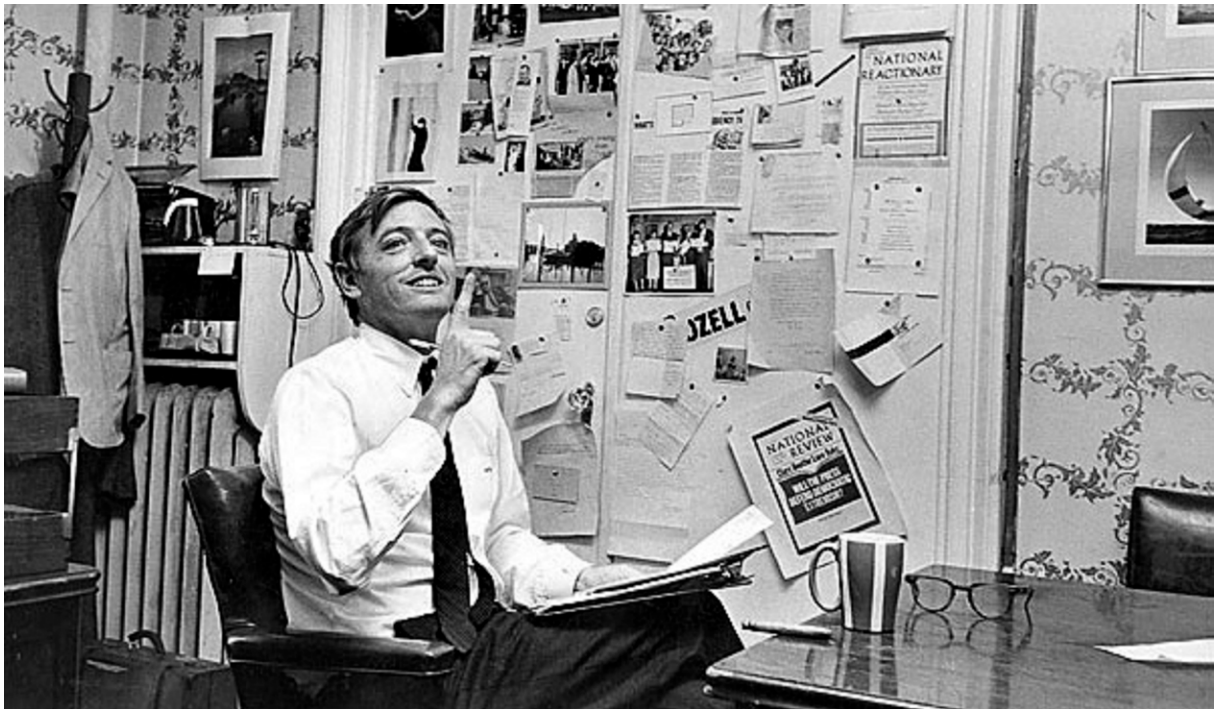
<sup>24</sup> William F. Buckley, Jr., *In Search of Antisemitism* (New York: Continuum, 1992), pp. 5-6.

<sup>25</sup> “The Press: Blowup at the Mercury,” *Time*, October 10, 1955, <https://time.com/archive/6610049/the-press-blowup-at-the-mercury/>, and Vincent Fitzpatrick, “The American Mercury,” *Menckiana* no. 123 (Fall 1992), pp. 1-6.

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Citing the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the journal attested that “International Zionists” were trying to enslave the world.<sup>26</sup>

When confronting the antisemitic turn of *The American Mercury*, Buckley did not treat it as a bizarre nuisance. He treated it as an existential reputational hazard, an opening on the right flank through which the entire conservative intellectual project could be discredited. His counter-attack was to sanction the magazine through the prestige of the masthead. No shared bylines, no shared respectability, no *American Mercury* contributors to the *National Review*.<sup>27</sup>



Public Domain

*William F. Buckley, Jr. in his office at the National Review, 1969*

Still, while gaining repute for fighting antisemitism, Buckley’s role as the gatekeeper of the postwar conservative movement was initially cemented not by his campaign against antisemitism but by the campaign he launched against The John Birch Society and its founder, Robert Welch. What forced Buckley’s hand was Welch’s conspiratorial insistence that policy failures proved “communist” control at the top, including insinuations about Dwight D. Eisenhower.

In March 1961, Buckley warned Senator Barry Goldwater, at the time the leading figure in the conservative movement, that Welch was “nuts” and would do the cause “much damage.” Then followed an editorial, “The Uproar,” arguing that Welch’s “mistaken conclusions” were being

<sup>26</sup> Matthew Walsh, *Taking America Back: The Conservative Movement and the Far Right* (Yale University Press, 2024), p. 148.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148-150, and Norman Podhoretz, “What Is Antisemitism? An Open Letter to William F. Buckley, Jr.,” *Commentary*, February 1992, <https://www.commentary.org/articles/norman-podhoretz/what-is-antisemitism-an-open-letter-to-william-f-buckley-jr/>.

used to “anathematize the entire American right wing.” Buckley faulted Welch’s method of inferring “subjective intention” from “objective consequences.”<sup>28</sup>

The escalation came in 1962 with the article “The Question of Robert Welch,” after a conservative “summit” discussion of effectively “excommunicating” Welch. Buckley pressed for what he called a “clean break,” urged readers – “out of a love of truth and country” – to reject Welch’s “false counsels,” and even solicited a supportive note from Ronald Reagan as he braced for the backlash.

That backlash was real: lost donors, bleeding subscribers, and a flood of angry mail. Yet Buckley kept pushing, and by 1965, he extended the critique from Welch to his Society as a whole, denouncing its premises as “paranoid and unpatriotic drivel” and arguing that until members demanded leadership that didn’t attribute everything to communist agents, they forfeited the right to complain about misrepresentation.



Buckley’s fight for drawing borders of legitimacy reached another peak following his retirement in 1990 from editing the gatekeeper he had founded. The focus of the fight was antisemitism and its new and sophisticated faces.

The conservative movement was struggling over journalist Joseph Sobran (1946-2010), a gifted polemicist who was once Buckley’s protégé, and Patrick Buchanan (b. 1938), the dissenting Republican speechwriter and senior media advisor. The two paleoconservatives spoke for isolationism, so-called Christian family values, protectionism, and limiting migration. They turned foreign policy disputes over the First Gulf War into stories about betrayal, sovereignty, and the Israel lobby.

The fight was never only about tone, or even about taboo. It was about whether the movement would allow itself a particular view that sees politics as hidden Jewish control to become a respectable way of talking about power.

Sobran’s move was to offer conservatives a vocabulary that made resentment sound like courage. He insisted that he did not seek a “negative outcome” for Jews and that his crusade was “to bring Jews down to the level of ordinary civil society.”<sup>29</sup> His technique was not subtle. In a nutshell, he tried to convince that Jewish outrage becomes proof of Jewish power, and that the act of naming antisemitism becomes its own kind of coercion.

Later flirtations with Holocaust denial were not a separate scandal but a continuation of the same posture. When criticized for speaking to the Institute for Historical Review, the California-based organization that promotes Holocaust denial and antisemitic views through its “historical revisionist approach,” Sobran brushed aside the warning embedded in the invitation itself: “I

<sup>28</sup> Alvin S. Felzenberg, “The Inside Story of William F. Buckley Jr.’s Crusade against the John Birch Society,” *National Review*, June 20, 2017, <https://www.nationalreview.com/2017/06/william-f-buckley-john-birch-society-history-conflict-robert-welch/>.

<sup>29</sup> Jacob Weisberg, “The Heresies of Pat Buchanan,” *The New Republic*, October 22, 1990, <https://newrepublic.com/article/69035/the-heresies-pat-buchanan>.

wasn't just speaking to 'Holocaust deniers,' but also to Holocaust believers."<sup>30</sup> The sentence performs a familiar laundering operation by turning denial into a mere "side" in a debate, and skepticism into professional bravery.

As journalist Jeffrey Goldberg later summarized, Sobran grew comfortable with a "Holocaust agnostic" stance. He did not deny Jewish suffering in general, but publicly "wondered" about genocide as Nazi policy and suspected that the numbers were "exaggerated."<sup>31</sup> In a movement struggling to police its borders, "agnosticism" functions the way "just asking questions" functions today among demagogues. It preserves the insinuation while disowning responsibility for its consequences.

Sobran offered a defensive theory that had aged into a template for contemporary right-wing discourse. "Jewish claims are being cut down to size," he said. While Jews "code" this downsizing as antisemitism, "I don't think it is. It's more like counter-Semitism."<sup>32</sup> He insisted "counter-Semitism" did not seek a "negative outcome" for Jews; rather, it sought to diminish "the excessive moral prestige Jews have in the media and the public square [...] Jews deciding the standards, setting the criteria of humanity."<sup>33</sup>

Sobran was offering conservatives a way to resent Jews as a class without claiming to hate them. Once Jews are framed as a moral aristocracy, an elite that "sets the criteria of humanity," the movement can justify hostility as a democratic corrective rather than prejudice.

As Sobran, Buchanan mastered the fusing of domestic grievance and foreign policy skepticism into a narrative of national betrayal. The infamous Buchanan phrases that Congress is "Israeli-occupied territory," with the Israeli Defense Ministry and its "amen corner" beating the drums for war, worked as rhetorical bombs because they were not merely arguments. They were insinuations about control.

In December 1991, Buckley published his long *National Review* essay "In Search of Antisemitism," later expanded into a book with responses.<sup>34</sup> He concluded that Sobran and Buchanan, who had just announced his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination, had made "antisemitic statements, even though they are not antisemites."<sup>35</sup>

That formulation, antisemitic statements without antisemitic identity, was Buckley's attempt to impose a boundary while preserving, insofar as possible, a charitable reading of motives. Yet it also exposed a fundamental weakness in the conservative movement's ability to police antisemitism. When one defines antisemitism as an interior state of hatred, one gives oneself

<sup>30</sup> Joseph Sobran, "For Fear of the Jews," IHR – Institute for Historical Review, June 22, 2022, [https://ihr.org/journal/v21n3p12\\_sobran.html](https://ihr.org/journal/v21n3p12_sobran.html).

<sup>31</sup> Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Death of a 'Holocaust Skeptic,'" *The Atlantic*, October 12, 2010, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2010/10/the-death-of-a-holocaust-skeptic/64130/>.

<sup>32</sup> Weisberg, "The Heresies of Pat Buchanan."

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> See, Buckley, Jr., *In Search of Antisemitism*.

<sup>35</sup> The Editors, "Editorial: Christians, Jews, and Antisemitism," *First Things*, March 1, 1992, <https://firstthings.com/editorial-christians-jews-and-anti-semitism/>, and The Editors, "Editorial: The Year that Conservatism Turned Ugly," *First Things*, May 1, 1992, <https://firstthings.com/editorial-the-year-that-conservatism-turned-ugly/>.

endless room to rationalize rhetoric that activates old tropes. On the other hand, doing so allows the enforcement of a boundary without pretending to read souls.

Norman Podhoretz, the Jewish editor of *Commentary* and a founding father of neo-conservatism, treated Buckley's fine-line drawing as both admirable and dangerously insufficient. Podhoretz opened his letter with a mixture of content and accusation. He wrote that he was relieved Buckley's essay did not confirm his "deepest apprehensions," but confessed he had feared Buckley "just didn't get it."

Podhoretz mocked the idea that one could hold a conference on "Whither Incest?" merely to reaffirm the incest taboo; if you have to go searching for antisemitism, he implied, you may be tempted to conclude it isn't there.<sup>36</sup> His larger point was that antisemitism often lives precisely in the denial that it exists. Especially so when dressed up as policy realism.



By 1992, as Buchanan gained momentum in his campaign for the Republican Presidential nomination (In February, he won 37.5% in the New Hampshire primary against the incumbent President, George H.W. Bush), commentators grappled with how his phrasing sounded to Jewish listeners. On PBS, Jim Lehrer, the iconic host and a symbol of non-partisanship, quoted Buckley's interpretation of Buchanan's "amen corner" line, noting: "There is no way to read that sentence without concluding that Pat Buchanan was suggesting that American Jews manage to avoid personal military exposure even while advancing military policies they uniquely engineered."<sup>37</sup>

The paleoconservatives fought back. Their mouthpiece *Chronicles* responded to Buckley's anti-antisemitism campaign by construing the debate itself as a Jewish plot. For them, it was "another way of saying: 'We and our friends are not antisemitic, and anybody who says otherwise is a tool of the Jewish conspiracy.'"<sup>38</sup> In this manipulative framing, the accusation of antisemitism became evidence of Jewish manipulation. The typical vicious circle of conspiracy theories is that disproving them is proving them.

Paul Berman's portrait of the conservative debate in his review of *In Search of Antisemitism* captured the central difficulty: "Antisemitism is nearly impossible to debate" because few admit to harboring it, definitions are contested, and the argument bogs down into "you are so," "I am not," and complaints about bullying.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Podhoretz, "What Is Antisemitism?"

<sup>37</sup> "Israel and Its 'Amen Corner,'" *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, February 1992, <https://www.wrmea.org/1992-february/what-they-said-israel-and-its-amen-corner.html>.

<sup>38</sup> "Editorial: The Year that Conservatism Turned Ugly," *First Things*, May 1, 1992, <https://firstthings.com/editorial-the-year-that-conservatism-turned-ugly/>.

<sup>39</sup> Paul Berman, "Gentlemen's Disagreement," *The New Yorker*, October 12, 1992, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1992/10/12/1992-10-12-114-tny-cards-000148476>.

## THE FADING VOICE OF BUCKLEY

Buckley did not kick out the kooks in the 1990s as some would like to believe. Not entirely. Yet the aspiration mattered. The conservative movement’s legitimacy depended on persuading people “to our immediate left” that conservatism was not a paranoid menagerie.<sup>40</sup>

What makes the Tucker Carlson moment so haunting is that it looks like a movement returning to the same moral problem under conditions that make the old remedy – editorial discipline – harder to apply. If Buckley’s model was purity, Heritage Foundation Roberts’ model is coalition unity at almost any cost.

The difference between the models is that between Reaganism and Trumpism. The former conservative coalition believed that there are limits to what may be done in order to gain power, and carried 49 states. The latter conservative coalition hardly recognized the existence of red lines at all, and bitterly divided America. Sobran’s “outspoken antipathy to Israel” and his belief in the “undue influence of a Jewish lobby on US foreign policy” led to his removal from *National Review* in 1993.<sup>41</sup> It is hard to imagine a leading conservative voice removed from anything today, for anything.



Photo by Shutterstock

*Tucker Carlson with Donald Trump at Turning Point USA event in Georgia, October 2024*

The present argument in the conservative movement about Carlson repeats the structure of defense promoted by Sobran almost perfectly, down to the complaint that naming antisemitism

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> William Grimes, “Joseph Sobran, 64, Writer Whom Buckley Mentored,” *New York Times*, October 1, 2010, <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/02/books/02sobran.html>.

is itself persecution. The difference is that Carlson is not a columnist dependent on a masthead; he is a media ecosystem unto himself.

When Buckley tried to restore order, one commentator joked, he “circles overhead [...] dropping fire retardant. But it’s no use.”<sup>42</sup> Today, there’s no one circling over Carlson’s head; he’s dependent on no one, just his audience and an internet connection. In this media age, being outrageous is not a liability but a means to become more powerful and richer.

Writing in *Commentary*, Christine Rosen framed the Fuentes episode not as a miscommunication but as a performance of indulgence. She described Fuentes “complaining about ‘organized Jewry’ and the Jews ‘controlling the media apparatus,’” while Carlson – “smiling and nodding along” – offered only a tactical objection that “going on about the Jews helps the neocons.”<sup>43</sup> In *The Free Press*, Eli Lake reached for a Buckley-ish distinction between tolerating speech and welcoming the speaker, warning that “defending the rights of neo-Nazis to bear memes on the internet is not the same as inviting those bigots into the GOP’s big tent.”<sup>44</sup>

The very need to restate these distinctions is the proof of how little purchase they now have. *National Review* can still call the Carlson show a “vehicle” for “laundering noxious ideas into the conservative mainstream,”<sup>45</sup> yet it cannot fire him. *The Dispatch* can argue with him, but it cannot de-platform him. *Commentary* can diagnose the sickness, but it cannot isolate the sick. The new right is not organized around a small set of institutions capable of enforcing reputational penalties; it is organized around audience capture and algorithmic reward.

Antisemitism, once confined to newsletters and crank presses, now “lives and thrives” on “entertainment platforms,” where figures like Fuentes and Carlson can monetize transgression at scale.<sup>46</sup> The “contrarianism” that once required editors and networks now moves through a post-network distribution system – portable, independent, and insulated from the old forms of discipline.<sup>47</sup> Buckley’s heirs are still speaking; the problem is that the movement no longer has to listen.

This is why the Heritage Foundation debate matters as more than a personality feud. It marks a moment when an institution that once functioned as a gatekeeper chose, at least initially, not to enforce the boundary, rejecting Buckley’s idea that the movement had any obligation to police its own boundaries. In 1990, Buckley had taken pride in excluding “anything antisemitic or kooky.” In 2025, Roberts defended a host accused by fellow conservatives of “normalizing Nazism.”

<sup>42</sup> Berman, “Gentlemen’s Disagreement.”

<sup>43</sup> Christine Rosen, “Hating Jews for Fun and Profit,” *Commentary*, December 2025, <https://www.commentary.org/articles/christine-rosen/antisemitism-entertainment-carlson/>.

<sup>44</sup> Eli Lake, “The Meltdown at Heritage—and the Fight for MAGA’s Future,” *The Free Press*, November 3, 2025, <https://www.thefp.com/p/the-meltdown-at-heritage-tucker-carlson-nick-fuentes>.

<sup>45</sup> Rich Lowry, “Tucker Carlson Outdoes Himself,” *National Review*, November 4, 2025, <https://www.nationalreview.com/2025/11/tucker-carlson-outdoes-himself/>.

<sup>46</sup> Rosen, “Hating Jews for Fun and Profit.”

<sup>47</sup> Jason Zengerle, “Tucker Carlson’s Nationalist Crusade,” *The New Yorker*, February 2, 2026, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2026/02/02/tucker-carlsons-nationalist-crusade>.

## THE FADING VOICE OF BUCKLEY

The backlash to Kevin Roberts illuminated how fragmented the right has become. The American-Jewish and vocal pro-Israel media author and podcaster Ben Shapiro devoted an entire show to denouncing Carlson and Fuentes.<sup>48</sup> “That splinter faction is now being facilitated and normalized within the mainstream Republican Party,” Shapiro said. “The main agent in that normalization is Tucker Carlson.” He called Carlson “an intellectual coward” and “an ideological launderer for other people’s evils,” and accused Heritage of betraying “[its] history and principles.”<sup>49</sup>

Shapiro’s language echoes Buckley’s older fear that if the movement cannot expel extremists, it will be defined by them. He ended with a sentence that reads like a rejection of the “no enemies to the right” manifesto: “These people have already declared themselves to be my enemies. I’d be a fool not to take them seriously.”<sup>50</sup>

Cruz’s language, too, was boundary-enforcement rhetoric: not merely “this is wrong,” but “if you sit there and say nothing, you are complicit.”<sup>51</sup> The important contribution of both Shapiro and Cruz is that they were trying to revive something like the Buckley norm in a media environment that eschews and punishes such policing and, in any case, makes them almost futile.

Indeed, Carlson’s defenders forcefully treat condemnation as proof of persecution. Fuentes himself responded to the controversy with a statement that could have been written by the most embittered paleoconservatives of the 1990s, updated for the meme age: “We are done with the Jewish oligarchy [...] the policing of antisemitism, the Holocaust religion and propaganda.”<sup>52</sup> This is Sobran’s “counter-Semitism” logic stripped of its respectable prose. It is the open declaration that accusations directed at antisemites are not warnings about prejudice but tools of oppression to be resisted.



When Roberts said Heritage would not “start [...] policing the consciences of Christians,” he was not only defending Carlson. He was announcing that disciplining Carlson or others had become politically dangerous.<sup>53</sup> The reasons for that danger are foremost demographic.

Describing the Carlson-Fuentes fallout, conservative writer Rod Dreher suggested he’d been told that 30% to 40% of Republican staffers under 30 are “Groypers” (the movement of fans, followers, or supporters of Fuentes), and that Fuentes’ turning the GOP into a truly reactionary party was a vision “coming true.”<sup>54</sup>

The almost 3,000 pages of leaked Telegram messages among Young Republicans were not simply politically incorrect; they were a cesspool of hate, a vile demonstration of the ever-

<sup>48</sup> Ben Shapiro, “Tucker Carlson Sabotages America.”

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Leingang, “Tucker Carlson’s Interview.”

<sup>52</sup> Nicholas J. Fuentes, “Recapping My Interview with Tucker Carlson,” Rumble, October 29, 2025, [https://rumble.com/v70y9cm-recapping-my-interview-with-tucker-carlson.html?e9s=src\\_v1\\_ucp\\_v](https://rumble.com/v70y9cm-recapping-my-interview-with-tucker-carlson.html?e9s=src_v1_ucp_v).

<sup>53</sup> Yilek and Gómez, “Backlash Erupts at Heritage Foundation.”

<sup>54</sup> “The GOP: Will It Welcome Antisemites?” *The Week*, November 10, 2025, <https://theweek.com/politics/gop-welcome-antisemites-tucker-carlson-nick-fuentes>.

eroding boundaries of decency and humanity online. One participant, in a line that condensed the moral collapse into three words, wrote: “I love Hitler.”<sup>55</sup> Another, anticipating precisely the kind of exposure that later arrived, warned: “If we ever had a leak of this chat, we would be cooked fr fr [“for real” in internet slang].”<sup>56</sup>

The deeper significance is not that young activists sometimes talk like this, but that they talked like this as a political identity, and then treated as scandal the discovery, not the speech. Buckley’s argument about “kookery” was never only about belief. It was about governance. A movement cannot claim seriousness while its next generation treats Nazism as a punchline, gas chambers as a political threat, and racial contempt as the price of belonging to the in-group.



The Sobran and Buchanan controversies were, in part, battles over the meaning of inference. Sobran wanted conservatives to believe Jewish outrage proved Jewish power. Buchanan wanted conservatives to believe that talk of “amen corners” and “occupied territory” was nothing more than political realism. In response, Buckley wanted conservatives to recognize that old tropes did not disappear merely because the speakers insisted they had no hatred in their hearts. The movement’s tragedy is that Buckley’s fine-line drawing, while morally earnest, may have inadvertently trained conservatives to treat antisemitism as a matter of endlessly contestable definitions – an invitation, in the social media era, to permanent paralysis.

Berman captured this danger in a *New Yorker* review with an almost throwaway observation: “Section by section, the greater weight of [Buckley’s] indignation falls upon the anti-antisemites.”<sup>57</sup> That is the hinge on which the conservative movement’s argument turns: how much energy is spent condemning antisemitism, and how much energy is spent condemning those who point it out. In the Carlson era, that ratio has shifted dramatically. Kevin Roberts’s defense of Carlson was, in effect, an attack on the anti-antisemitism faction. The “venomous coalition” was not Fuentes’ audience; it was those who insisted Fuentes should not be normalized.<sup>58</sup>

The question is whether the conservative movement can still move “up” from this – whether it can still treat the exclusion of the antisemitic and the conspiratorial as a precondition of respectability. In 1990, Buckley believed that the “absolute exclusion” of the antisemitic and “kooky” was an achievement worth claiming as the movement’s greatest success.<sup>59</sup> Thirty-five years later, a major conservative institution briefly defended a host who normalized a neo-Nazi, and it did so in the language of coalition unity.<sup>60</sup>



<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Berman, “Gentlemen’s Disagreement.”

<sup>58</sup> Magid, “US Jewish Groups Bail.”

<sup>59</sup> Burchard, “Buckley Retires as Editor.”

<sup>60</sup> Yilek and Gómez, “Backlash Erupts at Heritage Foundation.”

After Carlson was fired from Fox News in 2023, he “often gave voice to incendiary views that were not substantively different from Fuentes’ own – especially as they pertained to Israel and prominent Jewish figures.”<sup>61</sup> Apparently, he concluded that he “could not afford to alienate the Groypers,” so he extended an olive branch to Fuentes in the form of the podcast-interview request.<sup>62</sup>

Carlson’s June 2025 interview with Ted Cruz, an episode that served as a prelude to the Fuentes controversy, illustrates how the “America First” argument can take an antisemitic turn.<sup>63</sup> In the viral episode (over 4.5 million views on YouTube alone), Carlson pressed Cruz on his ties to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), asking whether the pro-Israel lobbying group founded in 1954 should register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA). Carlson stated, “I don’t understand why we don’t just be honest and say they’re lobbying on behalf of [a] foreign government.” Cruz replied, “That is not only not true – that is false.”<sup>64</sup>

Americans have long debated lobby and special interest influence. But it becomes difficult to separate the debate from the movement’s antisemitism problem because it closely resembles the structure Buckley and his contemporaries were trying to stigmatize in the 1990s: the insinuation that Israel and its domestic allies exercise a uniquely corrupt form of power over American sovereignty. Current legal interpretations of the FARA statute clarify that AIPAC does not need to register as a foreign agent, making the charge more rhetorical and symbolic than something with legal merit and weight.<sup>65</sup>

The insinuations in the interview became explicit enough to trigger the old conservative alarm bells in Cruz. When Carlson framed Cruz’s defense of AIPAC as “foreign influence,” Cruz responded with a sentence that reads like a distilled version of Buckley-era anxiety: “By the way, Tucker, it’s a very weird thing, the obsession with Israel,” prompting the host to snap: “Oh, so I’m an antisemite now?”<sup>66</sup>

What followed was an unhinged volley of outright contempt. “Shame on you,” Carlson seethed. “You’re implying it in a sleazy feline way.” Cruz pointed to Carlson’s relentless focus: “You’re not talking about the Chinese, the Japanese, the Brits...you’re asking: ‘What about the Jews? What about the Jews?’” Carlson responded that he doesn’t “even like talking about Israel” because it inevitably leads to charges of antisemitism.<sup>67</sup>

The line is revealing because it treats Carlson’s posture not as an ordinary policy dispute but as a fixation – precisely the category Buckley used when he suggested that certain writers, such

<sup>61</sup> Zengerle, “Tucker Carlson’s Nationalist Crusade.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Carl Yonker, “Tucker and the Jews,” Perspectives no. 43 (Tel Aviv University – The Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry, June 2025), <https://cst.tau.ac.il/perspectives/tucker-and-the-jews/>.

<sup>64</sup> Tucker Carlson, “Tucker Confronts Ted Cruz on His Support for Regime Change in Iran,” YouTube, June 18, 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=smemFVe0l5E>.

<sup>65</sup> Hannah Feuer, “Tucker Carlson and Ted Cruz’s Obscure Legal Debate about AIPAC, Explained,” *The Forward*, June 19, 2025, <https://forward.com/news/730423/tucker-carlson-ted-cruz-aipac-foreign-agent/>.

<sup>66</sup> Tucker Carlson, “Tucker Confronts Ted Cruz.”

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

as Sobran, had developed a rhetorical obsession with Jews and Israel that turned ordinary criticism into contextual antisemitism.

Carlson’s defenders often present this fixation as a principled foreign-policy realism: why should America be dragged into Middle East wars; why should Washington treat Israel’s priorities as America’s; why should a lobby be immune from scrutiny? This was exactly Buchanan’s self-description in the 1990s. Yet when one repeatedly frames American Middle East policy as the product of a foreign state’s domestic servants – an “amen corner,” an “occupied territory,” a lobby that supposedly operates as a foreign agent – one not only criticizes policy, which is completely legitimate and necessary in a healthy democratic society. Rather, one is educating one’s audience to interpret power through a conspiratorial template in which Jews become the explanatory key.

In Las Vegas, Cruz told the RJC summit that “in the last six months” he has seen “more antisemitism on the right” than in his entire life.<sup>68</sup> This is an extraordinary claim from a Republican senator with presidential aspirations who built a national profile partly by attacking antisemitism on the left. It functions as a movement-level warning: the old conservative habit of locating antisemitism primarily on the left and in progressive spaces is no longer sufficient, because the right’s own ecosystem is now producing – and monetizing – antisemitic patterns.

The Carlson anti-Israel rhetoric is not always directed at Israel as a state; often, it is directed at the moral status Israel occupies in conservative identity. Carlson’s line – “I’m from here” – in his criticism of Shapiro and other pro-Israel conservatives, functions as a nationalist litmus test: what kind of American prioritizes a foreign conflict while America is “dangerously unstable”?<sup>69</sup> This line resembles Buchanan’s older nationalist framing, but it becomes combustible when it slides into the older insinuation that Jewish Americans prioritize Israel over the United States. That is the dual-loyalty trope in updated clothes.

Carlson’s challenge and criticism of Israel’s status in conservative identity show few signs of dissipating. They are situated today more than ever at the center of the debate over America’s foreign policy, at a time when more Americans sympathize with the Palestinians than with Israel and its cause appears almost lost among Democrats and is alarmingly losing support also among Republicans, in particular young ones.

Sadly, the language of conspirators finds, repeatedly, careless and inadvertent helpers among friends of Israel. Just a week before the American-Israeli war against Iran began, US Ambassador to Israel Mike Huckabee initiated an interview to Carlson. The disaster could not have been graver.

The ambassador essentially proved his interlocutor’s point that Christian Zionism is a doctrine that distorts conservative foreign policy judgment when he claimed he would be fine with Israel taking over all the territory “from the Nile to the Euphrates” in fulfillment of its biblical

<sup>68</sup> Nicholas Riccardi, Jill Colvin, and Thomas Beaumont, “Controversy Over Tucker Carlson Interview Reveals Conservative Establishment’s Conflict Over Antisemitism,” YahooNews, October 31, 2025, <https://www.yahoo.com/news/articles/heritage-foundation-head-defends-tucker-071353260.html>.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

mandate. Openly contradicting the Trump Administration’s official policy, Huckabee set off a diplomatic firestorm and sparked a wave of condemnations.<sup>70</sup> Carlson himself could not have done a better job of damaging Israel at a sensitive moment.



If the Republicans cannot say no to media personalities whose worldview begins with the claim that Jews are running society or who openly admire Hitler and deny the Holocaust, they will eventually lose the capacity to say no to anything. That is the problem with the habit of indulgence: It becomes a habit.

The conservative movement today does not merely face an antisemitism “problem.” It faces a moral crisis and a leadership vacuum. It urgently needs a new William F. Buckley Jr. New Media will make the task of that new Buckley daunting. Yet new media are not the only hindrance. True soul searching and reform on the American right will likely have to wait for a post-Trump era, when and if truth, honor, God-fearing, and other values that once made America great reemerge as strong conservative political currencies.

**– Dr. Carl Yonker**

<sup>70</sup> Tucker Carlson, “Tucker Confronts Mike Huckabee on America’s Toxic Relationship with Israel,” YouTube, February 20, 2026, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XS7itdfgNnU>, and Maia Davies, “US Ambassador’s Israel Comments Condemned by Arab and Muslim States,” BBC, February 22, 2026, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cn5gkkgdzkyo>.



## ORDINARY MEN. AND WORSE

**Professor (emeritus) Christopher Browning** is the leading living expert on the Nazi Final Solution and a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences since 2006. Born in Durham, North Carolina (1944) and raised in Chicago, Browning completed his PhD at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and taught for most of his career at Pacific Lutheran University, Washington, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

In 1992, Browning published a groundbreaking and controversial book, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*. Based on analysis of the interrogations of members of a police battalion who took part in the cold-blooded terrorizing and murder of thousands of Polish Jews, Browning argued that the majority of them were not necessarily motivated by deep-seated antisemitism, nor by fear of being severely punished by their commanders. Rather, they committed their horrifying crimes because of obedience to authority, fear of being labeled as cowards, and the gradual normalization of terror.

In 1996, another American scholar of the Holocaust, Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, authored a rebuke of Browning in his book *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. Goldhagen argued that German antisemitism developed unique eliminationist ambitions that were ingrained in society and were what made the Holocaust possible. The debate between the approaches has become central in the contemporary study of the Holocaust and the study of the human capacity to commit evil at large.

Browning is a relentless voice in the fight against Holocaust denial and distortion. In 1996, he served as a key witness in the failed libel lawsuit filed by David Irving against Prof. Deborah Lipstadt. In her book *Denying the Holocaust* (1993), Lipstadt accused Irving of deliberately distorting historical evidence and described him as a particularly dangerous Holocaust denier. Browning testified that there could be no doubt that Hitler let his subordinates know his wishes regarding the fate of European Jewry.

**Prof. Uriya Shavit**, Editor-in-Chief of the Report and Head of the Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry and the Irwin Cotler Institute for Human Rights, Democracy and Justice, recently discussed with Prof. Browning the state of Holocaust Studies in the West and the reemergence of antisemitism in America. The conversation was edited for clarity and length.

**Prof. Shavit:** Why has antisemitism resurged in American political discourse?

**Prof. Browning:** Well, I think two things have happened. One is a conjunction of factors on the right, that American politics has a right-wing movement that's become much more authoritarian, much more racist, much more conspiracy theory-oriented. Historically, when you mix conspiracy theory, racism, and authoritarianism, you almost always get to antisemitism.

There is a shift rightward in American politics, a shift towards a less democratic stance, a devaluation of the focus on human rights, human equality, and human dignity. We have a president who openly ridicules people, talks cruelly, and sets a model for how to abuse people. If you combine that with racism, even if he himself does not make antisemitic statements, it opens the door and permits all sorts of other people to take that one last step.

At the same time, we now have developments on the left that have also contributed to more antisemitism. I am 82. You know, when I grew up, Israel was David, and the surrounding world was Goliath. Israel was struggling to survive, and it was a democracy committed to human rights and shared values.

The current generation in America knows nothing but Netanyahu. Their view of Israel is from the year 2000 on, from the Second Intifada on. What they see in the Israeli prime minister is a man who interferes in American politics, sides with and campaigns for the Republican Party, and puts his hand on the scale of American politics. A prime minister who is carrying out much of the same program as Trump, who is attempting to capture the judiciary.

**Prof. Shavit:** The Christian nationalist version of antisemitism is, in a way, more intriguing because if you are one of them, there is so much else to hate, and yet they are still in need of Jews as a focal point of hatred.

**Prof. Browning:** That's kind of strange because on the evangelical side, they're very pro-Israel, even if it's because of the Bible, you know, their New Testament basically says: "You have to have the refounding of the Jewish state, which then will face the apocalypse, announcing the new age." You know, Jews, from the evangelical point of view, Jews are kind of like the bourgeoisie for Marx. They are necessary in the progression of history, but then they have to disappear. So, you have the evangelicals, who are very pro-Israel. And then, on the other hand, you have the Christian nationalists, who are racist enough.

But, you know, I don't see antisemitism as their focal point. Their main focal point is the replacement theory, the notion that America is going to be overwhelmed by immigrants of color. Some of them argue that this conspiracy is led by international Jewry, yet on the other hand, they also admire ethnic nationalist Jews. They hold, in a sense, that Netanyahu and Israel represent how the rest of the world should act. They propagate the notion that George Soros and the wrong kind of Jews are masterminding the invasion that would lead to replacement, yet this conspiracy theory is a step away from total racist antisemitism, as it judges Jews on behavior as opposed to blood. Jews can behave well to earn an entry... It is a very complex thing.

Photo by YouTube



*Prof. Christopher Browning at a lecture in 2015*

**Prof. Shavit:** In composing the conspiracy theory of the replacement, they didn't have to choose George Soros.

**Prof. Browning:** He is the most preeminent visible symbol. I mean, if you have a name that comes up the most often as an example, it is George Soros.

**Prof. Shavit:** Who just happens to be a Jew. So, that's basically my question. He just happens to be a Jew, or is it that he was chosen because he is Jewish?

**Prof. Browning:** Well, he represents sort of the general values of international liberalism, of which Jews have been a part. And so he became a convenient symbol.

**Prof. Shavit:** Is there any point in fighting those people and in denouncing them and disproving them, whether on the left or on the right? I am going back to your testimony in the David Irving trial. I mean, there's always the risk that when you strike back against Holocaust deniers, you just amplify the conspiracy.

**Prof. Browning:** Yes, that's the dilemma. The conspiracy theorists are looking for publicity. They're looking for attention. And so, the question is, do you ignore them or do you engage them? I would say you engage, but not with them, but about them. That is, I would never go and debate David Irving, giving him the status of equality on the stage and recognizing him as a debating partner.

But in a courtroom, where you have rules of evidence, and you have a judge, and they can't keep shifting the goalposts, then I think that's a way in which I would engage them.

**Prof. Shavit:** There isn't really a way to refute a conspiracy theory, is there?

**Prof. Browning:** You can expose it, but you cannot, I mean, you cannot persuade the conspiracy theorists because they always have a new fallback position, and they're not living in the same reality as the one you are living in. I mean, that's a part of the whole problem of American politics right now, that we have two realities. We have a reality and an alternate reality. And we cannot find any common ground upon which to debate because one side simply says that there is no such thing as facts.

**Prof. Shavit:** Now, what I am going to say is not very popular in my country, but I'll say it anyway. As a Jew and a student of history, when I hear Donald Trump, it is not so much the words that alarm me; it's the music. Because I know that Jews have had better and worse times when living in democracies, but it was fascism that sought their annihilation, and almost succeeded.

**Prof. Browning:** That's what I was trying to say earlier. In a sense, Trump's behavior gives permission for people to engage in antisemitic rhetoric even if he doesn't become a spokesman for antisemitism himself. He nonetheless creates a permission structure of how you talk about others and how you talk about minorities. How you don't have to be inhibited, or, in fact, that it is a badge of honor to be politically incorrect and to trash immigrants, trash different groups.

Ultimately, Jews are one of the minorities. I mean, if you can trash Haitians and trash Somalis, eventually you'll get to attacking Jews as well. Trump allows people to freely express their prejudices with absolutely no criticism, no restraint, no inhibition.

**Prof. Shavit:** Would you support stronger restrictions on social media? The United States has a unique problem. It's called the First Amendment. America has become a safe haven for racists, the worst of the worst. And I don't think that was the intention of the Framers of the Constitution.

**Prof. Browning:** Yes, I mean, everybody has the right to speak, except for the limits of inciting actual violence or yelling fire in a crowded theater, or defamation. The problem is with media that are classified legally as a neutral platform, a bulletin board on which people pin up their various views. Which that media are not. I mean, newspapers don't enjoy that privilege [to be considered a neutral platform with no responsibility for content]. Newspapers are responsible and could be sued for libel when they publish, you know, false things.

And so, my feeling is that American law has to be changed in a way that social media have to exercise some self-policing or become liable for defamation or liable for damages when they harm people. That doesn't curb freedom of speech. We have those restrictions on speech already.

**Prof. Shavit:** Algorithms are a form of editing. That's what people sometimes don't realize about social media: there is an editor out there, but one that bears no responsibility, unlike the case of newspapers or television channels.

**Prof. Browning:** Yes, exactly, these platforms are not neutral. They are making a profit by giving people the opportunity to take advantage of their services. And, in fact, the owners abuse the platforms themselves, as you say, with the design of their algorithms. So, I think

what needs to be done is a change in the laws that regulate their status to make them more like newspapers and less like bulletin boards.

**Prof. Shavit:** I read your piece in the *New York Review of Books* on Trump and his administration's fight against antisemitism on campuses. Very convincing. But could this be a case of two wrongs that make a right? That is, his motivations might be cynical, but the result is that universities in the United States are today more conscious about the need to apply certain standards to protect Jewish students.

**Prof. Browning:** Well, I hesitate because the way in which they've gone about it is so damaging.

I taught for 25 years at Pacific Lutheran University before I moved to North Carolina. Back in 1975, my course was one of the very first courses in the United States that taught about the Holocaust. The school, by now, has developed a major program in Holocaust studies. For a small college, it is probably the best in the entire country.

Nonetheless, some time ago, there was someone who took this course online, not even on campus, who did not like a comment that some other student made, and filed a complaint with the Department of Education. As a result, Pacific Lutheran University was one of the universities that got a letter [from the Trump Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights (OCR) about potential enforcement actions if Jewish students were not protected under Title VI. The OCR letter was sent in March 2025 to 60 universities, including Pacific Lutheran].

**Prof. Shavit:** What was the comment that caused the rage about? Was it indeed antisemitic?

**Prof. Browning:** I don't even know what the comment was. I mean, I just heard that the student had objected to what somebody else had said.

**Prof. Shavit:** But it wasn't something you would interpret as blunt antisemitism?

**Prof. Browning:** I don't know what was said. But you know, when you get that kind of situation, and it used to bully a university, the damage that can be done is so much greater than what the threat was.

Now, clearly, there are some places where we have seen more overt antisemitism, and that does need to be dealt with. Universities have, in a sense, a triple responsibility. One is to preserve freedom of speech, another is to preserve academic freedom, and yet another is to preserve an atmosphere of civility in which students are not harassed, not intimidated, not threatened, and are free to exercise their right of free speech.

Obviously, at some point, what one side perceives as legitimate academic freedom and free speech, another side is going to perceive as threatening. There just isn't an easy litmus test where it turns out, you know, pink or blue, where there's a rubbing point. And that's a part of university life. You don't go to a university with a guarantee of being comfortable; anytime, you may be in an atmosphere where there is an intellectual challenge. You can't remove every source of discomfort that a student may face. That's what many parents now [seem to desire for their children] and what many students [want].

**Prof. Shavit:** From my experience here, some American students think that if they say the magic words, “I feel unsafe,” then everyone shall salute and cave to whatever they feel unsafe about, including debates or statements that are perfectly legitimate.

**Prof. Browning:** Well, a give-and-take in Israel would frighten most Americans. That’s true. The intensity of political discussion in your country is so much more than what most Americans are used to.

**Prof. Shavit:** There is so much study of the Holocaust today, and so much antisemitism. That makes one think about what the study of the Holocaust achieved, no?

**Prof. Browning:** I think we have to get away from the notion that if we teach the Holocaust or we take somebody to a Holocaust museum, this is going to be like a vaccination. That it’s going to make the person immune to antisemitism. Well, it doesn’t.

I think that what we do educationally is much better than if we did nothing. But we shouldn’t have the naive view that if we’re out there teaching, then the world will be safe from prejudice.

It’s important in the same sense as when I’m dealing with American politics. There’s a middle group that you have to get to. There’s a large group out there on the other side that’s unreachable. The one that has to be gotten to is that middle group that is persuadable, and it helps if they have a historical perspective. It helps that they learn things they wouldn’t know if I didn’t teach a course or if I didn’t write an essay. It’s my way of trying to contribute. But I don’t have the notion that it’s a perfect and complete answer because there is no perfect and complete answer.

**Prof. Shavit:** Last year, I had a discussion for our *For a Righteous Cause Report* with Sir Max Hastings, a historian of the Second World War. He said he felt there was too much teaching of the Holocaust in European schools, that today all that young people know about the Second World War is that there was a Holocaust. Do you sympathize with that?

**Prof. Browning:** Of course, that’s very ironic, because up to the late 1970s, I could take a history course at any university in the United States, and no one ever mentioned the Holocaust. Back in the 1960s, I took a whole course on German history, and we spent one day on “the SS state,” but even that lecture did not focus on the Holocaust.

You can look at any American textbooks from the 1950s and 1960s, and maybe you get one line: “and then indescribable things happened,” after which they move on to something else.

So, I don’t share the sentiment of Max Hastings. We’ve got lots of courses on the Second World War. I taught a course on Europe and the World Wars before I retired, alongside the course I taught on the Holocaust. I did both. There’s no zero-sum game. We all need more teaching of history everywhere. But I don’t think we’re ignoring other areas because we’re teaching too much about the Holocaust. I urge that we put more effort into getting more history elsewhere, rather than blame the Holocaust for not having enough history classes.

**Prof. Shavit:** Well, perhaps there is a difference between the UK and the US in terms of the scope of teaching history. Although I doubt that.

There was one more thing Sir Hastings said, which is, I think, still very much relevant today: Europe is not taking its defense seriously enough. This should have been one of the lessons of the Second World War. That you need to have the military strength to face aggression. And that is not the case in Europe. It still isn't. I think it was someone in Poland who said it doesn't make a lot of sense for 400 million Europeans to have 300 million Americans defend them from 150 million Russians.

**Prof. Browning:** I would say several things to that. One, of course, when Europe was in ruins after the Second World War, America wanted very much for Europe to rebuild and gain economic and political stability so that the communist parties would not have appeal in Italy or France, or elsewhere. So we were anxious they don't spend too much on their militaries. And then, of course, after the end of the Cold War in 1989, it didn't seem terribly urgent for European countries to arm. Governments respond to situations as they change. It didn't make a lot of sense to have spent oodles of money on the military in the 1990s.

**Prof. Shavit:** Shouldn't the response to the aggression of fascist Russia have been the reintroduction of conscription in Germany, in France, in the United Kingdom, not to mention smaller and more vulnerable European nations?

**Prof. Browning:** I mean, obviously, once Putin was on the march, people should have been getting ready, and I think they belatedly were. But I don't think we should have foreseen that in the 1990s.

**Prof. Shavit:** It's more than four years since the Russian aggression began. It is as if Europeans insist on not understanding that democracies have to be strong enough to defend themselves by themselves. They have to be able to stand up against bullies and against those who are worse than bullies.

**Prof. Browning:** Yes, but the European countries have been increasing their defense budgets.

**Prof. Shavit:** The budgets, yes, but they have not really changed their mentality. Buying a bit more arms, better defense systems, that's nice, but European democracies need way more soldiers, and they just don't have them yet, and I don't see them going in this direction, not really.

**Prof. Browning:** Not at the moment. You know, Trump complains about Europe having a free ride on the US military, but it's Trump who's insisting the Europeans buy weapons from the US to give them to the Ukrainians. Americans are making gun profits.

**Prof. Shavit:** We had an interview with Senator Joseph Lieberman just before he died. He said something that sounded to me rather tragic. He said that in the 2000 presidential campaign, he learned that America could accept a Jewish vice president, which meant it could potentially accept a Jewish president. Two years ago, he wasn't that certain that this was still the case.

Do you think the United States is now ready to have a Jewish president?

**Prof. Browning:** It will have to be a right-wing Republican because any Democrat running as a Jew, or running as a woman, or running as a black woman will not get elected. I mean, if

you look around, for example, where women got elected for the first time, you know, Angela Merkel, Indira Gandhi, the breakthrough was always by a woman on the right.

**Prof. Shavit:** Are you generally optimistic about the United States?

**Prof. Browning:** No, I think very severe damage has been done to American democracy in terms of democratic norms. And I think at the same time, so far, at least certain trenches of democracy have not been overcome by Trump.

I mean, the state governments that are blue have remained. A second is that we still have elections. The playing field is not even, but Trump still has to contend with an opposition party.

I think there's not going to be a total dictatorship in America. But Trump is going to damage the fabric and the norms of democracy.

**Prof. Shavit:** I don't know if that's even possible to answer, but do you have a recollection of what made you decide to dedicate your life to the study of Nazism and specifically the Final Solution? You are not Jewish, and the Holocaust was not family history for you.

**Prof. Browning:** Oh, yes, very specifically.

I wrote my master's thesis on French history and French diplomatic history. This was the period of the Vietnam War. After my first year in graduate school, I had to leave school. Mine was the first year in which they would not give graduate school deferments [for service in Vietnam]. However, they did give teaching deferments. So I taught for three years.

At the school where I was teaching, there were many introductory courses on Western history. I was told there is a course in German history in the catalog that nobody has taught for a long time, and I was asked to teach it. And I agreed.

Then I wrote to a number of different people, former professors, asking them, you know, to offer me guidance. What should I read? What should I assign?

One of them wrote back and recommended Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem* as a good book for a class discussion. Well, I hadn't read it at the time. I had, in fact, read parts of Hannah Arendt's *Origins of Totalitarianism*. But not her book on Eichmann.

I was fascinated by it. But I didn't know the wider context. You know, what were other people saying about the Judenrat? What were other people saying about the Eichmann trial? That was my first exposure to the history of the Holocaust.

Arendt's book mentioned Raul Hilberg. And so I ordered his book, *The Destruction of the European Jews*. It turned out to be the 1961 edition, the first edition, which was 850 pages and contained thousands of footnotes. And, you know, here I was getting to prepare my first college lectures on everything from the pyramids to the American presidency. How would I possibly use this book?

I literally threw it on the table next to my bed. Then, after some time, I got very sick and was bedridden. When I felt well enough to read, *The Destruction of the European Jews* was the

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book I could reach without getting out of bed, and I started to read it, and I read it from cover to cover...

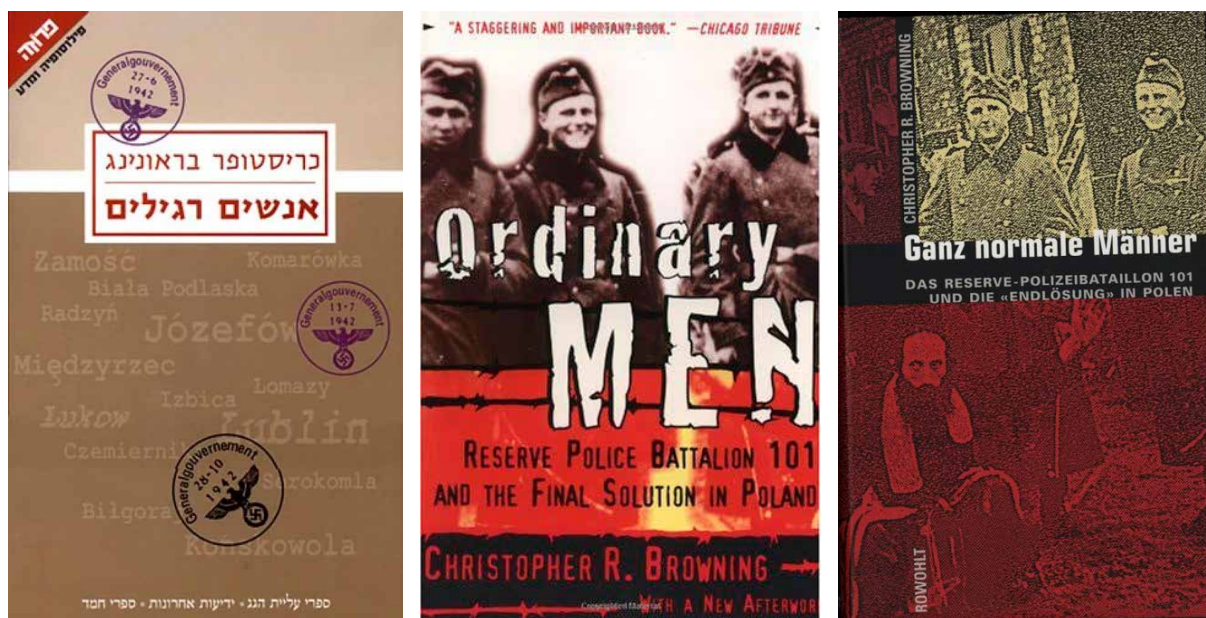
Some people have a religious conversion experience. I had an academic conversion experience. I said – why isn't anybody doing something like this here? How can the history of the Holocaust be there without my ever hearing about it in college?

I went back to my advisor and said that I wanted to switch from what I was doing to studying the Nazi persecution of the Jews. We didn't use the term Holocaust at the time.

I named the very particular topic that I wanted to focus on, which was the Jewish experts of the German Foreign Office working with Eichmann, which became my first book. My advisor said that that's a very good topic, but I should keep in mind that it has no professional future, which in 1970 was perfectly correct. No courses were being taught on the Holocaust. There were no conferences to give papers other than at Yad Vashem, and there was no place to publish articles.

But then, fortunately, my advisor told me that if that was what I really want to do, I should do it anyway, because there's no fate worse than spending five years of life writing a dissertation if the heart isn't in it. So he was very supportive.

My first study came out in 1975. Within a few years, things changed very rapidly. Rather than having no professional future, I was on the ground floor of a growing industry. So that's the story of how I got into the study of the Holocaust.



**Prof. Shavit:** I learned from my studies on religious conversion that conversion is the meeting of motive and opportunity. It is not enough that you have the opportunity or the chance. There needs to be something in you that makes you take them. So, what was it in your case?

**Prof. Browning:** [My transition to the study of the Holocaust occurred] in the middle of the Vietnam War. I had campaigned for Lyndon Johnson in 1964 and was bitterly disappointed in

what was happening. I campaigned for Eugene McCarthy in the Wisconsin primary in the spring of 1968. So my politics at that point were, you know, I was wondering what went wrong with the American system. How can people who seem to be “the best and the brightest,” who had been appointed by Kennedy and Johnson, get us into this? So, the question of how normal people become criminal bureaucrats was sort of the question that I was asking myself at the time.

**Prof. Shavit:** You had to learn German, right?

**Prof. Browning:** Oh, yes.

**Prof. Shavit:** And very bureaucratic German.

**Prof. Browning:** Fortunately, I’d already had four years of German in high school, and then I went to Vienna to study for the summer. Intensive German.

**Prof. Shavit:** Learning German in an American high school, well, I mean...

**Prof. Browning:** Actually, I went to a very good high school. That was still back, you know, in the late 1950s, early 1960s.

**Prof. Shavit:** Okay.

**Prof. Browning:** So, we had a wonderful German teacher. I actually came out after four years of German high school with a pretty good command of the language.

**Prof. Shavit:** Is it possible for you today to enjoy German as a language of culture?

**Prof. Browning:** No. My memory and my hearing are such that, really, I can’t understand spoken German anymore. The last conference I attended where German was spoken was in 2018. I could follow things for a few minutes. The minute my mind wandered, I couldn’t get back in.

**Prof. Shavit:** In the 1990s, when you were fully immersed in the German language, were you able to enjoy the great works of the German language in the original?

**Prof. Browning:** No, I didn’t do German culture because I was learning Nazi German. I knew all the German terminologies of the 1930s, and I knew the court language of the 1960s, legal language. But if I tried to pick up *Der Spiegel*, I really struggled because it was all slang and modern German. That’s a completely different vocabulary. So, I never became fluent in present-day German. I had specialized in Nazi Deutsch and legal German.

**Prof. Shavit:** One can safely say that the Holocaust is not an understudied topic today, to say the least. It cannot be denied that it has to do with the wealth of financing. If someone, a young PhD candidate, came to you and asked if there is something about the Holocaust, a specific aspect of the Holocaust, that has not been sufficiently studied, that awaits a good scholar, what would you answer?

**Prof. Browning:** I am out of the loop now to the extent that I’m not sure what people do. There is a whole generation there, and they are doing stuff that I really have been totally out of touch with. So I would hesitate to answer because I don’t know what people are doing right now. If students ask me, I’d advise them to follow their interest.

**Prof. Shavit:** I'll ask the same question a bit differently. What do you feel is the one big question or several big questions that are yet to be answered about the Holocaust?

**Prof. Browning:** We've gotten from the Nazi core to the ordinary men. I think we now have to do more work on the militias and the collaborators in European countries other than Germany.

In terms of the economics of the Holocaust, [it is worthwhile to focus on] the people who weren't perpetrators but were the parasites of the Holocaust, those who grabbed Jewish property once the Jews were gone. I was in Germany in 1988, and there were all of these 50-year Jubilee celebrations of private businesses, and people didn't know that in 1938, all sorts of Jewish stores had been taken over by others. So, I would say this whole sphere of the people who were the profiteers from the Holocaust, even if they weren't the perpetrators of it, is still insufficiently studied.

**Prof. Shavit:** But you don't feel that there is some deep truth about Hitler or about Nazism that is yet to be discovered.

**Prof. Browning:** Well, you never know what's not been discovered, but I don't have a feeling that there is some whole new dimension that we are going to uncover.

**Prof. Shavit:** Was it possible for you, throughout the years that you were studying the Holocaust, to separate work from private life?

**Prof. Browning:** I am very compartmentalized. I compare this to, in a sense, the doctor who goes and operates on people but does not come home and describe to his kids at the dinner table how he cut somebody's heart out and transplanted a new heart.

No, I don't bring the Holocaust home with me. I mean, I did when I was traveling in Europe during my dissertation year. In fact, my kids were six and two at the time, and we were in Austria, and I had to see Mauthausen. So they still kid me about the fact that they had to go to Mauthausen when they were little kids. Other than that, they have basically been spared of any connection with Nazi history.

**Prof. Shavit:** And how do you achieve that psychologically? I mean, how do you manage to establish the separation?

**Prof. Browning:** I have enough other interests. I love music and going to concerts and so forth. I am very interested in politics, that is, American politics.

**Prof. Shavit:** Do you feel the new generation of Holocaust scholars in the United States is doing a good job? Are you happy with the state of the field?

**Prof. Browning:** I am very happy with the dissertations my students have produced at the University of North Carolina. I think that this generation has done some very good work.

**Prof. Shavit:** What is the highlight?

**Prof. Browning:** Well, ten dissertations were done under me at North Carolina. Three of them won the Fritz Stern Dissertation Prize for the best dissertation in German history in all of North America. So that's not bad, three out of ten. I am very proud of that.

**Prof. Shavit:** And what motivates that generation to study Nazism or the Holocaust? Is there a difference, a generational difference?

**Prof. Browning:** You know, I'm not quite sure if I could generalize about how they came to the topic. I think they just got interested at different times in different ways. I don't think I could give a particular answer.

**Prof. Shavit:** There is no ideal type of a Holocaust scholar.

**Prof. Browning:** Yes, there is no single path to becoming interested in it.

**Prof. Shavit:** *Ordinary Men* never argued that antisemitism was not a main reason for the Holocaust. I think this is a common misrepresentation of your study. Rather, your work suggested that it was possible for ordinary men who were not devout antisemites to participate in the massacre of Jews, even if they did not have to do so.

**Prof. Browning:** Yes, I am arguing for a multi-causal explanation in which these killers are divided into the eager killers, the accommodators, and the evaders. The eager killers, some of them came to the fields as antisemites. Some of them learned to become antisemites. I mean, they learned by what they were doing.

But I don't think the majority of [those who took part in the murder of Jews] were on an antisemitic mission or saw themselves as on an antisemitic crusade. So the question was what, in addition to antisemitism, do we have to look at? I was trying to get beyond antisemitism as the sole explanation. And that's in the end what Goldhagen argued. Goldhagen said that it is the sole, necessary, and sufficient explanation, while I don't think [antisemitism] is sufficient to explain the behavior of many men, particularly as a number of men and units did other terrible things to people who were not Jewish out of the same dynamic.

Antisemitism was clearly central to Hitler and to policymaking and to the orders that were issued. But for the mass of people carrying out those orders, it didn't have to be central. I was trying to look at the ways in which people were harnessed to the ideological antisemitic goals of the regime. And I focused on group dynamics.

I said, these people behaved as part of a group quite differently than they would have behaved individually. So one had to look at the group dynamic of how you harness a group of men to do terrible things that none of them would do on their own.

Then, subsequently, Thomas Kühne and Harald Weltzer have also done work that looked beyond antisemitism to the wider factors or elements within German culture that also had resonance in the Holocaust. Kühne argued, I think quite persuasively, that *Volksgemeinschaft* [people's community] and *Kameradschaft* [comradeship] were two things to which Germans responded; it harnessed them. The Nazis appropriated those concepts, they Nazified those, and those concepts turned out to be very crucial in the wider receptivity of Germans to the government and to the killing policies that it had advanced.

Let me give you one example. It's an important example because it happened in Serbia, and the killers were from the army, not the SS, or even the ordinary police. And the victims were

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Serbs, not Jews. It was September of 1941, when the Germans faced a series of setbacks, because the top troops had been sent off to Russia after conquering Yugoslavia, and they left old, over-aged, under-manned, under-trained, under-equipped Austrian soldiers to hold, and they were losing outposts in the countryside.

Three hundred Austrian soldiers were captured, and the Germans were afraid to go outside the cities. So they hauled in a frontline division and another regiment from France to carry out an anti-partisan sweep. And the commander then immediately made clear that the whole population was to be punished. This was called a punishment expedition. The population had to be punished, not just the partisans. And then he went on to say that this may seem harsh, but he who wants to rule humanely sins against the lives of his comrades. So he totally inverted morality: to sin is not to kill. Not to sin is to kill in the name of your comrades and to protect the lives of your comrades.

And this ability to put German life and the German community above, to convince that other people are of no value whatsoever, not just Jews, but Serbs, was very crucial to Nazism. Us versus them, we are valuable versus they are worthless. If we have to kill them to preserve the us, so be it.

**Prof. Shavit:** And then *Ordinary Men* tells of those from Battalion 101 who refused to participate. Ordinary men who refused to brutally murder Jews and other innocent people. I remember one of them was a communist, one of them was a social democrat, one of them did business with Jews. And I thought that should be emphasized because a lesson to learn from your study is not just that ordinary men are capable of committing evil, but that certain types of education can potentially immunize people from doing those things.

**Prof. Browning:** Yes. We don't know enough about each of the individuals who were in the evader category, but a few of them made occasional comments. One, as you said, was a communist or on the left. One said he was a watchmaker. He had a good business to go back to, so he didn't care whether he was promoted or shunned. One was a Hamburg businessman who had worked abroad and had a wider view than those living in the Nazi bubble. Still, for the most part, we don't know the motivations of most of the evaders; the court record doesn't preserve what they may have said in that regard, because, of course, the interrogators were collecting evidence against the people who committed crimes. My guess is that things were said that I would have loved to read, but have been lost to history.

**Prof. Shavit:** It's also chilling to see how the human mind is capable of justifying, in a twisted way, almost anything. The German who testified that he shot kids because he could not morally stand a reality where a kid is raised without his mother. I don't know what to make of that statement. What it says about the human race.

**Prof. Browning:** Oh, it says that we are capable of the most extraordinary rationalizations. I mean, somebody who thinks that shooting a kid is a mercy killing because the kid doesn't have a parent. This is, you know, mind-boggling.

One of the excuses that the evaders used when they asked to be let out was to say – I can't do this, I have children. But that was considered a weakness. It was basically an admission of weakness.

**Prof. Shavit:** There is a caveat in *Ordinary Men*: It is based on testimonies given in a criminal proceeding. Another issue is that 15 to 20 years after an event, people don't really remember what happened. They have a memory of a memory, not a memory of the actual event.

**Prof. Browning:** Yes, I relate to that in the introduction to the book. I knew what I was working with.

A historian doesn't refuse to use evidence. He has to use evidence while being aware of what the limitations are. So, basically, I thought there were three levels of evidence.

There was evidence that was so outlandishly untrue that nobody would believe it. I mean, transparently false and just silly.

There was evidence that was so self-incriminating, even though the members of the reserve unit investigated didn't have to incriminate themselves, that nobody would be saying that it wasn't true.

And then there was a middle band of evidence in which people are telling part of the truth, part of the time. Now, what I found there was that they weren't telling the truth about themselves. They weren't admitting to what they did. But they were still telling fairly accurately what the unit did. So, they might say that the unit did something while they were not present and that they only heard about it later, even though they were in fact present.

So, what we have there is a number of different people telling partial truths, and yet they come down to a kind of common core. So I knew I was dealing with probabilities, and I knew I was dealing with problematic evidence. But knowing that, I think one can cautiously still come to conclusions, and I think the evidence works, and I think it's very persuasive.

**Prof. Shavit:** Have Israelis responded to *Ordinary Men* differently than elsewhere?

**Prof. Browning:** Well, initially, of course, it wasn't available in Hebrew. It took 12 years before it was translated and published in Israel [Yedioth Ahronoth, 2006]. And that happened only after Yad Vashem published my book *The Origins of the Final Solution*. They couldn't have a Hebrew edition of *Ordinary Men* before that. When I was kosher with one, I had to be kosher with the other.

When the Hebrew edition was released, I visited Israel, and I had a meeting at Yad Vashem with people from Tel Aviv University, the Hebrew University, Ben Gurion University, and, of course, the staff of Yad Vashem.

What was fascinating to me is that I could not have predicted how different people were going to react because everything kind of split right down the middle. There were some people at Yad Vashem, like [Holocaust scholar] Israel Gutman, who didn't like the book. And then there was Yitzhak Arad [chairman of Yad Vashem, 1972-1992], who did like it. There were people from the Hebrew University who were very supportive, and some others who weren't.

There was no way of saying, you know, who would say what. So I found it fascinating that there was a very split verdict initially. Of course, one of the questions that came up was why I didn't use more Jewish sources. This was a standard criticism. And my response was that if you wanted to do a study of what a unit of Israeli reservists did in the West Bank and get into the dynamics of the unit, you would not ask stone-throwing Palestinian high schoolers, but the people in the unit itself. One has to take evidence that has the vantage point that can answer the questions that one is asking.

I did use survivor testimony for questions that they could answer. For the men in reserve unit 101, the events became a blur. After the first two massacres, they could hardly keep track of the order of events. Yet all the Jews who were present where the unit operated knew exactly when it came and murdered their families. So, in order to create the chronology of the unit, I had to use survivor testimony.

**Prof. Shavit:** Did you find that Germans were more receptive to the bottom line of your study, that these were ordinary men?

**Prof. Browning:** Before the book came out, it was serialized by *Der Spiegel*, and I was disappointed that the serialization focused on the horrific descriptions, not on the analysis. So they published the series as kind of a self-flagellation, focusing on the terrible things this unit did, and didn't exactly address the whole question of ordinary men.

I think the book didn't have much of an effect in Germany until Goldhagen. And then Goldhagen came and, of course, did his triumphant tour and criticized my book and presented his. After that, I got more attention for my book. In the long run, I think it had more staying power [because of Goldhagen].

**Prof. Shavit:** Social psychology was crucial to your study.

**Prof. Browning:** Because I concluded that group dynamic was a key to understanding what happened.

So I read about the Milgram and Zimbardo [experiments]. The Milgram one I actually present in the book.

I found out that, for some people, [Stanley] Milgram is just a totally disgraced figure. And if you even mention his name, the red flags go up, and they dismiss everything you've written.

**Prof. Shavit:** Why is Milgram stirring that kind of opposition?

**Prof. Browning:** Well, I guess, he was a very nice person. Yet as informed consent became more important in the field, he was dismissed as having not been sensitive enough to that. And I guess some of his notebooks make pretty disparaging comments about the people he was working with.

**Prof. Shavit:** Would it be a fair summary of the state-of-the-art to say that you and others, the major Holocaust scholars, are in agreement about the origins and development of the Final Solution. That, when Hitler came to power, the extermination of Jews was an option for

him. However, he did not have a concrete plan for a Final Solution, and in that sense, it was an evolving agenda.

**Prof. Browning:** Yes, I would say most people now agree there's no big bang. There is no one single moment where Hitler suddenly had a flash and decided for it.

The key is that Hitler had an ideology that crystallized in the 1920s and centered on race struggle and obviously on the Jews as the subhuman that subverts Germany's capacity to wage a race struggle. Based on this, he was convinced that in some way, there had to be a solution to the Jewish problem, or else Germany would not manage to beat all of its racial rivals.

The initial solution was to expel the Jews from Germany. Totally.

I think the importance of the [January 30] 1939 Reichstag Speech is that in it, Hitler said that another world war would result in the destruction of the Jews in Europe. This is his instruction before the war starts, that now clearing Germany isn't enough. That we, the Germans, have to clear the Jews out of all of Europe.

Himmler understood this as a [command for a] process of expulsion and decimation. Consequently, we see exploration of plans [to expel Jews to] Lublin, Madagascar, and Siberia.

Himmler was the most clued in. My theory is that if you want to know what Hitler was thinking, look at what Himmler was doing. He was the one most attuned to Hitler and anticipating what he wanted better than anyone else.

What he interpreted at first was that he had to get all the Jews out. By 1941, it was clear that it was easier to kill Jews than it was to expel them. And that's when there was a series of what I call incremental decision-making processes. The period between the spring and the summer of 1941 sealed the fate of Soviet Jewry. Summer to fall of that year sealed the fate of others. Now, most would agree with that, but they would differ on what the exact tipping points are. I say October 1941, and others have pointed to December 1941 or April 1942.

**Prof. Shavit:** You put a lot of emphasis on July 1941, no?

**Prof. Browning:** July 1941 for the fate of Soviet Jewry. Yes, I have a kind of two tipping points, two closures of the decision-making process, one in July for Soviet Jewry, and another in October for the rest of European Jews.

**Prof. Shavit:** You also hold that the American entrance into the war, that is, Pearl Harbor, was very crucial in the process.

**Prof. Browning:** That's what [Christian] Gerlach argues, when he cites Hitler's Reichstag speech in 1939. Hitler warned that if the Jews force a world war on Germany, it would result in the destruction of the Jews in Europe. Until the United States entered the war, it wasn't a world war.

**Prof. Shavit:** You couldn't trade them anymore. Hitler realized that after America entered the Second World War, the Jews are dispensable because their fate could not be negotiated.

**Prof. Browning:** That is what Gerlach argued. I think that is wrong. Because as early as August [1941], when Hitler is talking to Goebbels, he is already saying that his prophecy is coming into effect in Russia. He did not need the Americans' entry into the war for that.

**Prof. Shavit:** I noticed you translate *vernichtung* as "destruction," not as "extermination."

**Prof. Browning:** You know, this word can be translated as annihilation, extermination, and destruction.

**Prof. Shavit:** Okay, but you prefer destruction?

**Prof. Browning:** How do we decide what he meant by that word? You have to look at what he did. And what he did is approve Himmler's plans for expulsion and decimation.

**Prof. Shavit:** I see.

I think there is something Holocaust deniers sort of fail to understand about the Final Solution. They are looking for that one document where Hitler gave the explicit command, but they don't realize that Nazism, the regime, was far less structured and disciplined than its image. And it was, in fact, Hitler's genius strategy to always have people not exactly certain about what it was that he wanted of them.

**Prof. Browning:** But wanting to please him.

**Prof. Shavit:** Yes.

**Prof. Browning:** All he had to say was that the Jewish problem must be solved, and he had everybody competing for ways to solve it.

**Prof. Shavit:** You wrote that the Holocaust is a historical exception or is unique in history because of two things: the desire to kill the very last Jew and the usage of the modern tools of the modern nation state to achieve that goal.

**Prof. Browning:** I am going to add a third now.

Almost all genocides have their bases in a real conflict. I mean, Hutus and Tutsis, Armenians and Turks. Real conflicts. That is not the case with the Holocaust. The ideology about the Jewish threat is such a total fantasy, such a total unreality. German Jews, the most patriotic Germans you could find, to turn them into a fatal enemy, a lethal enemy of Germany, and to come to the belief that Germany would not be saved until every last Jewish baby in Ukraine is murdered... I mean, this is total fantasy. The other genocides had at least some basis in reality.

**Prof. Shavit:** As ethnic categories, the terms Hutu and Tutsi are artificial. They signified classes, not ethnicities, before Belgium's imperialism transformed the two into existential rivals.

**Prof. Browning:** Yes, but it became so [that they became rivals]. There were Tutsi refugees who began to reinvade their country. There was a real conflict at that point. Similarly, Armenia, wanting its autonomy from the Ottoman Empire after it had lost all of the Balkan Peninsula, was not an imagined problem.

**Prof. Shavit:** The Rwanda genocide happened in 1994, when the lessons of the Holocaust should have been learned. You had hundreds of thousands of Tutsi brutally murdered within weeks.

The international community didn't do anything. And the president at the time was not Donald Trump. It was not an America First President. It was Bill Clinton, the Democrat. The compassionate. So when you learn about the Rwanda genocide, it makes you wonder whether the world has actually learned anything. What does "never again" mean if the genocide in Rwanda was possible?

**Prof. Browning:** Yes, I mean, and I would say Clinton was embarrassed and felt guilty enough about that, so he was determined to make sure that Kosovo was not a repeat. I mean, he did commit American armed forces to make sure there was no mass ethnic cleansing of Kosovans and stopped Slobodan Milosevic. So, I think that Clinton realized that he had really made a tragic mistake in Rwanda. It happened so fast.

**Prof. Shavit:** But you know, there were satellites at the time. There are other means to gather intelligence.

Another way to understand what happened is that African lives mattered less. Just like Jewish lives were disposable in the 1930s and 1940s.

**Prof. Browning:** Well. I mean, you could interpret it that way. However, first, Clinton was terribly embarrassed, and I think quite guilty about this, and, second, the genocide happened so quickly. In light of these, I would say that [the American inaction was] more of a political failing. There was a combination of factors that caused the Americans to be asleep at the switch. You know, the US government is like an aircraft carrier, which takes a long time to turn. It doesn't spin on a dime.

**Prof. Shavit:** I have a final question for you that historians really don't like. Do you think another Holocaust can happen?

**Prof. Browning:** Not in the sense that, you know, there is going to be another Hitler who would put Jews into gas chambers in Auschwitz. But can there be another case in which a government decides that a minority is such a threat that it has to be exterminated? Yes. We could have another total genocide.

**SECTION 3**  
**WHO ARE THE**  
**OFFENDERS?**





# WHO COMMITS ANTISEMITIC CRIMES? META-DATA ANALYSIS

Antisemitic crimes are not abstract. They are committed by real people, target real people, and cause real pain. One of the major lacunae in combating them has been that the profiles of offenders have never been systematically studied. This lacuna results from the avoidance of ethnically sensitive issues in an academic climate dominated by political correctness, as well as from the tendency of the field to focus on pompous clichés and tired slogans.

With the aim of filling the scholarly gap, this study attempts to answer crucial questions: Who are the antisemites who assault Jews, vandalize synagogues, and threaten communities? How do they facilitate their attacks? What are their ethnic backgrounds, ages, family statuses, and occupations? What are their religious beliefs and political convictions? How do they explain their actions?

The study offers analyses of indictments proceeded against people who committed antisemitic offenses during a six-year period, 2020 to 2025, in the four countries with the largest Jewish populations outside Israel (the United States, France, Canada, and the United Kingdom). Based on surveying of legal databases and media reports, as well as interviews with defense lawyers and local journalists, the research team sought to first locate all the relevant court cases in the period studied and then to profile the backgrounds of offenders. For the United States, data of non-federal cases was not analyzed because no pertinent databases allowing for exhaustive analysis are available.

The research team located slightly fewer than 100 indictments. This number is strikingly small in comparison to the number of antisemitic incidents reported in the four countries studied over the past five years. It highlights one of the main problems of the fight against antisemitism, which was already analyzed in our Report last year<sup>1</sup>: the vast majority of offenders go unpunished.

The limitations of the profiling should be emphasized. Because only a negligible fraction of antisemitic incidents result in arrests and indictments, and these tend to be the more severe or politically high-profile cases, the research does not offer an exhaustive analysis of those involved in them. In the case of the United States, where only federal indictments were analyzed, crimes that involve interstate activities are likely overrepresented.

<sup>1</sup> Avi Teich, “Where Are the Arrests?” *Antisemitism Worldwide Report for 2024*, The Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry and the Irwin Cotler Institute for Democracy, Justice and Human Rights, Tel Aviv University, pp. 28-29.

The study informs the following about the background of offenders whose indictments were located:

- Individuals indicted for involvement in antisemitic incidents tend to be “lone wolves” rather than members of extremist, hierarchical nets and organizations obeying orders. With few exceptions, their actions are not the result of carefully premeditated and guided planning. This makes preemption more challenging, although not impossible. Still, two court cases raise concerns of Russian involvement in instigating hate against Jews as a means to undermine Western societies – concerns which to date have not gained the investigative attention they deserve.
- Men are indicted for antisemitic incidents in significantly larger numbers than women. This observation correlates with the general data on the demographic distribution of hate-criminals.<sup>2</sup>
- Antisemitic offenders show great diversity in age groups, areas of residence and ethnic extraction.
- Offenders align with two main ideological orientations. They are predominantly Christian white supremacists or Muslims who apply antisemitism as a response to grievances about Middle Eastern political developments.
- A significant number of offenders were found, or claimed, to suffer from mental illnesses. It is not clear why their situation led them to attack Jews while sparing other groups.
- In the majority of cases, credible information on the sources of radicalization is not available. Still, the absence of affiliation with in-person antisemitic organizations indicates that online sources were likely an essential part of the process.
- A disproportionate number of indicted were unemployed or worked in low-paying jobs at the time of committing their offense. Vicious antisemitic attacks are less likely to be committed by people who do well in life.

Ages of indicted individuals noted in the analyses are from the time the offenses were committed. Names, including Arabic ones, appear as they do in court documents and media reports.

The case of Jihad al-Shami, who committed the October 2, 2025, attack on the Manchester Synagogue Heaton Park Hebrew Congregation, is not included in the analysis because he was killed by police and did not face trial.

<sup>2</sup> Jack McDevitt, Jack Levin, and Susan Bennett, “Hate Crime Offenders: An Expanded Typology,” *Journal of Social Issues* 58, no. 2 (2002): pp. 303–317.

## THE UNITED STATES

Case data for 2020-2025 were collected from federal court records through the “Public Access to Court Electronic Records (PACER)” system, press releases published by the US Department of Justice (DOJ) on hate crimes, news reports, posts on social media, and interviews conducted by the research team with defense attorneys and local journalists. State-level prosecutions were not included in the analysis.

### **Mathias Douglas Kane (48, Washington, Threats)**

Mathias Douglas Kane, a 48-year-old white male from La Center, Washington, became the subject of federal prosecution for cyberstalking and interstate threats rooted in antisemitic ideology. Beginning in January 2020, the DOJ documented that Kane made repeated online threats against a neighbor who had taken in his 13-year-old child during a custody dispute. In these posts, he included explicitly antisemitic language and threats of violence against Jews, law enforcement, and Child Protective Services workers. At the time, according to the criminal complaint, Kane was living with his girlfriend and two of his other children.<sup>3</sup>

Kane self-identified as a white nationalist online, using usernames like “AshkeNAZI” and imagery that incorporated Nazi symbols, such as a white male wearing an overcoat, spray-painting a swastika on a synagogue. He posted personal information about the neighbor along with threats aimed to intimidate and coerce.<sup>4</sup> In one post, Kane wrote: “I am a White Nationalist [...] I don’t feed the Jews what they need to keep the White race suppressed like Hail Cuckery and the rest of this Zionist ran alternative media conglomerate does [...] Line up Hasbara see if you can make me stop, you fucked with my family, I will never go away, it will end in gunfire!”<sup>5</sup> In other posts he referred to his neighbor as “a fucking Jew cunt.”<sup>6</sup> Federal authorities also noted his posts about manufacturing guns and ammunition, and although no weapons were found in his home or vehicle, he refused entry to law enforcement seeking to verify whether he had firearms.<sup>7</sup>

Charged in US District Court in Tacoma, Washington, Kane faced counts of cyberstalking and interstate threats, each carrying possible prison terms; the FBI and local law enforcement treated the threats as serious enough to justify pretrial detention due to community safety concerns and risk of flight. In July 2021, Kane was sentenced to “time served” (14-months) and two-years of supervised release.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> United States v, “Complaint for Violation,” March 13, 2020, p. 4, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.wawd.288190/gov.uscourts.wawd.288190.8.0.pdf>.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 9-11.

<sup>8</sup> United States v. Kane, “United States’ Sentencing Memorandum,” July 14, 2021, pp. 1-2, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.wawd.288190/gov.uscourts.wawd.288190.110.0.pdf>.

### **Tiffany Harris (36, New York, Assault)**

Tiffany Harris, a 36-year-old African American woman from Brooklyn, New York, became the subject of federal and state proceedings after a series of assaults and related incidents that news reports and court references connected to severe mental illness. The DOJ materials and contemporaneous reporting described a history that included psychotic episodes, hallucinations, and repeated hospitalizations, as well as documented resistance to psychiatric medication.<sup>9</sup> Her religious background was not publicly identified. Her personal status was also not publicly identified.

During Hanukkah in late December 2019, Harris carried out a sequence of unprovoked assaults against visibly Orthodox Jewish women in Brooklyn. The DOJ described an incident at about 12:40 a.m. on December 27, 2019, when she approached an Orthodox Jewish woman at Eastern Parkway and Kingston Avenue in Crown Heights and slapped her, followed minutes later by additional assaults at President Street and Kingston Avenue, where one victim reported hearing Harris shout anti-Jewish language, including “fuck the Jews.” Furthermore, on December 29, 2019, Harris assaulted a Jewish woman in Prospect Heights who was walking with young children, and on December 31, 2019, she was arrested after missing a court-ordered appointment with a social worker. Harris was then ordered to be held at a hospital for psychiatric evaluation.<sup>10</sup>

Federal authorities charged Harris in 2020 under federal hate crime statutes after the criminal complaint was unsealed, and according to the criminal complaint filed by the FBI, Harris admitted she knew Crown Heights was a “Jewish neighborhood” and selected victims based on their dress.<sup>11</sup> It was reported that she later qualified for release under New York’s bail reform framework and was released without cash bail after a federal court appearance, with the matter routed toward mental health court supervision.<sup>12</sup>

### **Ali Alaheri (29, New York, Arson)**

Ali Alaheri, a 29-year-old unemployed Arab Muslim male of Brooklyn, New York, was charged in federal court after authorities alleged he set fire to a building housing a yeshiva and synagogue

<sup>9</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Brooklyn Woman Charged with Federal Hate Crimes for Antisemitic Attacks During Hanukkah,” January 28, 2020, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-edny/pr/brooklyn-woman-charged-federal-hate-crimes-anti-semitic-attacks-during-hanukkah>; Ben Kessler and Daniel Barnes, “Woman Accused of Attacking 3 Jewish People in Brooklyn Charged with Federal Hate Crimes,” NBC News, January 28, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/woman-accused-slapping-3-jews-brooklyn-charged-federal-hate-crimes-n1124651>.

<sup>10</sup> Mahita Gajanan, “Woman Accused of Slapping 3 Jewish Women in New York City Charged with Federal Hate Crimes. Her Case Raises Questions for New York’s Bail Reform Laws,” *Time*, January 29, 2020, <https://time.com/5773696/tiffany-harris-charged-anti-semitic-attacks/>.

<sup>11</sup> United States v. Harris, “Amended Complaint,” February 28, 2020, pp. 3-4, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.nyed.446223/gov.uscourts.nyed.446223.10.0.pdf>.

<sup>12</sup> Noah Goldberg, “Brooklyn Hate Crime Suspect Tiffany Harris – Freed by 2020 Bail Law after Busts for Assaulting Jewish Women – Headed for No-Jail Deal,” Yahoo! News, March 20, 2021, <https://www.yahoo.com/news/brooklyn-hate-crime-suspect-tiffany-230100689.html>.

in Brooklyn in May 2021.<sup>13</sup> Reports describe Alaheri as being homeless at the time of the alleged crimes. His personal status is not known.

According to the DOJ, in the pre-dawn hours of May 19, 2021, surveillance footage captured Alaheri piling garbage bags against the side of a 36th Street building that housed a yeshiva and synagogue and igniting them, after which firefighters responded and extinguished the blaze before it engulfed the structure. The DOJ also alleged that several hours later, he was captured on surveillance video repeatedly punching a man wearing traditional Hasidic clothing despite no prior interaction between them.<sup>14</sup>

Alaheri was arrested on May 21, 2021, and the DOJ charged him with arson involving a building used in interstate or foreign commerce. Reports also connected Alaheri to alleged vandalism at St. Athanasius Church in Bensonhurst in mid-May 2021.<sup>15</sup> A federal judge ruled Alaheri was mentally unfit to stand trial, ordering psychiatric treatment and evaluation.<sup>16</sup>



Photo by FBI

*Graffiti sprayed on the Chabad and Jewish Federation buildings by Mohamad Hamad and Talya Lubit*

### **Mohamad Hamad (23, Pennsylvania, Conspiracy and Defacement) and Talya A. Lubit (24, Pennsylvania, 24, Conspiracy and Defacement)**

Mohamad Hamad, 23, Pennsylvania, is a Coraopolis resident and Arab Muslim with Lebanese citizenship who had previously served in the Pennsylvania Air National Guard's 171st Maintenance Squadron. Talya A. Lubit, 24, Pennsylvania, is a Pittsburgh resident described as Jewish in public releases by the DOJ. Federal authorities alleged that between October 2023 and July 2024, the two conspired to deface and damage Jewish religious property in Pittsburgh, including Chabad

<sup>13</sup> US Attorney's Office, "Brooklyn Man Arrested for Arson of Yeshiva and Synagogue," May 22, 2021, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-edny/pr/brooklyn-man-arrested-arson-yeshiva-and-synagogue>.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., and United States v. Alaheri, "Complaint," May 2021, pp. 2-4, [https://www.investigativeproject.org/case\\_docs/us-v-alaheri/4377/complaint.pdf](https://www.investigativeproject.org/case_docs/us-v-alaheri/4377/complaint.pdf).

<sup>15</sup> ABC7 New York, "Brooklyn Church Vandalism Suspect Arrested, Charged, Police Say," May 22, 2021, <https://abc7ny.com/post/brooklyn-church-vandalize-bensonhurst-vandalized/10675324/>.

<sup>16</sup> "St. Athanasius Hate Crime Suspect Deemed Unfit for Trial," *The Tablet*, August 26, 2022, <https://thetablet.org/st-athanasius-hate-crime-suspect-deemed-unfit-for-trial/>.

of Squirrel Hill and property associated with the Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh with graffiti reading “Jews 4 Palestine” and “Funds Genocide, Hate Zionists.”<sup>17</sup>

The US Attorney’s Office for the Western District of Pennsylvania announced in October 2024 that investigators opened the case after reports of overnight vandalism on July 29, 2024, and stated that the affidavit described messages between Hamad and Lubit in which they planned vandalism activities and specifically discussed selecting Jewish targets.

In November 2024, a federal grand jury indicted Hamad and Lubit. In April 2025, the government announced a superseding indictment that added a third defendant, 22-year-old Micaiah Collins of Pittsburgh, and expanded allegations in the broader conspiracy investigation while stating that Hamad and Lubit had previously been indicted for their roles in defacing Jewish religious property with pro-Palestinian and anti-Zionist graffiti.<sup>18</sup>

Prosecutors also alleged Hamad had made false statements regarding his loyalty to the United States in order to obtain a Top Secret Security clearance and had expressed support for the terror organizations Hizballah and Hamas.

### **Kevin Day Dunlow (62, California, Bomb Threats)**

Kevin Day Dunlow, 62, a white American resident of Huntington Beach, California, was charged and later sentenced in federal court after a series of bomb threats and violent threats directed at a church, two synagogues and public officials in North Carolina in May 2024.<sup>19</sup> His religious background was not publicly identified. His personal status was also not publicly identified.

According to the DOJ and contemporaneous reporting, the threats began on May 1, 2024, when Dunlow called the Wake County Sheriff’s Office non-emergency line and falsely claimed he had planted a bomb inside the sheriff’s office while threatening to kill those inside. Over the following days, he escalated with additional calls that included threats against public officials and their children and used explicitly anti-Jewish language, including references to killing Jews and targeting synagogues. The DOJ alleged that on May 10, 2024, Dunlow contacted a rabbi prior to evening services and stated: “Jews didn’t deserve to live. Jews didn’t deserve

<sup>17</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Two Defendants Charged in Connection with Vandalism Targeting Jewish Property in Pittsburgh,” October 30, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-wdpa/pr/two-defendants-charged-connection-vandalism-targeting-jewish-property-pittsburgh>, and United States v. Hamad and Lubit, “Affidavit in Support of Criminal Complaint,” October 25, 2024, pp. 3-5, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.pawd.313908/gov.uscourts.pawd.313908.2.1.pdf>.

<sup>18</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Three Pittsburgh Residents Charged in Superseding Indictment with Conspiracy, Defacing and Damaging Religious Property, Making False Statements, and Possession of Destructive Devices,” April 23, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-wdpa/pr/three-pittsburgh-residents-charged-superseding-indictment-conspiracy-defacing-and>.

<sup>19</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “California Man Charged with Making Bomb Threats to North Carolina Synagogues and Government Offices,” May 24, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ednc/pr/california-man-arrested-making-violent-threats-against-north-carolinians>.

to be on this earth. I'm going to kill the Jews. I'm coming to the Temple to kill all the Jews and the children."<sup>20</sup>

Dunlow was taken into custody in California on May 24, 2024, and charged with transmitting threats and knowingly making false bomb threats. In June 2025, Dunlow was sentenced to 15 months in federal prison followed by six months of home confinement and three years of supervised release.<sup>21</sup>

## **Tarek Bazrouk (20, New York, Assault)**

Tarek Bazrouk is a 20-year-old single Palestinian Muslim student from New York. Federal prosecutors alleged that between April 2024 and January 2025 Bazrouk assaulted three Jewish victims in Manhattan during protests related to the Israel-Gaza war, and that the victims were selected because they were Jewish.<sup>22</sup>

According to the indictment and letter filed by the federal prosecutor, the first incident occurred on April 15, 2024, outside the New York Stock Exchange, when Bazrouk allegedly “lunged” toward pro-Israel protesters and then kicked a Jewish college student in the stomach while being escorted to an NYPD vehicle.

The second incident occurred on December 9, 2024, near Columbia University, when he allegedly targeted a Jewish student wearing a kippah and draped in an Israeli flag, took the flag, fled, and then punched the student's brother after the two pursued him through the crowd. The third incident occurred on January 6, 2025, near 1st Avenue and East 18th Street, where prosecutors alleged he tripped a Jewish man wearing visible Jewish and Israeli identifiers and then punched him in the face.<sup>23</sup>

Bazrouk was arrested on May 7, 2025, after the indictment was unsealed, and prosecutors cited text messages and social media posts showing support for Hamas and him calling himself a “Jew hater” to support the claim that the assaults were deliberate, bias-motivated targeting of Jews rather than random protest violence.<sup>24</sup>

Replying to a request for comment to the Report, Bazrouk's defense counsel Andrew J. Dalack did not provide a separate motive narrative and instead indicated that the defense view was best understood through the publicly filed court records. In those, Dalack portrayed Bazrouk as

<sup>20</sup> US Attorney's Office, “California Man Sentenced for Making Violent Threats against North Carolinians,” June 13, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ednc/pr/california-man-sentenced-making-violent-threats-against-north-carolinians>.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> US Attorney's Office, “New York Man Charged with Federal Hate Crimes after Repeatedly Assaulting Jewish Victims,” May 7, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdny/pr/new-york-man-charged-federal-hate-crimes-after-repeatedly-assaulting-jewish-victims>.

<sup>23</sup> United States v. Bazrouk, “US Attorney Letter to The Honorable Stewart D. Aaron,” May 7, 2025, pp. 1-4, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.nysd.642032/gov.uscourts.nysd.642032.5.0.pdf>.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-10.

someone who comes from a good family and with close ties to the Israeli Palestinian conflict, having family in the West Bank and a cousin who was allegedly killed by the IDF in 2008.<sup>25</sup>

In October 2025, Bazrouk was sentenced to 17 months in federal prison followed by three years of supervised release.<sup>26</sup>

### **Domagoj Patkovic (31, Oregon, Bomb Threats)**

Domagoj Patkovic, 31, of Oregon, is a White American who was publicly described as non-religious (with neo-Nazi indicators) and single; his employment status was described as unemployed. Federal prosecutors alleged that beginning on May 18, 2021, Patkovic carried out a series of hoax bomb-threat calls targeting historically Jewish hospitals and Jewish care facilities in New York City and on Long Island, prompting evacuations and emergency bomb-sweep responses despite no explosives being found.<sup>27</sup>

In May 2021, in one call to a Jewish care center, Patkovic stated: “Bombs are all over your facility and all those kikes are gonna go skyrocket up into the sky for Allah,” while in another call to a Jewish hospital in Queens, Patkovic stated he planted bombs around the building and wanted to “kill all kikes.” Several months later, in September 2021, Patkovic made another series of violent phone calls to Jewish hospitals using similar antisemitic language and claiming he had placed C-4 explosives around the buildings, stating in one instance to the woman on the line: “I’m gonna blow you to bits you fucking kike bitch.”<sup>28</sup>

Patkovic was arrested on August 20, 2024, after an indictment was unsealed in the Eastern District of New York, and he later pleaded guilty to conspiracy to make threats concerning explosives and conveying false information concerning explosives. He was sentenced on July 23, 2025, to 60 months’ imprisonment, with prosecutors stressing that the scheme endangered patients and staff, triggered costly emergency responses, and was part of a targeted pattern against Jewish institutions.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Interview by Antonio Peña, February 18, 2026, and United States v. Bazrouk, “Andrew J. Daleck Letter to The Honorable Richard M. Berman,” May 9, 2025, pp. 2-3, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.nysd.642032/gov.uscourts.nysd.642032.11.0.pdf>.

<sup>26</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “New York Man Sentenced to 17 Months in Prison for Hate Crimes after Repeatedly Assaulting Jewish Victims,” October 31, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdny/pr/new-york-man-sentenced-17-months-prison-hate-crimes-after-repeatedly-assaulting-jewish>.

<sup>27</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Oregon Man Charged in Swatting and Bomb Threats Scheme That Targeted Jewish Hospitals in New York City and Long Island,” August 20, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-edny/pr/oregon-man-charged-swatting-and-bomb-threats-scheme-targeted-jewish-hospitals-new-0>.

<sup>28</sup> United States v. Patkovic, “Indictment,” August 5, 2024, pp. 2-3, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.ord.181424/gov.uscourts.ord.181424.1.0.pdf>.

<sup>29</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Oregon Man Sentenced to 60 Months for Swatting and Bomb Threats Scheme that Targeted Jewish Hospitals in New York City and Long Island,” July 23, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-edny/pr/oregon-man-sentenced-60-months-swatting-and-bomb-threats-scheme-targeted-jewish>.

## **Dion Marsh (27, New Jersey, Assault)**

Dion Marsh, a 27-year-old unemployed black Christian male from New Jersey, was federally charged in April 2022 in the District of New Jersey for a series of violent assaults committed in and around Lakewood against members of the Orthodox Jewish community. The DOJ stated that Marsh carried out multiple attacks in one day, including carjacking, vehicular assaults, and a stabbing, and alleged that the victims were selected because they were visibly identifiable as Orthodox Jews based on their clothing and appearance.<sup>30</sup>

In the early afternoon on April 8, 2022, Marsh first forced an Orthodox Jewish man from his car before striking him and taking his car. Later, in three separate instances, Marsh attempted to use the first victim's vehicle and another vehicle to run over Orthodox Jewish men, striking them and causing bodily injuries.<sup>31</sup> According to the DOJ's charging and later plea materials, Marsh selected his victims for their Jewish religious identity and visibility in the local Orthodox community.

In February 2024, Marsh pleaded guilty in federal court to hate-crime and carjacking charges. When Marsh was asked why he had assaulted the victims, he told officers, referring to "the Hasidic Jews": "It had to be done" and "these are the real devils," as he believed that his victims totally opposed his religion. In subsequent conversations, Marsh stated that his victims "had this coming" and hoped he would be charged with more crimes.<sup>32</sup>

In July 2024, the DOJ announced that Marsh was sentenced to 40 years in prison, again emphasizing that he violently attacked members of the Orthodox Jewish community because they were Jewish.<sup>33</sup>

## **Melanie Harris (59, California, Threats)**

Melanie Harris, 59, of California, is an unemployed black woman. Her personal status is not known. Federal prosecutors alleged Harris carried out a years-long campaign of antisemitic harassment aimed at a former Tree of Life Synagogue executive and his family in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, using repeated calls and voicemails that referenced Jews generally and the 2018 Tree of Life massacre specifically.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> US Attorney's Office, "New Jersey Man Charged with Federal Hate Crimes for String of Violent Assaults on Members of Orthodox Jewish Community," April 20, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/pr/new-jersey-man-charged-federal-hate-crimes-string-violent-assaults-members-orthodox-jewish>.

<sup>31</sup> United States v. Marsh, "Information," February 1, 2024, pp. 1-2, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.njd.539802/gov.uscourts.njd.539802.29.0.pdf>.

<sup>32</sup> United States v. Marsh, "Criminal Complaint," April 19, 2022, p. 7, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.njd.539802/gov.uscourts.njd.539802.1.0.pdf>.

<sup>33</sup> US Attorney's Office, "New Jersey Man Sentenced for Series of Violent Assaults on Members of the Orthodox Jewish Community," July 23, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/pr/new-jersey-man-sentenced-series-violent-assaults-members-orthodox-jewish-community>.

<sup>34</sup> US Attorney's Office, "California Woman Sentenced to Prison for Making Antisemitic Phone Threats to Former Executive Director of Pittsburgh's Tree of Life Synagogue," May 24, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdfl/pr/california-woman-sentenced-prison-making-anti-semitic-phone-threats-former-executive>.

According to the facts summarized by prosecutors, the first calls began in February 2019 within months of the October 2018 Tree of Life massacre and over more than four years Harris made more than 240 calls to the primary victim, while also contacting the synagogue with similar hate-filled messages. In one recorded voice message, Harris stated: “I’ll behead your kid upside her clit kike” and “I’ll behead your fucking kid upside her kike.”<sup>35</sup>

Prosecutors stated that on October 3, 2022, and through January 3, 2023, Harris left 54 threatening voicemails with variations on the threats mentioned above, including a December 2022 message where she stated: “Get the fuck out of Palestine, you bleeding ass heinie heebe kike or I’ll blow your other kid up, kike.”<sup>36</sup> Harris was arrested in March 2023.

In May 2024, Harris pleaded guilty to knowingly and intentionally transmitting a threatening communication in interstate commerce by leaving threatening antisemitic voicemails and was sentenced to 32 months in prison followed by three years of supervised release, with federal officials describing the conduct as intimidation designed to terrorize a Jewish family.<sup>37</sup>

### **Csaba John Csukás (39, California, Assault)**

Csaba John Csukás, 39, California, is a Daly City resident and former rideshare driver described in news reports as being a white male of Hungarian origin. Federal prosecutors alleged that on October 26, 2023, he assaulted a passenger at San Francisco International Airport after a dispute linked to perceived Jewish identity or Israeli national origin.<sup>38</sup>

On March 13, 2024, the US Attorney’s Office for the Northern District of California announced that Csukás had been arrested and charged by federal indictment with committing a hate crime, alleging he asked the victim whether he was Jewish or Israeli, told the victim he would not transport a Jewish or Israeli person, and then struck the victim in the face with his fist at San Francisco International Airport. The case proceeded to a jury trial in federal court, and Csukás was found not guilty of the federal hate crime charge.<sup>39</sup> In a request for comment, Csukás’ defense counsel, Candis Lea Mitchell, confirmed the not-guilty outcome after a jury trial and advised that the requested biographical details should be reported as “not available.”<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> United States v. Harris, “Superseding Indictment,” March 22, 2023, p. 1, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.flstd.637527/gov.uscourts.flstd.637527.7.0.pdf>.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., pp. 3-6.

<sup>37</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “California Woman Pleads Guilty to Leaving Threatening Antisemitic Message,” March 8, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdfl/pr/california-woman-pleads-guilty-leaving-threatening-anti-semitic-message>, and US Attorney’s Office, “California Woman Sentenced to Prison.”

<sup>38</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Former California Rideshare Driver Charged with Federal Hate Crime for Antisemitic Attack on Passenger,” March 13, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndca/pr/former-california-rideshare-driver-charged-federal-hate-crime-anti-semitic-attack>.

<sup>39</sup> Niva Ashkenazi, “Ex-Lyft Driver Acquitted of Hate Crime for Punching Israeli-Jewish Passenger in Head at SFO,” *J. Weekly*, November 4, 2024, <https://jweekly.com/2024/11/04/ex-lyft-driver-acquitted-of-hate-crime-for-punching-israeli-jewish-passenger-in-head-at-sfo/>.

<sup>40</sup> Interview by Antonio Peña, February 4, 2026.

## Deep Alpesh Kumar Patel (21, Florida, Threats)

Deep Alpesh Kumar Patel, 21, Florida, is a Sarasota resident described in the media as a single, unemployed, Hindu Indian American male. Federal authorities alleged that on October 21, 2023, he left a threatening voicemail directed at the World Jewish Congress in New York City that used antisemitic slurs and explicit threats, conduct treated as a federal offense involving interstate threatening communications.<sup>41</sup>

In his call to the World Jewish Congress, Patel said: “I want to let you guys know, fuck all of you. Fuck all of you Israelis. Fuck all of you, every single one of you. I wish you guys go to hell [...] If I had a chance I would kill every single one of you Israelis. Every single one of you! Cause mass genocide of every single Israeli, Fuck you!”<sup>42</sup>

When officers asked Patel to explain the content of his phone calls, Patel stated he had contacted “Jewish centers to express his family’s anger with Israel for the genocide of the Palestinian people,” but did not intend to scare or threaten anyone.<sup>43</sup>

The Department of Justice also reported that Patel called a synagogue in Temple Terrace, Florida on the same day and left another threatening voicemail, and the government’s public account noted a hate crime enhancement reflecting that the targets were selected intentionally based on their religion. He later pleaded guilty, and on March 14, 2024, the US Attorney’s Office for the Middle District of Florida announced that Patel was sentenced in federal court to six months in federal prison for transmitting a threatening communication.<sup>44</sup>

## Adam Edward Braun (34, Oregon, Vandalism)

Adam Edward Braun, 34, Oregon, is a white male. He was described as unemployed and is personal status is not known. Federal prosecutors alleged that Braun repeatedly targeted Temple Beth Israel (a synagogue in Eugene, Oregon) with antisemitic and white-supremacist graffiti over several months.<sup>45</sup>

On March 7, 2024, the US Attorney’s Office for the District of Oregon announced that Braun was charged by federal criminal complaint, describing four alleged incidents between August 2023 and January 2024 involving defacement and attempted defacement of the synagogue with antisemitic symbols and phrases, including spraying “White Power” on its exterior.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Sarasota Man Sentenced to Federal Prison for Leaving Threatening Voicemail Targeted at Jewish Individual,” March 14, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-mdfl/pr/sarasota-man-sentenced-federal-prison-leaving-threatening-voicemail-targeted-jewish>.

<sup>42</sup> United States v. Patel, “Affidavit in Support of Criminal Complaint,” November 1, 2023, p. 2, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.flmd.421304/gov.uscourts.flmd.421304.1.0.pdf>.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Sarasota Man Sentenced to Federal Prison.”

<sup>45</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Oregon Man Charged with Federal Hate Crime for Defacing Synagogue,” March 7, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-or/pr/oregon-man-charged-federal-hate-crime-defacing-synagogue>.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

On November 12, 2024, the DOJ announced that Braun pleaded guilty to three federal hate crimes, including two counts of intentionally defacing a synagogue and one count of attempting to deface religious property.<sup>47</sup> In February 2025, Braun was sentenced to four years' probation, and US District Judge Mustafa T Kasubhai expressed disappointment in the federal government for not bringing more serious charges.<sup>48</sup> When asked for comment, Braun's defense counsel, Irina Hughes, explained that her role was not to interpret ideology but to protect due process and litigate the case based on the relevant evidence. She did not provide additional personal background details, such as personal status or religion.<sup>49</sup>

## Patrick Dai (21, New York, Online Threats)

Patrick Dai, 21, of New York, is a former Cornell University student from the Pittsford area. He was described in the media as Chinese American and single. Federal prosecutors alleged that in late October 2023, he posted anonymous online threats calling for violence against Jewish students at Cornell, including threats tied to the kosher dining hall and other Jewish spaces on or near campus.<sup>50</sup> Specifically, Dai uploaded a post saying: "Gonna shoot up 104 west [...] allah akbar," referring to the university dining hall 104 West that serves mostly kosher food and is located next to the Cornell Jewish Center.<sup>51</sup>

According to the criminal complaint, Dai made multiple other threatening statements toward Jewish students at Cornell University on the university's discussion website. Using multiple screennames, including "kill Jews," "Jew Crimes," " Hamas soldier," and "Jew evil," among others, Dai made multiple posts in which he threatened Jews, including: "If you see a Jewish 'person' on campus follow them home and slit their throats, rats need to be eliminated from Cornell," and "Watch out pig Jews. Jihad is coming. Nowhere is safe. Your synagogues will become graveyards. Your women will be raped and your children will be beheaded. Glory to Allah."<sup>52</sup>

On October 31, 2023, the US Attorney's Office for the Northern District of New York announced that Dai was arrested on a federal criminal complaint charging him with posting threats to kill or injure another person using interstate communications. He later pleaded guilty in federal court to the same offense, and in August 2024, he was sentenced to 21-months imprisonment.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>47</sup> US Attorney's Office, "Oregon Man Pleads Guilty to Three Federal Hate Crimes for Defacing Synagogue," November 12, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/pr/oregon-man-pleads-guilty-three-federal-hate-crimes-defacing-synagogue>.

<sup>48</sup> Joanie Marguilies, "Oregon Man Who Vandalized Synagogue with White Supremacist Messaging Sentenced to Probation," *The Jerusalem Post*, March 3, 2025, <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/article-844416>.

<sup>49</sup> Interview by Antonio Peña, February 4, 2026.

<sup>50</sup> US Attorney's Office, "Cornell Student Arrested for Making Online Threats to Jewish Students on Campus," October 31, 2023, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndny/pr/cornell-student-arrested-making-online-threats-jewish-students-campus>.

<sup>51</sup> United States v. Dai, "Criminal Complaint," October 31, 2023, pp. 2-3, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndny/media/1346051/dl?inline>.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., pp. 3-5.

<sup>53</sup> US Attorney's Office, "Former Cornell Student Sentenced for Posting Online Threats Against Jewish Students on Campus," August 12, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndny/pr/former-cornell-student-sentenced-posting-online-threats-against-jewish-students-campus>.

Dai's defense counsel, Lisa Peebles, argued that, from the outset, the defense position was that Dai should not be held criminally responsible because the legal elements were not met, given his psychological condition, and she rejected an antisemitic motive by describing the posts as pro-Hamas rather than anti-Jewish, emphasizing mental health and poor judgment as the drivers. That framing presented the posts as a misguided reaction tied to the Israel-Gaza war context rather than an intent to target Jews because they are Jewish.<sup>54</sup>



Screenshot of security footage of Adam Edward Braun outside synagogue, Eugene, Oregon, January 2024

### **Brian Dennison (27, Maine, Online Threats)**

Brian Dennison, 27, of Maine, is a Buxton resident and is single. Federal authorities alleged that in September 2021, during the period around the Jewish High Holy Days, Dennison used social media to post threats directed at Jews as a group, tweeting: “I’m going to kill Jews with my ar15 tomorrow.”<sup>55</sup>

News reports based on court filings described him as living on family property with relatives and renting an apartment above a garage. The case proceeded in federal court in Maine on a threat offense involving interstate communications.<sup>56</sup> After a jury trial, Dennison was convicted, and on April 18, 2024, the US Attorney’s Office for the District of Maine announced that he was

<sup>54</sup> Ava Pukatch, “Former Cornell Student Who Made Violent Threats to Jewish Campus Community Pleads Guilty in Federal Court,” WXXI News, April 10, 2024, <https://www.wxxinews.org/local-news/2024-04-10/former-cornell-student-who-made-violent-threats-to-jewish-campus-community-pleads-guilty-in-federal-court>.

<sup>55</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Buxton Man Sentenced for Threats Against Jewish Community,” April 18, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-me/pr/buxton-man-sentenced-threats-against-jewish-community>.

<sup>56</sup> Judy Harrison, “Buxton Man Accused of Threatening to Kill Jews will be Held until Bail Hearing,” *Bangor Daily News*, September 14, 2021, <https://www.bangordailynews.com/2021/09/14/news/buxton-man-accused-of-threatening-to-kill-jews-will-be-held-until-bail-hearing/>.

sentenced to 12 months and one day in prison, followed by supervised release, for transmitting a threatening interstate communication tied to the antisemitic threats.<sup>57</sup>

### **Ryan Scott Bradford (34, California, Threats and Weapons Offenses)**

Ryan Scott Bradford, 34, of California, is a white male Reseda resident. He was engaged, unemployed, and non-religious.<sup>58</sup> Federal prosecutors said Bradford, a white supremacist, expressed antisemitic hate online, including posts that called for the mass killing of Jews and used Nazi symbols and propaganda, and they tied that rhetoric to a public safety investigation that led agents to search his residence and recover ammunition and multiple machine gun conversion devices.<sup>59</sup>

On July 28, 2023, the US Attorney's Office for the Central District of California announced that Bradford was charged in the criminal complaint with conspiring to distribute methamphetamine and with being a felon in possession of ammunition. He was described as associated with a racially motivated violent extremist group, the Peckerwoods. The prosecution noted that he was prohibited from possessing ammunition because of a 2012 burglary conviction.

According to the criminal complaint, Bradford posted a series of threatening messages on Telegram regarding killing Jews. In one post referring to white supremacist David Lane's "14 Words" slogan, Bradford stated: "I can't promise I can kill all the Jews overnight, but long before I die of old age." In a post on the "White Lives Matter USA California" Telegram channel, Bradford wrote: "Ready to kill some Jews with us? The white boys are gunna kick it off we've had enough of this kike bullshit what about you? It would be great if the blacks could just go with the flow for once instead of being a pain in our asses."<sup>60</sup>

Bradford later pleaded guilty, and on April 19, 2024, prosecutors announced that he was sentenced to 57 months in federal prison for illegal possession of arms, with the antisemitic threats serving only as aggravating factors.<sup>61</sup>

### **Brent Wood (35, Ohio, Assault)**

Brent Wood, 35, of Ohio, is a Toledo resident and was described as Christian. He was not married at the time of the crime. Reporting on the incident also states that he invoked the name of Jesus Christ during the episode and confirmed his faith. Federal prosecutors alleged

<sup>57</sup> US Attorney's Office, "Buxton Man Sentenced."

<sup>58</sup> United States v. Bradford, "Sentencing Letter by Ryan Scott Bradford," April 5, 2024, p. 3, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.cacd.894514/gov.uscourts.cacd.894514.36.1.pdf>.

<sup>59</sup> US Attorney's Office, "Reseda Man Affiliated with Violent White Supremacist Group Charged with Federal Criminal Complaint Alleging Drug Trafficking Conspiracy and Ammunition Possession," July 28, 2023, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-cdca/pr/reseda-man-affiliated-violent-white-supremacist-group-charged-federal-criminal>.

<sup>60</sup> United States v. Bradford, "Criminal Complaint," July 27, 2023, pp. 5-6, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.cacd.894513/gov.uscourts.cacd.894513.1.0.pdf>.

<sup>61</sup> US Attorney's Office, "Reseda Man Who Expressed Antisemitic Hate Sentenced to Federal Prison for Illegally Possessing Ammunition and Machine Guns," April 19, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-cdca/pr/reseda-man-who-expressed-anti-semitic-hate-sentenced-federal-prison-illegally>.

that on December 17, 2023, Wood drove a U-Haul onto the sidewalk directly in front of Kesher Israel Congregation Synagogue in Washington, D.C., then assaulted people nearby by spraying a noxious aerosol while repeatedly yelling “Gas the Jews.” Prosecutors framed the incident as obstruction of religious free exercise with a dangerous weapon in the immediate vicinity of a synagogue.<sup>62</sup>

On August 8, 2024, the US Attorney’s Office for the District of Columbia announced that a federal grand jury had indicted Wood on hate-crime-related counts alleging obstruction by force or threat of force of a person’s enjoyment of the free exercise of religious beliefs while using a dangerous weapon.<sup>63</sup>

### **Jeffrey Scott Hobgood (64, North Carolina, Threatening Communications)**

Jeffrey Scott Hobgood, 64, North Carolina, is a white male resident of Troy who is single and non-religious. Federal prosecutors alleged that in October 2023 he sent a threatening email to a Jewish organization in Charlotte, North Carolina, stating: “I am going to take out every one of you.” After law enforcement made contact with Hobgood to question him about the email, he sent another message to the same organization stating: “Guess what happens to traitors?...Public execution... We are at war... If you think you semite shit are going to win, then you are delusional.”<sup>64</sup>

The case proceeded in federal court in the Middle District of North Carolina, and Hobgood later pleaded guilty to communicating threats in interstate commerce. On May 1, 2024, the US Attorney’s Office announced that he was sentenced to 18 months in prison, followed by supervised release and community service, and the DOJ summary stated that in his plea agreement he admitted that he selected the targets because of the victims’ actual or perceived religion.<sup>65</sup>

Defense counsel John Bryson argued in court that Hobgood was not planning real violence and had no intention or capacity to carry out an attack, framing the episode as driven by alcohol problems and violent language rather than an actual criminal plan. He even suggested that his client’s words did not differ from the rhetoric of Trump and the Republican Party in general.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>62</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Assault of Congregants Outside a Washington D.C. Synagogue Charged as Federal Hate Crime,” August 8, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-dc/pr/assault-congregants-outside-washington-dc-synagogue-charged-federal-hate-crime>, and Scott Gelman, “Court Docs: Man in U-Haul Sprayed Substance, Yelled Antisemitic Phrase Outside Georgetown Synagogue,” Wtopnews, December 18, 2023, <https://wtop.com/dc/2023/12/man-accused-of-attack-outside-georgetown-synagogue-used-fart-spray-documents-say/>.

<sup>63</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Assault of Congregants.”

<sup>64</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Troy Resident Charged with Communicating Threats,” October 17, 2023, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-mdnc/pr/troy-resident-charged-communicating-threats>.

<sup>65</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Montgomery County Resident Sentenced for Transmitting Threats to North Carolina Jewish Organization,” May 1, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-mdnc/pr/montgomery-county-resident-sentenced-transmitting-threats-north-carolina-jewish>.

<sup>66</sup> Naomi Kowles, “Judge to Weigh Whether NC Man Should Stay in Prison after Threats to Charlotte Jewish Org,” WBTV 3, October 25, 2023, <https://www.wbtv.com/2023/10/24/judge-weigh-whether-nc-man-should-stay-jail-after-threats-charlotte-jewish-org/>.

### **Ariel E. Collazo Ramos (32, North Carolina, Threats)**

Ariel E. Collazo Ramos, 32, North Carolina, is described as self-employed (selling racist, antisemitic, and white nationalist wares from his home) and of Hispanic roots. According to federal prosecutors, Ramos, a neo-Nazi, sent antisemitic threats targeting Georgia’s only Jewish State House Representative, Esther Panitch, and the Rabbi of Temple Beth Israel, Elizabeth Bahar, in Macon. Ramos sent the messages after both came out in support of Georgia House Bill 30, which defined antisemitism under state law. In each case, Ramos sent a postcard, one side of which had a depiction of a Jewish man wearing a rat costume with the text “Jews are rats” and the other side with a message written by him stating: “Is there a child rape, torture, and murder tunnel under your house? We have the Zyklon B. Use Code ‘GASTHEJEWS’ for 10% off!”<sup>67</sup>

After a three-day trial, Ramos was found guilty of mailing threatening communications with a hate crime enhancement and on February 4, 2026, he was sentenced to the maximum 5 years in prison. In a comment for the Report, Alba Maishelle Rosa Negrón, courts reporter at *The Telegraph*, said: “Ramos targeted the Macon rabbi and the Atlanta lawmaker after seeing them advocate for a Georgia House bill that would recognize antisemitism. In his words, he wanted to ‘piss them off.’ His goal was to use ragebait to draw attention to his business and he assumed the First Amendment would protect his actions. But because Gov. Brian Kemp signed that Georgia House bill, antisemitism became a prosecutable offense – leading to his conviction and sentence. He was also part of a white nationalist group in the US called the Aryan Freedom Network.”<sup>68</sup>

### **Andre Morrow Lackner (35, California, Threats and Harassment)**

Andre Morrow Lackner, 35, California, is a Northridge resident. He is non-religious, in a relationship, and unemployed. Federal prosecutors said Lackner engaged in a prolonged campaign of threatening and harassing communications directed at a Jewish woman, including violent antisemitic messages and threats referencing synagogue violence, and they framed the conduct as criminal intimidation and stalking.<sup>69</sup>

According to the indictment, Lackner sent multiple messages to the victim suggesting “the world” was trying to turn him into a murderer and his belief that people hated him. When the victim refused to meet Lackner in person, Lackner accused the victim of “not being the only Jew friend that’s been fake to me” before sending another message saying: “All the kikes cut me off [...] I’m tired of kikes putting me down all the time. Maybe Hitler was on to something.”

<sup>67</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Maximum Sentence for Neo-Nazi Guilty of Hate Crime,” February 4, 2026, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-mdga/pr/maximum-sentence-neo-nazi-guilty-hate-crime>.

<sup>68</sup> Interview by Antonio Peña, February 21, 2026.

<sup>69</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Northridge Man Pleads Guilty to Federal Stalking Charge and Admits Threatening Mass Shootings and Antisemitic Violence,” January 29, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-cdca/pr/northridge-man-pleads-guilty-federal-stalking-charge-and-admits-threatening-mass>.

Months later, among other racist language targeting African Americans and Asian Americans, Lackner wrote that he “[wished he] could walk all these kikes to the gas chamber [himself].”<sup>70</sup> In his last message to the victim in August 2022 and October 2022, before his arrest, he stated: “Would you like to celebrate the next synagogue shooting?” and “I will make sure I kill a Jew before I leave this earth.”<sup>71</sup>

According to the US Attorney’s Office for the Central District of California, Lackner pleaded guilty on January 29, 2024, to one federal stalking charge and admitted to a 14-month campaign in which he threatened the victim and made antisemitic and anti-Asian statements, including threats to kill Jews and references to synagogue shootings. Prosecutors later announced on June 10, 2024, that he was sentenced to 43 months in federal prison, emphasizing that the case involved hate-based threats that placed the victim in fear of death or serious bodily injury.<sup>72</sup>

### **Blake Richard Hoover (31, Florida, Arson)**

Blake Richard Hoover, a 31-year-old white Christian male of Punta Gorda, Florida, was identified by federal and local authorities as the perpetrator of the September 19, 2025 arson attack on the Chabad Jewish Center in Punta Gorda, also known as the Chabad of Charlotte County.<sup>73</sup> Federal prosecutors stated that Hoover intentionally set fire to the building, a site used as a Hebrew school and community synagogue, and that investigators found three areas of the property spray-painted with the letter “J.” Authorities also stated that a license-plate reader captured Hoover’s vehicle near the synagogue shortly before the attack.<sup>74</sup>

According to the criminal complaint as described in press reporting, Hoover’s mother told investigators that he hated Jews and gay people, had said he intended to burn down the Jewish center, and had left home on the night of the fire with a gas can that later returned empty.<sup>75</sup> Federal authorities stated that investigators later recovered a spray-paint can and a gas can from Hoover’s residence.

On September 22, 2025, Punta Gorda Police announced Hoover’s arrest on state arson and criminal mischief charges. On September 25, 2025, the US Attorney’s Office for the Middle District of Florida announced a federal arson charge carrying a mandatory minimum sentence of five years and a maximum of twenty years.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>70</sup> United States v. Lackner, “Indictment,” December 20, 2022, pp. 2-4, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.cacd.871148/gov.uscourts.cacd.871148.1.0.pdf>.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-5.

<sup>72</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Northridge Man Sentenced to More Than 3½ Years in Federal Prison for Campaign in which He Threatened Violence against Jewish and Asian Americans,” June 10, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-cdca/pr/northridge-man-sentenced-more-3-12-years-federal-prison-campaign-which-he-threatened>.

<sup>73</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Punta Gorda Man Charged in Arson of Jewish Center,” September 25, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-mdfl/pr/punta-gorda-man-charged-arson-jewish-center>, and Punta Gorda Police Department, “Man Arrested for Punta Gorda Chabad Fire,” September 22, 2025, <https://pgpdfnews.com/2025/09/22/man-arrested-for-punta-gorda-chabad-fire/>.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> “A Mother’s Fear Led to the Arrest of a Man Accused of Setting Fire to a Jewish Center,” AP News, September 25, 2025, <https://apnews.com/article/7dda6f2c668e46a5442d40f66f9d0ea0>.

<sup>76</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Punta Gorda Man Charged in Arson of Jewish Center.”

## **Jaime Tran (28, California, Attempted Murder) and Eric Celaya (30, Arizona, Firearms)**

Jaime Tran, a 28-year-old Vietnamese male and former UCLA School of Dentistry student from California, was federally charged after he targeted and shot two Jewish men as they left services outside two Los Angeles synagogues on February 15 and February 16, 2023, in the Pico-Robertson area of Los Angeles. The DOJ described the shootings as separate attacks within about 24 hours and stated that the victims were selected because they were visibly Jewish, which is why prosecutors filed federal hate-crime charges along with firearms offenses tied to the shootings.<sup>77</sup>

The criminal complaint against Tran documents his history of making antisemitic and threatening remarks. Tran emailed and texted former classmates multiple messages that described Jewish people as “primitive” and included threats such as: “Someone is going to kill you, Jew,” and “I want you dead, Jew.”

In direct messages to a former Jewish classmate, Tran stated: “Fucking Jew. Piece of shit Jew. FUCK YOU JEW,” and variants thereof. He also shared a flyer published by the Goyim Defense League, a white supremacist organization, declaring: “Every single aspect of the Covid Agenda is Jewish.”<sup>78</sup> According to former classmates, Tran was expelled from dental school in 2018 after making hateful comments about other students he perceived to be Jewish.<sup>79</sup>

Tran pled guilty to two counts of hate crimes with intent to kill and two counts of using, carrying, and discharging a firearm during and in relation to a crime of violence and was sentenced to 35 years in prison for attempted murder.<sup>80</sup>

Eric Celaya, 30, Arizona, is a Phoenix resident of Hispanic origin and unemployed. Federal prosecutors stated that on January 19, 2023, Celaya purchased two firearms from a federally licensed dealer in Tempe, Arizona, and falsely represented on a Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) Form 4473 that he was the actual purchaser, when he was in fact buying the firearms on behalf of Jaime Tran.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>77</sup> US Attorney’s Office “California Man Who Allegedly Shot Two Jewish Victims Leaving Los Angeles Synagogues Indicted for Multiple Hate Crime and Firearms Offenses,” March 23, 2023, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-cdca/pr/man-who-allegedly-shot-two-jewish-victims-leaving-los-angeles-synagogues-indicted>, and Louis Keene, “LA Shooting Suspect Told Police He Wanted to Kill Jews, Prosecutors Say,” *The Forward*, February 17, 2023, <https://forward.com/fast-forward/537011/la-shooting-suspect-jews-jaime-tran-pico-robertson/>.

<sup>78</sup> United States v. Tran, “Criminal Complaint,” February 17, 2023, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.cacd.877359/gov.uscourts.cacd.877359.1.0.pdf>.

<sup>79</sup> Gabrielle Gillette, “Former UCLA Dentistry Student Sentenced to 35 Years for 2023 Shooting of Jewish Men,” *Daily Bruin*, October 3, 2024, <https://dailybruin.com/2024/10/03/former-ucla-dentistry-student-sentenced-35-years-for-2023-shooting-of-jewish-men>.

<sup>80</sup> US Attorney’s Office “Former California Man Sentenced to 35 Years in Prison for Attempting to Murder Two Jewish Men Leaving Los Angeles Synagogues Last Year,” September 30, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/pr/former-california-man-sentenced-35-years-prison-attempting-murder-two-jewish-men-leaving-los>.

<sup>81</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Man Who Provided Guns to Shooter of Two Jewish Community Members in California Sentenced to Prison,” November 1, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-az/pr/man-who-provided-guns-shooter-two-jewish-community-members-california-sentenced-prison>.

## WHO COMMITS ANTISEMITIC CRIMES? META-DATA ANALYSIS

According to the US Attorney’s Office for the District of Arizona, Celaya later provided the firearms to Tran, who used them on February 15 and 16, 2023, to shoot two Jewish community members in California in offenses charged as hate crimes in the Central District of California. The DOJ summary also stated that Celaya pleaded guilty on May 15, 2024, to making a material false statement during the purchase of a firearm. He was later sentenced to eight months in prison followed by 36 months of supervised release, while noting that there was no evidence Celaya was aware of Tran’s intentions or beliefs.<sup>82</sup>



Photo by YouTube

Mug shot of Jamie Tran aired on ABC7 News, 2023

### Walter James (38, Washington, D.C., Assault)

Walter James, 38, of Washington, D.C., is a defendant described as unemployed and affiliated with the Black Hebrew Israelite faith. Federal prosecutors alleged that on July 10, 2024, he attacked a stranger walking through Foggy Bottom while the victim was wearing a kippah, repeatedly punching him without provocation and yelling antisemitic statements during and immediately after the assault. Among the antisemitic statements James uttered were: “You are murdering innocent men, women, and children in Gaza”; “They’re the cause of all our wars – killing the children of Palestine”; “You control us with money”; “You are not the real Jewish [sic]”; and “You guys kill people in Gaza.”<sup>83</sup>

The US Attorney’s Office for the District of Columbia announced on September 19, 2024, that a federal grand jury returned an indictment charging James with causing bodily harm to an

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., and AZFamily Digital News Staff, “Phoenix Man Sentenced for Buying Guns in Los Angeles Hate Crime,” AZFamily, November 1, 2024, <https://www.azfamily.com/2024/11/02/phoenix-man-sentenced-buying-guns-used-los-angeles-hate-crime/>.

<sup>83</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Federal Hate Crime Charges Brought for Assault on Stranger Wearing a Yarmulke in Foggy Bottom,” September 19, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-dc/pr/federal-hate-crime-charges-brought-assault-stranger-wearing-yarmulke-foggy-bottom>.

individual due to actual or perceived religion, and the DOJ summary stated that the victim suffered cuts, abrasions, and swelling. Media reports noted that the victim recorded a video of the assault, with references to the “true children of Israel.” In their more extreme forms, the Hebrew Israelites hold that black people are the true Israelites and true Jews.<sup>84</sup>

### **Mufid Fawaz Alkhader (29, New York, Firearms)**

Mufid Fawaz Alkhader, a 29-year-old Arab Muslim male in a relationship residing in Schenectady, New York, was born in Iraq and later obtained US citizenship. Federal prosecutors stated that on December 7, 2023, just before Hanukkah, he traveled to Temple Israel in Albany, fired a shotgun into the air while shouting “Free Palestine,” attempted to fire again when the weapon jammed, and then tried to remove an Israeli flag outside the synagogue.<sup>85</sup> According to the criminal complaint, Alkhader stated that “events in the Middle East have impacted him” and claimed he was a regular user of marijuana.<sup>86</sup>

The case proceeded in federal court in Albany, where Alkhader later pleaded guilty in February 2025 to civil rights and firearm charges based on his acts at Temple Israel. On August 12, 2025, the US Attorney’s Office for the Northern District of New York announced that he was sentenced to 120 months in prison for conspiring to illegally straw purchase a firearm, obstructing the free exercise of religious beliefs with a dangerous weapon, and brandishing a firearm in furtherance of a crime of violence. News reports on the sentencing also described the defense’s request for a lower sentence and the prosecution’s request for a 10-year sentence.<sup>87</sup>

Albany County reporter Patrick Tine declined to offer an opinion and directed attention to the public record, stating on February 19, 2026: “I am not going to give you my opinion or speculate on this matter. I would recommend reading the publicly available case file on Mr. Alkhader, including the sentencing memorandum filed by his attorney.”<sup>88</sup>

### **John Reardon (60, Massachusetts, Threats)**

John Reardon, a 60-year-old white male in a relationship of Millis, Massachusetts, was charged in January 2024 with making repeated antisemitic threats directed at Jewish people and Jewish

<sup>84</sup> Ethan Kaufman, “‘You Corrupt the World!’ Jewish Man Wearing Kippah Assaulted in Washington, DC,” *The Alegemeiner*, July 11, 2024, <https://www.algemeiner.com/2024/07/11/you-corrupt-world-jewish-man-wearing-kippah-assaulted-washington-dc>, and Tyler Iglesias, “Man Arrested for Assault as Hate Crime near Foggy Bottom Metro,” *The GW Hatchet*, July 19, 2024, <https://gwhatchet.com/2024/07/19/man-arrested-for-assault-as-hate-crime-near-foggy-bottom-metro/>.

<sup>85</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Schenectady Man Sentenced to 10 Years in Prison for Firearm and Religious Hate Crimes Involving the Firing of Shots Outside of Temple Israel,” August 12, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndny/pr/schenectady-man-sentenced-10-years-prison-firearm-and-religious-hate-crimes-involving>.

<sup>86</sup> United States v. Alkhader, “Criminal Complaint,” December 7, 2023, pp. 2-3, <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/24203434-criminal-complaint-against-mufid-fawaz-alkhader/>.

<sup>87</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Schenectady Man Sentenced to 10 Years in Prison for Firearm and Religious Hate Crimes Involving the Firing of Shots Outside of Temple Israel,” August 12, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndny/pr/schenectady-man-sentenced-10-years-prison-firearm-and-religious-hate-crimes-involving>.

<sup>88</sup> Interview by Antonio Peña, February 19, 2026.

institutions in Massachusetts, including synagogues in Attleboro and Sharon. The Department of Justice also noted that Reardon had made harassing calls to the Israeli Consulate in Boston as part of the broader criminal conduct for which he was charged in federal court.<sup>89</sup>

On the morning of January 25, 2024, Reardon called the Congregation Agudas Achim synagogue in Attleboro, Massachusetts. He left a two-minute-long voice message making the following statements, among others: “From the river to the sea.” “End the genocide, or it is time to end Israel and all the Jews.” “You do realize that by supporting genocide that means it’s okay for people to commit genocide against you.” “If you can bomb their fucking places of worship we can bomb yours, if you can kill their children we can kill yours.” “I supported Jewish people [...] Not anymore. A matter of fact I think we should kill you all.”<sup>90</sup>

In the course of questioning by officers, Reardon admitted he found the congregation’s phone number on Google and an investigation of his phone revealed he had called another synagogue and Jewish institution in the state. On two prior occasions, he had made threatening phone calls to a K-12 school and a bank.<sup>91</sup>

The case proceeded in the District of Massachusetts, where Reardon later pleaded guilty in November 2024 to federal counts including obstruction of the free exercise of religion by threat of force, transmitting threats in interstate commerce, and stalking using a facility of interstate commerce.<sup>92</sup> On August 14, 2025, he was sentenced to 26 months in prison followed by supervised release, and the DOJ announced that restitution was also ordered.<sup>93</sup>

Reuters journalist Nate Raymond reported that Reardon’s threats were aimed at synagogues and Jewish people and that the conduct began after the 2023 Israel-Hamas war, and framed Reardon’s criminal conduct as a response to the war in Gaza.<sup>94</sup>

## **Donavon Parish (27, Mississippi, Cyberstalking and Harassment)**

Donavon Parish, a 27-year-old white, unemployed, married, Christian male residing in Hattiesburg, Mississippi. He was accused by Federal prosecutors of conducting a sustained campaign of cyberstalking and antisemitic harassment directed at synagogues, Jewish institutions, and Jewish-owned businesses.

<sup>89</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Massachusetts Man Charged with Threatening to Kill Members of Jewish Community and Bomb Synagogues,” January 29, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ma/pr/massachusetts-man-charged-threatening-kill-members-jewish-community-and-bomb-synagogues>.

<sup>90</sup> United States v. Reardon, “Statement in Support of Criminal Complaint,” January 29, 2024, p. 3, [https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.mad.266159/gov.uscourts.mad.266159.2.2\\_1.pdf](https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.mad.266159/gov.uscourts.mad.266159.2.2_1.pdf).

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>92</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Massachusetts Man Pleads Guilty to Threatening to Kill Members of Jewish Community and Bomb Synagogues,” November 25, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ma/pr/massachusetts-man-pleads-guilty-threatening-kill-members-jewish-community-and-bomb>.

<sup>93</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Massachusetts Man Who Threatened to Kill Members of Jewish Community and Bomb Synagogues Sentenced to Prison,” August 14, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ma/pr/massachusetts-man-who-threatened-kill-members-jewish-community-and-bomb-synagogues>.

<sup>94</sup> Nate Raymond, “Massachusetts Man Sentenced to 26 Months for Threats to Synagogues, Israel Consulate,” Reuters, August 14, 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/legal/litigation/massachusetts-man-sentenced-26-months-threats-synagogues-israel-consulate-2025-08-14/>.

The DOJ stated that Parish used a Voice Over Internet Protocol (VoIP) service to make repeated threatening calls in April and May 2022 to institutions and businesses selected because they were Jewish.<sup>95</sup> In these phone calls, Parish “repeatedly referenced Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party’s genocide of approximately six million Jewish people,” including stating: “Heil Hitler,” “All Jews should burn,” “All Jews must die,” “Gas the Jews,” and “Hitler should have finished the job.”<sup>96</sup>

Parish later pleaded guilty to one count of cyberstalking and five counts of abuse and harassment using a telecommunications device, and admitted that he targeted the victims based on their actual or perceived religion.<sup>97</sup> The DOJ later announced that on November 26, 2024, he was sentenced to 24 months in federal prison followed by three years of supervised release, emphasizing the fear and disruption the repeated threats caused for the Jewish institutions and communities he targeted.<sup>98</sup>

Defense counsel James McHugh said in an emailed statement to the press that Parish accepted responsibility, pleaded guilty, and told the judge he was ashamed of what he did, adding that since his arrest, he had taken steps to make sure it never happens again.<sup>99</sup>

### **Donovan Hall (35, Arizona, Threats and Stalking)**

Donovan Hall, a 35-year-old unemployed male with unknown relationship status residing in Mesa, Arizona, is alleged to have conducted a sustained campaign of interstate antisemitic threats and stalking directed at Jewish victims in New York City. Federal prosecutors allege a constant pattern of harassment and intimidation that included approximately 1,000 threatening contacts over a period of months. In multiple phone calls to different individuals, including the owner of a hotel in Manhattan, Hall made antisemitic and violent threats to torture, mutilate and murder them and their families, as well as texted photographs of two firearms and a machete he said he would use to kill them.<sup>100</sup> Halls’ threats first targeted a Manhattan hotel owner after seeing a video the owner’s son, a soldier in the Israel Defense Forces, posted online of his serving in Gaza.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>95</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Mississippi Man Sentenced to Two Years in Prison for Cyberstalking and Antisemitic Harassment of Synagogues, Jewish-Owned Businesses,” November 26, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-edpa/pr/mississippi-man-sentenced-two-years-prison-cyberstalking-and-antisemitic-harassment>.

<sup>96</sup> United States v. Parish, “Superseding Information,” May 16, 2024, pp. 2-3, [https://www.investigativeproject.org/case\\_docs/us-v-parish/4926/superseding-information.pdf](https://www.investigativeproject.org/case_docs/us-v-parish/4926/superseding-information.pdf).

<sup>97</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Mississippi Man Pleads Guilty to Cyberstalking and Making Antisemitic Threats Targeting Synagogues and Jewish-Owned Businesses,” June 18, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/pr/mississippi-man-pleads-guilty-cyberstalking-and-making-antisemitic-threats-targeting>.

<sup>98</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Mississippi Man Sentenced to Two Years in Prison.”

<sup>99</sup> Robert Moran, “Mississippi Man Charged with Threats to Philly-Area Synagogues and Jewish-Owned Businesses,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 13, 2023, <https://www.inquirer.com/news/donavon-parish-antisemitic-threats-philadelphia-20230713.html>.

<sup>100</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Man Sentenced for Interstate Antisemitic Threats and Interstate Stalking Targeting Jewish Victims,” October 31, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdny/>.

<sup>101</sup> Luke Tress, “Man who Threatened Jewish Hotel Owners in NYC Sentenced to 4 Years in Prison,” *The Times of Israel*, October 31, 2025, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/man-who-threatened-jewish-hotel-owners-in-nyc-sentenced-to-4-years-in-prison/>.

According to Luke Tress, the New York correspondent for *The Times of Israel*, in a comment for the Report: “Hall began threatening the hotel after an online campaign against the owners due to their son’s service in Gaza. Some people will always take online or protest rhetoric a step further, which is why hateful campaigns are dangerous [...] There’s understandable anger about Gaza but that doesn’t track with threatening to kill employees at a hotel.”<sup>102</sup>

Hall was arrested in Mesa, Arizona, on November 22, 2024, and charged with two counts of making interstate threats, each with a maximum five-year sentence, and one count of interstate stalking, with a maximum sentence of five years. He later pleaded guilty and was sentenced on October 30, 2025, to 49 months in federal prison.<sup>103</sup> During his sentencing, Hall apologized and expressed remorse for his actions, saying he did not “mean to be that person anymore” and that his victims “did not deserve to be treated the way he was treating them.”<sup>104</sup>

### **Franklin Barrett Sechriest (18, Texas, Arson)**

Franklin Barrett Sechriest, an 18-year-old, single, white student from San Marcos, Texas, was indicted in March 2022 in the Western District of Texas for setting an intentional fire at Congregation Beth Israel in Austin on October 31, 2021. The DOJ stated that Sechriest approached the synagogue around 9:00 p.m., carrying a five-gallon container and toilet paper toward the sanctuary area, and that surveillance footage then captured a glow consistent with ignition coming from that direction.<sup>105</sup>

During the search of Sechriest’s vehicle, officers found stickers with swastikas and anti-Jewish, anti-immigrant, and racist messages. One asked: “Would you kill them all to seize your rights?” with graphics depicting a Jewish rabbi, doctor, and law enforcement officer.<sup>106</sup> In his journal, officers found plans for scouting and targeting the synagogue, as well as entries admitting to the arson attack and following the investigation.<sup>107</sup>

Sechriest pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 10 years in federal prison, emphasizing that he admitted targeting the synagogue because of anti-Jewish hatred.<sup>108</sup> Defense attorney Richard L. Cofer II argued that Sechriest’s antisemitic ideology developed through online hate-group indoctrination during the COVID-19 period. The case was prosecuted on the theory that a

<sup>102</sup> Interview by Antonio Peña, February 21, 2026.

<sup>103</sup> Mathilda Heller, “Man Sentenced to 49 Months for Antisemitic Terror Campaign against Jewish New Yorkers,” *Jerusalem Post*, November 2, 2025, <https://www.jpost.com/diaspora/antisemitism/article-872461>.

<sup>104</sup> Tress, “Man who Threatened Jewish Hotel Owners.”

<sup>105</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Texas Man Charged with Civil Rights Violations for Setting Fire to Synagogue,” March 24, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/pr/texas-man-charged-civil-rights-violations-setting-fire-synagogue>, and United States v. Sechriest, “Criminal Complaint,” November 12, 2021, pp. 2-4, [https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.txwd.1166525/gov.uscourts.txwd.1166525.3.0\\_7.pdf](https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.txwd.1166525/gov.uscourts.txwd.1166525.3.0_7.pdf).

<sup>106</sup> United States v. Sechriest, “Criminal Complaint,” p. 6.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-11.

<sup>108</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Texas Man Sentenced for Antisemitic Hate Crime after Seeking to Burn Down Synagogue,” November 29, 2023, <https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/pr/texas-man-sentenced-antisemitic-hate-crime-after-seeking-burn-down-synagogue>.

Jewish house of worship was intentionally selected for intimidation and interference with religious practice.<sup>109</sup>

### **Mohamed Sabry Soliman (45, Colorado, Assault)**

Mohamed Sabry Soliman, 45, is an Egyptian Muslim male and employed. Public filings state that he lived in Colorado Springs with his wife and five children. In the federal proceedings referenced here, the central dispute includes whether his alleged target selection should be treated as hate crime conduct based on protected status or instead as conduct driven by a political label, with prosecutors arguing that victims were chosen because of perceived ties to Israel.<sup>110</sup>

According to the Justice Department, a federal indictment unsealed in Denver alleges that on June 1, 2025, Soliman used Molotov cocktails to attack members of the group “Run for Their Lives” and others gathered in the park in front of the Boulder County Courthouse. He approached the group around 1:30 p.m., throwing “two Molotov cocktails that he had ignited” while shouting “Free Palestine!”

The indictment further alleges he carried a backpack sprayer with flammable liquid and a container holding “at least 18 glass bottles and jars” with flammable liquid, some with red rags as wicks. The release says investigators later recovered a handwritten document from his vehicle stating: “Zionism is our enemies untill [sic] Jerusalem is liberated and they are expelled from our land,” and describing Israel as a “cancer entity.” It also alleges that in a law-enforcement interview, Soliman said he viewed “anyone supporting the exist [sic] of Israel on our land” as “Zionist,” that he “decide[d] to take [his] revenge from these people,” and that he “search[ed] the internet looking for any Zionist event,” learning about the group through online searches and identifying it by “the flags and signs they carried.”<sup>111</sup>

Defense counsel David Kraut argued in federal court that the attack should not be treated as a hate crime because, in his view, Soliman was looking for “Zionists” and acting against a political movement rather than targeting Jews as a religion or Israelis as a national group. In the hearing, Kraut framed the issue by stating on June 18, 2025: “What really matters in this hearing is did Mr. Soliman define Zionism as national origin in his mind?” and then added, “He defines Zionism according to political opinion.”<sup>112</sup>

<sup>109</sup> FOX 7 Austin, “Man Sentenced to 10 Years for Setting Austin Synagogue on Fire,” November 29, 2023, <https://www.fox7austin.com/news/franklin-sechriest-congregation-beth-israel-fire-austin-texas>.

<sup>110</sup> US Department of Justice, “Alleged Perpetrator of Terror Attack in Colorado Charged with Hate Crimes,” June 25, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/alleged-perpetrator-terror-attack-colorado-charged-hate-crimes>, and United States v. Soliman, “Affidavit in Support of an Application for a Criminal Complaint and Arrest Warrant,” June 1, 2025, [https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.cod.244444/gov.uscourts.cod.244444.1.2\\_1.pdf](https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.cod.244444/gov.uscourts.cod.244444.1.2_1.pdf).

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ari Schneider and Jeremy Roebuck, “Hate Crime Case against Boulder Attack Suspect can Proceed, Judge Rules,” *The Washington Post*, June 18, 2025, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2025/06/18/soliman-boulder-attack-hate-crime-israeli-hostages/>.

## Elias Rodriguez (31, Washington, D.C., Murder)

Elias Rodriguez, 31, Illinois, is a Chicago resident with a Latin American background, single, employed and a non-practicing Christian. Federal authorities charged him in Washington, D.C. in connection with the May 21, 2025, fatal shootings of two Israeli Embassy staff members outside the Capital Jewish Museum. The initial charging documents included federal and D.C. murder and firearms offenses.<sup>113</sup>

In August 2025, the DOJ announced that a federal grand jury returned an indictment adding federal hate crime counts, along with murder and firearms offenses tied to the same incident, and described the victims, Yaron Lischinsky and Sarah Milgrim, as Israeli Embassy staff members leaving an event at the Capital Jewish Museum. On February 4, 2026, prosecutors unsealed a superseding indictment adding multiple terrorism related offenses, and the US Attorney's Office for the District of Columbia publicly described the expanded charges as reflecting the government's theory that the shootings were a targeted act of terror against the victims and the Jewish community.<sup>114</sup>

According to news reports, Rodriguez allegedly shouted at the scene: "I did it for Palestine" and "I did it for Gaza." The prosecution alleged the victims were selected in connection with an Israeli and Jewish setting.<sup>115</sup>

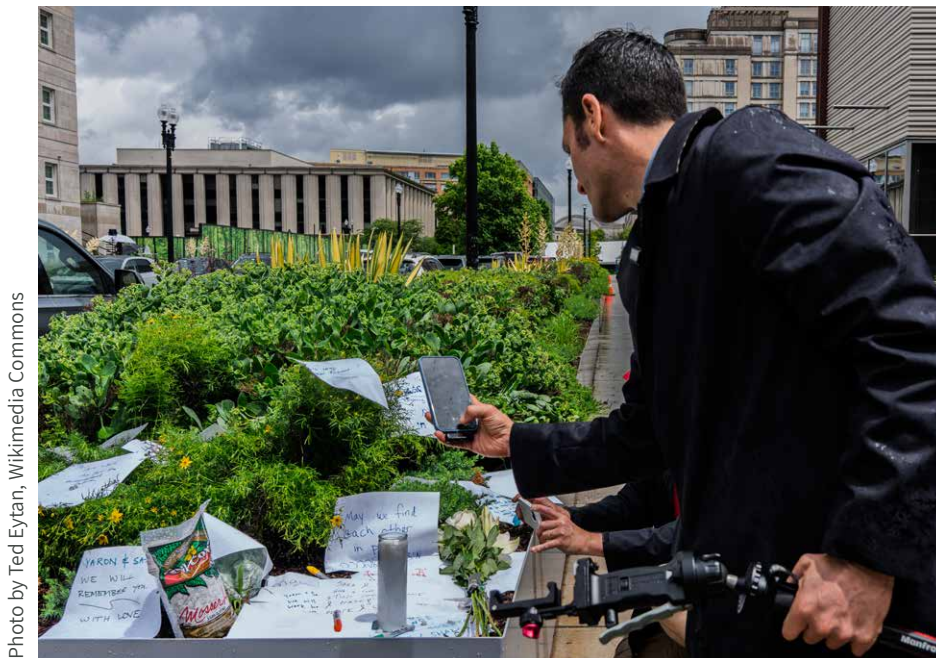


Photo by Ted Eytan, Wikimedia Commons

*Memorial for the two Israeli Embassy staffers murdered outside the Jewish Museum, Washington, D.C., May 2025*

<sup>113</sup> US Attorney's Office, "Alleged Perpetrator of Shooting in Washington, D.C. Charged with Hate Crimes," August 7, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/alleged-perpetrator-shooting-washington-dc-charged-hate-crimes>.

<sup>114</sup> US Attorney's Office, "New Terrorism-Related Charges Filed against Alleged Killer of Israeli Embassy Employees," February 5, 2026, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-dc/pr/new-terrorism-related-charges-filed-against-alleged-killer-israeli-embassy-employees>.

<sup>115</sup> "US Charges Suspect with Terrorism in Killing of Two Israeli Diplomats," Reuters, February 4, 2026, <https://www.reuters.com/world/us/us-charges-suspect-with-terrorism-killing-two-israeli-diplomats-2026-02-04/>.

## Timur Mamatov (20, Ohio, Assault)

Timur Mamatov, a 20-year-old single Muslim male of Turk origin of Tipp City, Ohio, was federally prosecuted in the Southern District of Ohio for an antisemitic assault that occurred near The Ohio State University. DOJ summaries describe a November 10, 2023, incident outside a Columbus bar in which he confronted a group of students, identified at least one victim as Jewish after noticing a visible Jewish symbol, and then assaulted the victims, which prosecutors treated as a bias-motivated federal hate-crime offense rather than an ordinary fight.<sup>116</sup>

According to reports, Mamatov and a friend approached a group of students after noticing one wearing a chai necklace, asking them if they were Jewish. When the group affirmed that they were, Mamatov punched one of the people, fracturing his jaw, while another victim had his nose broken in the fight that ensued.<sup>117</sup>

Mamatov ultimately pleaded guilty in federal court in August 2025, with sentencing set for sometime in 2026. Mamatov's defense counsel Joseph Robert Medici, in a comment for the Report, declined to elaborate further on Mamatov's case and underlying motivations due to his office's involvement in similar cases, while the US Attorney who prosecuted Mamatov noted that Mamatov admitted in court he assaulted the victims because they were Jewish.<sup>118</sup>

## Everardo Gregorio (31, Arizona, Arson)

Everardo Gregorio, a 31-year-old single, unemployed, Latin American, Christian male of Casa Grande, Arizona, was federally indicted in the District of Arizona on a hate-crime charge alleging that on March 3, 2025, he burned part of Khal Chasidim, a synagogue and Jewish community center in Casa Grande. The DOJ stated that the damaged portion of the building included a worship space as well as areas used for a kosher grocery store and restaurant, and introduced the federal charge of obstruction of the free exercise of religious beliefs by fire.<sup>119</sup>

Local reporting in March 2025 stated that Casa Grande police arrested Gregorio in connection with the fire shortly after the incident and reported that the community center sustained significant damage. Coverage of the arrest also described surveillance evidence and the timing of the fire, which news reports used to frame the case initially as a local arson investigation before the later federal hate-crime indictment.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>116</sup> US Attorney's Office, "Man Pleads Guilty to Antisemitic Assault Near College Campus," August 15, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/man-pleads-guilty-antisemitic-assault-near-college-campus>.

<sup>117</sup> "20-Year-Old Pleads Guilty to Assault on Jewish Students at Ohio State," *Cleveland Jewish News*, August 15, 2025, [https://www.clevelandjewishnews.com/jns/20-year-old-pleads-guilty-to-assault-on-jewish-students-at-ohio-state/article\\_6e2fd181-d32e-589c-954c-aa58764d6558.html](https://www.clevelandjewishnews.com/jns/20-year-old-pleads-guilty-to-assault-on-jewish-students-at-ohio-state/article_6e2fd181-d32e-589c-954c-aa58764d6558.html).

<sup>118</sup> Interview by Antonio Peña, February 21, 2026, and ABC6/WSYX Staff, "Ohio Man Pleads Guilty to Antisemitic Assault near OSU Campus," August 15, 2025, <https://abc6onyourside.com/news/local/ohio-man-pleads-guilty-to-antisemitic-assault-near-osu-campus-timur-mamatov-department-of-justice-ohio-state-antisemitism>.

<sup>119</sup> US Attorney's Office, "Arizona Man Charged with Hate Crime for Synagogue Fire," November 20, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/arizona-man-charged-hate-crime-synagogue-fire>.

<sup>120</sup> Alexis Cortez, "Man Arrested for Alleged Arson of Jewish Community Center in Casa Grande," *AZ Family*, March 6, 2025, <https://www.azfamily.com/2025/03/06/man-arrested-alleged-arson-jewish-community-center-casa-grande/>.

By November 2025, DOJ publicly announced the federal indictment and also noted that Gregorio separately faced state arson charges from the Pinal County Attorney's Office, with the federal case proceeding on the theory that the fire obstructed Jewish religious practice. An Arizona local television station coverage likewise emphasized that the fire damaged the synagogue building and affected kosher-related spaces there.<sup>121</sup> Court proceedings are ongoing.

### **William Alexander (49, Alaska, Threats)**

William Alexander, a 49-year-old white male from Alaska, became the subject of a federal prosecution after authorities alleged he made threatening communications directed at a synagogue in Los Angeles, California. According to court documents, on November 1, 2019, Alexander used his cellphone to call a synagogue, leaving a voicemail stating: "I'm coming for you kikes. You're all going to pay. Bye bye kikes. Bye bye kikes. I'm gonna kill you all."<sup>122</sup> The case focused on interstate threats aimed at a Jewish place of worship and preventing congregants of their right to freely exercise their religion.

Alexander admitted responsibility and pleaded guilty in federal court to one count of making threatening interstate communications and one count of intentionally obstructing and attempting to obstruct persons in the enjoyment of their free exercise of religious beliefs through the threatening use of force.<sup>123</sup> Information regarding his sentencing was not available.

### **Douglas G. Schifer (65, Ohio, Threats)**

Douglas G. Schifer, a 65-year-old male from Ohio, was federally charged in the Southern District of Ohio after allegedly making antisemitic threats toward his neighbors, using threats of force to intimidate them because of their religion, and breaking a window at their home during a November 7, 2020, incident.

The DOJ's charging announcement described the conduct as a federal hate-crime case tied to religion and housing-related intimidation.<sup>124</sup>

According to the criminal complaint, Schifer lived next door to his victims in Columbus and the incident started as a dispute over their dogs barking at one another. Schifer allegedly called his neighbor a "fucking liberal" and threatened to poison his dog, before escalating his

<sup>121</sup> Alexis Cortez and Austin Walker, "Man Charged with Hate Crime for Arson at Casa Grande Synagogue," AZFamily, November 20, 2025, <https://www.azfamily.com/2025/11/20/man-charged-with-hate-crime-arson-casa-grande-synagogue/>.

<sup>122</sup> United States v. Alexander, "Plea Agreement," April 1, 2021, p. 5, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.akd.65324/gov.uscourts.akd.65324.19.0.pdf>.

<sup>123</sup> US Attorney's Office, "Alaska Defendant Pleads Guilty for Threatening Los Angeles Synagogue," May 27, 2021, <https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/pr/alaska-defendant-pleads-guilty-threatening-los-angeles-synagogue>, and "Alaska Man William Alexander Pleads Guilty to Kill Congregants of Los Angeles Synagogue," Newsweek, May 27, 2021, <https://www.newsweek.com/alaska-man-william-alexander-pleads-guilty-kill-congregants-los-angeles-synagogue-1595657>.

<sup>124</sup> US Attorney's Office, "Columbus Man Charged with Hate Crime for Making Antisemitic Threats to Neighbors, Breaking Their Window," March 18, 2021, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdoh/pr/columbus-man-charged-hate-crime-making-anti-semitic-threats-neighbors-breaking-their>.

rhetoric, stating: “All you fucking people, it’s no wonder Hitler burned you people in ovens,” and “Fucking Hitler should have gassed you.” He threatened to burn down the neighbors’ garage.

Later, in a further altercation, Schifer called his neighbor a “fucking heeb” and threatened: “I hope you only find smoke on the outside, you fucking Jew.”<sup>125</sup> Furthermore, Schifer had allegedly made antisemitic comments to the previous neighbors, who were also Jewish.

Schifer pleaded guilty to criminally interfering with the right to fair housing, and he received six months in prison, a \$50,000 fine, and one year of supervised release.<sup>126</sup>

## **Henry “Michael” Dwight Williams (33, Texas, Firearms Sale)**

Henry “Michael” Dwight Williams, a 33-year-old married black male with a criminal record from Texas, was federally prosecuted in the Northern District of Texas after investigators traced the pistol used by Malik Faisal Akram in the January 2022 hostage crisis at Congregation Beth Israel in Colleyville back to Williams. Akram was shot dead by police at the congregation, and the crisis ended with no casualties reported.

The DOJ first announced in January 2022 that Williams had been charged by criminal complaint with being a felon in possession of a firearm, and it emphasized that whether he knew the buyer’s later intent was largely irrelevant to that firearms charge.<sup>127</sup>

According to the criminal complaint, Williams told officers Akram had told him he needed the weapon to intimidate someone who owed him money.<sup>128</sup> Williams was prosecuted for an illegal gun transaction, not for personally selecting Jewish victims as a hate crime target or committing a crime directly against Jewish victims.<sup>129</sup> The DOJ later reported that Williams was indicted, pleaded guilty in June 2022, and was sentenced in October 2022 to 95 months in federal prison for the gun offense.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>125</sup> United States v. Schifer, “Criminal Complaint,” November 7, 2020, pp. 3-5, [https://www.investigativeproject.org/case\\_docs/us-v-schifer/4358/complaint.pdf](https://www.investigativeproject.org/case_docs/us-v-schifer/4358/complaint.pdf).

<sup>126</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Former Columbus Man Sentenced to Prison for Hate Crime That Involved Making Antisemitic Threats to Neighbors, Breaking Their Window,” November 23, 2021, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdoh/pr/former-columbus-man-sentenced-prison-hate-crime-involved-making-antisemitic-threats>.

<sup>127</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Man Who Sold Pistol Used in Synagogue Hostage Crisis Federally Charged,” January 26, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndtx/pr/man-who-sold-pistol-used-synagogue-hostage-crisis-federally-charged>.

<sup>128</sup> United States v. Williams, “Criminal Complaint,” January 13, 2022, pp. 3-4, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndtx/press-release/file/1465966/dl>.

<sup>129</sup> Sarah N. Lynch, “US Charges Man with Selling Gun Used in Synagogue Hostage Crisis,” *Reuters*, January 26, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/us/us-charges-man-with-selling-gun-used-synagogue-hostage-crisis-2022-01-26/>.

<sup>130</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Man Who Sold Pistol Used in Synagogue Hostage Crisis Sentenced to 95 Months in Prison for Gun Crime,” October 24, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndtx/pr/man-who-sold-pistol-used-synagogue-hostage-crisis-sentenced-95-months-prison-gun-crime>.

### **Alexander Giannakakis (37, Massachusetts, Obstruction)**

Alexander Giannakakis, a 37-year-old employed white male with Swedish roots in a relationship from Quincy, Massachusetts, was federally prosecuted in Boston for obstructing an investigation into four fires set at Jewish or Jewish-affiliated institutions in the Boston area in May 2019. The DOJ stated that the underlying investigation involved two fires at a Chabad Center in Arlington (May 11 and May 16, 2019), one at a Chabad Center in Needham, and one at a Jewish-affiliated business in Chelsea (May 26, 2019), and alleged that Giannakakis made misleading statements and concealed evidence during the investigation.

According to DOJ's indictment summary and later case updates, investigators considered Giannakakis's younger brother the main suspect in the arson investigation, while Alexander's federal charges centered on obstruction-related conduct, including false statements, concealment, and tampering, not on setting the fires himself. In one instance, Giannakakis went to a storage unit used by his brother and removed items, including a t-shirt with a swastika on it and a notebook with swastikas drawn in it, as well as a backpack filled with a bottle of cyanide.<sup>131</sup>

The DOJ also reported that he was arrested in Sweden at the request of the United States, later extradited, and ultimately pleaded guilty before being sentenced to 42 months in prison for obstructing the federal investigation into the 2019 fires rather than for committing the fires.<sup>132</sup>

Defense counsel Forest O'Neill-Greenberg argued that Alexander's conduct was about protecting his brother and obstructing the investigation, not personally selecting Jewish targets.

### **Richard Tobin (19, New Jersey, Conspiracy), Yousef Omar Barasneh (22, Wisconsin, Vandalism), and Nathan Weeden (19, Michigan, Vandalism)**

Richard Tobin, a 19-year-old white male of Brooklawn, New Jersey, pleaded guilty in February 2021 to conspiracy against rights after the DOJ said he conspired with other members of "The Base" to threaten and intimidate African Americans and Jewish Americans by directing a coordinated wave of vandalism targeting minority-owned property and houses of worship in September 2019.<sup>133</sup> The Base is a neo-Nazi network associated with accelerationist ideology (which strives to bring about social collapse and the creation of white ethnostates by escalating social tensions through violence).

<sup>131</sup> Mychael Schnell, "Suspect Arrested in Sweden in Connection to Fires at Massachusetts Jewish Institutions," *The Hill*, February 16, 2022, <https://thehill.com/homenews/state-watch/594606-suspect-arrested-in-sweden-in-connection-to-fires-at-massachusetts/>.

<sup>132</sup> US Attorney's Office, "Massachusetts Man Pleads Guilty to Obstructing Federal Hate Crime Investigation," November 18, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ma/pr/massachusetts-man-pleads-guilty-obstructing-federal-hate-crime-investigation>, and US Attorney's Office, "Massachusetts Man Sentenced to More Than Three Years in Prison for Obstructing Federal Hate Crimes Investigation," March 11, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ma/pr/massachusetts-man-sentenced-more-three-years-prison-obstructing-federal-hate-crimes>.

<sup>133</sup> US Attorney's Office, "Camden County Man Admits Conspiring with White Supremacists to Vandalize Synagogues Across the Country," February 26, 2021, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-nj/pr/camden-county-man-admits-conspiring-white-supremacists-vandalize-synagogues-across>.

According to the DOJ, Tobin used encrypted communications applications to organize the campaign – dubbed “Operation Kristallnacht” – while Base members Yousef Omar Barasneh and Nathan Weeden vandalized synagogues in Racine, Wisconsin, and Hancock, Michigan, respectively, on September 21, 2019.<sup>134</sup> Tobin is described as “Landser” in The Base chats and as the conspirator who circulated operational guidance for “Operation Kristallnacht,” including exhortations to “smash the glass” and “leave the symbol of our revolution wherever you go.”<sup>135</sup> In November 2021, the DOJ announced that Tobin was sentenced in federal court to one year and one day in prison for his role in the conspiracy.<sup>136</sup>

Youssef Omar Barasneh, a 22-year-old Jordanian-Muslim male of Oak Creek, Wisconsin, pleaded guilty in August 2020 to one count of conspiracy against rights.<sup>137</sup> Barasneh joined encrypted group chats with Tobin, in which he and Weeden agreed to threaten and intimidate African Americans and Jewish Americans as part of “Operation Kristallnacht.” In addition, Barasneh and Weeden, along with other members of The Base, attended a live-fire training. Following his discussions with Tobin and Weeden, Barasneh went to Beth Israel Sinai Congregation in Racine, Wisconsin, on September 21, 2019, and spray-painted antisemitic words and phrases, a swastika, and The Base symbol on the synagogue building.<sup>138</sup> In April 2024, Barasneh was sentenced to two years’ probation.<sup>139</sup>

Nathan Weeden, 19, of Michigan, is a white male undergraduate student who Federal prosecutors alleged was part of the conspiracy organized by Tobin. They stated that on September 21, 2019, Weeden defaced Temple Jacob, a synagogue in Hancock, Michigan, with swastikas and symbols tied to The Base.<sup>140</sup> Weeden was in contact with co-conspirators Tobin and Barasneh.

While also expressing racist views towards non-whites, Weeden believed Jews should be pushed out of the country.<sup>141</sup> Weeden was indicted on June 29, 2023, on one count of conspiracy against rights and one count of damage to religious property, and on January 25, 2024, a federal jury

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> United States v. Weeden, “Government’s Trial Brief,” December 21, 2023, [https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case\\_docs/4908.pdf](https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/4908.pdf).

<sup>136</sup> US Department of Justice, “New Jersey Man Sentenced to One Year and One Day in Prison for Conspiring with White Supremacists to Vandalize Synagogues across the Country,” November 16, 2021, <https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/pr/new-jersey-man-sentenced-one-year-and-one-day-prison-conspiring-white-supremacists-vandalize>.

<sup>137</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Oak Creek Man Who Vandalized Racine Synagogue Pleads Guilty,” August 13, 2020, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-edwi/pr/oak-creek-man-who-vandalized-racine-synagogue-pleads-guilty>.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.; United States v. Barasneh, “Indictment,” February 4, 2020, pp. 1-3, [https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.wied.88681/gov.uscourts.wied.88681.7.0\\_2.pdf](https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.wied.88681/gov.uscourts.wied.88681.7.0_2.pdf); and United States v. Weeden, “Government Trial Brief.”

<sup>139</sup> United States v. Barasneh, “Court Minutes and Order,” April 16, 2024, p. 2, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.wied.88681/gov.uscourts.wied.88681.105.0.pdf>.

<sup>140</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Member of White Supremacist Group Convicted of Defacing Michigan Synagogue with Neo-Nazi Symbols,” January 25, 2024, [https://www.justice.gov/usao-wdmi/pr/2024\\_0125\\_N\\_Weeden\\_Conviction](https://www.justice.gov/usao-wdmi/pr/2024_0125_N_Weeden_Conviction).

<sup>141</sup> United States v. Weeden, “Government Trial Brief.”

convicted him on both counts.<sup>142</sup> On June 4, 2024, Weeden was sentenced to 26 months in federal prison followed by three years of supervised release.<sup>143</sup>



Photo by FBI

*Synagogue vandalized by Nathan Weeden in Michigan, September 2019*

### **Cody Steven Rush (30, Missouri, Bomb Threats)**

Cody Steven Rush, a 30-year-old, white, unemployed male from St. Louis, Missouri, pleaded guilty in a federal court after making a series of threatening phone calls directed at Central Reform Congregation, a Jewish synagogue in St. Louis. According to the DOJ, on November 5, 2021, Rush called the FBI multiple times and threatened to blow up the synagogue while people were inside. The prosecutors said he used explicit anti-Jewish language during the calls, including statements showing hostility toward Jews, declaring: “I hate them with rage.”<sup>144</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Garrett Neese, “‘A Real Win’ Against Hate,” *Daily Mining Gazette*, January 26, 2024, <https://www.mininggazette.com/news/local-news/2024/01/a-real-win-against-hate/>.

<sup>143</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “White Supremacist Sentenced for Federal Hate Crimes for Conspiracy Targeting Black and Jewish People and Desecrating Michigan Synagogue with Neo-Nazi Symbols,” June 4, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/pr/white-supremacist-sentenced-federal-hate-crimes-conspiracy-targeting-black-and-jewish-people>.

<sup>144</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “St. Louis Man Admits Threatening to Blow Up St. Louis Synagogue,” August 8, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-edmo/pr/st-louis-man-admits-threatening-blow-st-louis-synagogue>.

When he was arrested later that day by police and the FBI, Rush told officers he was “feeling suicidal and homicidal. I just feel like killing Jews.”<sup>145</sup> Rush reportedly suffers from schizoaffective disorder, PTSD, anxiety, depression, social anxiety disorder and hears voices.<sup>146</sup>

The DOJ materials state that Rush admitted making the threats.<sup>147</sup> In November 2022, he was sentenced to 30 months in prison.

### **Christopher Stephen Brown (37, Texas, Online Threats)**

Christopher Stephen Brown, a 37-year-old, white, unemployed male in a relationship from Texas, was federally prosecuted in the Northern District of Texas for repeatedly contacting Chabad Lubavitch headquarters, threatening to execute multiple rabbis, and sending messages calling for violence against Jews while posting antisemitic material online under a pseudonym. DOJ materials and public statements by the US Attorney’s Office described the case as a targeted threat prosecution focused on Jewish religious leaders and institutions rather than generalized online abuse.<sup>148</sup>

Public records cited by the DOJ describe Brown’s threats as directed at specific rabbis and Jewish authorities, including repeated communications and violent language intended to create fear and signal possible physical harm. In one online message, Brown said he would “kill the Beith-Din” and stated: “Death to all the Jews,” while in multiple phone calls to Chabad Lubavitch Headquarters in December 2021, Brown stated he would: “Blow [rabbis] heads off” and “Tear out their eyes and tongues and would kill every rabbi he could find.”<sup>149</sup> He made similar threats in videos posted on his YouTube channel under the pseudonym “Madrikh Obadiah.”<sup>150</sup> Court documents do not provide a motivation for specifically targeting Chabad Lubavitch.

In September 2022, Brown pleaded guilty to interstate threatening communications. In January 2023, he was sentenced to two years in prison and one year of supervised release.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> “St. Louis Man Confesses to Threatening to Blow Up Synagogue,” *The Jerusalem Post*, August 11, 2022, <https://www.jpost.com/diaspora/antisemitism/article-714412>.

<sup>147</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “St. Louis Man Sentenced to 30 Months for Threatening to Blow Up St. Louis Synagogue,” November 8, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-edmo/pr/st-louis-man-sentenced-30-months-prison-threatening-blow-st-louis-synagogue> and Jordan Palmer, “Update: Photo Released of Suspect in Threat to Blow Up CRC,” *St. Louis Jewish Light*, November 11, 2021, <https://stljewishlight.org/uncategorized/report-man-arrested-charged-with-threatening-to-blow-up-crc/>.

<sup>148</sup> US Attorney’s Office “Amarillo Man Charged with Threatening Jews, Girlfriend Charged with Assaulting Officers During Arrest,” December 10, 2021, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndtx/pr/amarillo-man-charged-threatening-jews-girlfriend-charged-assaulting-officers-during>.

<sup>149</sup> United States v. Brown, “Criminal Complaint,” December 5, 2021, [https://www.investigativeproject.org/case\\_docs/us-v-brown/4746/complaint.pdf](https://www.investigativeproject.org/case_docs/us-v-brown/4746/complaint.pdf).

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Amarillo Man Pleads Guilty to Threatening Prominent New York Rabbis,” September 15, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndtx/pr/amarillo-man-pleads-guilty-threatening-prominent-new-york-rabbis>; US Attorney’s Office, “Amarillo Man Sentenced for Threatening Prominent New York Rabbis,” January 19, 2023, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndtx/pr/amarillo-man-sentenced-threatening-prominent-new-york-rabbis>; and United States v. Brown, “Judgment in a Criminal Case,” January 20, 2023, [https://www.investigativeproject.org/case\\_docs/us-v-brown/4749/judgment.pdf](https://www.investigativeproject.org/case_docs/us-v-brown/4749/judgment.pdf).

### **Nicolas Malindretos (26, New Jersey, Attempted Firebombing)**

Nicholas Malindretos, a 26-year-old white, single, Christian male from Clifton, New Jersey, was arrested in January 2023 and charged in federal court for attempting to carry out a firebombing attack against Temple Ner Tamid, a synagogue in Bloomfield, New Jersey. The DOJ stated that Malindretos attempted to use a Molotov-cocktail-style device and drove to the synagogue at night, but the device did not ignite as intended when he attempted to light it at the synagogue's doors.<sup>152</sup>

Details regarding his motivation and other biographical information were not available in accessible court documents or media reports. The case is still pending in court and no verdict has been issued. He faces a minimum of five years in prison, a maximum of 20 years in prison and a fine of \$250,000.<sup>153</sup>

### **Saadah Masoud (29, New York, Conspiracy to Commit Hate Crimes)**

Saadah Masoud, a 29-year-old Palestinian Muslim male from Staten Island, New York, was sentenced in federal court to 18 months in prison and three years of supervised release after pleading guilty to conspiracy to commit antisemitic hate crimes. The DOJ stated that Masoud and a co-conspirator planned and carried out antisemitic acts, including three assaults, vandalism and threats directed at Jewish individuals and institutions.<sup>154</sup>

According to DOJ materials, investigators relied on online communications and planning discussions that they said showed anti-Jewish hostility and coordination of actions targeting Jewish property, and federal prosecutors emphasized the conduct as part of a broader pattern of organized antisemitic activity rather than an isolated incident. In three separate incidents, Masoud attacked Jews: on May 20, 2021, he assaulted a victim wearing a Star of David in Manhattan; on June 2, 2021, he assaulted with another person a visibly Jewish man wearing a

<sup>152</sup> US Attorney's Office, "Passaic County Man Arrested for Attempt to Firebomb Synagogue," February 1, 2023, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-nj/pr/passaic-county-man-arrested-attempt-firebomb-synagogue>, and United States v. Malindretos, "Criminal Complaint," February 1, 2023, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.njd.507748/gov.uscourts.njd.507748.1.0.pdf>.

<sup>153</sup> WHYY, "NJ Man Charged with Throwing Molotov Cocktail at Synagogue Temple Ner Tamid in Bloomfield," February 2, 2023, <https://whyy.org/articles/nj-man-charged-with-throwing-molotov-cocktail-at-synagogue-temple-ner-tamid-bloomfield/>.

<sup>154</sup> US Attorney's Office, "Staten Island Man Sentenced to 18 Months in Prison for Conspiracy to Commit Antisemitic Hate Crimes," January 31, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-edny/pr/staten-island-man-sentenced-18-months-prison-conspiracy-commit-antisemitic-hate-crimes>; United States v. Masoud, "Sealed Complaint," June 10, 2022, pp. 1-4, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.nysd.582404/gov.uscourts.nysd.582404.1.0.pdf>; and United States v. Masoud, "Superseding Indictment, S1 22 Cr. 359," October 6, 2022, pp. 1-4, [https://www.investigativeproject.org/case\\_docs/us-v-masoud/4783/superseding-indictment.pdf](https://www.investigativeproject.org/case_docs/us-v-masoud/4783/superseding-indictment.pdf).

kippah who was sitting outside of his own home in Brooklyn; and on April 20, 2022, he assaulted a man wrapped in an Israeli flag.<sup>155</sup>

Massoud’s defense counsel, Ronald Kuby, offered a sharply different framing of motive and target selection. In a statement to the Report, Kuby said: “Saad Massoud participated in a three misdemeanor-level assaults (no serious physical injury), against three people. Massoud helped organize a pro-Palestine demonstration, that was legal and had a permit. A pro-Israel counterdemonstrator, wearing a giant Israeli flag like a cape, who had no permit and was allowed by the police to directly confront the Palestinians, was heckling the demonstrators until Massoud confronted him. He ran, Massoud followed, caught him, and beat him up. The second person [attacked] was a notorious pro-Israel, pro-Trump, anti-Black Lives matter, anti-Covid masking, crazy person in the orthodox community, who himself led a gang assault against a Jewish reporter. The third was a man who had just left a pro-Israel demonstration and was carrying an Israeli flag.

“He ended up facing 15 years on federal hate crimes charges, even though his actions were motivated entirely by anti-Zionism and not antisemitism – that is, he attacked people who were visibly displaying support for Israel during a time when Israel was (again) bombing Gaza.

“Had he been Ukrainian instead of Palestinian, and his targets were all visibly associated with pro-Russian invasion supporters, would you ask ‘why Russians,’ ‘why were Russian targets selected instead of others?’ Of course not. That wouldn’t be scholarship – that would just be a silly attempt to portray people who objected to an invasion of their country as bigots.”<sup>156</sup>

### **Jack Eugene Carpenter III (41, Michigan, Online Threats)**

Jack Eugene Carpenter III, a 41-year-old white unemployed male in a relationship from Tipton, Michigan, was indicted in the Eastern District of Michigan after prosecutors alleged he posted online threats to kill Jewish members of government. The DOJ stated that the messages included violent rhetoric directed at Jewish officials, in which he declared: “I’m heading back to Michigan now threatening to carry out the punishment of death to anyone that is Jewish in the Michigan govt if they don’t leave, or confess.”<sup>157</sup> He also published a declaration of sovereignty, claiming to establish a new country called “New Israel” near his hometown.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>155</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Staten Island Man Sentenced to 18 Months in Prison for Conspiracy to Commit Antisemitic Hate Crimes,” January 31, 2024, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdny/pr/staten-island-man-sentenced-18-months-prison-conspiracy-commit-antisemitic-hate-crimes>, and Luke Tress, “Pro-Palestinian Activist Gets 18 Months in Prison for Attacks on Jews in New York,” *The Times of Israel*, March 4, 2023, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/pro-palestinian-activist-gets-18-months-in-prison-for-attacks-on-jews-in-new-york/>.

<sup>156</sup> Interview by Antonio Peña, February 22, 2026.

<sup>157</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Michigan Resident Indicted for Hate Crime Threatening to Kill Jewish Government Officials,” March 9, 2023, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-edmi/pr/michigan-resident-indicted-hate-crime-threatening-kill-jewish-government-officials>, and United States v. Carpenter III, “Criminal Complaint,” February 17, 2023, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.mied.367794/gov.uscourts.mied.367794.1.0.pdf>.

<sup>158</sup> United States v. Carpenter III, “Criminal Complaint.”

According to DOJ materials, Carpenter allegedly used social media platforms to publish threats over a period, prompting a federal investigation that led to charges related to threatening communications and interference with federally protected activities.<sup>159</sup>

In May 2024, US District Judge Mark Goldsmith ruled that Carpenter was incompetent to stand trial, observing he is “a delusional conspiracy theorist” who believed he was being targeted by the government and others for his beliefs about COVID-19.<sup>160</sup>

### **Seann Patrick Pietila (19, Michigan, Online Threats)**

Seann Patrick Pietila, 19, a white, single, and unemployed male high school graduate from Michigan with no prior criminal record who lived with his mother, was federally prosecuted in the Western District of Michigan for violent threats made online against Jewish targets, including the Shaarey Zedek Congregation in East Lansing. The DOJ stated that Pietila communicated via Instagram about planning violence, including threats to Jewish people and to Jewish institutions.<sup>161</sup>

The DOJ and news reports described the threats as especially serious. Pietila praised Hitler, promoted neo-Nazi and antisemitic content, and discussed plans for mass violence against Jewish targets.

In one instance, Pietila discussed plans to commit mass murder against Jews, declaring that he “won’t be taken alive [...] I’ll make sure of that. Remember ‘Heil Hitler’ boom red mist.” He stated that he intended to livestream the attack and discussing the weapons needed to conduct the attack.<sup>162</sup> According to his mother’s testimony, she found a Nazi flag and multiple swastika carvings on her son’s bedroom furniture.<sup>163</sup>

According to evidence documented in the criminal complaint, Pietila’s social media postings demonstrated his sympathies for Neo-Nazi ideology, antisemitism and accelerationist views, as well as admiration for Brenton Tarrant, the man who carried out two mass shootings at New Zealand mosques in March 2019.<sup>164</sup>

Pietila later pleaded guilty in federal court to transmitting threatening communication, and was sentenced to one year and a day in federal prison for threatening violence against Jewish

<sup>159</sup> AP, “Michigan Man Indicted for Online Threats to Kill Jewish Public Officials,” *The Times of Israel*, March 10, 2023, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/michigan-man-indicted-for-online-threats-to-kill-jewish-public-officials/>.

<sup>160</sup> Robert Snell, “Michigan Man Accused of Threatening to Kill Jewish Politicians Incompetent, Judge Says,” *The Detroit News*, May 10, 2024, <https://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/local/michigan/2024/05/10/man-accused-of-threatening-jewish-politicians-incompetent-judge-says/73640345007/?gca-cat=p&gnt-cfr=1>.

<sup>161</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Man Who Threatened Violent, Antisemitic Action Indicted by Grand Jury,” June 28, 2023, [https://www.justice.gov/usao-wdmi/pr/2023\\_0628\\_Pietila\\_Indictment](https://www.justice.gov/usao-wdmi/pr/2023_0628_Pietila_Indictment).

<sup>162</sup> United States v. Pietila, “Order on Motion of Detention, Case No. 1:23-cr-78,” July 3, 2023, p. 8, [https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/USCOURTS-miwd-1\\_23-cr-00078/pdf/USCOURTS-miwd-1\\_23-cr-00078-0.pdf](https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/USCOURTS-miwd-1_23-cr-00078/pdf/USCOURTS-miwd-1_23-cr-00078-0.pdf).

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> United States v. Pietila, “Continuation in Support of Criminal Complaint,” June 16, 2023, pp. 5-32, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.miwd.108645/gov.uscourts.miwd.108645.1.1.pdf>.

people. He was also ordered to pay \$10,600 in restitution and spend three years under supervised release after leaving prison.<sup>165</sup>

### **Omar AlKattoul (18, New Jersey, Online Threats)**

Omar AlKattoul, 18, an Arab Muslim American from Sayreville, New Jersey, was charged in a federal court after investigators linked him to threats to attack a synagogue in Middlesex County. The DOJ and court filings state that he transmitted threatening communications tied to a planned attack on a Jewish house of worship. The federal information filed in the District of New Jersey formally charged him with transmitting a threat in interstate and foreign commerce on or about November 1, 2022.<sup>166</sup>

According to DOJ materials, AlKattoul sent online messages and a manifesto expressing hatred of Jews and describing plans for a synagogue attack, which investigators treated as evidence that a synagogue was deliberately selected as the intended target. Inspired by jihadist groups like al-Qaeda and the Islamic State, the manifesto, entitled “When Swords Collide,” spoke about AlKattoul’s desire to attack Jews as “an act of revenge” for the death of Muslims. In his communications, AlKattoul referred to Jews as “monkeys and swine,” argued that Jews promote the greatest hatred against Muslims, and that his motivation for the attack was “hatred toward the Jews and their heinous acts.”<sup>167</sup>

AlKattoul pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 15 months in prison, acknowledging that the threat was directed at a synagogue and Jewish people and that the case caused broad fear and heightened security concerns for Jewish institutions across New Jersey.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>165</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Antisemitic Threats to Kill Yield Prison Sentence,” March 4, 2024, [https://www.justice.gov/usao-wdmi/pr/2024\\_0304\\_Pietila\\_Sentencing](https://www.justice.gov/usao-wdmi/pr/2024_0304_Pietila_Sentencing), and Ken Palmer, “Threats against East Lansing Synagogue Land Man Federal Prison Sentence,” *Lansing State Journal*, March 4, 2024, <https://www.lansingstatejournal.com/story/news/2024/03/04/east-lansing-synagogue-threats-sentencing-prison/72841677007/>.

<sup>166</sup> United States District Court, District of New Jersey, “United States v. Omar AlKattoul, Information (18 USC. § 875(c)),” July 2023, <https://www.justice.gov/d9/2023-07/alkattoul.information.pdf>.

<sup>167</sup> United States v. AlKattoul, “Criminal Complaint, Mag. No. 22-8385,” November 9, 2022, pp. 2-10, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.njd.515442/gov.uscourts.njd.515442.1.0.pdf>, and Julia Gergely, “New Jersey Teen Pleads Guilty to Issuing Antisemitic Threats,” *The Times of Israel*, July 14, 2023, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/new-jersey-teen-pleads-guilty-to-issuing-antisemitic-threats/>.

<sup>168</sup> US Attorney’s Office, “Middlesex County Man Sentenced to 15 Months in Prison for Communicating Threats to Attack Synagogue,” November 14, 2023, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-nj/pr/middlesex-county-man-sentenced-15-months-prison-communicating-threats-attack-synagogue>.

# FRANCE

Case data for France are constrained by the limited public availability of criminal decisions. Until 2016, most court rulings were archived on paper without a centralized database. Following transparency reforms, the highest courts' decisions became available online, and appellate decisions have been added progressively, but the rulings of lower courts are still not available. In addition, French court proceedings generally omit ethnic and religious identifiers, reflecting constitutional universalism and restrictions on state collection of such data. The information below is thus based on exhaustive searches in media reports.

## Two 18-Year-Old Males (Robbery and Antisemitic Insults)

Two 18-year-old men were indicted following a violent antisemitic assault that occurred on August 6, 2020, in the 19th arrondissement of Paris. The victim, a 29-year-old Jewish man wearing a kippah, was physically assaulted and robbed of his watch while being subjected to antisemitic slurs by his “African-looking” attackers. He reported being “strangled,” “punched,” and insulted with phrases such as “dirty Jew, dirty son of a bitch, you’re a dead man, dirty race.” The case was initially brought for an immediate trial, but the criminal court declared itself incompetent due to the gravity of the charges, leading to a formal judicial investigation. The suspects were charged with robbery involving violence aggravated by the victim’s religious affiliation and were placed under judicial supervision.<sup>169</sup>

## Eight Individuals and One Minor (Online Insults)

In December 2020, April Benayoum, the runner-up for Miss France 2021 representing Provence, was targeted by a wave of antisemitic insults on social media after mentioning her father’s Israeli origins during the live television broadcast. This outburst of online hatred led to a legal investigation, resulting in the trial of eight individuals in Paris, charged with public insult based on origin, race, or religion. Statements included: “I’m voting against the Jewess [...] Miss Provence is Israeli, that bitch [...] I’m boycotting Israel,” multiple calls to vote against “The Jewess,” and a meme of Hitler followed by the caption: “Me, when I heard about Miss Provence’s origins.”

During the proceedings, the prosecution emphasized the gravity of cyber-harassment and requested a two-month suspended prison sentence for the defendants. April Benayoum testified about the significant psychological impact of the “flood of hatred,” while the defendants offered

<sup>169</sup> “Two Men Placed under Formal Investigation for an Antisemitic Assault in Paris [French],” *Le Figaro*, August 29, 2020, <https://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/deux-hommes-mis-en-examen-pour-une-agression-antisemite-a-paris-20200829>, and Claire-line Nass, “An Investigation Opened for an Antisemitic Assault in Paris [French],” *Le Figaro*, August 11, 2020, <https://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/un-homme-porte-plainte-pour-une-agression-antisemite-violente-a-paris-20200811>.

various defenses, with some claiming they did not realize the criminal nature of their tweets or that they intended them as political commentary rather than racial abuse.<sup>170</sup>

## **Hervé Ryssen (58, Inciting Racial Hatred and Holocaust Denial)**

Hervé Ryssen, a 58-year-old white French far-right activist and essayist, was indicted between 2007 and 2022 at least 15 times for his persistent antisemitic rhetoric across various media, including books, blogs, and social media. In one book, Ryssen, who also goes by the name Hervé Lalin, describes Jews as an “incestuous sect,” accuses them of having a “plan to enslave humanity,” and claims they are omnipresent and omnipotent. In a YouTube video entitled “Jews, incest, and hysteria” he made several antisemitic statements, repeated in Facebook and Twitter posts. According to the courts, these constituted incitement to hatred against Jews because they “exhort readers to stigmatize them” and “exploit one of the most hackneyed antisemitic themes, namely their omnipresence in the economy and the media.” Ryssen was also convicted of false advertising for a drug that claimed to “cure Judaism.”

In addition to hate speech, Ryssen was convicted multiple times for Holocaust denial (*négationnisme*), specifically for mocking the Holocaust and questioning the nature of extermination camps like Auschwitz on Twitter. His legal battles culminated in September 2020, when he was incarcerated for 17 months.<sup>171</sup>

## **Yacine Mihoub and Alex Carrimbacus (Murder)**

In March 2018, Mireille Knoll, an 85-year-old Holocaust survivor who suffered from Parkinson’s disease, was brutally murdered in her Paris apartment. She was stabbed eleven times before her home was set on fire. The suspects, Yacine Mihoub, a French-Algerian 28-year-old neighbor the victim had known since his childhood, and Alex Carrimbacus, a 21-year-old, were arrested shortly after. The crime was officially classified as an antisemitic act, leading to significant national outcry and a massive “white march” in Paris to denounce anti-Jewish hatred.

The two were tried at the end of October 2021, and on November 9, 2021, the Paris Assize Court sentenced Yacine Mihoub to life imprisonment for murder motivated by the victim’s religion. Alex Carrimbacus was sentenced to 15 years in prison for aggravated robbery. The investigation

<sup>170</sup> R.H. with AFP, “Antisemitic Tweets against Miss Provence: Two Months’ Suspended Prison Requested [French],” TF1 Info, September 23, 2021, <https://www.tf1info.fr/culture/april-benayoum-tweets-antisemites-contre-miss-provence-deux-mois-d-emprisonnement-avec-sursis-requis-2197035.html>, and Pierre Bienvault, “Antisemitism: Eight People Tried for Insults Targeting Miss France 2021 Candidate [French],” *La Croix*, September 22, 2021, <https://www.la-croix.com/France/Antisemitisme-huit-personnes-jugees-injures-visant-candidate-Miss-France-2021-09-22-1201176649>.

<sup>171</sup> “Holocaust Denier Hervé Ryssen Jailed after Several Convictions for Antisemitic Remarks [French],” franceinfo, September 20, 2020, [https://www.franceinfo.fr/societe/antisemitisme/le-negationniste-herve-ryssen-incarcere-apres-plusieurs-condamnations-pour-des-propos-antisemites\\_4112455.html](https://www.franceinfo.fr/societe/antisemitisme/le-negationniste-herve-ryssen-incarcere-apres-plusieurs-condamnations-pour-des-propos-antisemites_4112455.html), and “One Year in Prison for Antisemitic Messages [French],” *Le Parisien*, September 8, 2016, <https://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/un-an-ferme-pour-des-messages-antisemites-08-09-2016-6102897.php>. For his antisemitic writings, see for example: Hervé Ryssen, *History of Antisemitism: Set Straight by a Goy* (Omnia Veritas, 2023) [French].

and trial established that the perpetrators targeted Knoll based on antisemitic prejudices, specifically the false belief that she possessed hidden wealth because of her Jewish identity.<sup>172</sup>

### **Pakistani Male (20, Val-d'Oise, Sarcelles, Menacing)**

In April 2021, a 20-year-old Pakistani national was deported from France following an antisemitic assault in Sarcelles. On March 29, 2021, the individual, a drunk homeless man, targeted three Jewish teenagers, pursuing them with a ceramic knife while shouting death threats and “they stole my work” outside of a synagogue. The perpetrator was sentenced to prison and was permanently barred from French territory. Upon his release from detention, he was immediately escorted to the border and sent back to Pakistan.<sup>173</sup>

### **Alain Soral (Provocation and Holocaust Denial)**

Alain Soral is a white, Catholic, Franco-Swiss far-right ideologue and the founder of the movement Égalité et Réconciliation. Since 2008, his legal history has been marked by dozens of convictions for public insult, defamation, provocation to racial hatred, and Holocaust denial, including several times in the 2020s. His rhetoric frequently targets the Jewish community, leading to numerous heavy fines and several prison sentences from French courts, including a notable one-year sentence in 2019 for contesting crimes against humanity after he published an antisemitic cartoon on his website.

In September of 2020, the Court of Appeals fined him 134,400 Euros for the resale of copies of *Salvation through the Jews* by Léon Bloy through his website. The following month he was fined 5,400 Euros for blaming the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack in New York on the Jews, while in May 2021, he was sentenced to four months in prison for incitement to racial hatred for blaming the Notre Dame Cathedral fire on the Jews.<sup>174</sup>

<sup>172</sup> Yves Bordenave, “At the Trial for the Murder of Mireille Knoll, a Life Sentence was Requested for Yacine Mihoub [French],” *Le Monde*, November 9, 2021, [https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2021/11/09/au-proces-du-meurtre-de-mireille-knoll-la-reclusion-criminelle-a-perpetuite-requise-contre-yacine-mihoub\\_6101557\\_3224.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2021/11/09/au-proces-du-meurtre-de-mireille-knoll-la-reclusion-criminelle-a-perpetuite-requise-contre-yacine-mihoub_6101557_3224.html).

<sup>173</sup> Frédéric Naizot, “Sarcelles: The Attacker of the Young Jews Sent Back to Pakistan [French],” *Le Parisien*, April 20, 2021, <https://www.leparisien.fr/val-d-oise-95/sarcelles-95200/sarcelles-lagresseur-des-jeunes-juifs-renvoye-au-pakistan-20-04-2021-Q15Z64R4UFCDFVDTJL2SIIBA.php>, and “Sarcelles: Knife Attack against Three Young Jews [French],” *The Times of Israel*, April 2, 2021, <https://fr.timesofisrael.com/sarcelles-agression-au-couteau-contre-trois-jeunes-juifs/>.

<sup>174</sup> Franck Johannès, “Alain Soral Ordered to Pay 134,000 Euros to the League against Racism and Antisemitism [French],” *Le Monde*, September 25, 2020, [https://www.lemonde.fr/police-justice/article/2020/09/25/alain-soral-condamne-a-payer-134-400-euros-a-la-ligue-contre-le-racisme-et-l-antisemitisme\\_6053567\\_1653578.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/police-justice/article/2020/09/25/alain-soral-condamne-a-payer-134-400-euros-a-la-ligue-contre-le-racisme-et-l-antisemitisme_6053567_1653578.html); “Alain Soral Convicted Again for Remarks against Jews [French],” *Le Monde*, October 6, 2020, [https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2020/10/06/alain-soral-de-nouveau-condamne-pour-des-propos-sur-les-juifs\\_6055020\\_3224.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2020/10/06/alain-soral-de-nouveau-condamne-pour-des-propos-sur-les-juifs_6055020_3224.html); and “Alan Soral’s Sentence was Increased on Appeal after He Blamed Jews for the Notre Dame Fire [French],” *Le Figaro*, May 19, 2021, <https://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/peine-alourdie-en-appel-pour-alain-soral-qui-avait-impute-aux-juifs-l-incendie-de-notre-dame-20210519>.

## Yvan Benedetti (Holocaust Denial and Assault)

Yvan Benedetti is a French far-right activist and former leader of the now-dissolved movement L'Oeuvre française. His legal record includes several convictions for hate speech, public defamation, and violence.

In 2021, he was convicted and fined 10,000 Euros for disseminating a defamatory video entitled “Jews, incest, and hysteria” by Hervé Ryssen on his website Jeune Nation. The court found that the video described members of the Jewish community “as a whole, because of their ‘singularity,’ as naturally incestuous, more so than any other community.”

In 2022, he was again fined 10,000 Euros for publishing an article denying crimes against humanity on his website, where he minimized the number of deaths in the Holocaust. He described the six million deaths of the Holocaust as a “fabricated” figure, which “is based on a conspiracy,” “a symbolic figure derived from Zionist propaganda.”<sup>175</sup>

## Cassandre Fristot (Incitement to Racial Hatred)

In October 2021, Cassandre Fristot, a teacher and former local official for the National Front, was sentenced to a six-month suspended prison term for “incitement to racial hatred.” The case followed her participation in a protest against the Covid vaccination certificate in Metz, where she was photographed holding a sign featuring the antisemitic slogan “Mais qui?” (“But who?”) surrounded by the names of various politicians, media figures, and businessmen, most of whom were Jewish.

The court ruled that the sign clearly suggested the Jewish community was responsible for the pandemic, which constituted a direct provocation to hatred. In addition to the suspended sentence, Fristot was ordered to pay damages to several anti-racist organizations and was subsequently suspended from her teaching duties by the French Ministry of National Education.<sup>176</sup>

## Female (58, Val-d’Oise, Deuil-la-Barre, Public Provocation to Racial Hatred)

On October 26, 2021, a 58-year-old woman from Deuil-la-Barre was sentenced to a four-month suspended prison term by a Pontoise court. The conviction followed an incident on August 21, 2021, during which she targeted a Jewish family leaving a synagogue by insulting, performing

<sup>175</sup> “Far-Right: Nationalists Ryssen and Benedetti Convicted for Antisemitic Video [French],” *Le Parisien*, June 8, 2021, <https://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/ultra-droite-les-nationalistes-ryssen-et-benedetti-condamnes-pour-une-video-antisemite-08-06-2021-UUURRXYIEZCYNGVRKQFRUCIB7E.php>, and “Holocaust Denial: Far-Right Figure Yvan Benedetti Fined €10,000 [French],” 20minutes.fr, September 13, 2022, <https://www.20minutes.fr/justice/3349331-20220913-negationnisme-figure-extreme-droite-yvan-benedetti-condamne-10000-euros-amende>.

<sup>176</sup> “Cassandre Fristot, the Protestor with the Antisemitic Sign ‘But Who?’, Sentenced to Six Months’ Suspended Imprisonment [French],” *Le Monde*, October 20, 2021, [https://www.lemonde.fr/police-justice/article/2021/10/20/cassandre-fristot-la-manifestante-a-la-pancarte-antisemite-mais-qui-condamnee-a-six-mois-de-prison-avec-sursis\\_6099246\\_1653578.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/police-justice/article/2021/10/20/cassandre-fristot-la-manifestante-a-la-pancarte-antisemite-mais-qui-condamnee-a-six-mois-de-prison-avec-sursis_6099246_1653578.html).

a Nazi salute, and shouting “Heil Hitler” dozens of times. The court found her guilty of public provocation to racial hatred and justifying crimes against humanity. In addition to the suspended sentence, she was ordered to pay 1,000 Euros in damages to each of the victims and to several anti-racism organizations that joined the case as civil parties.<sup>177</sup>

## Dieudonné (Insults)

Dieudonné has been the subject of dozens of legal proceedings, primarily for inciting racial hatred, antisemitism, and public defamation. Since 2003, he has faced several convictions for remarks targeting the Jewish community and for minimizing or mocking the Holocaust. A notable case occurred in September 2020 when he was convicted for denying the Holocaust in one of his sketches. At that time, a court in Chartres fined him 10,000 Euros for “insulting remarks toward Jewish victims of the Holocaust” during his 2017 show *Le Bal des quenelles*. He was also ordered to pay 8,000 Euros to two plaintiff associations.<sup>178</sup>

## Three Males (22 to 24, Nazi Propaganda)

In December 2023, the criminal court in Rouen sentenced three young men, aged 22 to 24, to suspended prison terms ranging from six to twelve months. They were found guilty of distributing Nazi-themed (including swastikas), antisemitic, and homophobic leaflets across several municipalities in Normandy, including La Neuville-Chant-d’Oisel, during the spring of 2023.

The leaflets featured Third Reich imagery glorifying Hitler and hateful slogans. Investigators were able to identify the suspects through DNA analysis found on the physical flyers and by reviewing local surveillance footage. The defendants were ultimately convicted of inciting racial hatred and discrimination.<sup>179</sup>

## Pakistani Male (28, Val-d’Oise, Sarcelles, Threats)

On October 19, 2023, in Sarcelles (Val-d’Oise), a 28-year-old Pakistani man subject to an obligation to leave French territory was prosecuted for miming shooting a gun with his hand

<sup>177</sup> “Val-d’Oise: Convicted for Making a Nazi Salute and Insulting a Jewish Family [French],” ouest-france.fr, October 27, 2021, <https://www.ouest-france.fr/ile-de-france/deuil-la-barre-95170/val-d-oise-condamnee-pour-avoir-fait-un-salut-nazi-et-insulte-une-famille-juive-7486733>.

<sup>178</sup> “Dieudonné Fined 10,000 Euros for Racist Remarks [French],” *Le Parisien*, September 10, 2020, <https://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/dieudonne-condamne-a-10000-euros-d-amende-pour-des-propos-racistes-10-09-2020-8382426.php#:~:text=Dieudonn%C3%A9%20%C3%A0%20nouveau%20condamn%C3%A9.%20L’humoriste%20controvers%C3%A9%20s’est,a%2Dt%2Don%20appris%20aupr%C3%A8s%20du%20parquet%20de%20Chartres.>

<sup>179</sup> “Nazi Leaflets in Normandy: Three Young People Sentenced to Suspended Prison Terms [French],” ouest-france.fr, December 5, 2023, <https://www.ouest-france.fr/societe/antisemitisme/tracts-nazis-en-normandie-trois-jeunes-gens-condamnes-a-des-peines-de-prison-avec-sursis-67bda088-9392-11ee-a573-1d8641f728fa>, and Murielle Bouchard, “Rouen: Distribution of Nazi Leaflets, 8 to 15 Months Suspended Prison Sentence [French],” actu.fr, December 1, 2023, [https://actu.fr/normandie/rouen\\_76540/rouen-distributions-de-tracts-nazis-une-sanction-ferme-et-non-symbolique-esperee\\_60408425.html](https://actu.fr/normandie/rouen_76540/rouen-distributions-de-tracts-nazis-une-sanction-ferme-et-non-symbolique-esperee_60408425.html).

in front of the large synagogue. He made a sweeping finger-gun gesture toward the place of worship, which was guarded by police amid heightened tensions linked to the Middle East conflict. In immediate proceedings at a Pontoise criminal court, the judge ruled that the gesture did not legally constitute a threat of death under French criminal law, and the defendant was acquitted, after which he was deported to Pakistan. The court noted that while the act was provocative, the specific legal threshold for a punishable threat was not met.<sup>180</sup>

### **Muslim Arab Student (Online Hate)**

Sciences Po Lille faced controversy regarding a second-year student, pseudonymously named “Abdel,” who has publicly identified as a Salafi and shared antisemitic, homophobic, and pro-jihadist content online. His social media activity included liking Nazi-themed posts, sharing Hamas propaganda, and identifying the location of a local synagogue following a street altercation. Despite these actions and reports of exclusionary behavior toward female classmates, the university’s disciplinary commission issued only a two-year suspended exclusion, allowing him to remain a student and proceed with a year of study abroad in Belgium.

Among other things, he reposted and positively commented on a Hamas propaganda video, refused to say hello to women, liked memes of Hitler wearing a t-shirt with a Palestinian flag and tweets from far-right conspiracy theorist Alain Soral, and claimed “Moustache man [Hitler] was a visionary” under a picture of a ceremony organized on October 8, 2023, in Berlin in support of Israel after October 7. Of particular concern, given that Sciences Po Lille is located not far from a synagogue, he posted the following on his X: “I had a nasty run-in with a Jew in the street.” When another user asked him, “how do you know he was a Jew,” Yanis replied, “kippah + beard + get out of the synagogue lol” before identifying the location of the place of worship to his followers.

The regional prefect reported the student’s activities to the public prosecutor, and the student is scheduled to appear before the Lille judicial court.<sup>181</sup>

### **Algerian Female (Attempted Murder)**

In December 2025, a nanny was sentenced to two and a half years in prison for poisoning a Jewish family from December 2023 to January 2024 with household products, beverages, and cosmetics, allegedly “because they have money and power, [and claiming that she] should never have worked for a Jewish woman.” The case, which drew significant attention due to the unusual nature of the act and the identity of the victims, concluded with a criminal conviction for the poisoning itself. Notably, the court decided to rule out antisemitism as a motive for

<sup>180</sup> “He Mimics Shooting at a Synagogue, Is Acquitted by the Court but Ends Up in a Detention Center [French],” ouest-france.fr, October 25, 2023, <https://www.ouest-france.fr/societe/justice/il-mime-des-tirs-sur-une-synagogue-est-relaxe-par-le-tribunal-mais-finit-en-centre-de-retention-2a63d25a-731e-11ee-9cb2-c1eeb1939b85>.

<sup>181</sup> Paul Moore, “After the Nour Attalah Affair, the Case of a Student with a Salafist Profile Shakes Sciences Po Lille,” marianne.net, August 13, 2025, <https://www.marianne.net/societe/laicite-et-religions/apres-l-affaire-nour-attalah-le-cas-d-un-etudiant-au-profil-salafiste-secoue-sciences-po-lille>, and Interview by Elie Houé, February 10, 2026.

the crime. Despite the family's background, the judicial investigation and subsequent verdict found that the nanny's actions were not driven by racial or religious hatred.<sup>182</sup>

### Unidentified Male (Assault)

In April 2024, the Paris criminal court sentenced a man to two years in prison for the violent assault of a 60-year-old man wearing a kippah. The incident took place in early March 2024 in the 20th arrondissement of Paris. As the Jewish man left a synagogue, the attacker asked him if he was one of those who “kill people in Gaza”. The victim was then punched, kicked, and called a “dirty Jew.”

The trial was notable for the defendant's “bewildering explanations” regarding his motives, such as that his victim, an Ashkenazi Jew, is a “Khazar,” an “impostor,” a member of a “so-called Jewish tribe” that “stole the land of Israel” from his “ancestors the niggers [...] as written in the Torah.” Although a psychiatric evaluation was ordered to assess his mental state following his initial arrest, the court ultimately held him fully responsible for the hate-motivated attack, resulting in a prison sentence.<sup>183</sup>

### Four Bulgarian Males (Paris, Vandalism)

In October 2025, French prosecutors requested prison sentences of up to four years for four Bulgarian nationals accused of stenciling red handprints on the Shoah Memorial in Paris in May 2024. The prosecution argued that the act was part of a coordinated “destabilization” operation orchestrated by Russian intelligence services, aimed at fueling social tensions in France following the October 7 attacks in Israel.

The defendants, who were recruited via social media and paid to carry out the graffiti, were charged with damaging property and participating in a criminal conspiracy. While the defense argued the men were merely “hired hands” unaware of the symbolic weight of the memorial, the prosecution emphasized the “grave injury” caused to the memory of Holocaust victims and the intentional nature of the foreign interference operation.<sup>184</sup>

<sup>182</sup> “Jewish Family Poisoned: The Nanny Sentenced to Two and a Half Years in Prison, Antisemitic Character Ruled Out [French],” liberation.fr, December 18, 2025, [https://www.liberation.fr/societe/police-justice/famille-juive-empoisonnee-la-nourrice-condamnee-a-deux-ans-et-demi-de-prison-le-caractere-antisemite-ecarte-20251218\\_YVGBQCW4ONBUPLR37BXKXGR4JU](https://www.liberation.fr/societe/police-justice/famille-juive-empoisonnee-la-nourrice-condamnee-a-deux-ans-et-demi-de-prison-le-caractere-antisemite-ecarte-20251218_YVGBQCW4ONBUPLR37BXKXGR4JU).

<sup>183</sup> Henri Seckel, “Assault on a Man Wearing a Kippah in Paris: Two Years’ Mandatory Imprisonment for a Defendant with Baffling Explanation [French],” *Le Monde*, April 20, 2024, [https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2024/04/20/agression-d-un-homme-portant-une-kippa-a-paris-deux-ans-de-prison-ferme-pour-un-prevenu-aux-explications-deroutantes\\_6228821\\_3224.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2024/04/20/agression-d-un-homme-portant-une-kippa-a-paris-deux-ans-de-prison-ferme-pour-un-prevenu-aux-explications-deroutantes_6228821_3224.html), and “A Man in His Sixties was Beaten Leaving a Synagogue in Paris: Gérald Darmanin Denounces an Indefensible Act [French],” *Le Monde*, March 2, 2024, [https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2024/03/02/un-sexagenaire-a-ete-frappe-a-la-sortie-d-une-synagogue-a-paris-gerald-darmanin-denonce-un-acte-inqualifiable\\_6219733\\_3224.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2024/03/02/un-sexagenaire-a-ete-frappe-a-la-sortie-d-une-synagogue-a-paris-gerald-darmanin-denonce-un-acte-inqualifiable_6219733_3224.html).

<sup>184</sup> Linh-Lan Dao and Mathilde Texier, “Trial: Red Hand Tags on the Shoah Memorial, Up to Four Years in Prison Requested against the Four Bulgarian Defendants [French],” franceinfo.fr, October 30, 2025, [https://www.franceinfo.fr/faits-divers/justice-proces/proces-tags-de-mains-rouges-sur-le-memorial-de-la-shoah-jusqu-a-quatre-ans-de-prison-requis-contre-les-quatre-prevenus-bulgares\\_7584929.html](https://www.franceinfo.fr/faits-divers/justice-proces/proces-tags-de-mains-rouges-sur-le-memorial-de-la-shoah-jusqu-a-quatre-ans-de-prison-requis-contre-les-quatre-prevenus-bulgares_7584929.html).



Photo by X

*Shoah Memorial vandalized in Paris, France, May 2024*

### **Three Male Minors (Gang Rape)**

In June 2024, a 12-year-old girl was the victim of a gang rape and violent assault in Courbevoie, an incident that drew national condemnation for its explicit antisemitic character. Three teenagers, aged 12 and 13 at the time, were arrested after dragging the girl into a deserted building where they beat her, threatened her life, and raped her while questioning her about her Jewish identity, calling her a “Dirty Jew,” and referring to the war in Gaza. The assault was partially filmed, and the boys blackmailed her by threatening to publish the footage if she would not bring them 200 euros in cash the next day. They also threatened to kill her if she reported them to the police.

Police found antisemitic comments and images on the youngest boy’s phone, including a photo showing a burning Israeli flag. A second suspect also justified his actions by claiming that the victim had made negative comments about Palestine.

The young victim told investigators that one of the minors involved “asked her questions about her Jewish religion” and Israel. He also wondered why she conceals her religious identity. Indeed, to “avoid any aggression,” the young girl had reportedly told the teenager that she was Muslim. It was when he discovered her true religion that the boy flew into a rage: “He couldn’t stand the idea that she was Jewish” and “accused her of being against Palestine and supporting Israel.”

The judicial proceedings concluded in 2025 with the conviction of all three minors. Two of the boys, who were 13 at the time of the crime, initially received prison sentences of seven and nine years for group rape and hate-motivated violence. However, in November 2025, an appeals court reduced the nine-year sentence to seven years to facilitate the minor’s eventual

reintegration. The third boy, who was under the age of criminal responsibility at the time, was placed in a reformatory educational facility for five years rather than receiving a prison term.<sup>185</sup>

### **Male (48, Assault)**

In August 2024, the Montpellier criminal court sentenced a 48-year-old man to two years in prison, with one year of that term to be served under electronic monitoring, for a violent antisemitic assault on a tramway. The incident occurred when the perpetrator sat in front of a passenger and repeatedly asked him if he was Jewish before physically attacking him. The court specifically recognized the “aggravating circumstance” of antisemitism in its ruling, noting that the victim was targeted solely because of his religious affiliation. In addition to the prison sentence, the man was ordered to pay damages to the victim and several anti-racism organizations that had joined the case as civil parties.<sup>186</sup>

### **Congolese Man (Insults)**

On January 31, 2025, a Paris criminal court sentenced a Congolese man to one year of mandatory imprisonment for an antisemitic incident in the metro. The individual was convicted of public insults and inciting racial hatred. The conviction was based on documentation of him from August 2024 blasting at a Jewish family: “you’re killing children, you bunch of youpins [French N-Word for Jews, not commonly used since the 1940s; the use of this antisemitic slur was widespread during the Dreyfus Affair and then during the Second World War], bastards, children of terrorists. Hitler was right, he should have killed all the [Jews],” along with other antisemitic slurs. The video of the outburst went viral on social media, leading to a rapid investigation and the man’s arrest.

The court emphasized the gravity of the remarks, particularly given the public nature of the offense and the climate of rising tensions. The perpetrator affirmed that he was not in a normal state, thinking about the “children in Gaza.” Despite the defense’s arguments, the judge opted for a strict prison sentence.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>185</sup> Arthur Groult, “Antisemitic Rape in Courbevoie: Identity of Suspects, Recap of the Facts, Judicial Follow-Up, Update on the Investigation [French],” *ladepeche.fr*, July 4, 2024, <https://www.ladepeche.fr/2024/07/04/viol-antisemite-de-courbevoie-identite-des-suspects-recapitulatif-des-faits-suite-judiciaire-le-point-sur-lenquete-12058104.php>, and Edwige Grolleau, “Antisemitic Rape in Courbevoie: He could not Stand the Idea that She was Jewish, the 12-year-old Boy may have Played a Major Role [French],” *ladepeche.fr*, June 24, 2024, <https://www.ladepeche.fr/2024/06/24/viol-antisemite-a-courbevoie-il-na-pas-supporte-lidee-quelle-soit-juive-ladolescent-de-12-ans-pourrait-avoir-joue-un-role-majeur-12036729.php>.

<sup>186</sup> France Bleu Hérault, “A Man Sentenced to Two Years in Prison for an Antisemitic Assault on the Montpellier Tram [French],” *franceinfo.fr*, August 12, 2024, [https://www.franceinfo.fr/societe/antisemitisme/un-homme-condamne-a-deux-ans-de-prison-pour-une-agression-antisemite-dans-le-tramway-de-montpellier\\_6721788.html](https://www.franceinfo.fr/societe/antisemitisme/un-homme-condamne-a-deux-ans-de-prison-pour-une-agression-antisemite-dans-le-tramway-de-montpellier_6721788.html).

<sup>187</sup> Aude Bariéty de Lagarde, “‘Hitler was Right’: One Year in Prison to Serve for Antisemitic Insults in the Metro [French],” *Le Figaro*, January 31, 2025, <https://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/hitler-avait-raison-un-an-de-prison-ferme-pour-des-insultes-antisemites-dans-le-metro-20250131>.

## Algerian Male El Hussein K. (33, La Grande-Motte, Arson)

On August 24, 2024, a 33-year-old Algerian national with French residency was arrested following an attempted arson and explosion at the Beth Yaacov Synagogue in La Grande-Motte. The suspect set fire to two entrances of the synagogue and two vehicles in the parking lot, one of which contained a gas canister that exploded and injured a police officer. Surveillance footage showed the man fleeing the scene carrying a handgun and wearing a Palestinian flag. Five people, including a rabbi, were inside the building at the time but remained unharmed.

Under questioning, the suspect admitted to the attack, stating his goal was to defend the Palestinian cause and influence Israeli policy. Prosecutors revealed that the individual had “long nursed hatred toward Jews” and had recently become more radicalized in his religious beliefs, expressing a desire to fight in Gaza. He is facing preliminary terrorism charges, including attempted murder and arson committed for reasons of race or religion. Investigators also discovered that he had researched Jewish holidays and Shabbat practices in preparation for the assault.<sup>188</sup>

## Muslim Student (Hacking)

In July 2025, prosecutors requested a five-month suspended prison sentence and a mandatory training course at the Shoah Memorial for a student, identified as Motawassim L., accused of hacking the digital profiles of 18 Jewish classmates at Paris-Dauphine University. The incident occurred on October 7, 2024, the anniversary of the Hamas attacks on Israel, when the hacker replaced the students’ profile photos on the university’s intranet with Palestinian flags accompanied by the slogan “Free Palestine.”

The prosecution specifically included antisemitism as an aggravating circumstance in the case. The defendant, who was previously expelled from the university on a provisional basis, faced charges for fraudulently modifying data within an automated processing system. Civil parties, including the Union of Jewish Students of France (UEJF), participated in the hearing.<sup>189</sup>

## Male Minor (Assault)

In April 2025, a minor was tried in Orléans for a violent antisemitic assault against the city’s rabbi. The incident occurred in early April when the rabbi was physically attacked and subjected to antisemitic insults while walking in the city center. The suspect, a teenager, was quickly identified and arrested by local police following the assault.

<sup>188</sup> Agathe Beaudouin, Anne Devailly, and Henri Seckel, “After the Attack on the Grande-Motte Synagogue, Questions about the Suspect’s Profile [French],” *Le Monde*, August 26, 2024, [https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2024/08/26/apres-l-attaque-de-la-synagogue-de-la-grande-motte-questions-sur-le-profil-du-suspect\\_6295048\\_3224.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2024/08/26/apres-l-attaque-de-la-synagogue-de-la-grande-motte-questions-sur-le-profil-du-suspect_6295048_3224.html).

<sup>189</sup> Henri Seckel, “Five Months’ Suspended Prison Requested against the Author of a Computer Hack Targeting Jewish Students at Paris Dauphine [French],” *Le Monde*, July 11, 2025, [https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2025/07/11/cinq-mois-de-prison-avec-sursis-requis-contre-l-auteur-d-un-piratage-informatique-visant-des-etudiants-juifs-de-paris-dauphine\\_6620628\\_3224.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2025/07/11/cinq-mois-de-prison-avec-sursis-requis-contre-l-auteur-d-un-piratage-informatique-visant-des-etudiants-juifs-de-paris-dauphine_6620628_3224.html).

Rabbi Arié Engelberg, “accompanied by his son,” recounted being approached by the minor, “who was filming [and] questioning him about his religion (...) while shouting antisemitic insults and spitting in their direction.” Mr. Engelberg also reported that his attacker asked him if he was Jewish. He answered yes, and the boy started saying, “all Jews are sons of bitches.”<sup>190</sup>

### **Male (44, Assault)**

In May 2024, the criminal court in Nîmes sentenced a 44-year-old man to two years in prison (with 18 months mandatory imprisonment) for a violent antisemitic assault on his 70-year-old neighbor in Anduze. During the attack, which took place in March 2024, the assailant physically struck the victim, breaking her nose and causing other injuries, while repeatedly shouting the slur “dirty Jew.”

The court officially recognized the antisemitic motive as an aggravating circumstance in the case. In addition to his prison sentence, the perpetrator was banned from the town of Anduze for three years and ordered to pay damages to the victim as well as to several anti-racism organizations that acted as civil parties.<sup>191</sup>

### **Three Serbian Males (Graffiti)**

In Paris, three Serbian men were charged and placed in custody after several Jewish sites – including the Shoah Memorial’s Wall of the Righteous, two synagogues in the city’s Marais district, and a Jewish restaurant – were sprayed with green paint late one weekend night.

French judicial authorities allege the damage was committed “to serve the interests of a foreign power,” with investigators suspecting Russian involvement in instigating or directing the acts. The suspects themselves are described as having been motivated by greed rather than geopolitical intent or antisemitic sentiments. Messages exchanged on Telegram suggest coordination with others not yet arrested, and the case reflects broader concerns in France about Russian interference in acts targeting religious communities amid heightened tensions.<sup>192</sup>

<sup>190</sup> “Assault on the Rabbi of Orléans: The Minor Suspect Tried for Antisemitic Violence [French],” *Le Monde*, April 23, 2025, [https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2025/04/23/agression-du-rabbin-d-orleans-le-suspect-mineur-juge-pour-violences-antisemites\\_6599241\\_3224.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2025/04/23/agression-du-rabbin-d-orleans-le-suspect-mineur-juge-pour-violences-antisemites_6599241_3224.html).

<sup>191</sup> Tony Selliez, Paul Tilliez, and Quentin Perez de Tudela, “He Called Him a ‘Dirty Jew’: Two Years Imprisonment for the Assailant of a 70-Year-Old Man in Anduze [French],” *Radio France*, May 6, 2025, [www.radiofrance.fr/francebleu/podcasts/l-info-d-ici-ici-gard-lozere/il-l-avait-traite-de-sale-juif-deux-ans-de-prison-pour-l-agresseur-d-un-septuagenaire-a-anduze-9784760](http://www.radiofrance.fr/francebleu/podcasts/l-info-d-ici-ici-gard-lozere/il-l-avait-traite-de-sale-juif-deux-ans-de-prison-pour-l-agresseur-d-un-septuagenaire-a-anduze-9784760).

<sup>192</sup> “Jewish Sites Splashed with Paint: Suspects Jailed for Damage Linked to a Foreign Power [French],” *The Times of Israel*, June 6, 2025, <https://fr.timesofisrael.com/lieux-juifs-asperges-de-peinture-les-suspects-ecroues-pour-degradations-en-lien-avec-une-puissance-etrangere/>, and Axel Juin, “Antisemitic Damage: Why is Russian Interference Suspected? [French],” *rtl.fr*, June 6, 2025, <https://www.rtl.fr/actu/international/degradations-antisemites-pourquoi-soupconne-t-on-une-ingerence-de-la-russie-7900513021>.

## Palestinian Male (Assault)

A Palestinian national was convicted in January 2026 at the Nanterre criminal court for assaulting a rabbi in Neuilly-sur-Seine in June 2025. The defendant struck Rabbi Elie Lemmel in the face with a chair while the rabbi was seated at a café terrace, an attack that the court classified as antisemitic violence committed with an object used as a weapon. The rabbi suffered injuries. The tribunal sentenced the attacker to 30 months in prison, including 18 months of mandatory imprisonment, and also banned him from French territory for ten years. Judges acknowledged that the defendant’s mental discernment was impaired, which influenced the length of the sentence.<sup>193</sup>

## Moroccan Male (25, Insults)

In November 2025, a 25-year-old Moroccan man was sentenced by a court in Béziers to one year in prison, including eight months of mandatory imprisonment, for shouting antisemitic insults (“Free Palestine, dirty Jews!”). The judiciary classified his public screams as a clear incitement to hatred based on religious identity.<sup>194</sup>

## Amira Zeiter (Terrorism and Incitement)

In January 2026, the criminal court in Nice sentenced Amira Zeiter, a pro-Palestinian activist and co-founder of the “De Nice à Gaza” collective, to 15 months in prison for advocating terrorism and inciting hatred. The conviction relied on her reposting several tweets that had already been the subject of a previous judicial condemnation, such as one where she says: “Hitler made a big mistake. He should have put all [the Jews] in the gas chambers,” as well as posting content that glorified Hamas, Yahya Sinwar, and the October 7 attacks using antisemitic rhetoric.

The court noted that the activist had persisted in her actions despite prior warnings and legal proceedings. In addition to the prison term, she was banned from participating in protests for a period not reported, and ordered to pay damages to several civil parties, including anti-racism organizations.<sup>195</sup>

<sup>193</sup> “Rabbi Assaulted in Neuilly: Palestinian Man Sentenced to Eighteen Months in Prison [French],” liberation.fr, January 26, 2026, [www.liberation.fr/societe/police-justice/agression-dun-rabbin-a-neuilly-un-palestinien-condamne-a-dix-huit-mois-de-prison-ferme-20260122\\_G5T7YAMPWZEINBSV7GVJXMVPOA/](https://www.liberation.fr/societe/police-justice/agression-dun-rabbin-a-neuilly-un-palestinien-condamne-a-dix-huit-mois-de-prison-ferme-20260122_G5T7YAMPWZEINBSV7GVJXMVPOA/).

<sup>194</sup> “Béziers: A 25-year-old Man Sentenced to One Year in Prison including Eight Months to Serve for Antisemitic Insults [French],” *Le Parisien*, November 30, 2025, <https://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/beziers-un-homme-de-25-ans-condamne-a-un-an-de-prison-dont-huit-mois-ferme-pour-injures-a-caractere-antisemite-30-11-2025-KMBPCMCYWNBN3MS76LPDMF2WK4.php>.

<sup>195</sup> Victor Combalat, “The Pro-Palestinian Activist Amira Zeiter Gets 15 Months in Prison for Reposting Her Tweets Already Condemned by the Courts [French],” franceinfo.fr, January 24, 2026, <https://france3-regions.franceinfo.fr/provence-alpes-cote-d-azur/alpes-maritimes/nice/la-militante-propalestinienne-amira-zeiter-ecope-de-15-mois-de-prison-pour-avoir-reposte-ses-tweets-deja-condamnes-par-la-justice-3287376.html>.

## Two Tunisian Males (19, Vandalism)

Two 19-year-old Tunisian homeless twin brothers were tried for cutting down a memorial tree in Sainte-Geneviève-des-Bois that had been planted in honor of Ilan Halimi, the Jewish teenager who was kidnapped and murdered by the “Gang of Barbarians” in 2006.

The act of vandalism was discovered just days before the 18th anniversary of Halimi’s death, sparking national outrage. Prosecutors requested prison sentences of 12 and 15 months for the suspects, emphasizing the profound symbolic harm caused by desecrating a site dedicated to a victim of antisemitic violence. The court eventually sentenced both brothers to eight months in prison.<sup>196</sup>

## Three Activists (Trespassing and Incitement)

In September 2025, three pro-Palestinian activists were arrested in Nice after attempting to force their way into a synagogue with Palestinian flags. The individuals were part of a group participating in a pro-Palestine demonstration when they diverted toward the religious site, attempting to breach its security. Local authorities intervened quickly to prevent the intrusion and protect the congregants and the site. Following the incident, the suspects were taken into custody and faced charges related to attempted intrusion and potential incitement of hatred.<sup>197</sup>

## Two Algerian Males (Assault)

In December 2025, two Algerian nationals living illegally in France were tried for the assault of a teenager wearing a kippah on a bus in Seine-Saint-Denis. The victim was subjected to physical violence and targeted with antisemitic insults, specifically the slurs “dirty Jew,” and “You Jewish dog!” The Jewish youth was asked several times if he preferred “Palestine or Israel.” The perpetrators reportedly also shouted “Allahu Akbar” and “Free Palestine” while threatening another Jewish man before attacking the teenager.<sup>198</sup>

## Male (Terrorist Threats)

In November 2025, an individual was arrested after threatening to commit a terrorist attack against a synagogue in Cannes. The individual is suspected of threatening to “blow up” the religious building and demanding “500 million euros” on social media. Following his apprehension, the suspect underwent a psychiatric evaluation, which determined that his mental state does

<sup>196</sup> Teddy Perez and AFP, “Tree in Tribute to Ilan Halimi Cut Down: 12 and 15 Months in Prison Requested against the Two Twin Brothers Suspects [French],” rtl.fr, October 22, 2025, <https://www.rtl.fr/actu/justice-faits-divers/arbre-en-hommage-a-ilan-halimi-abattu-12-et-15-mois-de-prison-requis-contre-les-deux-freres-jumeaux-suspects-7900557245>.

<sup>197</sup> “In Nice, Three Pro-Palestinian Activists Arrested after an Attempted Intrusion into a Synagogue [French],” *Le Monde*, September 5, 2025, [https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2025/09/05/a-nice-trois-militants-propalestiniens-interpelles-apres-une-tentative-d-intrusion-dans-une-synagogue\\_6638967\\_3224.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2025/09/05/a-nice-trois-militants-propalestiniens-interpelles-apres-une-tentative-d-intrusion-dans-une-synagogue_6638967_3224.html).

<sup>198</sup> Guillaume Poingt, “‘Dirty Jew’: Two Algerian Illegal Immigrants Tried for the Assault of a Teenager on a Bus in Seine-Saint-Denis [French],” *Le Figaro*, December 9, 2025, <https://www.lefigaro.fr/faits-divers/sale-juif-deux-clandestins-algeriens-juges-pour-l-agression-d-un-adolescent-dans-un-bus-de-seine-saint-denis-20251209>.

not allow for standard police custody. As a result, he was hospitalized in a psychiatric facility while the investigation into the threats remains ongoing. The judicial process is expected to resume once the suspect's mental health status allows for further questioning regarding his motives and the nature of the threats.<sup>199</sup>

## Two Minors (Terrorist Conspiracy)

In December 2025, two minors were indicted and placed in pre-trial detention in Paris for their involvement in a planned antisemitic attack. The suspects were targeted by an investigation led by anti-terrorism prosecutors after intelligence services detected a plot aimed at members of the Jewish community. The suspects are accused of “planning violent attacks against Jewish targets, as well as adhering to the ideology of the Islamic State.” Both suspects face charges related to criminal terrorist conspiracy, and the investigation continues to determine the full extent of their plans and any potential accomplices.<sup>200</sup>

## Bernard Bazinet

On January 1, 2026, the Prefect of Dordogne suspended a local mayor, Bernard Bazinet, from his duties following a series of antisemitic remarks online. On December 4, under a Facebook post by *Libération* devoted to Israel's participation in the 2026 Eurovision Song Contest, he commented, “Yes to the boycott! France is too youpine to boycott,” suggesting the influence of the Jewish community after France confirmed its participation in the music contest and its support for Israel's presence.

Bazinet claimed to have been “completely overwhelmed” by his “thinking”: “I was furious about what I was reading in reports on Palestine. When I saw that France had agreed to Israel's participation, it made me react stupidly. I wasn't necessarily aware that the term [youpine], which I thought was random slang, had antisemitic connotations.”

The suspension, which is an administrative measure, was taken after Bazinet's comments were found incompatible with the values of the Republic and his mandate as a public servant. The case was referred to the public prosecutor to examine if it rises to the level of the criminal offenses “provocation to racial hatred” and “public insult of a religious nature.” The suspension is temporary. Ahead of the communal elections in March, the Ministry of Interior decided to let the inhabitants of the village decide whether or not they should re-elect the official.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>199</sup> Eloïse Bussy, “Threat of an Attack on the Cannes Synagogue: The Individual Hospitalized in Psychiatry [French],” franceinfo.fr, November 19, 2025, <https://france3-regions.franceinfo.fr/provence-alpes-cote-d-azur/alpes-maritimes/cannes/menace-d-attentat-a-la-synagogue-de-cannes-l-individu-hospitalise-en-psychiatrie-3252190.html>.

<sup>200</sup> Nicolas Daugin, “Paris: Two Minors Placed under Formal Investigation and Jailed for a Planned Antisemitic Attack [French],” *Le Figaro*, December 3, 2025, <https://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/paris-deux-mineurs-mis-en-examen-et-ecroues-pour-un-projet-d-attaque-antisemite-20251201>.

<sup>201</sup> Bastien Scordia, “Antisemitic Remarks by Bernard Bazinet, Mayor in Dordogne: The Ministry of the Interior Prefers a One-Month Suspension to Dismissal [French],” *Le Monde*, January 1, 2026, [https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2026/01/01/un-maire-de-dordogne-suspendu-apres-des-propos-antisemites\\_6660301\\_823448.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2026/01/01/un-maire-de-dordogne-suspendu-apres-des-propos-antisemites_6660301_823448.html).

## CANADA

Case data for 2020–2025 were collected from publicly available provincial and federal court records (including published decisions and sentencing reasons available through the legal database CanLII and provincial court repositories), prosecutorial and police announcements, news reports, and posts on social media. Cases were included only when an antisemitic motivation was explicitly referenced in charging documents, judicial findings, sentencing remarks, or official prosecutorial communications. Proceedings outside the criminal courts (including human rights tribunal matters and civil litigation) were not included in the analysis.

### **Waisuddin Akbari (41, Ontario, Bomb Threats)**

Waisuddin Akbari, a 41-year-old Afghani Ismaili Muslim shawarma restaurant owner in north Toronto, has lived in Canada for almost two decades. Born in Kabul, Afghanistan, Akbari left his homeland at the age of eight, spending part of his childhood in Pakistan before moving to Russia. In 2007, he immigrated to Canada and settled in Ontario, where he opened his restaurant, purchased a home valued at approximately one million American dollars, and became a respectable figure in his neighborhood. He is married, the father of two teenagers and describes himself as non-religious.<sup>202</sup>

On March 4, 2024, Akbari entered a car dealership in Newmarket where, in a conversation with the salesperson, he made a series of antisemitic threats and dehumanizing and conspiratorial remarks about Jews and Israel. Akbari told Cameron Ahmad, the salesperson: “I know when I’m going to die because I’m going to plant a bomb in every synagogue in Toronto and blow them up to kill as many Jews as possible,” and “I’ll make sure those attacks are filmed and posted online so the world can see what I’ve done.”<sup>203</sup>

Akbari was allegedly angered by his theory that Jews benefit from car-loan interest payments and had expressed his belief that Jews control world events. Moreover, Akbari stated that Israelis and Jews should be subjected to genocide in retaliation for the “genocide” against the Palestinians in Gaza. Ahmad alerted the police immediately, who then issued a search warrant. A search of Akbari’s home found no evidence of weapons, explosives or any attack plans.<sup>204</sup>

On March 27, 2025, Akbari was found guilty by the Ontario Court of Justice in Newmarket on one count of uttering threats to kill Jews and another on uttering threats to damage synagogues. Akbari told the court that as an Ismaili Muslim, he could not have committed the crimes for which he was convicted and denied harboring antisemitic intentions. He claimed that his statements about bombing synagogues were exaggerated and that he was merely trying to

<sup>202</sup> Stewart Bell, “Man Convicted of Threatening to Bomb ‘Every’ Toronto Synagogue, ‘Kill as Many Jews as Possible,’” *Global News*, March 25, 2025, <https://globalnews.ca/news/11094503/waisuddin-akbari-antisemitism-bomb-threat-toronto-synagogues>.

<sup>203</sup> Ontario Court of Justice, “R. v. Akhbari, 2025 ONCJ 398,” July 28, 2025, <https://www.canlii.org/en/on/oncj/doc/2025/2025oncj398/2025oncj398.html>.

<sup>204</sup> Bell, “Man Convicted of Threatening to Bomb.”

end a conversation with a persistent car salesperson. Akbari also asserted that he did not know what a synagogue was and had never heard the term “Jew” before.<sup>205</sup>

On July 28, 2025, Akbari was sentenced to 60 days of house arrest, three years of probation, a 10-year weapons prohibition, mandatory antisemitism education, and counseling for gambling addiction. The presiding judge, Justice E. Prutschi, cited mitigating factors including Akbari’s troubled childhood, lack of prior criminal record, and need to provide for his family.<sup>206</sup>

### **Kenneth Jeewan Gobin (34, Ontario, Assault)**

On January 6, 2024, Kenneth Jeewan Gobin, a 34-year-old male from Toronto of Pakistani origins, assaulted Tilda and Malcolm Roll, members of the Chabad Flamingo Synagogue in Vaughan, spitting on them and making antisemitic remarks. Gobin, an unemployed high school graduate with no post-secondary education living with his parents and sister, had a previous criminal record and was on probation for fraud and personation offenses at the time of the assault.<sup>207</sup>

As the Rolls, together with two other congregants, walked home from Shabbat services in the area of Bathurst Street and Flamingo Road, Gobin, riding an electric bike, rode onto the curb and narrowly avoided striking the group. After an initial exchange, Gobin began to hurl antisemitic slurs. He shouted: “Hitler should have killed you all,” “Hitler was right” and “You should have died in the Holocaust.” According to witness testimony, Gobin spat on Tilda Roll and performed a Nazi salute: “he raised his arm above a 45-degree angle.”<sup>208</sup>

Gobin was arrested by York Regional Police just hours after the incident occurred and charged with two counts of assault and one count of breach of probation. During his trial, Gobin was adamant that he had only sought to avoid the group by driving on the grass when Roll’s husband, Malcolm, blocked his path and called him a “dirty paki.” Malcolm “vehemently denied” using that term. During cross-examination, Gobin contradicted himself when he said he was unaware the people were Jewish and throughout he refused to express remorse for his actions or apologize despite opportunities to do so, portraying himself as the victim in the affair.<sup>209</sup>

Gobin was convicted of two counts of assault and one count of breach of probation and sentenced to 12 months in custody and two years of probation. In his decision, the presiding judge, Justice M. Townsend stated: “I am prepared to find beyond a reasonable doubt that the Crown has proven Mr. Gobin said words to the effect ‘Hitler should have killed you all,’ ‘Hitler

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> “R. v. Akhbari, 2025 ONCJ 398,” and Alex Rose, “Man Who Threatened to Plant a Bomb in ‘Every Synagogue in Toronto’ Sentenced to House Arrest,” *The Canadian Jewish News*, July 28, 2025, <https://thecjn.ca/news/man-who-threatened-to-plant-a-bomb-in-every-synagogue-in-toronto-sentenced-to-house-arrest/>.

<sup>207</sup> Ontario Court of Justice, “R. v. Gobin, ONCJ 266,” May 13, 2025, <https://www.canlii.org/en/on/oncj/doc/2025/2025oncj266/2025oncj266.html>.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., and Michael Talbot, “Vaughan Man Sentenced to 12 Months for Spitting at People as They Walked from Synagogue,” *CityNews*, May 13, 2025, <https://toronto.citynews.ca/2025/05/13/vaughan-man-sentenced-to-12-months-for-spitting-at-people-as-they-walked-from-synagogue/>.

<sup>209</sup> “R. v. Gobin, ONCJ 266,” and Avi David Blaff, “Toronto-Area Man Found Guilty of Assault after Spitting on Jewish Couple, Praising Hitler,” *National Post*, March 25, 2025, <https://nationalpost.com/news/toronto-area-man-found-guilty-of-assault-after-spitting-on-jewish-couple-praising-hitler>.

was right,' 'Hitler should have taken you out,' or some variation thereof." He continued: "I am also prepared to find that Mr. Gobin made a 'salute' often associated with the Nazi movement, and something like 'heil Hitler.' All of these words were proximate to the intentional assault on Mr. and Ms. Roll by spitting."<sup>210</sup>

### **Omar Elkhodary (33, Ontario, Assault)**

On November 2, 2023, Omar Elkhodary, a 33-year-old Arab male residing in Toronto, approached Ms. Vicky Moscoe, a Jewish woman who was affixing posters of children kidnapped by Hamas on a utility pole near Yonge Street and Empress Avenue in North York, Toronto. Elkhodary, a high school graduate working in tech support and parts management and living with his common-law wife at the time, approached Moscoe and called the leaflets "stupid-ass propaganda," before tearing them down. When Moscoe tried to protect a poster with her hand, Elkhodary shoved her and struck her forehead.<sup>211</sup>

Elkhodary, who has a Palestinian stepfather, was taken into custody and went to trial at the Ontario Court of Justice. He was charged with one count of assault, with hate motivation flagged as an aggravating factor.<sup>212</sup>

On February 19, 2025, the Ontario Court of Justice found that Elkhodary was not acting in self-defense but rather acted to force Moscoe away from the utility pole so that he could remove the posters. Elkhodary claimed in court that he believed the posters were "fabricated" and "hateful propaganda." He said his actions were a political protest and cited the fact that he "had family over there."<sup>213</sup> On September 3, 2025, Elkhodary, who expressed remorse for his actions and stated, in hindsight, that he should have walked away from the situation, was sentenced to five months of house arrest.<sup>214</sup>

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> Ontario Court of Justice, "R. v. Elkhodary, 2025 ONCJ 587," November 5, 2025, <https://www.canlii.org/en/on/oncj/doc/2025/2025oncj587/2025oncj587.html>; Caryma Sa'd, "Man Tears Down Posters of Kidnapped Israeli Children in North York, Assaults Woman Who Tries to Stop Him," *The Canadian Jewish News*, November 3, 2023, <https://thecjn.ca/news/man-tears-down-posters-of-kidnapped-israeli-children-in-north-york-assaults-woman-who-tries-to-stop-him/>; and "Woman Assaulted While Putting Up Missing Israeli Children Posters in North York," CTV News Toronto, November 4, 2023, <https://toronto.ctvnews.ca/woman-assaulted-while-putting-up-missing-israeli-children-posters-in-north-york-1.6636023>.

<sup>212</sup> "R. v. Elkhodary, 2025 ONCJ 587," and "Man Charged after North York Assault over Israeli Hostage Posters," *Toronto Sun*, January 22, 2025, <https://torontosun.com/news/local-news/man-charged-after-north-york-assault-over-israeli-hostage-posters>.

<sup>213</sup> "R. v. Elkhodary, 2025 ONCJ 587," and "Court Finds Omar Elkhodary Acted Out of Hostility, not Self-Defense, in Attack on Woman Posting Hostage Posters," *The Canadian Jewish News*, February 20, 2025, <https://thecjn.ca/news/court-finds-omar-elkhodary-acted-out-of-hostility-not-self-defense-in-attack-on-woman-posting-hostage-posters/>.

<sup>214</sup> "R. v. Elkhodary, 2025 ONCJ 587," and "Five Months House Arrest for Man Who Assaulted Toronto Jewish Woman Posting Hostage Posters," *The Canadian Jewish News*, September 3, 2025, <https://thecjn.ca/news/five-months-house-arrest-for-man-who-assaulted-toronto-jewish-woman-posting-hostage-posters/>.

## **Amir Arvahi Azar (32, Ontario, Arson)**

Amir Arvahi Azar, a 32-year-old male of Iranian origin from Toronto (North York), Ontario, was accused in a multi-incident case involving antisemitic arson, vandalism, threats, and hate-speech charges. His personal status and employment are not available.<sup>215</sup>

Police and court reports allege that between April 26, 2024, and January 3, 2025, Azar targeted multiple Jewish institutions in Toronto, including signs at synagogues and Jewish community sites, damaged windows, and left a threatening voicemail for staff at Forest Hill Jewish Centre. News reports also state that the charges include incidents involving Beth Tikvah Synagogue, Pride of Israel Synagogue, Kehillat Shaarei Torah, Temple Sinai, Tiferet Israel Congregation, and the Jewish-owned Café Landwer. Some reporting further described social media posts attributed to Azar that allegedly promoted anti-Jewish violence and formed part of the basis for hate-speech charges, which are rare in Canada.<sup>216</sup>

Azar was arrested on January 11, 2025. In March 2025, Toronto Police announced 29 criminal charges, including advocating genocide and willful promotion of hatred (laid with the consent of the Ministry of the Attorney General), along with arson, mischief, threats, weapons-related, and other charges. News reports also state that police alleged he possessed loaded firearms and other prohibited items at the time of arrest. The case remains before the courts.<sup>217</sup>

## **Paul Koppe (29, Ontario, Spreading Antisemitic Material)**

Paul Koppe, 29, of Ottawa, Ontario, was charged in connection with a series of antisemitic posters and stickers placed across Ottawa’s west end in 2021. News reports and court coverage state that he had no criminal record except for a 2016 impaired-driving charge, and that defense materials described him as having lost his job during the COVID-19 period and then spending long periods alone consuming conspiracy content online. Personal status, religious affiliation, and family origin/ethnicity were not available.<sup>218</sup>

Police and court reports indicate that Koppe placed approximately 80 antisemitic posters and stickers in about 20 locations in Ottawa between October and December 2021, including high

<sup>215</sup> Stewart Bell, “Suspect Charged with Hate Crimes Spree That Included Attacks at 5 Toronto Synagogues,” *Global News*, March 17, 2025, <https://globalnews.ca/news/11085673/suspect-charged-with-hate-crimes-spree-that-included-attacks-at-5-toronto-synagogues/>.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.; Michael Starr, “Toronto Man Charged with Advocating Genocide, Antisemitic Arson, Vandalism, and Other Hate Crimes,” *The Jerusalem Post*, March 18, 2025, <https://www.jpost.com/diaspora/antisemitism/article-846617>.

<sup>217</sup> Stewart Bell, “Suspect Charged with Hate Crimes Spree,” and Meredith Bond, “Toronto Man Facing Hate Crime Charges Allegedly Motivated by Hatred Towards Jewish Community,” *CityNews Toronto*, March 17, 2025, <https://toronto.citynews.ca/2025/03/17/toronto-man-facing-hate-crime-charges-allegedly-motivated-by-hatred-towards-jewish-community/>.

<sup>218</sup> Peter Smith, “Ottawa Man Behind Antisemitic Posters and Stickers Sentenced to 18 Months House Arrest,” Canadian Anti-Hate Network, May 30, 2024, [https://www.antihate.ca/ottawa\\_man\\_behind\\_antisemitic\\_posters\\_stickers\\_sentenced\\_18\\_months\\_house\\_arrest](https://www.antihate.ca/ottawa_man_behind_antisemitic_posters_stickers_sentenced_18_months_house_arrest), and Ottawa Police Service, “Willful Promotion of Hatred Charge Laid against Ottawa Man,” June 23, 2022, <https://www.ottawapolice.ca/en/news/willful-promotion-of-hatred-charge-laid-against-an-ottawa-man.aspx>.

pedestrian-traffic areas in the west end and Barrhaven. The materials reportedly blamed Jews for 9/11, the slave trade, and other antisemitic conspiracy theories. Ottawa Police arrested Koppe on December 8, 2021, and laid 26 hate-motivated mischief charges; on June 23, 2022, police announced that, following approval from the Attorney General of Ontario, he was also charged with willful promotion of hatred.<sup>219</sup>

On May 30, 2024, Koppe pleaded guilty and was sentenced in the Ontario Court of Justice to 18 months of house arrest followed by two years of probation. The court imposed additional conditions, including restrictions on attending Jewish places of worship.<sup>220</sup>

### **Nevin Thunder Young (19, Winnipeg, Antisemitic Graffiti)**

Nevin Thunder Young, single, 19, of Winnipeg, Manitoba, is a Canadian male identified by the Winnipeg Police Service and the RCMP (The Royal Canadian Mounted Police) in connection with an antisemitic graffiti spree and later terrorism-related charges.<sup>221</sup>

According to the Winnipeg Police Service, between September 28 and December 31, 2024, officers received numerous reports of graffiti in Winnipeg's Charleswood area that included antisemitic acronyms and symbols, including swastikas, on structures, objects, and fences. Police stated that investigators gathered CCTV footage, interviewed affected property owners, identified a suspect, and, on January 12, 2025, executed a search warrant at a residence in the Westdale neighborhood, where Young was arrested and charged with 26 counts of mischief under 5,000 Canadian Dollars.<sup>222</sup>

In February 2025, the case was referred by Winnipeg Police to the RCMP Federal Policing National Security Enforcement Section (NSES), Northwest Region. On March 17, 2025, RCMP arrested Young and laid terrorism-related charges, including facilitating terrorist activity, participation in activity of a terrorist group, and two counts of commission of an offence for a terrorist group. RCMP stated that he remained in custody and was scheduled to appear in Winnipeg Provincial Court on March 18, 2025.<sup>223</sup>

Young was accused of having alleged ties to the extremist group M.K.Y./Maniac Murder Cult, a neo-Nazi and accelerationist violent extremist group. It was reported that investigators

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., and Alexmazur1, "Ottawa Man Faces 26 Hate-Motivated Charges for Antisemitic Posters: Police," *Global News*, December 8, 2021, <https://globalnews.ca/news/8433981/ottawa-hate-posters-antisemitism/>.

<sup>220</sup> Smith, "Ottawa Man Behind Antisemitic Posters and Stickers."

<sup>221</sup> Winnipeg Police Service, "Antisemitic Graffiti – Arrest: C24-303346," January 14, 2025, <https://www.winnipeg.ca/police/community/news-releases/2025-01-14-anti-semitic-graffiti-arrest-c24-303346>, and RCMP Manitoba, "Winnipeg Resident Charged with Terrorism-Related Offences," March 18, 2025, <https://rcmp.ca/en/manitoba/news/2025/03/winnipeg-resident-charged-terrorism-related-offences>.

<sup>222</sup> Winnipeg Police Service, "Antisemitic Graffiti – Arrest: C24-303346."

<sup>223</sup> RCMP Manitoba, "Winnipeg Resident Charged with Terrorism-Related Offences," and Sam Thompson, "Winnipeg Man's Terrorism Charges Linked to Violent Extremist Group, Officials Say," *Global News*, March 21, 2025, <https://globalnews.ca/news/11092707/winnipeg-man-terrorism-charges-extremism-rcmp/>.

believed Young was radicalized online. Presently, Young remains in custody pending further proceedings, and no final trial outcome or sentencing has occurred.<sup>224</sup>

### **Mai Abdulhadi (39, Quebec, Nazi Salute)**

Mai Abdulhadi, 39, from Montréal and of Middle Eastern roots, is a franchise operator who ran two kosher-certified Second Cup cafés inside the Jewish General Hospital in Montréal under the hospital’s foodservices leasing structure.<sup>225</sup>

On November 21, 2024, during a pro-Palestinian demonstration in downtown Montréal near Concordia University, video footage circulated online showing a woman later identified by Second Cup Canada as Abdulhadi. The footage reportedly captured her chanting “the Final Solution is coming your way” toward pro-Israel protesters and making a full-arm Nazi salute while wearing a keffiyeh, sunglasses, and a surgical mask.<sup>226</sup>

On November 24, 2024, Second Cup Canada announced that it had terminated Abdulhadi’s franchise agreement, and the two café locations at the Jewish General Hospital were closed. Reporting further indicates that the health network overseeing the hospital supported the decision. On April 28, 2025, Québec prosecutors reportedly laid three counts of uttering threats to cause death or bodily harm, with each count tied to alleged statements made during the November 2024 demonstration.<sup>227</sup>

### **Travis Patron (34, Saskatchewan, Digital Antisemitism)**

Travis Patron, a white Canadian man, 34, from Redvers, Saskatchewan, became publicly known as a far-right activist who presented himself as a “Canadian nationalist” and promoted an ethnocentric political vision centered on opposition to multiculturalism. News reports and party-related descriptions identify him as the founder (June 2017) and leader of the Canadian Nationalist Party (CNP), a federal political party that advanced extreme-right nationalist positions and later lost its registration in March 2022 after failing to meet Elections Canada membership requirements. Patron also ran as a CNP candidate in the 2019 federal election in Souris–Moose Mountain, Saskatchewan.<sup>228</sup>

In 2019, Patron posted a video titled “Beware the Parasitic Tribe” on channels associated with his political activity, where he used dehumanizing antisemitic language and called for

<sup>224</sup> Thompson, “Winnipeg Man’s Terrorism Charges,” and John Longhurst, “Graffiti with Antisemitic Messaging Leads to Terrorism-Related Charges in Winnipeg Teen Case,” *The Canadian Jewish News*, March 19, 2025, <https://thecjn.ca/news/maniac-murder-cult/>.

<sup>225</sup> Nathaniel Dove and Dan Spector, “Second Cup at Montreal Jewish Hospital Shut Down after Antisemitic Remarks, Nazi Salute at Rally,” *Global News*, November 24, 2024, <https://globalnews.ca/news/10886004/montreal-second-cup-jewish-hospital-franchisee-nazi-salute/>.

<sup>226</sup> “Former Coffee Chain Franchisee Charged with Making Threats at Montreal Pro-Palestinian Protest,” *CityNews Montreal*, April 29, 2025, <https://montreal.citynews.ca/2025/04/29/second-cup-franchisee-charged-nazi-salute-protest/>.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid.

<sup>228</sup> Nolan Kowal, “Patron Found Guilty of Promoting Hate in On-Line Video,” *CKOM News/Discover Estevan*, October 5, 2022, <https://www.ckom.com/2022/10/05/patron-found-guilty-of-promoting-hate-in-online-video/>.

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the removal of Jews from Canada. Prosecutors later argued that the video relied on classic antisemitic tropes and openly promoted hatred against Jews as an identifiable group. Following an investigation, Patron was arrested on February 17, 2021, by the RCMP in Saskatchewan and charged with willful promotion of hatred.<sup>229</sup>

While awaiting resolution of the hate-speech case, Patron was also involved in separate criminal proceedings. In 2022, he was convicted on two counts of assault causing bodily harm involving two women in incidents dating to 2019. He received concurrent 18-month sentences with credit for time served.<sup>230</sup>

Journalist Nolan Kowal reported that Crown prosecutor Ryan Snyder argued Patron's video was not merely political rhetoric but a public communication promoting hatred against Jews as an identifiable group, emphasizing that it reproduced longstanding antisemitic tropes and advocated expulsion. Patron's hate-speech trial proceeded before the Court of King's Bench in Estevan, Saskatchewan, and on October 5, 2022, a jury found him guilty of willfully promoting hatred. At sentencing on October 20, 2022, the court imposed one year imprisonment (with credit for time served) and one year probation, including a condition barring him from posting online about Jewish people for one year after release.<sup>231</sup>



Photo by YouTube

*Former Canadian Nationalist Party leader Travis Patron in a CNP video, 2019*

<sup>229</sup> Kelly Skjerven, "Canadian Nationalist Party Leader Charged with Promoting Hate," *Global News*, February 17, 2021, <https://globalnews.ca/news/7645779/canadian-nationalist-party-leader-charges/>.

<sup>230</sup> Nolan Kowal, "Patron Gets One-Year Sentence for Promoting Hate in On-Line Video," *CKOM News/Discover Estevan*, October 20, 2022, <https://www.ckom.com/2022/10/20/patron-gets-one-year-sentence-for-promoting-hate-in-online-video/>.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, and Nolan Kowal, "Patron Found Guilty."

## Kenneth Paulin (51, Ontario, Holocaust Denial)

Kenneth Paulin, a white Canadian man, 51, of North Bay, Ontario, became a landmark defendant in Canadian hate speech enforcement after receiving what was publicly described as the first custodial sentence in Canada specifically tied to Holocaust denial under the Criminal Code's newer antisemitism provision. News reports and legal commentary note that Canada's hate propaganda framework had long relied on the general willful-promotion-of-hatred offence, while the 2022 Criminal Code amendment added a specific offence for willfully promoting antisemitism by condoning, denying, or downplaying the Holocaust.<sup>232</sup>

Paulin's online antisemitism began in early 2024 when he vilified the Jewish community, promoted conspiracy theories, and encouraged blood libel. He incited violence against Jews and repeatedly denied the Holocaust. Jews are "demons," he shared on his social media feed. Paulin celebrated the Holocaust as one of "the greatest mass murders in human history," and said Jews are "to blame for every American who falls." In other posts, he said he thought Jews were responsible for "almost 100%" of the world's problems. For almost a year, Paulin expressed support for a "worldwide Jew Hunt" and shared that "antisemitism is the only thing that can save the world."<sup>233</sup>

Paulin's Holocaust denial was also expressed in video form, with titles including "their victim card gets permanently denied as the hollow-cost-Hoax is exposed," accompanying the hateful content. In another post, he stated that "six million didn't happen, but it should've." In November 2024, North Bay Police Service (NBPS) launched a hate crime investigation after receiving "reports of concern regarding the online content being produced by the accused."<sup>234</sup>

Journalist Ron East, writing in TheJ.ca, reported that Kenneth Paulin's September 18, 2025, sentence was described by Crown prosecutors as the first jail term in Canada specifically tied to Holocaust denial, framing the case as a legal milestone beyond North Bay itself. Investigation into Paulin lasted seven months, and after gathering evidence, police sought and obtained the Attorney General of Ontario's consent to lay charges.

On June 20, 2025, the North Bay Police Service (NBPS) arrested Paulin and charged him with willful promotion of hatred and willful promotion of antisemitism by condoning, denying, or downplaying the Holocaust. The case then proceeded through the provincial criminal courts in North Bay, and on September 18, 2025, Paulin was convicted and sentenced to nine months in jail, followed by two years of probation.<sup>235</sup>

<sup>232</sup> Government of Canada, Criminal Code (R.S.C., 1985, c. C-46) s. 319, <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/c-46/section-319.html>.

<sup>233</sup> FSWC, "Court Issues First Ever Jail Sentence for Holocaust Denial, October 1, 2021, <https://www.fswc.ca/news/court-issues-first-ever-jail-sentence-in-canada-for-holocaust-denial>.

<sup>234</sup> North Bay Police Service (NBPS), "Media Release: Local Man Charged with Hate Crimes," June 23, 2025, <https://www.northbaypolice.ca/news-releases/media-release-local-man-charged-with-hate-crimes>.

<sup>235</sup> Ron East, "North Bay Man Jailed in Landmark Case for Holocaust Denial," thej.ca, October 3, 2025, <https://thej.ca/2025/10/03/north-bay-man-jailed-in-landmark-case-for-holocaust-denial/>.

## Iain Aspenlieder (46, Ontario, Vandalism)

Iain Aspenlieder, 46, a former City of Ottawa lawyer, was charged in 2025 in connection with the defacement of Canada's National Holocaust Monument in Ottawa. News reports identified him as a former municipal lawyer and framed the case as one of national significance because the monument is a central site of Holocaust remembrance and because the proceedings unfolded amid heightened concern over antisemitic incidents in Canada.<sup>236</sup>

While no confirmed marital status was identified, one report noted that he had recently ended a three-year relationship with a girlfriend.<sup>237</sup>

According to public reporting, the incident occurred in the early morning hours of June 9, 2025, when red paint was thrown on the National Holocaust Monument and the words "FEED ME" were written across the structure. Reports further stated that surveillance footage showed Aspenlieder arriving by bicycle carrying red bags before defacing the monument, and later coverage noted that he pleaded guilty to mischief in July 2025.<sup>238</sup>

The case's sentencing phase drew broader attention because Jewish organizations and legal advocates emphasized the symbolic and communal impact of targeting a Holocaust memorial rather than an ordinary public structure. Public statements and legal commentary described the monument as a site of collective memory and argued that its desecration carried effects extending beyond property damage, including harm to Jewish community dignity and Holocaust remembrance in Canada.<sup>239</sup>

Aspenlieder received a sentence of two years' probation. He was barred from attending the Holocaust memorial and Jewish places of worship, schools, or community centers.<sup>240</sup>

<sup>236</sup> "CIJA Disappointed by Sentencing in Holocaust Monument Desecration Case," CIJA, January 27, 2026, [https://www.cija.ca/cija\\_disappointed\\_by\\_sentencing\\_in\\_holocaust\\_monument\\_desecration\\_case](https://www.cija.ca/cija_disappointed_by_sentencing_in_holocaust_monument_desecration_case).

<sup>237</sup> Ellin Bessner, "What's Behind the Guilty Plea by the Former City of Ottawa Lawyer Who Defaced Canada's National Holocaust Monument," *The Canadian Jewish News*, July 29, 2025, <https://thecjn.ca/news/whats-behind-the-guilty-plea-by-the-former-city-of-ottawa-lawyer-who-defaced-canadas-national-holocaust-monument/>.

<sup>238</sup> Anja Karadeglija, "Man Receives Suspended Sentence for Defacing National Holocaust Monument," *The Canadian Press*, January 7, 2026, <https://www.winnipegfreepress.com/canada/2026/01/07/man-receives-suspended-sentence-for-defacing-national-holocaust-monument>.

<sup>239</sup> "CIJA Disappointed by Sentencing in Holocaust Monument Desecration Case."

<sup>240</sup> "R. v. Aspenlieder, 2026 ONSC 281 (CanLII)," canlii.org, January 14, 2026, <https://www.canlii.org/en/on/onsc/doc/2026/2026onsc281/2026onsc281.html>, and Karadeglija, "Man Receives Suspended Sentence."

## THE UNITED KINGDOM

Case data for 2020–2025 in the United Kingdom were collected from publicly available Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) materials, including charging decisions, press releases, and case outcome announcements. Additional case identification and details were drawn from news reports and, where relevant, posts on social media. Cases were included only when antisemitic conduct or motivation were explicitly identified in CPS statements or in judicial findings.

### **Ben Styles (25, Leamington Spa, Digital Antisemitism)**

Ben Styles, a white British man, 25, from Leamington Spa (Warwickshire, West Midlands), linked to neo-Nazi extremist ideology, became publicly known through a counter-terrorism case involving extremist online activity, firearms construction, and terrorism-related material. News reports identified Styles as the man who posted inciteful messages in an online group titled “#Kill All the Jews,” where he referred to the Holocaust as a “Holohoax” and wrote: “I hope the Holocaust is real next time,” placing explicit anti-Jewish hatred at the center of the case from an early stage. His personal status and occupation are not known.<sup>241</sup>

On April 12, 2021, Styles, of Plymouth Place in Warwickshire, was arrested by detectives from Counter Terrorism Policing West Midlands after officers searched his property and discovered parts of a homemade submachine gun in his garage, along with tools and materials linked to weapons-making.

Reporting and prosecution summaries also stated that police recovered store-bought blanks and manuals explaining how blank rounds could be converted into live ammunition, as well as extremist items including a Nazi fitness manual and a book titled *The SS Family Yearly – Celebrations of the SS Family*. His phone lock screen also reportedly displayed swastika imagery.<sup>242</sup>

Styles first appeared in the Magistrates’ Court on April 14, 2021, and later appeared by video link at the Old Bailey on April 30, 2021, where he confirmed his name and age and the court addressed charges including constructing a lethal firearm (between February 1, 2019 and April 2021) and multiple counts related to possession of terrorism-useful documents. It was also noted that the court was told he had drafted a manifesto during that period. The case later proceeded at Birmingham Crown Court, where in November 2021 he pleaded guilty to three counts of collecting information likely to be useful to a person committing or preparing an act

<sup>241</sup> Campaign Against Antisemitism, “Leamington Spa Man Who Posted in ‘Kill All the Jews’ Group Given Seven Years in Jail for Building Submachine Gun,” antisemitism.org, June 27, 2023, <https://antisemitism.org/leamington-spa-man-who-posted-in-kill-all-the-jews-group-given-seven-years-in-jail-for-building-submachine-gun/>.

<sup>242</sup> Rangzeb Hussain, “Midlands Far-Right Extremist was Making Submachine Gun for ‘Religious War,’” I Am Birmingham, June 15, 2023, <https://iambirmingham.co.uk/2023/06/15/midlands-far-right-extremist-making-submachine-gun-religious-war/>.

of terrorism (section 58) and to possessing a prohibited weapon under the Firearms Act 1968. He was acquitted of preparing an act of terrorism.<sup>243</sup>

Prosecutor Matthew Brooks described how Styles had traveled to New Zealand shortly before the 2019 Christchurch mosque attack and became “fascinated” by the attacker. He embraced extreme right-wing ideology and viewed his conduct through a broader “religious war” lens. On June 23, 2023, Birmingham Crown Court sentenced him to five years’ imprisonment for possessing a prohibited weapon and two years for possessing terrorism-related material.<sup>244</sup>

### **Mason Reynolds (22, Brighton, Attempted Bombing)**

Mason Reynolds, 22, a white, Christian from Brighton, Sussex, lived with his parents in Moulsecoomb, “[in a] not untypical existence of a young man in his late teens,” studying bricklaying and doing roofing or other part-time laboring work. Beneath that outwardly ordinary routine, prosecutors said he had embraced neo-Nazi beliefs and began spreading hate online in late 2022, including co-administering a Telegram channel called “Far-Right Sigmas” that circulated far-right propaganda and glorified extremist violence.<sup>245</sup>

By early 2023, Reynolds’ online activity was paired with a concrete target: Holland Road Synagogue (Hove Hebrew Congregation) in the seaside town of Hove. Investigators described a “synagogue plan” that read like reconnaissance rather than abstract ideology. It included maps and diagrams of entrances and exits, security camera locations, notes about access points and fire exits, and timing linked to services and the Jewish calendar. A Google Maps clip of the building’s exterior was found as well as annotated comments about the “quickest and efficient way in.” Police also found extremist manuals and bomb-making material on his devices, including the “Mujahideen Explosives Handbook,” the “Terrorist’s Handbook,” and the “Anarchist Cookbook,” alongside propaganda that praised previous far-right attackers.<sup>246</sup> Sky News reported that the prosecution tied Reynolds’ planning to openly antisemitic intent and to maximizing harm. His notes highlighted the High Holy Days Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur as times when synagogues are most crowded, and he produced or shared material with slogans such as “Make Jews Afraid Again,” while also commenting online that it would be “10x better seeing Jews get killed.”<sup>247</sup>

Counter Terrorism Policing Southeast acted on intelligence and raided Reynolds’ home on June 27, 2023, arresting him and seizing devices that investigators said stored both neo-Nazi material and the synagogue attack planning documents. He was charged in early July 2023,

<sup>243</sup> Counter Terror Business, “Man Admits Collecting Terrorism Material,” June 16, 2023, <https://counterterrorbusiness.com/news/16062023/man-admits-collecting-terrorism-material>.

<sup>244</sup> Hussain, “Midlands Far-Right Extremist,” and Ben Cartwright, “Warwickshire Man Jailed after Counter Terrorism Investigation,” hellorayo.co.uk, June 28, 2023, <https://hellorayo.co.uk/greatest-hits/coventry-warwickshire/news/warwickshire-man-jailed-after-counter-terrorism-investigation/>.

<sup>245</sup> “Teenage Neo-Nazi Who Planned Suicide Bomb Attack on Synagogue Jailed for Eight Years,” Sky News, June 14, 2024, <https://news.sky.com/story/teenage-neo-nazi-who-planned-suicide-bomb-attack-on-synagogue-jailed-for-eight-years-13152887>.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

<sup>247</sup> “Teenage Neo-Nazi Who Planned Suicide Bomb Attack.”

and the case proceeded to Winchester Crown Court. Reynolds pleaded guilty in October 2023 to five counts of collecting information likely to be useful for terrorism and five counts of disseminating terrorist publications. However, on April 26, 2024, a jury found him guilty of just one count of possessing an article for terrorist purposes under section 57 of the Terrorism Act 2000.

On June 14, 2024, the court imposed a sentence of eight years' imprisonment followed by five years on license and ordered a 15-year notification requirement to monitor him after release.<sup>248</sup>

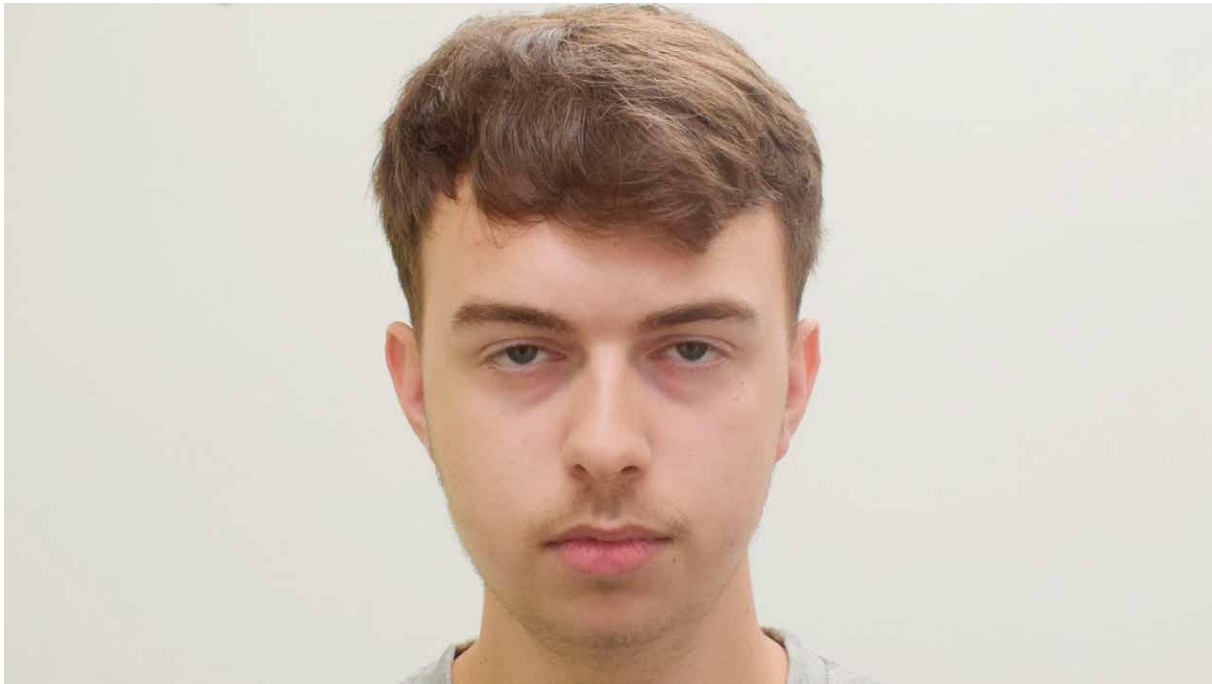


Photo by CTPSE

Mugshot of Mason Reynolds, 2023

### **Kristofer Thomas Kearney (39, Liverpool, Digital Antisemitism)**

Kristofer Thomas Kearney, a white British man, 39, from Liverpool, is a married father of four and a former British Army soldier, member of the Parachute Regiment, who was indicted for extremist Telegram activity conducted under the alias “Charlie Big Potatoes.” News reports identified him as posting from Alicante, Spain, where he had been living before being extradited to the United Kingdom in September 2022, and linked him to the far-right group Patriotic Alternative, where he was described as “Head of Fitness.”<sup>249</sup>

The charges focused on two posts dated January 21, 2021 and March 8, 2021, in which Kearney disseminated material drawn from manifestos associated with far-right mass killers including Anders Breivik. The material he shared included anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim content, “white

<sup>248</sup> CST, “Brighton Man Who Possessed Plans to Attack Synagogue Sentenced,” cst.org, June 14, 2024, [https://cst.org.uk/public/data/file/7/d/Brighton%20man%20who%20possessed%20plans%20to%20attack%20synagogue%20sentenced%20\\_%20Counter%20Terrorism%20Policing%2014%20Jun%202024.pdf](https://cst.org.uk/public/data/file/7/d/Brighton%20man%20who%20possessed%20plans%20to%20attack%20synagogue%20sentenced%20_%20Counter%20Terrorism%20Policing%2014%20Jun%202024.pdf).

<sup>249</sup> Campaign Against Antisemitism, “Member of Far Right Group Patriotic Alternative Who Told Telegram Followers Hitler did ‘Nothing Wrong’ is Jailed,” antisemitism.org, June 26, 2023, <https://antisemitism.org/member-of-far-right-group-patriotic-alternative-who-told-telegram-followers-hitler-did-nothing-wrong-is-jailed/>.

genocide” rhetoric, and messages capable of encouraging extremist violence; prosecutors also cited Telegram posts in which he said Adolf Hitler “showed people the way” and “did nothing wrong.”<sup>250</sup>

After extradition from Spain, Kearney was held at HM Prison Chelmsford and later appeared at the Old Bailey by video link, where he pleaded guilty on March 1, 2023 to two counts of disseminating terrorist publications.

His defense argued that his conduct was reckless rather than intentional, but prosecutor Naomi Parsons told the court that the Crown’s case was “consistent with intent.” During hearings on May 4 and 5, 2023, Kearney maintained that he would not have circulated the material if he had believed it risked promoting violence, and he also claimed he hoped his rhetoric would function as a “rallying cry” for involvement in community groups.<sup>251</sup>

On June 23, 2023, Kearney was sentenced to four years and eight months in prison for two counts of disseminating terrorist publications, with an additional two-year extended license period and a ten-year notification requirement.<sup>252</sup>

### **Michael Derham (Newcastle Upon Tyne, Digital Antisemitism)**

Michael Derham, likely in his 50s or 60s in 2024–2026, is a Newcastle upon Tyne resident who came under scrutiny in the period following the October 7 attacks for antisemitic content posted on X. His case proceeded at Newcastle Magistrates’ Court after a private prosecution brought by Campaign against Antisemitism (CAA).<sup>253</sup>

The posts attributed to Derham were not limited to a single message but reflected a recurring pattern of anti-Jewish conspiracy rhetoric and Holocaust revisionism. Among the statements were: “Western politicians have all been bought or blackmailed by Israel, Mossad or Jewish lobby,” “how much of what we’ve been told about Jews and Israel since WWII has been lies/propaganda? We should stop believing it now,” and “mind you Jewish people are showing themselves to be easy to hate. Especially their politicians, diplomats and media. Makes you question all the myths they have spread about themselves.” He wrote about the Holocaust: “The figure of six million dead is by far the highest outlier estimate” and “six million is the most extreme estimate by a long way.”

<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>251</sup> Emily Pennink, “First Alleged Member of Far-Right Patriotic Alternative Admits Terror Charges,” *Belfast Telegraph*, March 1, 2023, <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/uk/first-alleged-member-of-far-right-patriotic-alternative-admits-terror-charges/1668727673.html>.

<sup>252</sup> Campaign Against Antisemitism, “Alleged Member of Far Right Group Patriotic Alternative Told Telegram Followers Hitler Did ‘Nothing Wrong,’ Court Hears,” antisemitism.org, May 7, 2023, <https://antisemitism.org/alleged-member-of-far-right-group-patriotic-alternative-told-telegram-followers-hitler-did-nothing-wrong-court-hears>, and CT Insight, “Far Right Fitness ‘Guru’ Kristofer Kearney Jailed Over Terror Manifestos,” June 24, 2023, <https://ctinsight.net/far-right-fitness-guru-kristofer-kearney-jailed/>.

<sup>253</sup> Campaign Against Antisemitism, “CAA Private Prosecution Leads to Conviction and Sentence for Man who Shared Antisemitic Conspiracy Theories Online,” antisemitism.org, December 8, 2024, <https://antisemitism.org/caa-private-prosecution-leads-to-conviction-and-sentence-for-man-who-shared-antisemitic-conspiracy-theories-online/>.

According to CAA’s published account, Derham pleaded guilty and was convicted of five offences under section 127(1)(a) and (3) of the Communications Act 2003. CAA states that the posts were first exposed on X by Steve Cooke, a Labour Party political activist who speaks out on antisemitism, after the Metropolitan Police had said that “no suspect was identified” and would not refer the matter to the Crown Prosecution Service. At sentencing in Newcastle Magistrates’ Court, Derham received a 600 British Pounds fine and was ordered to pay 400 British Pounds in prosecution costs (at 100 British Pounds per month), with the court noting his early guilty plea, apparent remorse, good character, age, health difficulties, and limited income.<sup>254</sup>

### **Fiona Elizabeth Ryan (40, Wiltshire, Digital Antisemitism)**

Fiona Elizabeth Ryan, 40, a white British woman from Salisbury, Wiltshire, described herself online as a “geo-political analyst” and a journalist. She maintained a large TikTok audience before her prosecution.<sup>255</sup>

In a TikTok post from October 28, 2023, she wrote: “many of us DON’T condemn Hamas. These are men who have grown up in a concentration camp and found a way to bust out. They are hero’s” [sic]. In other posts she was reported to have shared blunt antisemitic contents, including Holocaust-related mockery. Her bail conditions included restrictions on posting social media content relating to religion or to domestic and international conflicts.<sup>256</sup>

Proceedings advanced in Salisbury Magistrates’ Court, where Wiltshire Police reported on September 4, 2024, that Ryan had been found guilty of four counts of offensive communications after pleading not guilty, and that District Judge Timothy Pattinson held that “any reasonable person would find all of this material featured in this trial grossly offensive.” Judge Pattinson described the posts as “disgusting and nauseating” and motivated by hostility based on race and religion, while Wessex prosecutor Gavin Sumpter said Ryan’s “vile rhetoric reached a wide audience” and caused “real harm in the Jewish community.”<sup>257</sup>

On November 14, 2024, she was sentenced to a total of 20 weeks’ imprisonment suspended for 18 months, with prosecution costs, a victim surcharge, and a rehabilitation requirement.<sup>258</sup>

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

<sup>255</sup> Crown Prosecution Service, “TikToker Sentenced for Grossly Offensive Antisemitic Posts,” November 14, 2024, <https://www.cps.gov.uk/wessex/news/tiktoker-sentenced-grossly-offensive-antisemitic-posts>; Wiltshire Police, “Salisbury Woman Guilty of Offensive Social Media Posts,” April 9, 2024, <https://www.wiltshire.police.uk/news/wiltshire/news/2024/september-2024/salisbury-woman-guilty-of-offensive-social-media-posts/>; ITV News, “TikToker from Salisbury Who Made ‘Grossly Offensive’ Antisemitic Posts Avoids Prison, November 15, 2024, <https://www.itv.com/news/westcountry/2024-11-15/tiktoker-who-made-grossly-offensive-antisemitic-posts-avoids-prison>.

<sup>256</sup> UKLFI, “Social Media Influencer Arrested over Pro-Hamas Tweets,” December 17, 2023, <https://www.uklfi.com/social-media-influencer-arrested-over-pro-hamas-tweets>; Crown Prosecution Service, “TikToker Sentenced for Grossly Offensive Antisemitic Posts”; and ITV News, “TikToker from Salisbury Who Made ‘Grossly Offensive’ Antisemitic Posts.”

<sup>257</sup> ITV News, “TikToker from Salisbury Who Made ‘Grossly Offensive’ Antisemitic Posts,” and Crown Prosecution Service, “TikToker Sentenced for Grossly Offensive Antisemitic Posts.”

<sup>258</sup> Wiltshire Police, “Salisbury Woman Guilty of Offensive Social Media Posts,” and Crown Prosecution Service, “TikToker Sentenced for Grossly Offensive Antisemitic Posts.”

## **Hussein Altamimi (22, London, Assault) and Ali Alanzi (30, London, Assault)**

Hussein Altamimi, 22, and Ali Alanzi, 30, both from London and of Arab origin, were convicted of an antisemitic assault that occurred in November 2024 outside Western Marble Arch Synagogue after worshippers had left a social event.<sup>259</sup>

Outside the synagogue, the two men targeted a group of four Jewish victims, shouting: “Jews aren’t welcome here,” with additional abuse reported in court, including “you don’t belong here,” “fucking Jew,” and repeated cries of “free Palestine.”

Court reporting states that when one victim began recording the incident on a mobile phone, Altamimi hit her arm so that she could no longer continue filming, while Alanzi threw the contents of an alcoholic drink toward one of the victims. Both men were detained by synagogue security before police arrived, and Alanzi assaulted a police officer during the arrest process.<sup>260</sup>

At Isleworth Crown Court, both were convicted of four counts each of religiously aggravated fear, provocation of violence and religiously aggravated assault. Alanzi was also convicted of assaulting an emergency worker. Altamimi was additionally found guilty in relation to a separate July 1, 2023, incident involving assaulting a police officer and racially aggravated abuse. Altamimi received eight months’ imprisonment, while Alanzi received seven months and an additional 12 weeks following the activation of a suspended sentence.<sup>261</sup>

## **Mohammed Nafees Ahmed (32, Birmingham, Digital Antisemitism)**

Mohammed Nafees Ahmed, 32, Muslim, from Tipton in England’s West Midlands, is an accountant who later worked as a pharmacy delivery driver, married and the father of two. After the October 7, 2023, Hamas attack, he focused his X account on Gaza and Israel, posting content that celebrated violence and repeatedly baiting authorities online, including goading the Metropolitan Police to arrest him.<sup>262</sup>

Across October and November 2023, Ahmed used social media to praise Hamas and escalate into explicitly violent and antisemitic language. He replied to then Foreign Secretary James Cleverly’s October 8 condemnation by writing “your a fool, long live Palestine, long live Hamas,”

<sup>259</sup> Tristan Kirk, “Two Jailed for Hurling Antisemitic Abuse and Alcohol at Worshipers Outside Jewish Synagogue in Marble Arch,” *The Standard*, June 6, 2025, <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/crime/marble-arch-synagogue-abuse-antisemitism-palestine-jews-court-hate-crime-b1231574.html>; “Two Men Sentenced for Antisemitic Abuse Outside London Synagogue,” *The Jewish Chronicle*, June 5, 2025, <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/two-men-sentenced-for-antisemitic-abuse-outside-westminster-synagogue-ywe5t2zm>; and David Michael Swindle, “Two UK Men Convicted, Jailed Following November Antisemitic Harassment,” *The Algemeiner*, June 6, 2025, <https://www.algemeiner.com/2025/06/06/two-uk-men-convicted-jailed-following-november-antisemitic-harassment/>.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

<sup>262</sup> Emily Pennink, “Jail for ‘Idiot’ Hamas Supporter Who Threatened Primer Minister with Knife Emoji,” *The Independent*, December 19, 2024, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/hamas-keir-starmer-prime-minister-israel-old-bailey-b2667314.html>.

and then posted on October 11: “Wipe them off the map. Death to Israel and America.” On October 16, he wrote that Hamas were “resistance fighters” and that “we will eradicate every Zionist ... INSHALLAH,” while also glorifying videos of Israeli soldiers being killed. In late November, he posted “Parish Juda,” described in reporting as meaning “death to Jews,” and he also directed a knife-emoji threat at Sir Keir Starmer during a Chanukah message, writing: “You Zionist, your time will come (knife icon).”<sup>263</sup>

The case moved from online monitoring to prosecution after the Jewish Community Security Trust (CST) said its open-source research team identified the author of the extremist posts and shared the evidence with counter-terrorism police. West Midlands Police arrested Ahmed on March 20, 2024, at his home in Tipton; he initially gave no comment but later acknowledged possession of the device used for the posts and provided an access code. On September 16, 2024, he was charged with eight counts of supporting a proscribed terrorist organization (Hamas), pleaded guilty to all counts in early December 2024 at Westminster Magistrates’ Court, and was then sentenced at the Old Bailey on December 19, 2024, to 12 months’ imprisonment with a further year on extended license.<sup>264</sup>

In court, the prosecution framed the offending as a sustained pattern of “antisemitic, violent and threatening” messaging over roughly five months, and pointed to the knife icons aimed at public figures alongside posts advocating attacks on Israel as part of why the conduct was treated as terrorist support rather than mere political commentary. Judge Nigel Lickley said he was satisfied Ahmed had “terrorist motivations” and that he knew Hamas was proscribed as a terror organization despite claiming otherwise, stressing that his words “played a part in a worldwide dialogue at the time” and could not be overlooked. The defense argued he was a “keyboard warrior,” politically driven by distress over images from Gaza, and insisted he did not view himself as antisemitic.<sup>265</sup>

## **Shakeel Yunis (44, Coventry, Digital Antisemitism)**

Shakeel Yunis, 44, Muslim, married and the father of one from Craven Street, Coventry, came to the attention of the UK authorities after posting a three-minute TikTok video in which he threatened to kill an Israeli Jewish man who was due to speak at King’s College London as part of his charity work. In the video, published March 20, 2024, Yunis boasted that he had found the man’s location and addressed him directly, saying: “Plenty of people, including myself, are itching to get my hands on you.”<sup>266</sup>

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.

<sup>264</sup> CST, “Hamas Supporter Behind Bars because of CST Research,” cst.org, January 7, 2025, <https://cst.org.uk/news/blog/2025/01/07/hamas-supporter-behind-bars-because-of-cst-research>.

<sup>265</sup> Daniel Walton, “Face Revealed of Tipton Terrorist Who Threatened Prime Minister with Knife Emojis,” *Express & Star*, December 20, 2024, <https://www.expressandstar.com/news/local-hubs/sandwell/tipton/2024/12/20/face-revealed-of-tipton-terrorist-who-threatened-prime-minister-with-knife-emojis/>.

<sup>266</sup> Campaign Against Antisemitism, “Coventry Man Jailed after Targeting Jewish Man on TikTok,” antisemitism.org, June 25, 2025, <https://antisemitism.org/coventry-man-jailed-after-targeting-jewish-man-on-tiktok/>, and Carl Jackson and Claire Harrison, “Coventry Dad’s Three-Minute TikTok Rant That Landed Him in Jail Despite Apology,” YahooNews UK, June 25, 2025, <https://uk.news.yahoo.com/coventry-dads-three-minute-tiktok-110148591.html>.

Yunis framed the post as a form of retaliation tied to the Gaza war, telling viewers that “people are actively looking to dish out justice,” that the man “will never be able to walk the streets of the UK again in safety,” and that “people will drag him away from his family as he did to others.” He claimed the target was a former IDF soldier who had recently fought in Gaza. But the man was in fact a charity worker whose military service was in the more distant past. The threat triggered a security response that included the target moving homes, removing his image from social media, and using an alias out of fear for his safety.<sup>267</sup>

On March 28, 2024, the Campaign against Antisemitism (CAA), a British NGO combating hate crimes directed against Jews, reported Yunis to the Metropolitan Police.

On August 22, 2024, Yunis pleaded guilty at the Birmingham Crown Court to one count of sending a communication threatening death or serious harm.<sup>268</sup>

The Coventry Telegraph reported that Yunis apologized and accepted he had acted on misinformation, while his barrister, Matthew Cullen, said he felt “severe guilt.” Cullen said his client held strong political views but had not shown hostility based on race or religion.

Sentencing at Birmingham Crown Court, Judge Andrew Smith concluded that only immediate custody was appropriate and emphasized the need for deterrence because the offence undermined a “stable and civilized society.” Yunis was handed an 18-month prison term.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> Campaign Against Antisemitism, “Coventry Man Jailed after Targeting Jewish Man.”

<sup>268</sup> Ibid.

<sup>269</sup> Carl Jackson and Claire Harrison, “Coventry Dad is Jailed after Rant on TikTok,” *Coventry Telegraph*, June 28, 2025, <https://www.magzter.com/stories/newspaper/Coventry-Telegraph/COVENTRY-DAD-IS-JAILED-AFTER-RANT-ON-TIKTOK>.



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