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The Institute works in cooperation with the World Jewish Congress (WJC), the umbrella organization of Jewish communities in 80 countries around the world. The WJC is headed by President Edgar Bronfman and Secretary-General Stephen E. Herbits. The Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism, an Israeli state organization, collaborates with the Institute in data collection.

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Foreword

The annual journal *Antisemitism Worldwide* presents an analysis of antisemitism and racism around the world. Every two years, in addition to the worldwide analysis, it provides a forum for academic discussion of historical aspects of antisemitism and racism in different places and periods. Our journal policy is guided by the notion that no coherent examination and understanding of contemporary trends and developments is possible without a thorough acquaintance with the history and manifestations of antisemitism throughout history.

The present volume is divided into four parts. The first section includes essays on: a) the French left and political Islam; b) international terror and antisemitism; and c) Iran, the Jews and the Holocaust. The second consists of book reviews. The third part is a general analysis of the year in review, specifically focusing on trends in antisemitic violence; antisemitic and anti-Zionist manifestations on campus and the attempt to impose an academic boycott on Israel; and commemoration of the Holocaust and the struggle against antisemitism. The last section is a country-by-country survey, divided according to region, since each part of the world has its own characteristic problems in addition to those common to all countries. The survey contains summaries of more detailed reviews which appear on our Internet site (<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/CR.htm>). It provides information on extremist movements, antisemitic activities, attitudes toward the Nazi period and the Holocaust, and the struggle against antisemitism and racism. Countries where there was no evidence of antisemitism in 2005, or where it was not reported, are not included. The survey describes the phenomenon of antisemitism in the various countries without delving into their history, and focuses only on the situation in 2005. A series of graphs in the appendices providing statistical data complements the picture for 2005.

Categorization of antisemitic activities sometimes varies from one source to another. Our classification scheme divides these activities into: a) all expressions and modes of propaganda, most notably Holocaust denial, b) violent acts without the use of a weapon, and c) attacks using violent means. It should be emphasized that the survey is based on reported cases only, and that the data presented in the appendices include only violent attacks intended to cause loss of life and cases of actual damage to property. In fact, many more hundreds of minor incidents, such as graffiti, slogans and swastikas painted on walls, as well as personal insults and harassment, were also registered by Jewish

communities and individuals. In many cases, it is hard to assess whether the injury or damage was motivated by antisemitism, or was an act of hooliganism, since the identity of the perpetrators is often difficult to establish.

It should be noted that the variety of data and materials coming from different areas entails a diversified approach on the part of the authors and editors, thus ruling out complete uniformity in the presentation of the contents, especially with regard to names and references.

Israeli, Jewish and non-Jewish organizations, research institutes and individuals supply the relevant data and material, useful contacts, opinions and assessments, and above all the motivation, for combating antisemitism and racism. Thus, the annual review represents an international effort in this regard. We conclude by expressing our deepest gratitude to all the organizations and individuals who have taken part in this undertaking.

RESEARCH TOPICS

The French Left and Political Islam: Secularism versus the Temptation of an Alliance

Jean-Yves Camus*

INTRODUCTION

From the outbreak of the second intifada (autumn 2000) until the second half of 2005, antisemitic activity became an increasing daily reality in France. This was demonstrated by statistics of the Ministries of the Interior and Justice as well as by data of CRIF (Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juives de France), the representative body of the Jewish community. The consequent uneasiness felt by most French Jews not only stemmed from the number of attacks: but from the fact that, for the first time since 1945 –and while still under threat from the extreme right¹ – a new form of antisemitism had emerged, expressed by a radicalized segment of the Muslim population.

It should be noted that while the Jewish community numbers about 575,000 (the largest in Western Europe) out of a total population of 58.520 million (1999 census), the foreign population (i.e., holding foreign nationality) is estimated at 4.3 million, and the number of French citizens of foreign origin is 19.7 million (1999 census).² The total number of Muslims (both French citizens and foreign nationals) is estimated at somewhere between 3.7 and 6 million, representing up to 10 percent of the population. The escalation of antisemitic violence, coupled with growing doubts about the future for Jewish children, explains why 2,075 French Jews emigrated to Israel in 2003, and 2,350 in 2004 (a rise of 13 percent).

ORGANIZING FRENCH ISLAM WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SECULAR STATE

If French attitudes toward the Jews and Israel have become less positive, it is not only because French foreign policy has for decades been overtly biased in favor of the Palestinians and the Arab world but because a new factor has entered the arena: the political expression of Islam. While French Muslims do not aspire to form a political party of their own (although there have been at least two attempts to do so³), they have become increasingly active in French political life and they seek to

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gainrepresentation in the political parties, city councils and legislative bodies of the state. It is not the intention here to write a history of the relationship between the Socialist Party and the Muslim community in the period 1981–93 (when the former was in power); suffice it to say that the Muslims, especially the youth, were bitterly disappointed by the failure of the left to deliver its promises of equality and ending petty discrimination in housing and in the labor market, in accordance with the slogans of the much publicized “Marche pour l’Egalité” proclaimed in 1983. Instead of working toward the integration of Muslims into French society, the Socialist Party developed a *communautariste*⁴ approach, patronizing them through puppet organizations such as SOS-Racisme, an endeavor which proved completely ineffective. By the end of the 1980s, the majority of French Muslims felt betrayed by the left and had lost confidence in its ability to grant them full civil rights. They were thus ready to fall prey to the fundamentalist associations which began canvassing the suburbs of Paris, Lille, Lyon and Marseille, with their messages of affirmative action and self-organization (at best) or (quite often) with the notion that politics led nowhere, that democracy was a tool of the *kafir* (infidel) state, and that only resort to the Salafi⁵ or Tablighi⁶ way of life could improve their status. In a way, the failure of the left to bridge the gap that existed between the socio-economic condition of native Frenchmen and that of immigrants and their children, paved the way for political Islam.

Another factor was the establishment under both the left and the conservatives of a representative body of French Islam. The French government began considering the creation of such an entity at the beginning of the 1980s, when the Socialist-Communist coalition came to power (May 1981). It took several years of internal debate to begin the process; Socialist Minister of the Interior Pierre Joxe finally took the decision of setting up the CORIF (Conseil de Réflexion de l’Islam de France) in 1989, because he wanted to counter the already growing influence of the fundamentalists who had gained prominence during the first case of *hijab* [headscarf]-wearing in a public school (1989). However, members of CORIF were appointed by the minister, not elected. Moreover, both the rank and file within the Muslim community and the government were uneasy about the close connection between Shaykh Tedjini Haddam, the imam of the Grande Mosquée de Paris (Paris Great Mosque) and a leading CORIF member, and the Algerian state. In 1992, when Haddam was named a member of the Algerian Haut Conseil d’Etat, it became clear to the French government that the emergence of a French Islam required the recruitment of organizations in addition to the Great Mosque in a representative body.

However, when the left lost the 1993 general election, the new minister of the interior, Charles Pasqua (an old-guard Gaullist), took the opposite approach: he decided to reinforce the pre-eminence of the Algerian-backed Great Mosque in order to contain fundamentalism. As a result, a decree of 15 December 1994 gave the Great Mosque a monopoly over religious matters as well as presidency of the newly founded Conseil Représentatif des Musulmans de France. This step proved ineffective, for many reasons, two of which are obvious: first, Muslims in France, more than in any other European country, have many origins; a large portion come from the numerous former French colonies or protectorates, but there are also sizeable communities with no historic ties to France (Pakistan, Turkey). Second, by choosing the Great Mosque as the sole representative of Muslims, the State had overlooked many other schools of thought which, though in some cases fundamentalist, had a far bigger constituency. Thus, when the left returned to government in 1997, then Minister of the Interior Jean-Pierre Chevènement⁷ decided in 1999 to convene a Consultation des Musulmans de France, which gathered all the components of Islam that were ready to sign a common declaration stating that they abided by the laws of the secular French state. By July 2001, members of the Consultation had reached an agreement which provided for the election of a representative body of Islam by the Muslims themselves, and this mode of election, determined by the left, was also retained by the next interior minister, the Gaullist Nicolas Sarkozy (2002–5), in the name of democracy and with the goal of freeing French Islam from the interference of foreign countries and institutions. As a result, the Conseil Français du Culte Musulman (CFCM) was elected on 6 and 13 April 2002, by 4000 delegates from 995 mosques, representing a voter turnout of over 87 percent. However, the election was a severe defeat for the Paris Great Mosque, which gained 6 representatives out of 41, while 14 seats went to the Muslim Brotherhood-oriented Union des Organisations Islamiques de France (UOIF) and 16 to the Fédération Nationale des Musulmans de France, which is close to Morocco and whose leaders are no less anti-Israel than those of UOIF. Although the imam of the Great Mosque, Dr. Dalil Boubakeur, remained the Council's president, the election granted official status and representation to several clearly fundamentalist groups, chiefly among them, the UOIF,⁸ the state also gave formal recognition to Tabligh and to the pro-Libya representative of African Muslims, Dr. Assani Fassiassi, demands that France recognize the 'genocide' of African slaves and pay compensation, because, he says, the heirs of the victims of slavery should be given the same status enjoyed by survivors of the Holocaust and their

descendants.⁹ The Conseil des Musulmans de France, represented on the CFCM board by the *hijab*-wearing sociologist Siham Andalouci, echoes the views of the Swiss theologian Tariq Ramadan (who promotes a brand of Islam which is conservative on moral values and progressive on economic and social issues) and the Strasbourg-based convert Dr. Thomas Abdallah Milcent, a leading pro-*hijab* activist, voices the interests of UOIF hardliners and the Turkish Milli Görüs, which is very influential in the Alsace region. Thus, the left initiated a process, which the conservative right completed, giving formal recognition to and what amounts to state sanction of the fundamentalists, with the exception of the Salafi and the Habachi¹⁰ sects, which completely reject the idea of a representative council because they regard their scholars as the supreme authority.

MILESTONES IN THE FRENCH LEFT'S RELATIONS WITH ISLAM, ZIONISM AND ISRAEL

The current stand of the left can only be understood by analyzing the historical background to its attitude toward Jews, Zionism and Israel, as well as toward the Arab cause and Islam. Although as Zeev Sternhell wrote, antisemitism was an intrinsic part of the ideology of the revolutionary left at the end of 19th century, the Marxist left included,¹¹ the French left was also contemptuous of the civilizations of the colonized countries, and saw the Arab world, especially North Africa, which was under French rule, as a part of the globe inhabited by backward people who followed a fanatical and cruel religion. The French left adhered to the idea that the ideology of the Enlightenment, which was at the core of the French Revolution of 1789, should be exported to Muslim countries, by force, if need be, and it always supported the colonial policies of the Empire and the Third Republic. The anti-colonialist left, with the exception of the Communist Party, emerged only after World War II. Until 1940, the Socialist Party, especially in Algeria, which was a French *département* where only Christians and Jews enjoyed full citizenship, merely pushed for a more liberal status for Muslims. The Blum-Violette draft law, which the Front Populaire government failed to pass in 1936, provided for equal voting rights for Muslims, but in the framework of a strictly secular state. Furthermore, in order to understand the equivocal relationship between the left, the Muslims and the Jews, it should be pointed out that in Algeria and Tunisia, the Socialist Party was heavily staffed by Jews who were at the forefront of the struggle for the civil rights of the Muslims, but were also members of a community traditionally regarded by the latter as *dhimmis*¹². After 1945, when the anti-colonialist left emerged, mainly within

intellectual circles and the Communist Party, the majority of the Socialist Party remained committed to *Algérie Française*, at least until Général de Gaulle himself was ready to grant independence to Algeria. In the mid-1950s, French High Commissioner in Algiers Robert Lacoste and Minister of the Interior François Mitterrand were responsible for some of the harshest repression of FLN guerrillas: both these figures belonged to the left. Consequently, to this day, the majority of French citizens of Algerian descent, whether born before the independence of Algeria (1962) or afterwards, view the left with great suspicion.

THE LEFT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD ZIONISM AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL: FROM SUPPORT TO REJECTION

It might be said that for Muslims, the left, or at least the Social Democrat part of it, is considered the 'Jews' party. Indeed, nothing would be farther from reality than describing the French left as intrinsically hostile to Israel and the idea of a Jewish state; in fact, quite the opposite when one speaks of the Socialist left, now embodied in the Socialist Party, known previously as the SFIO (Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière, founded in 1905). It should be recalled that even after the commencement of the Dreyfus case, when it became clear that a significant part of French society, both on the left and the right, harbored distinctly antisemitic ideas, Zionism as a solution to antisemitism was not supported by the Jewish establishment of the time, even by the rabbinate. The French branch of the Rothschild family helped Jews settle in Palestine, but it was not particularly friendly to the Zionist cause, while the Jewish bourgeoisie conformed strictly with the motto of the Consistoire, "Religion et Patrie," a Jewish brand of French patriotism similar to the German Jews' identification of their fate with that of the whole nation.

After the Balfour Declaration, the early supporters of the Zionist cause were to be found within the SFIO: the future head of the Front Populaire government, Léon Blum, although he was not himself a Zionist at the time, was close to Chaim Weizmann, to whom he was presented by one of his senior advisers, Marc Jarblum. One of the very few cabinet members of the Third Republic to attend Zionist rallies and speak outspokenly in favor of Zionism, as early as the 1920s, was the Socialist minister of the colonies, the non-Jew Marius Moutet. When he returned from his imprisonment at Buchenwald concentration camp, Blum, whose brother René had died at Auschwitz, became a staunch supporter of the creation of the State of Israel, and wrote several articles on the topic in the party newspaper *Le Populaire*, in June/July 1946.¹³ While the far left, Trotskyite and Maoist, had always been anti-Zionist

and became very vocal on this issue after the Six Day War and the May 1968 riots, the Socialist Party's attitude remained unchanged until 1977, when the rise to power of the heirs of Revisionist Zionists was seen by many on the left as a usurpation of the Israeli state by the so-called extreme right, both Herut and Likud often being labeled 'fascist' parties.

Between 2000 and the June 2002 general election which put an end to the left coalition government,¹⁴ the government led by Lionel Jospin, who although himself close to Israel and the Jewish community, failed to assess the significance of the wave of antisemitic incidents which broke out and whose perpetrators were almost exclusively young French citizens or foreigners of Muslim origin. This blindness was reinforced by the continued existence of a strong extreme right, embodied in the Front National, and by the fact that the traditional antisemitism of the extreme right was considered by the left a bigger threat than the antisemitic prejudice, disguised as anti-Zionism, which manifested itself within the ranks of a minority of the Muslim-born population. Moreover, the left was instinctively more tolerant toward Arab immigrants, many of whom belong to the lower classes and come from countries which fought for their independence with the help of the anti-colonialist left.

If ideology played a role in the way the Socialist Party dealt with the issues of Islam and antisemitism, political calculations were also at work: namely, it was understood that in purely statistical terms the influence of the Jewish community was far less than that of the Muslims. (In fact, scholarly studies showed that there was no such thing as a 'Jewish vote'¹⁵ nor an ethnic one in France, social status and cultural background still being the determinants in voter choice.) In a memo entitled "Le Proche-Orient, les socialistes, l'équité internationale, l'efficacité électorale" (The Middle-East; the Socialists; International Justice and Electoral Efficiency) written for the leadership of the Socialist Party in spring 2002, the geopolitics expert Pascal Boniface also explained that he was "stunned by the number of young *beurs*¹⁶ and French Muslims of all generations who claimed they supported the left but, because of the situation in the Middle East, said they would not vote for Jospin in the presidential election." There is a clear reference here to the fact that the Socialist prime minister had become the first French statesman to label Hizballah a 'terrorist movement' during his trip to Israel, and had consequently been stoned by Palestinian radical students while visiting Bir Zeit University. Boniface's memo, which stirred up considerable controversy,¹⁷ included a statement that "the Arab-Muslim community is not taken into account, and is even rejected" by the Socialist Party. Indeed, many within the party felt that it was necessary to cease backing

Israeli policies and do whatever was necessary to attract the vote of Muslim immigrants.

In response to what they perceived as the growing influence of the pro-Palestinian lobby in party policy, some members of the Socialist executive (most of them Jews) immediately set up a 'Cercle Léon Blum', led by Laurent Azoulay, which appeared to have the favor of the party's national leader, François Hollande. Other organizations close to the party, such as the anti-racist SOS-Racisme, have also taken a pro-Israel stand and are at the forefront of the fight against antisemitism and political Islam. Pro-Israel or pro-Palestinian supporters within the Socialist Party can not be categorized as belonging either to the center-left of the party (close to British New Labour) or to the more traditional Socialist faction, Nouveau Party Socialiste, which, through MP Julien Dray, a former Trotskyite, controls SOS-Racisme,¹⁸ and has taken a firm stand in favor of the law forbidding the wearing of religious symbols such as the *hijab* in state-run schools.¹⁹ In fact, the attitude of the Socialists is predominantly pro-Palestinian due to its anti-colonialist ideology, but it is also largely opposed to political Islam, in the name of secularism, a key value of Republican tradition. Thus, the majority of the party supported the law against religious symbols, even though it was proposed by the right. Moreover, the secular tradition is so strong that the Mouvement Républicain et Citoyen, Chevènement's party,²⁰ had called for such a law even before 2003, when at the same time, it opposed the US intervention in Iraq, due to the perceived secular stand of the Iraqi Ba'ath Party and Saddam Husayn against fundamentalism.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY: IMMIGRANTS AND MUSLIMS AS THE 'NEW WORKING CLASS'

The Communist Party is a declining political force. In the presidential election of 1969, its candidate polled 20 percent of the vote; in the 2002 presidential election, the party leader, Robert Hue polled merely 3.5 percent. Although the party was part of the left-wing government coalition between 1981 and 1986, and again in 1988–1993 and 1997–2002, it lost many of its local strongholds and is divided among several competing factions, ranging from diehard Stalinists (Initiative Communiste and Rouge Vifs²¹) to reformist Social Democrats close to the Italian Partito Democratico della Sinistra (PDS). A major problem facing the party is that the working class, once its bastion, has progressively drifted away from communism and now votes heavily (as much as 30 percent in the 1995 presidential election) for the far right Front National (FN). Both parties have a heavily urban, male electorate, with a lower than average educational level. Both are stronger in the

poorer suburbs of the major cities (Paris; Lille; Lyon; Marseille and Strasbourg), which are also heavily populated by Muslim immigrants and their French-Muslim descendants. Moreover, a significant part of their electorate sees immigration and Islam as a threat: according to a 1991 survey 32 percent of Communist voters thought that an 'overly large' Muslim population could pose a threat to law and order; 34 percent said they feared that France could become an Islamic country. The antisemitic prejudice of a significant segment of Communist voters was also revealed in the fact that 26 percent agreed with the statement that "the Jews hold too much power in France," a proportion only surpassed by the FN electorate (40 percent).²²

In order to retain the city councils of the satellite cities which it had held in some cases for decades, the Communist Party began, in 1990, to turn to the immigrant communities, particularly the North African one. This meant, above all, reaffirming the traditional pro-Palestinian, anti-Israel stand of the party, a course it had followed since the beginning of the 1950s, when the USSR, which had supported the creation of Israel, switched its policy and became aggressively anti-Zionist. Thus, the Communist Party became almost a French agent of the PLO and the Palestinian Authority, participating in conferences where the PA representative in France, Leila Shahid, spoke, and inviting her to be the keynote speaker at the party's annual rally, the Fête de l'Humanité, in September 2004. It also demonstrated support for the Palestinians by organizing twin city agreements between Communist-controlled cities and Palestinian towns and, subsequently, trips to the Palestinian territories for party and city executives, through organizations such as Association France-Palestine Solidarité; the Association Franco-Palestinienne d'Echanges Culturels (an association for cultural exchange with Palestine) and the CCIPPP (Civil Campaign for the Protection of the Palestinian People). Exhibitions on the fate of the Palestinian people are held regularly in many Communist-held cities; these tend to dehumanize the Israeli army and, by extension, the Israeli people – especially in their use of very graphic descriptions of the plight of Palestinian children under Israeli rule, or by spreading the idea that Israeli soldiers regularly humiliate Palestinians, including women, the elderly and the disabled people – while acknowledging the existence of a debate within Israeli society on such issues as the evacuation of the Gaza Strip and military operations in the Palestinian territories. Whether this pro-Palestinian propaganda effort was one of the reasons for the increase of antisemitic incidents is arguable. However, Communist-run cities in the Paris and Lyon areas were among those hard-hit by the wave of antisemitism.

In order to show the Muslim population that it was willing to engage in a dialogue, some elected Communist officials, such as André Gérin, mayor of Vénissieux, near Lyon, chose to turn a blind eye to the growing Salafi influence which was progressively taking over the more moderate brands of Islam and even openly asked the United States to free three Islamists detained in Guantanamo who were citizens of his city. Another way of attracting Muslim voters to the Communist Party has been to put Muslims on the party slates for national or local elections. One very controversial use of this tactic occurred in the March 2004 election for the regional council of Ile-de-France, which includes Paris and the heavily populated immigrant *départements* of Seine Saint Denis and Val de Marne (both run then by the Communists) as well as Val d'Oise. The Communist Party chose to play the Muslim voting card in this region by nominating Mouloud Aounit, president of one of its front organizations, the anti-racist MRAP (Mouvement contre le Racisme et pour l'Amitié entre les Peuples), as the head of its slate in Seine Saint Denis, and Hamida Ben Sadia, leader of the women's organization Collectif pour l'Egalité, as a candidate in Paris.

It was well known to most Muslims that MRAP was at the forefront of the fight against islamophobia, had been one of the organizers of the anti-war and pro-Palestinian demonstrations, and was very critical of French Jewish institutions, which it accused of drifting toward the far right.²³ The electoral results of the Aounit slate in Seine Saint-Denis were far beyond the party's most optimistic expectations: in the city of Stains, which is home to one of the most virulent Salafi mosques, it polled 32.33 percent, compared to 10.29 percent for the Communist candidate in the 2002 presidential election. In other cities, it polled over 20 percent, well exceeding its average performance in previous national or regional elections: 28.91 percent in Bobigny; 28.59 percent in Blanc-Mesnil; 23.95 percent in Saint Denis and 21.25 percent in La Courneuve. After the election, the Socialist president of the regional council, Jean-Paul Huchon, refused to name Aounit as vice-president, violating a pre-election agreement between the two parties, on the grounds that MRAP and its chairman opposed the law on religious symbols in public schools, and that Aounit had accused Huchon of bowing to the 'Jewish lobby', after the latter said that Aounit might not be suitable for the vice-presidency.

There is a growing discontent, now, both within the moderate wing of the party and among the MRAP rank and file and even the leadership, about the ideological line imposed by Aounit.²⁴ During the MRAP national convention in December 2004, there was a heated debate over

the issue of islamophobia, and the minority demanded that Islamism be condemned as strongly as Israeli policies.

POLITICAL ISLAM AND THE FAR-LEFT: PARTNERS IN THE ANTI-GLOBALIZATION MOVEMENT

As the Socialist Party and the Communist Party tried to woo the Muslim electorate, the extreme left felt compelled to do the same. This change came in the late 1990s when, after years in power, the Social Democratic left, and even the Communists, were rejected by many of their traditional voters, who switched allegiance to the Green Party or the Trotskyite far left. After decades on the fringe of politics, the two Trotskyite movements, Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR; led by Olivier Besancenot) and Lutte Ouvrière (led by Arlette Laguiller), obtained seats in several regional councils in 1998, and in the European Parliament in 1999. In the presidential election of March 2002, Besancenot polled 4.25 percent and Laguiller, 5.72 percent (representing 2.840 million votes) while Daniel Gluckstein, leader of the Trotskyite Parti des Travailleurs, obtained 0.47 percent. Thus, for the first time in its history, the far left accounted for 10 percent of the electorate, a result which motivated it to broaden its constituency.²⁵ Among the leading forces pushing for an alliance between the extreme left and political Islam was the small (several hundred members) Trotskyite Socialisme par En-Bas (Socialism from Below, often referred to as SPEB), which is in fact the French branch of the British Socialist Workers' Party (SWP). SPEB has been a member of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire since 18 January 2004. With slogans such as "Islamism is not fascism but a cry of the people,"²⁶ SPEB has taken over the Agir contre la guerre movement, which was pivotal in organizing the pro-Palestinian and anti-war demonstrations in Paris in 2003–4. Its central thesis, revealed in the writings of SWP theoretician Chris Harman, is that fundamentalist Islam is neither a clerical nor a reactionary movement but an anti-imperialist one which should be supported both in the Middle East against Israel and in the West against the US and its allies, which are seen as being intrinsically anti-Muslim or islamophobic. This explains the presence of women wearing the *hijab* and even the *abaya* (combined head cover, veil and shawl) at their meetings.²⁷

However, the connections between the far left and Muslim fundamentalism go far beyond the influence of SPEB. The anti-globalization movement is widely known for the anti-US and pro-Palestinian stand of José Bové, former leader of the peasant union Confédération Paysanne, who maintains that the antisemitic attacks in France were the work of the Mossad. The major force within the anti-

globalization movement, ATTAC (Association pour une Taxation des Transactions financières pour l'Aide aux Citoyens – Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Benefit of Citizenry), accepted the participation of the Islamist fundamentalist Tariq Ramadan and some of his followers (namely, the groups Présence Musulmane, Secours Islamique and Collectif des Musulmans de France) in the European Social Forum (ESF) which took place in Paris in November 2003. At that time, a major controversy arose within the ranks of the anti-globalization movement concerning the stand it should take in the debate over secular values, women wearing the *hijab* and the Middle East issue. Ramadan, a Swiss citizen, is the grandson of Hasan al-Banna, the Egyptian founder of the Muslim Brothers (although the two differ ideologically). He has established himself, through his books and conferences, as the most influential preacher of Muslim youth in French-speaking countries and now supports the political platform of the anti-globalization left, at least in regard to such issues as Palestine; the war in Iraq and opposition to what he, and the anti-globalization left, refer to as the 'neo-colonial' policies of the French State *vis à vis* the Muslim population.

A few weeks prior to his attendance at the ESF, Ramadan had published a text (on the pro-Islamist Muslim website www.oumma.com) which attacked several prominent French intellectuals, some Jewish (Alain Finkielkraut and André Glucksmann, among others) and others he mistakenly thought were Jewish (Pierre-André Taguieff), for having supposedly betrayed their universalist beliefs in favor of unconditional support for Zionism and Israel. The leadership of ATTAC, notably Bernard Cassen, editor of the *Monde diplomatique* monthly, remains firmly committed to secularism, rejects the alliance with fundamentalist Islam and, although highly critical of Israeli policies, recognizes Israel's right to exist. It seems, however, that the leadership is in the minority, and many ATTAC members, particularly followers of Pierre Khalfa, believe that despite his highly conservative views on social and moral issues, Ramadan and his network are reliable allies in the anti-globalization fight, mainly because they share the anti-American platform of the anti-war movement.

Further proof of the developing coalition between the anti-globalization left and the supporters of Ramadan may be found in the participation, between December 2003 (when President Chirac announced he would submit a law on the *hijab*) and spring 2004 (when the law was passed), in demonstrations in support of the right of Muslim women to attend public schools wearing the *hijab*, by high-ranking officials of the LCR, the Green Party (notably, MP Noël Mamère), and

far left feminists (notably Christine Delphy and followers), alongside members of *Présence Musulmane* and the *Collectif des Musulmans de France*. As in the case of the Communist Party, some members of ATTAC have begun condemning the links between the anti-globalization movement and the Islamists. The discontent became especially strident after the London ESF, held on 15-17 October 2004, which was attended by several well-known Islamists and antisemites (such as the Muslim Parliament's Dr. G. Siddiqui) alongside the *hijab*-wearing Selma Yacoob from Coalition Stop the War, and British pro-Saddam leftists MPs George Galloway and Jeremy Corbyn. As a result, a committee was set up within ATTAC-France, under the chairmanship of Green Party member Bernard Dréano, which was given the tasks of 'screening' applicants to any further ESF or ATTAC event and preparing a memorandum on the history and ideology of the Muslim groups which participated in the Paris and London meetings.

THE GREEN PARTY: FOR A COMMUNAUTARIAN SOCIETY

The Green Party is a relatively new political force on the French political scene, having emerged in the mid-1990s. In the 2002 presidential election, its candidate, Noël Mamère, polled 5.25 percent and in the 2004 Euro-election, 6.83 percent, obtaining one MEP. The Green Party has always been active in support of all minorities, including ethnic minorities living in France and the gay movement. In contrast to the highly centralized, strictly secular model of the French Republic, the Greens favor a communitarian model of society which would allow the free expression of all cultural and religious differences, including that of fundamentalist Islam. Furthermore, anti-Zionism is very prevalent within the Green Party, as exemplified by the participation of former national secretary Gilles Lemaire and Senate member for Paris Alima Boumedienne-Thiery in several pro-Palestinian and anti-war demonstrations organized by extremist Islamist groups. The Green Party named a notorious anti-Zionist, Patrick Farbiaz, as head of its Transnational Commission and a member of Arab origin, Ahmed Bouzid, as head of its Committee on Middle Eastern Affairs. When the Green faction in the European Parliament organized a conference in Brussels, on 11 December 2002, on the topic "Islam in Europe or European Islam?" Boumedienne-Thiery was a guest speaker, as too were Tariq Ramadan, Ahmed Bakcan, the secretary general of the French branch of Milli Görüs, and Mohamed Bechari, chairman of the European Islamic Conference, who labeled the visit of the Israeli ambassador to the Paris Great Mosque on 13 May 2003, a "provocation."²⁸

Some Green Party members, with the knowledge of the leadership, maintain contacts with extremist Islamic groups. Ginette Skandrani, a dues-paying member from 1984 until she was expelled in 2005, works with such notorious antisemites as Israel Shamir and Mohamed Ennacer Latrèche, chairman of the small Parti des Musulmans de France. Skandrani best exemplifies the 'Red-Green-Brown' alliance; she participates in the activities of the pro-Palestine far left through her own minuscule group La Pierre et l'Olivier, is linked to the Tunisian antisemite Mondher Sfar and has served as a journalist for the Tunisian oppositional pro-Islamist newspaper *L'Audace*, and as a writer for the Centre d'Etudes Euro-Artabes, a Saudi/Gulf States lobby in Paris.

NEW ANTI-ZIONIST ORGANIZATIONS ON THE LEFT

For some pro-Islamist and pro-Palestinian activists, the attitude of the Communists, the extreme left and the Greens was apparently too soft. Some of them therefore decided to launch an organization that would be both radical in regard to the Palestinian issue (that is, critical of the Palestinian Authority and benevolent toward Hamas) and to the left of the political spectrum. To this purpose, Olivia Zemor, a leftist Jew, former Lutte Ouvrière activist, and leader of the CAPJPO (Coordination des Appels pour une Paix Juste au Proche-Orient), decided in 2003 to run for the Euro-election of 13 June 2004, in the Paris district, under the label Euro-Palestine. The list, which also included the antisemitic Afro-French comedian, Dieudonné, polled 1.83 percent (50,000 votes). It received over 5 percent in 12 of the 40 cities of the Seine Saint Denis *département*, with peaks at 8.1 percent in Villetanause and 7.19 percent in La Courneuve. In other *départments*, it polled a record 10.75 percent in Garges les Gonesse and 8.62 percent in Trappes, and in some cases only a few votes fewer than those won by the conservative UMP and the Socialist Party. Layla Shahid, PA representative in France, vigorously condemned the initiative as detrimental to the Palestinian cause, mainly because the Euro-Palestine slate diverted Muslim votes from the mainstream parties on which the PA relies heavily for recognition of its claims. However, it is disturbing that a movement which solely addresses the Palestinian issue and has a staunch, openly anti-Zionist bias (the head of the Euro-Palestine slate, Christophe Oberlin, admitted that when, as a surgeon, he goes on frequent missions to the Gaza Strip, he works with Dr. Muhammad al-Rantissi, brother of the late Hamas leader), has succeeded in making an electoral breakthrough locally.

CONCLUSIONS

The French left is not the only political force which bestowed official status on the Islamists. Part of the conservative right, under the leadership of former Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy (now chairman of the main party of the coalition, UMP), also thinks that allowing the fundamentalist UOIF to sit on the Representative Council of French Muslims is a way of containing the dissemination of extremist (such as jihadist and Salafi) ideologies among Muslim youth. At the same time, Sarkozy is also a strong supporter of Israel and was warmly received by Jewish organizations in the United States, and it was he who succeeded in curbing the wave of antisemitic incidents which swept France; nevertheless, thanks to such views, groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood-oriented UOIF, which relies on the *fatwas* of the virulently antisemitic Shaykh Yusuf al-Qaradawi for religious guidance, have become part of the mainstream.

This approach, however, cannot be compared to the political alliance which binds part of the anti-globalization left and fundamentalist Muslims who, along with Tariq Ramadan, believe that Muslims should not limit their activities to the purely religious sphere, but should organize themselves as a lobby, in order to push the government and the political parties for a more radical, pro-Palestinian and pro-Arab approach to the Middle East conflict. For many of today's leftists in France, the Muslim population is the new working class and is courted with the same fervor that was shown to the 'working masses' in the days when the Communist Party still accounted for the majority of the workers' vote. If one looks at demography, there is every indication that this trend will continue: the Jewish population is small and aging, a significant part of it is assimilated, and it adheres to the traditional position of 'being Jewish at home and a citizen outside'. The Muslim population, on the other hand, is growing, it is younger, and it openly campaigns for political and religious rights. However, the values of the French Republic are still strong, including a deep commitment to secular values, especially within the left. Therefore, there are now growing signs that, especially within Socialist ranks, people have begun turning away from the unholy alliance with Islamic fundamentalism. Exposing the antisemitic content of Islamic ideology and the connections between French Islamic movements and terrorist organizations in the Middle East and in the Maghreb, has been a key factor in this change of attitude. Nevertheless, there is still a long way to go before the left as a whole admits that Islamism is intrinsically hostile to the values of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment.

NOTES

1. Front National leader Jean-Marie Le Pen, unexpectedly came second in the 2002 presidential election.
2. Contrary to widespread belief, this proportion has remained unchanged since 1975.
3. The first was the Strasbourg-based, antisemitic, fundamentalist Parti des Musulmans de France, led by Mohammed Ennacer Latrèche, which never polled more than 1 percent of the vote; the second was the equally insignificant Union Française pour la Cohésion Nationale (UFCN), which was also Islamist-leaning. Both promoted a strictly conservative social agenda and did not even pretend an association with the left.
4. Favoring the political expression of ethnic and religious minorities; the Republican model does not allow such communities to develop as juridically recognized groups.
5. The word Salafi usually refers to the arch-conservative school of thought known as Wahabism, mostly represented by Saudi clerics whose interpretations of Shari'a law are accepted as the law of the state in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. There are two rival Salafi factions: the so-called Shaykhist faction adhere to the opinions of official Saudi clerics and do not permit armed jihad unless a Muslim state is under attack; the Jihadist faction promote armed jihad as a religious duty, regardless of circumstances and even when the civil power rules against armed action.
6. The Tablighi Jamaat, founded in India, is a pietist movement, sometimes referred to as the Jehovah Witnesses of Islam because of its proselytic action among the less intellectual, less pious Muslim masses. Officially, the Tabligh is strictly non-political and does not condone the use of violence. Many former disgruntled members of the sect, however, have joined the Jihadi movement.
7. Chevènement, who is often criticized for having given representative status to Islamist organizations, was a strictly secular figure of the Socialist Party (until 1993) and then founder of the Mouvement des Citoyens, a political party adhering to the traditional values and beliefs of the *gauche républicaine*, including anti-clericalism. He left the government in 1990 over disapproval at French participation in the first Gulf War, and in 2003 reiterated his opposition to the US-led military intervention in Iraq.
8. Since only followers of the mosque can vote (and not all Muslims), and UOIF is the umbrella organization of about 200 of them, compared to the FNMF's 150 and the Great Mosque's 100.
9. The Fédération des Associations Islamiques d'Afrique, des Comores et des Antilles (FFAIIACA), represented by Fassassi, promotes a distorted

view of history: for example, the federation acknowledges the existence of the Nazi genocide of the Jews, but only as part of a list of the “most terrible tragedies in the history of mankind,” ranging from the slave trade to the genocide of “the Tutsi, the people of Bosnia and Kosovo, the people of Chechnya and the Palestinians.” On 10 October 2000, the federation issued a press statement calling on its affiliates to “express their solidarity with the Palestinian people and to pray for the safeguarding of the al-Aqsa mosque” and “for the memory of the martyrs and innocent victims who fell in defense of the third holy place of Islam.”

10. The Habachi are a Sunni group originating in Ethiopia. Their founder Shaykh Abdullah al Harari, established himself in Lebanon, where the movement's headquarters are located today, in the Borj Abou Haidar neighborhood of Beirut. Influenced by Sufism, it is very hostile to the Salafi. Politically, the Habachi are pro-Syria.
11. Z. Sternhell, *Ni droite, ni gauche. L'idéologie fasciste en France* (Paris, 1983).
12. Meaning non-Muslims restricted in their civil and political rights to the point of being second-class citizens. The *dhimmi*s paid a special tax (*jizya*) and in return were protected, to some extent, by the Muslim ruler.
13. Cf. François Lafon, “Sionisme et Socialisme: nous nous sommes tant aimés,” *Tohu-Bohu* 3 (2002), <http://www.uejf.org/tohubohu/archives/numero3/dossier/sommesaimes.html>.
14. That is, the coalition of Socialist and Communist Parties; the Greens; the center-left Parti Radical de Gauche and the Republican Socialist Mouvement des Citoyens, led by Jean-Pierre Chevènement.
15. Chantal Benayoun, “La question d'une politique juive aujourd'hui,” in Pierre Birnbaum (ed.), *Histoire politique des juifs de France* (Paris, 1990), pp. 258–77; Sylvie Strudel, *Votes juifs. Itinéraires migratoires, religieux et politiques* (Paris, 1996).
16. *Beur* is a slang word referring to ‘youth of North African Muslim origin’. It is commonly used in the media, and by Muslims themselves. However, Islamists tend to consider it as derogatory and prefer the term ‘Muslim’.
17. Although Boniface is hostile to the policies of the present Israeli government, he is not an antisemite. In his report, he begins by clearly saying that “the Jewish people is the only one to have suffered from a real genocide” and emphasizes that “the State of Israel, whilst the Arab population does not enjoy the same rights as the Jewish population, is a democracy surrounded by authoritarian, if not dictatorial regimes, and has had to fight in order to make its neighbors accept its existence.” I have quoted this report from the original, full-text version which was written for members of the Socialist Party's Steering Committee. I thank Pascal Boniface for giving me this version.

18. The secretary general of SOS-Racisme is the former president of UEJF, the Union of Jewish Students, Patrick Klugman.
19. The law was announced by President Chirac in December 2003, and voted by Parliament in March 2004. It came into effect in September 2004. Contrary to predictions, the number of cases where a Muslim girl refused to remove her *hijab* to attend school was very low: about 150.
20. See note 5.
21. There are several small hard-line groups on the fringes of the Communist Party, such as the Pôle de Renaissance Communiste de France, Renaissance Communiste and Gauche Communiste, which are particularly supportive of Palestinian militants, especially the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. All of them promote extreme anti-Zionism, but retain a strictly secular line, thus refusing to cooperate with the Islamists. However, in 2004, Bruno Drweski, director of the party's quarterly review *La Pensée*, was sacked from his position after he repeatedly upheld extremely anti-Israel views and endorsed the Iraqi 'resistance'. Insider sources reported that he became radical after 11 September 2001, and because of his close friendship with the former ambassador of Sudan in France, who arranged for his visit there.
22. See Pascal Perrineau, *Le symptôme Le Pen* (Paris, 1997), p. 161.
23. The lesser-known Collectif pour l'Egalité, which presents itself as a 'feminist' group, in fact campaigns against islamophobia and against the law on religious symbols in public schools. The use of feminist rhetoric to justify the pro-*hijab* campaigns of the Islamists, on the grounds that *hijab*-banning is another form of patriarchal oppression, is a new theme of the pro-Islamist left.
24. It should be stressed that the party supports the idea of a Palestinian state, alongside the State of Israel within the 1967 boundaries.
25. The extreme left did not do so well in the 2004 regional and Euro-Parliamentary election. The common slate of LCR and LO, polled only 2.89 percent of the vote in the Euro-election and lost all their seats. In the first ballot of the regional election, the far left polled 4.95 percent and also lost their seats. This setback, however, made the expansion of its constituency even more urgent.
26. Hassan Berber, "Fascisme ou cri populaire?" *Socialisme International* 48 (Jan. 1992). Other SPEB articles on this subject, mostly translations from SWP publications, are: Chris Harman, "Le prophète et le proletariat," first published in the UK in September 1994 in the weekly *Socialist Worker*; and Denis Godard and Hassan Berber, "Questions – réponses sur le port du foulard islamique à l'école," *Socialisme International* 76 (Nov. 1994).

27. I personally witnessed this at a SPEB meeting in Paris, in June 2003, where *abaya*-clad students from the Sorbonne and Jussieu universities ran a newsstand selling the works of Leon Trotsky.
28. See Jean-Yves Camus, http://www.proche-orient.info/xexclu_article.php3?id_article=22897.

International Terror and Antisemitism – Two Modern Day Curses: Is there a Connection?

Ely Karmon†

This essay analyzes the correlation between antisemitism and the use of terrorism against Jewish communities and individuals worldwide.¹ It identifies the anti-Zionist and anti-Israel ideology and strategy of radical Islamist, as well as some ultra-leftist, ultra-rightist and anti-globalization groups, as the pretext for their murderous actions against Jews and Israelis. This trend emerged with the beginning of modern terrorism in the late 1960s but intensified after the 9/11 attacks on the United States and increasing globalization, bringing about some surprising antisemitic coalitions.

ANTISEMITISM-BASED COALITIONS OF THE 1970S AND 1980S

Racist and antisemitic preconceptions were influential factors predisposing some terrorist leaders at both ends of the European political spectrum – the radical left and the radical right – to espouse a policy of cooperation with Palestinian organizations and/or to carry out attacks against Israeli and Jewish targets. This trend was particularly evident in the case of the German Red Army Faction (Rote Armee Fraktion – RAF) and the Revolutionary Cells (Revolutionäre Zellen – RZ), whose leaders attempted to legitimize their anti-Jewish attacks by incorporating antisemitic themes into their ideological and strategic tracts.²

The RAF document expressing support for the Black September terrorist attack on the Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972 illustrates this trend. The operation was described as “an anti-fascist act [intended] to wipe out the memory... of the 1936 [Berlin] Olympics, Auschwitz, and Kristallnacht.” Further, Israel was blamed for the death of the athletes, as the Nazis were blamed for the death of the Jews.³

Horst Mahler, a RAF leader who wrote the above-mentioned document in jail, argued:

Macabre as it may seem, Zionism has become the heir of German fascism, by cruelly ousting the Palestinian people from its land, where it has been living for thousands of years.⁴

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He insisted that any guilt feelings the organization might harbor toward the Jews should not blind it to the evils of "Zionist fascist aggression." It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that years later Mahler crossed the lines to the far right and became a militant Holocaust denier.⁵ In November 1999, at a meeting of Austrian extreme rightists, he spoke of the necessity of freeing Germany from "*Judischen Prinzipien*," and from "Jewish money worship." When asked in an interview about his transition from the extreme left to the extreme right, he said that his beliefs had not basically changed, since the enemy remained the same.⁶

RAF and RZ terrorists were involved in that period in some of the most lethal attacks against Jews and Israelis, including the attempt to blow up an El Al plane over Nairobi in 1975, the hijacking of an Air France plane to Entebbe, and the explosion of a bomb in a passenger's luggage at Lod airport in 1976.

In 1969, a small anarchist movement, the Tupamaros-West Berlin (TW) attempted unsuccessfully to blow up the main synagogue in West Berlin on the anniversary of Kristallnacht, as a token of solidarity with the Palestinians. Members of TW claimed that the events of Kristallnacht were being re-enacted daily by the Zionists in the occupied territories, in refugee camps, and in Israeli jails.

German terrorist Hans Joachim Klein, who subsequently recanted, was shocked when he heard that his RZ comrades involved in the hijacking of the Air France plane to Entebbe had separated the Jewish passengers from the non-Jewish ones. For him, this act was reminiscent of Nazi 'selections' in Auschwitz. Klein considered the two German terrorists who had participated in the Entebbe operation more antisemitic than Wadi Haddad, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) operational division, because they planned to assassinate Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal.⁷

Similarly, the radical French leftist group Action Directe (AD) attempted to justify a series of anti-Israel and anti-Jewish attacks in Paris in 1982 by comparing IDF actions against Palestinian units in Lebanon to Nazi and fascist actions; accordingly, the group set up 'Jewish combatant units' to fight 'the Zionist state' and the interests of the Zionist-Jewish lobby in France.⁸ A leading AD terrorist, the rabidly antisemitic Marc Frérot asked the head of his organization for permission to "blow himself up together with the Jewish scum in the attack against the Leumi Bank, as an act of human dignity." During his second trial in October 1992, he ranted against the "Jewish lobby" for ruling France since 1981 through the Socialists.

By contrast, Italian radical left organizations rejected the cheap brand of antisemitism espoused by their German and French counterparts. The

strongly ideological Red Brigades (Brigate Rosse - BR), avoided antisemitic expressions when explaining its pro-Palestinian strategy or justifying its political and strategic opposition to Israeli policy in the Middle East.

In addition to antisemitism, solidarity between Italian radical right-wing organizations and Palestinian organizations was based on contradictory ideological considerations: identification with Third World liberation movements opposed to American imperialism and admiration for certain aspects of Islam, fueled by historical memories of cooperation between the Italian fascist and Palestinian national movements in the 1930s–40s.

In Italy and Germany antisemitism served in the 1970s–80s as a powerful cementing force between radical right-wing organizations and Islamists. The founders of the Italian revolutionary/nationalist organizations maintained close ties with the Khomeinist regime in Iran and admired the Lebanese Hizballah and the Algerian FIS (Islamic Salvation Front). Most of their publications were financed by Iran.

Although antisemitism was a basic component of the pro-Palestinian or pro-Islamic attitudes of Italian ultra-rightist organizations, it was never translated into physical attacks against local Jews or against Israelis. Perhaps the differing policies of the Italian, and the German organizations were historically and culturally determined – like those of their respective countries toward Jews during World War II.⁹

The Palestinian organizations' usage of antisemitic images in their propaganda played a significant role in entrenching such motifs in the anti-Zionist ideology of the radical left. Historian of Islam and the Middle East Bernard Lewis attributes the radicalization of antisemitic attitudes in the Arab world to the 1956 Sinai campaign and the 1967 Six Day War. After these events, the Arabs and the Palestinians sought to justify their ignominious defeat by 'little Israel' and 'the cowardly Jews', as they had previously been depicted in the Arab media. Since there was no rational explanation for the defeat, they had to look beyond the bounds of reason; hence, the growth of Arab antisemitic literature.¹⁰

Hence, it suited Palestinian organizations to recruit radical German left-wing organizations to attack Zionists and Jews. Similarly, Fatah had no scruples about cooperating with the neo-Nazi Hoffmann Military Sports Group (Hoffmann Wehrsportgruppe – HW) or allowing members of the group to train in Fatah camps in Lebanon, despite the fact that simultaneously it was fostering close ties with the Communist bloc and with revolutionary left-wing movements throughout the world.¹¹

Palestinian nationalists from Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP-GC) of Ahmad Jibril, Fatah – Revolutionary Command of Sabri al-Banna (Abu-Nidal – ANO) and even the Marxist-Leninist PFLP of George Habash all perpetrated murderous attacks against Jewish interests worldwide, targeting schools, synagogues, restaurants, shops, banks and commercial companies in Paris, Antwerp, Rome, Istanbul and many other places.¹² Perhaps the bloodiest of these incidents was the killing of 22 Jews at the Neve Shalom synagogue in Istanbul on 6 September 1986 by ANO terrorists,¹³ 17 years before Turkish Islamists linked to al-Qa`ida bombed it again, in November 2003.¹⁴

ISLAMIST ANTISEMITISM AND THE KHOMEINIST REVOLUTION SINCE 1979¹⁵

Islamic tradition provides the soil on which Islamist antisemitism has taken root. The spiritual mentor of Hizballah in Lebanon, Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Fadlalla, declared that, “in the vocabulary of the Qur’an, Islamists have much of what they need to awaken the consciousness of Muslims because the Qur’an speaks about the Jews in a negative way, concerning both their historical conduct and future schemes.”¹⁶

For Muslim fundamentalists, Jews have come to represent an ‘eternal enemy’ of Islam since their intrigues against the Prophet in seventh century Arabia. According to Sayyid Qutb, the ideologue of modern radical Sunni Islamism, Jews invented the modern doctrines of ‘atheistic materialism’ (communism, psychoanalysis and sociology) in order to destroy the Islamic creed. However, fundamentalists blended their religious judeophobia with modern Western motifs of racist and political antisemitism, principally, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which provides a complete conspiracy theory of history in which satanic Jews strive relentlessly for world domination.¹⁷ Both Saudi Arabia and Iran have published millions of copies of the *Protocols* in dozens of languages and contributed to the spread of antisemitism not only in the Muslim world but practically worldwide.

In their eyes, the loss of Muslim territories (*wakef*) as well as the Islamic holy places in Jerusalem during the Six Day War is viewed by Muslims with a sense of degradation, injustice and anger, which have greatly intensified the demonization of Zionism and the Jews. As a result, fundamentalists now posit the conflict in terms of a struggle between Islam and the Jews – with a new vision of the Jews and of Israel as the supreme enemy and an existential threat.¹⁸ Simultaneously, Israel is seen as a surrogate of Western neo-colonialism and its continued

existence in the heart of Muslim territory as a permanent reminder of their inferiority.¹⁹

Shi'a Terrorism

The Khomeinist doctrine on which Iran's religious regime is based requires the destruction of Israel: the closest ally of the United States in the region, "the lesser Satan," implanted on sacred Arab and Muslim soil, and "the state of the infidel Jews that humiliates Islam, the Qur'an, the government of Islam, and the nation of Islam."²⁰

Using virulently antisemitic language, Ayatollah Khomeini regarded the Jews as an integral part of Western culture, the complete antithesis of Islamic culture, and its most dangerous ideological enemy. Khomeini claimed the Jews were preventing Islam from expanding worldwide. However, Khomeini did not act against Iranian Jews, accepting their status as a protected minority under a Muslim government.²¹

In the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union and after its victory over Iraq in the first Gulf War, the United States emerged as the only world superpower, determined to lay the foundations of a New World Order based on democratic and liberal values. One of its first moves toward the implementation of this new order was sponsoring the political peace process in the Middle East at the Madrid Conference in October 1991.

Iran perceived the peace process as a threat to its ideological and strategic interests. A peace agreement would entail recognition of Israel as a legitimate state in the Middle East; it would consolidate moderate Arab regimes but endanger radical Islamic allied movements such as Hizballah and lead to isolation of Iran regionally as well as ideologically.

Iran immediately convened a conference in Tehran, parallel to the Madrid event, reuniting all terrorist and radical organizations that were hostile to negotiations with Israel and were ready to continue the struggle under Iranian leadership. At the close of the conference, the regime made the strategic decision to support the 'Palestinian resistance' on the humanitarian, financial, political and military level.²² The struggle in support of Palestine is thus one of the few areas where Iran's ideological/revolutionary goals overlap its national/pragmatic interests. The decisions taken at that conference continue to be implemented today and explain the massive support, both direct and indirect, for the various Palestinian terrorist organizations.

This backing has included the escalation of weapons supplies to Hizballah, and financial support and training of Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) terrorists in camps in Iran and in Hizballah's camps in Lebanon. The climax of this subversive Iranian activity occurred during

February-March 1996, when suicide terrorist attacks perpetrated by Hamas and the PIJ practically brought the political process between Israel and the Palestinian Authority to a halt and caused the fall of the Labor government led by Shimon Peres.

On the anti-Jewish front, the Iranian attitude has been more cautious. The Iranian regime is aware of the sensitivity of public opinion in the West, particularly the United States, to violent activity against Jews and Jewish communities. Thus it has preferred to strike covertly, through its proxies. Hizballah operatives, with the support of Iran's intelligence network, carried out the bombing of the Jewish Community Center (AMIA) building in Buenos Aires, Argentina, on 18 July 1994, killing 85 persons and wounding 151 – the most deadly terrorist attack in the history of the South American continent.

On 25 October 2006, Argentinean Attorney General Dr. Alberto Nisman, presented the findings of the special team which investigated the attack. The report proved unequivocally that the decision to blow up the building was taken by the “highest instances of the Iranian government” and that the Iranians had asked Hizballah, to carry out the attack. On 9 November, Judge Corral adopted the attorney general's recommendations and issued international warrants for the arrest of leaders of the former Iranian government: President Ali Akbar Rafsanjani, Minister of Intelligence and Security Ali Fallahijan, Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati, Mohsen Rezaei, commander of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards, Ahmad Vahidi, commander of the Qods Force, and Mohsen Rabbani, Iranian cultural attaché in 1994 in Buenos Aires. Also indicted was Imad Moughnieh, head of Hizballah's External Security Service in 1994, and now military deputy to Hizballah Secretary General Hassan Nasrallah.²³

A principal arena of Iranian terrorist activity has been Turkey, where Iran has supported Sunni Turkish Islamist groups in their attacks against Jewish sites, such as the Neve Shalom synagogue (March 1992), as well as against leading members of the community such as businessman Jack Kamhi (January 1993) and Prof. Yuda Yurum, president of the Jewish community in Ankara (June 1995). Iran has striven to weaken the secular Turkish regime, which views assaults on Jewish and Israeli targets on its soil as a threat to its stability.²⁴

Sunni Terrorism

The first terrorist attack in the US by militants of a radical Sunni group under the leadership of Egyptian Shaykh Omar Abdul Rahman was the assassination of the Jewish extremist rabbi Meir Kahana in New York in 1990. On 26 February 1993 they carried out the first bombing of the

World Trade Center (WTC) in New York. Following the arrest of members of this group in the wake of that bombing, it was revealed that they had also been planning to attack Jewish and American targets. These included planting a large bomb in the NY diamond sector, where many Jews live and work, attacking a Jewish summer camp in the Catskill mountains, and assassinating prominent Jewish and pro-Israeli personalities (such as Senator Alfonse Marcello D'Amato) as well as the Israeli ambassador to the UN, Gad Yaakovi.²⁵

In early 1994, the Algerian Groupe Armé Islamique (GIA) published a virulently antisemitic and anti-Zionist manifesto in Sweden, where it had its headquarters at the time. It accused the Jews and Zionists of responsibility for the tragic situation in Algeria. At the time there were 30–40 Jews living in Algeria.²⁶ This organization attempted to bomb a synagogue in Lyons, France, on 24 December 1994 as well as a Jewish school there in September 1995 (injuring several people), and sent a letter bomb to the editor of a Jewish paper in December 1996.

In his 1996 Declaration of War 'Usama bin Laden, leader of what would later become known as the al-Qa'ida organization, stated:²⁷

I feel still the pain [of the loss] of Al Quds [Jerusalem] in my internal organs. That loss is like a burning fire in my intestines... My Muslim Brothers of The World: Your brothers in Palestine and in the land of the two Holy Places [Saudi Arabia] are calling upon your help and asking you to take part in fighting against the enemy your enemy and their enemy the Americans and the Israelis.

Bin Laden, however, virtually ignored the Palestinian issue until the war in Afghanistan and was criticized in this regard.²⁸ Other Sunni terrorists were more active: the Jaysh Muhammad group, for example, planned to attack Jewish and Israeli tourists in Amman as well as visitors to Moses' tomb on Mt. Nebo in December 1999 as part of 'the millennium plot'.²⁹

The 1998 fatwa of the umbrella organization created by bin Laden, the World Islamic Front against Jews and Crusaders (WIF), links its hatred of the US to that of Israel and the Jews³⁰:

If the Americans' aims behind these wars are religious and economic, the aim is also to serve the Jews' petty state and divert attention from its occupation of Jerusalem and murder of Muslims there. The best proof of this is their eagerness to destroy Iraq, the strongest neighboring Arab state, and their endeavor to fragment all the states of the region such as Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Sudan into paper statelets and through their disunion and

weakness to guarantee Israel's survival and the continuation of the brutal crusade occupation of the Peninsula.

Even before the 9/11 al-Qa`ida attacks, an antisemitic trend had emerged among Chechen Islamist militants and their Afghani veteran allies, following the failed attack by Chechen guerrillas in Dagestan in August 1999 and the defeat by Russian troops of the Islamist forces that had ruled Chechnya since 1996. As of January 2000, the main Islamist website supporting the propaganda war of the radical Chechens stepped up its antisemitic messages. "America's Jewish Secretary of State, Madeline Albright," was accused of paying little attention to the plight of the innocent Chechens; The "Dunma [sic]" Jews were accused of attempting "to rule Turkey through their lap dog generals"; "Jewish fascists" controlling the Western media were "intensify[ing] the campaign to tarnish the image of Muslims." This drive culminated in March 2000 when the Jews, accused of aiding the Russian war machine directly, were threatened with retaliation.³¹

ANTI-JEWISH AND ANTI-ISRAEL TERRORISM IN THE WAKE OF THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN

In spite of repeated threats of bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri and other al-Qa`ida spokespersons to hit the heart of the United States and the Western world, from the outbreak of the war in Afghanistan until the Madrid bombings in March 2004, terrorist attacks targeted Muslim countries (and Muslim communities such as Mombasa, Kenya). Local or regional groups affiliated with al-Qa`ida were primarily responsible for these operations. These included Salafi factions in Tunisia and Morocco; Yemeni Islamists; and the Indonesian Jemaah Islamiyya. Only the suicide bombings in Saudi Arabia in May 2003 were apparently related directly to al-Qa`ida. Notably, with the exception of Saudi Arabia, the economies of all these countries or communities (Djerba, Bali, Casablanca, Istanbul, Mombassa) were heavily dependent on tourism.

Al-Qa`ida Plays the Palestinian Card³²

Until his ouster from Afghanistan in winter 2001/2, the heart of the struggle for bin Laden was the US presence on the holy soil of Saudi Arabia, which he saw as the bridgehead of a corruptive non-Muslim culture. A predominant strategic goal can be traced in bin Laden's public statements and declarations: the expulsion of the American presence – both military and civilian – from Saudi Arabia and the entire Gulf region. Bin Laden and the WIF, the organization he created, could not forget what they saw as crimes and wrongs done to the Muslim nation: "the blood spilled in Palestine and Iraq.... the massacre of Qana, in

Lebanon... and the massacres in Tajikistan, Burma, Kashmir, Assam, the Philippines, Fatani, Ogadin, Somalia, Eritrea, Chechnia, and in Bosnia-Herzegovina.”³³ Yet, as noted, the Palestinian issue was given no special prominence. According to Abdel-Bari Atwan, editor of the London-based *al-Quds al-Arabi*, bin Laden “has been criticized in the Arab world for focusing on such places as Afghanistan and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and [he] is therefore starting to concentrate more on the Palestinian issue.”³⁴

Following the destruction of al-Qa`ida’s bases in Afghanistan, the group’s leaders bin Laden and al-Zawahiri increasingly referred to the Palestinian issue as a top priority in the videos and audios they released; in parallel, there was a sharp escalation in attacks by jihadist groups against Jewish and Israeli targets.

The first major attack after the invasion was the suicide bombing on 11 April 2002 outside a historic synagogue in Djerba, Tunisia. The 16 dead included 11 Germans, one French citizen, and three Tunisians. Twenty-six German tourists were injured. The Islamic Army for the Liberation of the Holy Sites claimed responsibility. On 16 May 2003, 15 suicide bombers attacked five targets in Casablanca, Morocco, killing 43 persons and wounding 100. These were a Spanish restaurant, a Jewish community center, a Jewish cemetery, a hotel, and the Belgian consulate. The Moroccan government blamed the Islamist al-Assirat al-Moustaquim (the Righteous Path), but foreign commentators suspected an al-Qa`ida link.

On 15 November 2003, two suicide truck bombs exploded outside the Neve Shalom and Beth Israel synagogues in Istanbul, killing 25 persons and wounding at least another 300. The initial claim of responsibility came from a Turkish militant group, the Great Eastern Islamic Raiders’ Front, but Turkish authorities assumed an al-Qa`ida connection.

On 28 November 2002, at least 15 people died in the first suicide attack by al-Qa`ida against an Israeli target: an Israeli-owned hotel in Mombassa, Kenya. A large part of the Paradise Hotel was reduced to rubble and nine Kenyans and three Israelis were killed. A parallel attempt to fire two missiles at an Israeli holiday jet (a Boeing 757 of Arkia airline carrying 261 passengers) that had taken off from the city’s airport failed.

This sudden interest in Jewish and Israeli targets seems to have been a consequence of the attempts of al-Qa`ida and its associated groups to jump on the bandwagon of what was considered at that stage to be a very successful violent uprising (the second intifada) by Hamas, the PIJ and other Palestinian groups. While this activity enabled them to claim support for the Palestinian people, it also generated an anti-Jewish and anti-Israel terrorist campaign which would win solidarity

from the Arab and Muslim masses and possibly attract young recruits to their ranks. More recently, in August 2005, four cruise ships carrying 3,500 Israeli tourists scheduled to dock at the Mediterranean Turkish resort of Antalya were rerouted to the island of Cyprus by the Israeli authorities due to fear of a terrorist attack. A Syrian citizen named Louai Sakra was arrested for plotting to slam speedboats packed with explosives into the cruise ships.

New 'Anti-Global' Alliances

The strategic choices of radical groups and movements active in the global arena today can be traced back to the model of the 1970s and 1980s. The actors during that period chose certain conflict areas as rallying points for solidarity, cooperation and coalition building: the US war in Vietnam and the armed struggle of the Palestinians against Israel (waged mainly through terrorist means). Revolutionary leftist organizations, nationalist and even radical rightist groups vilified and sometimes attacked the US, Western countries and NATO for the war in Vietnam and supported the Palestinians in their fight against Israel.³⁵

Collaboration between the various groups as well as with the 'victims' was expressed through a flood of propaganda and information activity, including demonstrations and flyers, conferences, seminars, and publications.

A similar pattern was revived in the wake of the US-led coalition 'war on terrorism' following the 9/11 attacks, and intensified with the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. The Palestinian issue has re-emerged forcefully since the collapse in October 2000 of the peace process, to which radical Islamists factions and their radical leftist and rightist supporters were in any case strongly opposed. The violent second intifada was then launched concurrently by all Palestinian political movements and terrorist groups.³⁶

The main players opposing or fighting the US, the coalition countries, Israel, and NATO belong to several ideological trends:

- Among *radical leftist groups*, anarchists are potentially the most dangerous because some could escalate from diffuse violence to terrorism.

The Italian Red Brigades, under the new names Partito Comunista Combattente (BR-PCC) and Nuclei Territoriali Anti-imperialisti (NTA), appealed to revolutionaries of the world to join Islamist terrorism and saluted "the heroic action of al-Qa`ida against American imperialism." In a document of March 2003 claiming responsibility for the assassination of the advisor to Minister of Labor Massimo D'Antona,

Nadia Desdemona Lioce, one of the organization's intellectuals, invited the "Arab and Islamic masses... expropriated and humiliated, natural allies of the metropolitan proletariat" to "take up arms at the heart of a unique and international axis at the side of the anti-imperialist Front Combattant in the face of a new offensive by bourgeois government." Lioce saw in "the Zionist-American aggression against Iraq... an imperialist will to cut down the principal obstacle to Zionist hegemony" and "to annihilate the Palestinian resistance." The Red Brigades appealed during the war to the regime of Saddam, to "counter by all means Israeli-Anglo-American aims."³⁷

- *Radical rightist groups*³⁸

The leader of the English neo-Nazi movement, David Myatt (now Abdul Aziz ibn Myatt) appealed to all enemies of the Zionists to embrace jihad, the "true martial religion," which would "most effectively fight against the Jews and the Americans."³⁹

David Duke, American white supremacist and founder of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), attacked Christian evangelists who support Israel and explained why Islam is closer to Christianity.

The truth is that there is no such thing as Judeo-Christianity. That would be like saying Satanic-Christianity.... Interestingly enough, Islam is much closer to Christianity than Judaism. The truth is that although Moslems do not share all Christian beliefs, Islam is far closer to Christianity than Judaism. I already quoted the obscene attacks made on Jesus Christ by the Jewish Talmud. How many American Christians even realize that the Holy Qur'an of Islam actually defends Jesus Christ and His mother Mary from the hateful slanders of Judaism?⁴⁰

David Duke was an active participant in the Iranian-sponsored conference on Holocaust denial in December 2006.

- *Anti-globalization and radical single issue groups* (social welfare, ecology, human rights, immigration, racism)

Having 'discovered' anti-Zionism, the anti-globalization movement seems to have diverted its attention from 'globalization'/'capitalism' to Israel and Palestine. In Italy, the center of the movement, leading anti-globalization organizations such as Ya Basta called, on 1 March 2002, for a boycott of Israeli products. Eight days later some 100,000 anti-globalization activists demonstrated in Rome "to support the intifada." When the demonstration passed through the Jewish quarter, they shouted curses against the Jews.

Anti-Global Conferences

On 17-19 September 2004, activists held an 'International Strategy Meeting' in Beirut under the title "Where Next for the Global Anti-War and Anti-Globalization Movements?" The main conveners were Focus on the Global South (Thailand) and the Civilian Campaign for Protection of Palestinian People (France). Some 300 individuals from 50 countries participated in the conference, representing various anti-war coalitions, social movements, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and other groups.⁴¹

Arab sponsors included progressive, secular and Islamist groups, such as Hizballah, the Lebanese Communist Party, and the Progressive Socialist Party of Druze leader Walid Jumblatt. The decision to hold the meeting in the Middle East was part of a conscious effort to build closer links with anti-war and anti-corporate globalization activists in the region. Hizballah was described as "one of the leading welcoming organizations [and] an example of successful, targeted, and organized resistance." Among other topics, there were debates about suicide bombing and the relative importance of local versus Middle Eastern struggles.

The goal of the conference was to highlight the Iraqi and Palestinian struggles in international solidarity work because, as one delegate put it, they are "fighting for the rest of us on the frontline of the global war; thus they should be garnering our priority support as a matter of strategy."⁴²

In light of the above, it seems that at least some important elements of the anti-globalization movement, which incorporates a wide range of disparate groups and interests, now seem willing to seek solidarity and cooperation with radical Islamist organizations and to accept their use of suicide terrorism. Superficially, these groups seem to be collaborating with each other increasingly, as is evident from the level of propaganda activity and extremist Internet use.⁴³

A radical rightist anarchist website explains the rationale of this pragmatic approach:

Unity around simple, achievable strategies and objectives pushes preoccupation with theoretical niceties aside and focuses on areas where anti-Establishment activists from different backgrounds can work together in a rewarding way. If two people or groups from very different theoretical backgrounds can cooperate to achieve a goal that is useful to both of them, this increases the resource base of both groups and widens the armoury of strategies open to each.⁴⁴

The European Marxist-Islamist coalition does not offer a coherent political platform. Its ideology is based on three themes: hatred of the United States, wiping Israel off the map, and the anticipated collapse of the global economic system. Europe's hard-core left sees Muslims as the new under-class on the continent. "Are these not the new slaves?" asks Olivier Besanconneau, leader of the French Trotskyites. "Is it not natural that they should unite with the working class to destroy the capitalist system?" The French radical left alliance of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) and the Workers' Struggle (LO) group counts on Islamist militants to help it win seats in the European Parliament. Arlette Laguillere, the "pasionaria [*sic*] of the Workers' Struggle," claims that "the struggle for Palestine" is now an integral part of the "global proletarian revolution."⁴⁵

Carlos Ramirez Ilitch, the notorious international terrorist known as 'the Jackal', who led numerous terrorist attacks in the 1970s in the ranks of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, perhaps best exemplifies the old/new alliances. Carlos was the main recruiter of German antisemitic radical leftists for PFLP's terrorist operations during the 1970s. He was extradited from Sudan to France only in 1995. During his trial in 1997, he made many references to the 'Jewish conspiracy'. In 2003 he published a book in French to announce his conversion to Islam and to present his strategy for "the destruction of the United States through an orchestrated and persistent campaign of terror." Entitled *Revolutionary Islam*, the book urges "all revolutionaries, including those of the left, even atheists," to accept the leadership of Islamists such as Usama bin Laden and so help turn Afghanistan and Iraq into the "graveyards of American imperialism."⁴⁶

Carlos's book demonstrates how one ideology can serve as the antecedent to another, seemingly its opposite. Just as Carlos's father made Marxist-Leninist ideology his religion, so Carlos turned his new religion into the ideology of 'revolutionary Islam'. Carlos urges Islamist groups to conclude alliances with all radical elements, including Maoists and nationalists, in a joint campaign against the United States. Carlos claims Islam is the only force capable of persuading large numbers of people to become 'volunteers' for suicide attacks against the US. "Only a coalition of Marxists and Islamists can destroy the US," he says.⁴⁷

The Islamists, for their part, are attracted to the European radical left because of its professed hatred of the United States and Israel. "We say to anyone who hates the Americans and wants to throw the Jews out of Palestine: *ablan wa sablan* [welcome]," declared Abu Hamza al-Masri, the British Islamist ideologue awaiting extradition to the US on various criminal charges. "The Prophet teaches that we could ally ourselves even

with the atheists if it helps us destroy [the] enemy.” The first al-Qa`ida leader to advocate a leftist-Islamist alliance against Western democracies was Ayman al-Zawahiri, bin Laden’s deputy. In a message to al-Qa`ida sympathizers in Britain in August 2002, he also urged them to seek allies among “any movement that opposes America, even atheists.”⁴⁸

Kaide, a magazine of the radical Turkish Islamist organization IBDA-C, even maintained that Subcomandante Marcos (aka Delegado Zero), leader of the Mexican Zapatistas in the Chapas province, had converted to Islam. IBDA-C claimed the group was in contact with Marcos and had provided him with books written by their leader, Salih Mirzabeyoglu. “The public must prepare for surprising developments regarding Marcos, the brave commander of the Zapatistas, after Carlos ‘the Jackal’,” the magazine declared.⁴⁹

The second war in Lebanon triggered another ‘strategic conference’, sponsored by Hizballah, from 16 to 19 November 2006. The Beirut International Conference, organized by the Center for Strategic Studies of Hizballah, headed by Dr. Ali Fayyad, was attended by more than 450 political, ideological, academic and media representatives of political parties, trade unions and civil organizations from over 34 countries. Delegates from the European left and anti-war movements came from France, UK, Greece, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, Turkey, Denmark, Germany and Italy. There were also participants from Asia, including the Philippines and India, while Mexico was represented by the Zapatista Movement.

The main objectives of this meeting were to establish a process which would “create an active lasting collaboration between all international anti-imperialist groups at future events and improve the resistance capacity and strategy to face any new imperial attacks.” An additional goal was “to support the resistance in Lebanon [and] the steadfastness against the Zionist aggression.” It also discussed setting up a ‘strategy group’ to “address the current issues and show the willingness to meet the needs of the challenge and to draw lessons from the Israeli aggression, exploring the nature of its relation to other forms of aggression in the region.[sic]”⁵⁰

MAJOR ANTI-JEWISH ATTACKS FOILED OR FAILED SINCE 9/11

Twelve men suspected of belonging to an ‘Arab-Mujahedeen network’ in Germany were apprehended in April 2002. This Palestinian-Jordanian group had been drafting plans for strikes against Israeli or Jewish institutions in Germany and, according to Interior Minister Otto Schily, the arrests were a milestone in Germany’s campaign against terrorism.⁵¹

In 2003 the German police foiled another plot to bomb a ceremony at a new Munich synagogue when they arrested at least ten neo-Nazis, including the well-known extremist Martin Wiese. Police seized 1.7 kilograms of TNT, 14 kilograms of explosives and two hand grenades. Bavarian Interior Minister Guenther Beckstein said they had also found a 'hit list' detailing other potential targets, including several Munich mosques, a Greek school and an unspecified Italian facility.⁵²

In June 2005 an Antwerp court sentenced, in absentia, a 22-year-old Moroccan man identified only as Chbaba B., to six months imprisonment. Confronting a Jewish man in Statiestraat on 7 June 2004, the suspect had said: "I am Palestinian and I want to kill all the Jews." He then brandished a knife in front of the victim. The Antwerp court ruled that B. was driven by deep contempt and by feelings of hostility to Jewish people. It was the first time that such a case of antisemitism had led to a trial and a conviction in Belgium.⁵³

In August 2005 a Pakistani national identified as Hamad Riaz Samana, 21, of Los Angeles, was arrested in connection with an investigation of a possible terrorist plot targeting nearly two dozen locations in Southern California. The counter-terrorism case began when Levar Haney Washington, 25, and Gregory Vernon Patterson, 21, were arrested by police in connection with a string of gas station robberies between 30 May and 3 July. In their apartment in Los Angeles detectives discovered the addresses of two synagogues, the Israeli consulate and the El Al Israel Airlines ticket counter at Los Angeles International Airport, among others, as well as bulletproof vests and jihadist material. The case has opened a new and troubling front for counter-terrorism officials because of a possible connection to a radical form of Islam practiced by a group called Jamiyyat Ul Islam Is Saheeh (Assembly of Authentic Islam). While little is known publicly about the JIS, as intelligence officials call it, the group has been around for several years and has adherents at Folsom State Prison. No connection between the men arrested in Los Angeles and any overseas terror network was found.⁵⁴

In November 2005, an al-Qa`ida-linked Algerian terror cell was broken up by Italian police. The group had been planning to carry out attacks on targets in Oslo, Norway, including the city's main synagogue. Anne Sender, president of Norway's Jewish community, was informed by the local authorities shortly after the suspects were arrested that there had been a credible terrorist threat against the synagogue.⁵⁵

In September 2006, four terrorists were arrested in Norway following a shooting at the Oslo Mosaic Religious Community's synagogue. The Norwegian Police Security Service (PST) charged a 29-year-old man of Pakistani origin (held briefly in Germany in June 2006 on suspicion of

planning a terrorist act against the World Cup), a 28-year-old Norwegian-Pakistani, a 28-year-old Norwegian of 'foreign' origin, and a 26-year-old Norwegian (the son of an employee at the royal court) with "organizing an act of terrorism." Israel's ambassador Miryam Shomrat was also a target of the four suspects, who discussed beheading her.⁵⁶

A month later an Islamist plot was uncovered to kidnap and kill Jews in Prague. According to unidentified intelligence sources, the terrorists had intended to hold the captives in a Prague synagogue, while the press reported that they had planned to make broad demands which they knew could not be met, and would then blow up the building, killing all those inside.⁵⁷

In Venezuela, a group of fanatic followers of President Hugo Chavez fired at the Sheik Ibrahim Bin Abdulaziz Al-Ibrahim mosque in Caracas, killing Omar Medina, its 58-year-old guard. Since the gang shouted "Death to the Jews" during the attack, it was considered an antisemitic attack: they simply confounded the mosque with a Jewish synagogue, their real objective. No Islamic institution in Venezuela protested the attack, knowing the real targets were Jews.⁵⁸

The recent wave of antisemitism in Venezuela was analyzed at a conference on the Middle East conflict organized by Venezuela's Jewish community in Caracas in September 2006. Some participants feared that Chavez's verbal attacks on Israel might lead to physical attacks on Venezuelan Jews. In fact, antisemitic graffiti had already been appearing on the Mariperez Synagogue with increasing frequency. According to Jewish activists, the official and pro-government media were responsible for inciting the wave of antisemitism. Chavez's failure to rebuke the media and the graffiti scribblers, they asserted, represented the crux of the problem. In meetings between Jewish leaders and high level government officials, including Chavez himself, the government claimed its hands were tied. "We'll do what we can, but we can't deny people freedom of speech" was that response.⁵⁹

Further, the antisemitic and anti-Israel atmosphere aroused in the country by Chavez's alliance with the rogue regimes of Iran and Syria has radicalized leftist groups, transforming them into 'Hezbollah Venezuela'.

THE CASE OF 'HEZBOLLAH AMERICA LATINA'

A website presenting itself as "the mouthpiece of Hezbollah Latin America," in Spanish and Chapateka (a mixture of the Indian Maya language and ancient Spanish), became active on the net in summer 2006.⁶⁰ Although the website claims the organization operates in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador and Mexico, the backbone is Hezbollah Venezuela. Calling itself *Autonomía Islámica Wayuu* (after a

tribe living in the Guajira Peninsula of Venezuela and Colombia), it is headed by Teodoro Rafael Darnott, leader of the Latin American 'network'. The second most active group appears to be in Argentina, while the other organizations appear to be practically inactive.⁶¹

Rather unusually, Hezbollah Venezuela began in 1999 as a Wayuu community project for micro farming, in an area northwest of Maracaibo, Venezuela. The leader of the small group, Teodoro Rafael Darnott, was a member of the tribe. Darnott traces the origins of Hezbollah Venezuela to a small Marxist faction, the Guaicaipuro Movement for National Liberation (Proyecto Movimiento Guaicaipuro por la Liberación Nacional – MGLN), which struggled against oppression of the poor indigenous peasants in the Valle de Caracas region. Darnott presented himself as Commander Teodoro, clearly emulating Mexican guerrilla leader Subcomandante Marcos. The MGLN could not withstand the pressure of the security forces and were forced to retreat to Colombia. After five years they returned to Venezuela and became Hezbollah, without a clear explanation for this metamorphosis.⁶²

The group's identification with the so-called Bolivarian revolution in Venezuela is significant. In one of its ideological editorials, the group expresses enormous respect and appreciation for the achievements of Hugo Chavez's regime:

Hezbollah America Latina respects the Venezuelan revolutionary process, supports the policies of this process concerning the social benefices for the poor and the anti-Zionist and anti-American policy of this revolution.⁶³

However, the group does not accept the Socialist ideology, not because they oppose it, but because Hezbollah's philosophy is "theocratic and obeys divine rules."

On 23 October 2006, local police found two explosive devices near the US embassy in Caracas, Venezuela. One of the bombs was found in a box containing leaflets referring to the Lebanese Hizballah. The police arrested Jose Miguel Rojas Espinoza, a 26-year-old student of the state-run Bolivarian University. "The idea was apparently to create alarm and publicize a message," a police spokesman told reporters. The second device may have been intended to explode near the Israeli embassy but the suspect got nervous and dropped it near the American embassy. On 25 October an organization calling itself Hezbollah Latin America took responsibility for the aborted attack on their website and promised they would stage similar ones, in order to publicize the organization. The website presented Rojas as "the brother mujahedeen, the first example of dignity and struggle in the cause of Allah, the first prisoner of the

revolutionary Islamic movement Hezbollah Venezuela.” Since the group had already threatened on its website on 18 August 2006 to explode a “non-lethal device,” it is surprising that no one appears to have taken any notice. The target mentioned in the August threat was “an ally of the US in a Latin American city” (presumably Israel), and the attack was intended to launch the “beginning of the war against imperialism and Zionism” and to demonstrate “solidarity with the Lebanese Hizballah after the July war in Lebanon.”

Hezbollah Argentina, as revealed on its website, is strikingly different from Hezbollah Venezuela. While the Venezuelan group originates among indigenous Wayuu Indians and is characterized by a strong leftist background and revolutionary rhetoric, the Argentinean group appears to include a mixture of radical rightist and leftist populist elements, and maintains close relations with the local Arab Shi’a community and the Iranian regime.⁶⁴

The rightist influence is clear in the antisemitic, anti-Israel and anti-American articles of Norberto Ceresole, including, “Falsification of the Argentinean Reality in the Geopolitical Space of Jewish Terrorism,” and “Attacks in Buenos Aires a Product of the Infiltration of Jewish Fundamentalism into the Service of Israeli Counter-Espionage.” In fact, on the Hezbollah Argentina website, some photos from the suicide bombings at the Israeli Embassy (1992) and the Jewish Community AMIA building (1994) are sub-titled “Jewish Terrorism.” Interestingly, the Ceresole texts were probably downloaded straight from the antisemitic website of Radio Islam.⁶⁵

Norberto Rafael Ceresole was an Argentinean sociologist and political scientist (died 2003), identified with Peronism. Originally active in the 1970s in the left-wing Argentinean terrorist groups ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo) and Montoneros, he became a neo-fascist, an antisemite, a Holocaust denier and viscerally anti-Israel. He was an adviser to leftists, as well as radical rightist politicians and military leaders in his country (such as Aldo Rico, Raúl de Sagastizabal and Mohamed Seineldín (aka ‘Carapintada’) as well as across Latin America. According to his own account, Ceresole made contact with the Iranian regime immediately after the bombing of the Jewish AMIA building in 1994, which he blamed on the Jews and the Israeli secret services. Ceresole visited Iran and Lebanon, where he met “an important, intelligent Arab movement, a patriotic group active in Southern Lebanon.”

In a letter to his “Iranian friends,” Ceresole tried to prove that there is a parallel between the Shi’a faith and what he calls “minority, pre-conciliar traditional Catholicism” (pre-Vatican II Council), which is theologically irreconcilable with Judaism. Ceresole considers Iran since

the Khomeini revolution to be “the center of resistance to Jewish aggression” and the only state that has supplanted “the secular Arab resistance” in fighting the Jewish state. According to Ceresole, many would like to see the Iranian “counterstrategy” not only resist Israeli aggression but destroy “every piece of it,” one by one. Moreover, Ceresole states, “the struggle against the Jewish state cannot be circumscribed geographically only to the Middle East.”

The more popular leftist trend is present in the cooperation of Hezbollah Argentina with Quebracho, a small Argentinean militant group. The Patriotic Revolutionary Movement (Movimiento Patriótico Revolucionario – MPR) Quebracho claims to be a political organization fighting for “a socially just, economically independent and politically sovereign country” for the “national anti-imperialist revolution.” Quebracho militants refuse to define themselves as leftist or rightist. They consider themselves “revolutionary patriots” in the framework of the Latin American liberation struggle “in which the national struggle has, however, a preeminent place.” The enemies of Quebracho are “imperialism and the great capital: the big financial monopolies, the IMF, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the US, the EU, Japan and Israel, among others [*sic*].” The group stresses its cooperation with the Hogar Árabe Argentino organization (Arab Argentinean Dwelling) of Berisso and the Asociación Argentino Islámica (Islamic Association of Argentina – ASAI) of La Plata, which they consider to be “permanently attacked by the Zionists.” Quebracho also expresses solidarity with the struggle of the Lebanese Hizballah and the Lebanese and Palestinian people against “terrorist attacks of Israel and the genocide of thousands of their people.”⁶⁶

Although Hezbollah Venezuela’s first terrorist attempt might have been intended for propaganda purposes, several worrying aspects should be stressed. The permissive atmosphere prevailing in Venezuela could send a message to the group and to more dangerous terrorist organizations that their activities on Latin American soil or from Latin American territory would be tolerated, or even politically condoned.

THE SPECTER OF THE IRANIAN NUCLEAR THREAT

Since October 2005 Iran’s President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has targeted Israel obsessively in his speeches, presenting his vision of a world without Israel or the United States and urging that Israel be wiped off the map. At the “World without Zionism” conference held in Tehran in October 2005 Ahmadinejad portrayed Israel and Zionism as the spearhead of the West against the Islamic nation and emphasized the need to eradicate Israel.

During the Islamic Conference Organization meeting in Mecca in December 2005 Ahmadinejad complained that since the West was responsible “for what some describe as the Holocaust,” no one should demand that the Palestinians pay the price.

Ahmadinejad’s advocacy of Holocaust denial is neither a new nor a uniquely personal obsession, but an intensification of prevalent themes in Islamic Iran’s ideological discourse. He seeks to restore the regime’s revolutionary goals and ideals and advance Iranian hegemony in the Middle East using anti-Zionism and Holocaust denial as principal pillars of his policy.⁶⁷

It should be stressed that this Iranian campaign has been orchestrated against the background of Tehran’s continuing support for Hizballah and Hamas, the two Islamist organizations which though not capable of destroying Israel themselves, are gradually undermining through terrorism any glimmer of hope in the negotiating process between Israel and the Palestinians; it has helped radicalize the Palestinian Authority due to Hamas’ victory in the January 2006 elections and sparked the July 2006 crisis with the kidnapping of Israeli soldiers by the two organizations which led to the Second Lebanon war.

The major threat of the Tehran regime, however, lies in its nuclear ambitions. The first prominent leader of the Islamic Republic who openly suggested the use of nuclear weapon against the Jewish state was [former] Iranian President Ayatollah Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani in December 2001 who told the crowd at traditional Friday prayers in Tehran.⁶⁸

If a day comes when the world of Islam is duly equipped with the arms Israel has in possession, the strategy of colonialism would face a stalemate because application of an atomic bomb would not leave any thing in Israel but the same thing would just produce damages in the Muslim world [*sic*].

Ahmadinejad cleverly employs a selected set of issues to escalate international tensions, Iran’s nuclear build-up being the starting point of this strategy. The ‘Jewish factor’ includes both Israel’s security and the Holocaust as two extremely sensitive aspects defining Tehran’s relations with the US and with Europe.⁶⁹ The Iranian president’s threats are not merely rhetoric but represent a clear danger to the very existence of Israel, the only country targeted for a nuclear holocaust. For the moment there is no indication that international pressure or even sanctions would be effective. Thus, the president of a rich, powerful country openly threatens to wipe Israel off the map, therefore completing the act that he claims did not happen in Europe.⁷⁰

The comparison between Ahmadinejad and Hitler is analyzed by political scientist Waller R. Newell against the background of the ideological effects of Heideggerian Iranian philosopher Ali Shariati. Largely thanks to Shariati's influence, the ideology that prevailed with Khomeini's assumption of power was an Islam distorted by European left-wing existentialism and the romanticizing of violence. According to Newell, Shariati:

secularized the messianic strain that distinguishes Shiism from mainstream Islam and made it the vehicle for Heideggerian existentialist commitment, resolve, and willpower on behalf of the oppressed people. Messianism became the impetus for collective political struggle.⁷¹

CONCLUSIONS

There is a growing trend of solidarity between leftist, Marxist, anti-globalization and even rightist elements with Islamists. The fact that the Lebanese Hizballah sponsored two strategic conferences of anti-globalization groups and movements in Beirut (September 2004 and November 2006) is an indicator of this potentially dangerous coalition for the future.

The 'globalization' of the threat to Jews and Jewish communities is perhaps best expressed by Michel Wieviorka, a leading French sociologist, whom I take the liberty of citing extensively in closing my essay⁷²:

To say that hatred of the Jews is 'global' is to admit that it is at the same time worldwide, transnational and local, and to recognize a link between its more general, universal, aspects and a specific limited situation. It is, for instance, to think of an attempt to set alight a synagogue in a Parisian neighborhood taking into account local, international, mainly Middle Eastern facts.

The globalization of antisemitism lies in a double compression, of time and space. It amalgamates elements that originate in historically distinct surroundings. Everything can be found there: accusations of ritual crimes, as in the darkest times of anti-Jewish Christian Europe; references based on *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, this invention of the tsarist regime at the beginning of the 20th century; classic themes of modern racial antisemitism and Nazism; revisionism and denial of the Holocaust and the gas chambers at Auschwitz; denunciation of the Shoah-business to enrich Jews; or the more recent accusation that antisemitism is the result of lobbying activity in favor of Israel.

Globalization owes much to electronic technologies, which permit the instantaneous diffusion of propaganda texts, sounds and images through television and the Internet.

Finally, globalization of antisemitism has a center, the Middle East, and more precisely the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: it organizes itself around the negation of the State of Israel.

According to Newell, "in Ahmadinejad's flirtation with a nuclear Armageddon, the destruction of Israel plays the same role that the Nazis assigned to the destruction of European Jewry," and Ahmadinejad's promises of "a world without Zionism" must be taken quite literally and cannot be ignored.⁷³

Thus, the use of terrorism in all its forms is allied with the threat of nuclear destruction in order to achieve the same goal: not only negation of the state of the Jewish people but its physical annihilation as a state of free people.

NOTES

1. This article is based on a keynote address at the Zionist Federation of Australia plenary conference in Melbourne, 28 Aug. 2005.
2. Ely Karmon, *Coalitions of Terrorist Organizations: Revolutionaries, Nationalists and Islamists* (Leiden, 2005).
3. "The Black September Operation in Munich: The Strategy of the Anti-imperialist Struggle," published in late 1972, in *Texte der RAF*, pp. 411–47.
4. See quotation from his speech shortly before his trial in *CONTROinformazione* 1–2 (Feb.-March 1974), p. 26.
5. In March 2001 Mahler published on the Internet a fiercely antisemitic article, "Discovery of God instead of Jewish Hatred," which was to be presented at the Conference of Revisionist Historians in Beirut, Lebanon on 3 April 2001 (subsequently prohibited by the Lebanese government). See the article in German Lecture Series on the Final Solution of the Jewish Question at www.regmeister.net/h_mahler.htm.
6. Roni Stauber, "Continuity and Change: Extreme Right Perceptions of Zionism," in *Anti-Semitism Worldwide 1999/2000*, Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism, Tel Aviv University, at <http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw99-2000/stauber.htm>.
7. Ely Karmon, *Coalitions of Terrorist Organizations*, pp. 43, 47. Antisemitism among German terrorists was reportedly so deeply entrenched that they could not even bear to hear anyone whistling the theme tune of the film *Exodus*. In contrast, the Palestinians were far more tolerant.

8. In fact, the AD had no 'Jewish fighters unit'. The only Jewish AD militant identified, Michel Azeroual, was opposed to attacking Jewish targets. He later abandoned the organization.
9. In this context, it is important to stress that Mussolini's fascist regime was ambivalent toward the Jews and Judaism, and that antisemitism was not a *sine qua non* of its original fascist ideology. Two leading researchers, Renzo de Felice and Meir Michaelis, concluded that 1938 was a turning point as far as anti-Jewish policy and racist legislation were concerned, and that this was triggered mainly by the political pressures of the Rome-Berlin axis. See Renzo De Felice, *Storia degli ebrei italiani sotto il fascismo* 3rd ed. (Torino, 1977) and Meir Michaelis, *Mussolini and the Jews: German-Italian Relations and the Jewish Question in Italy, 1922–1945*, Institute of Jewish Affairs, London (Oxford, 1978). Even during the fascist Salo republic under German occupation, the Italian regime tried – albeit unsuccessfully – to prevent the implementation of the Final Solution on the Jews of Italy. The disparity between the Germans and the Italians on racist issues was particularly evident in their policy toward the Jews in occupied countries. The Italian army refrained from harming Jews in the countries it subjugated, at least until Italy surrendered to the Allies in September 1943. See Michaelis, *Mussolini and the Jews*, pp. 346 and 458, and Daniel Carpi, *Between Mussolini and Hitler: The Jews and the Italian Authorities in France and Tunisia*, Tauber Institute for the Study of European Jewry, Series 17, (University Press of New England, 1994).
10. Lewis traced the roots of modern antisemitism in the Muslim and Arab world back to the nineteenth and twentieth century Christian empires, whose influence spread to the Ottoman Empire. See Bernard Lewis, "Antisemitism in the Arab and Islamic World," in Yehuda Bauer (ed.), *Present-Day Antisemitism* (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1988), pp. 61–6.
11. Paul Wilkinson, *The New Fascists* (London, 1982), pp. 76, 101.
12. UK Community Security Trust, "Terrorist Incidents against Jewish Communities and Israeli Citizens Abroad, 1968–2003," 2004, at www.thecst.org.uk/downloads/Terrorist_Incidents_Report.pdf.
13. Two ANO terrorists attacked the synagogue with grenades and machine guns, killing 22 members of the congregation and injuring four others during Shabbat morning prayers. Both attackers subsequently killed themselves after detonating belts containing explosives. Six years later, on 1 March 1992, two hand grenades were thrown into the entrance of the Neve Shalom Synagogue in Istanbul during the course of a wedding, injuring a man nearby. Members of Turkish Hizballah were later tried and convicted of the attack.
14. Twenty-three people were killed and three hundred injured in consecutive car bomb attacks on the Neve Shalom and Beth Israel

- synagogues during Shabbat morning services. Although the Great Eastern Islamic Raiders Front initially claimed responsibility, al-Qa'ida subsequently admitted that it had carried out the attack.
15. See also Ely Karmon, "Radical Islamic Groups and Anti-Jewish Terrorism," in Dina Porat and Roni Stauber (eds.), *Antisemitism and Terror* (Tel Aviv University, 2003), pp.150–63.
16. Cited by Martin Kramer, in "The Saliency of Islamic Antisemitism," a lecture presented at the Institute of Jewish Affairs in London and published in its *IJA Reports* 2 (Oct. 1995).
17. Robert S. Wistrich, "Muslim Antisemitism: A Clear and Present Danger," American Jewish Committee Publications, at www.ajc.org/InTheMedia/Publications.asp?did=503&pid=1196.
18. Ibid.
19. Magnus Ranstorp, "Terrorism in the Name of Religion," *Journal of International Affairs* 1 (Summer 1996), pp. 41–62, at www.lander.edu/atannenbaum/Tannenbaum%20courses%20folder/POLS%20364%20Terrorism%20course%20folder/ranstorp_terrorism_in_the_nameof_religion.htm.
20. Ayatollah Khomeini in a speech given at Najaf, 19 Feb. 1978, cited by Amnon Nezer in *Skira Hodshit* (Tel Aviv, March 1998; in Hebrew), p. 28.
21. Interview with Meir Litvak, "Post-Holocaust and Antisemitism. The Development of Arab Antisemitism," Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs 5 (2 Feb., 2003), at <http://www.jcpa.org/phas/phas-5.htm>.
22. Elie Rekhess, "The Terrorist Connection – Iran, the Islamic Jihad and Hamas," *Justice* (Tel Aviv) (May 1995), p. 4.
23. "Argentina accuses Iran of responsibility for the Hizballah terrorist attack which destroyed the Jewish Community Center in Buenos Aires, 1994," Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Center for Special Studies (CSS), 14 Nov. 2006, at http://www.intelligence.org.il/eng/eng_n/html/argentina_amia_e.htm.
24. Ely Karmon, "Radical Islamist Movements in Turkey," in Barry Rubin (ed.), *Revolutionaries and Reformers. Contemporary Islamic Movements in the Middle East* (State University of New York Press, 2003), pp. 41–67.
25. El Sayyid A. Nosair, an American of Egyptian origin killed Kahana on 5 Nov. 1990. Police found in his home a list of Jewish public figures. However he was acquitted by the jury. Nosair was accused of this murder only after he was arrested for his involvement with the Islamist terrorist group under the leadership of Shaykh Abdul Rahman, responsible for the bombing of the WTC in 1993.
26. Abdelkader(?), "About the Zionist Campaign against the Islamic Revolution in Algeria: A Statement by GIA (the Algerian Armed Movement)," Radio Islam manifest, 3–4 (1994; in Swedish). Radio Islam was a Swedish radio station, now a website, allegedly dedicated to

- “the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people against Israel,” and currently one of the most radical right-wing antisemitic websites on the net, espousing Holocaust denial and praising Adolf Hitler and Nazism.
27. Osama bin Laden, "Declaration of War against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places, 1996," MidEastWeb, at <http://www.mideastweb.org/osamabinladen1.htm>.
 28. See Ely Karmon, "Terrorism a la Bin Laden is not a Peace Process Problem," *PolicyWatch* 347 (Oct. 1998), Washington Institute for Near East Policy.
 29. The terrorist organization al-Qa'ida encouraged attacks against Jordan and the United States on or around 1 January 2000. Although some attacks were planned, there is no evidence that they were coordinated in any way. Two of them were foiled by law enforcement agencies and a third was aborted after a mistake occurred.
 30. "Jihad against Jews and Crusaders. World Islamic Front Statement," *Washington Post*, at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn/A4993-2001Sep21?language=printer>. On 22 February 1998 Usama bin Laden announced the creation in Pakistan of the World Islamic Front for the Struggle against the Jews and Crusaders (WIF), in association with radical groups from Egypt, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Other signatories to the February statement were: Ayman al-Zawahiri, leader of the Egyptian Jihad; Rifai Taha, head of the Egyptian Islamic Group; Mir Hamza, secretary-general of Pakistan's Ulema Society (Jamaat-ul-Ulema-i-Pakistan); Fazlur Rahman Khalil, chief of Harkat-ul-Ansar (HuA) in Pakistan; and Shaykh Abd al-Salam Muhammad Khan, leader of the Jihad movement of Bangladesh.
 31. "Oh you who believe, take not the Jews and the Christians as friends and protectors, they [Jews and Christians] are friends and protectors of each other, whomsoever takes them as friends and protectors is one of them." [Quran 5:51] Shaykh al-Islam Ibn Taymiya said: "Whosoever takes wala [declarations of faith] from a Jew is in turn a Jew himself, whomsoever takes wala from a Christian is in turn a Christian himself." These citations are taken from one of the 18 mirror English and multilingual websites <http://www.kavkaz.com/> belonging to Chechen Islamist militants active before 9/11.
 32. Ely Karmon, "Who Bombed Northern Israel? Al-Qaida and Palestine," 1 Jan. 2006, ICT website, at www.instituteforcounterterrorism.org/apage/printv/5203.php.
 33. Osama bin Laden, *Declaration of War*.
 34. Karmon, "Terrorism a la Bin Laden is not a Peace Process Problem."
 35. Karmon, *Coalitions of Terrorist Organizations*, pp. 71–2.
 36. Ely Karmon, "The Middle East, Iraq, Palestine – Arenas for Radical and Anti-Globalization Groups Activity," paper presented at the NATO ARW (Advanced Research Workshop) on Terrorism and

- Communications – Countering the Terrorist Information Cycle, Smolenice, Slovakia, 8–11 April 2005 (forthcoming in a NATO book).
37. Alexandre dell Valle, “The Reds, The Browns and the Greens or the Convergence of Totalitarianisms,” 6 Dec. 2004, at www.alexandrevalle.com/publications.php?id_art=131.
 38. For instance in the 1970s and 1980s some Italian rightist terrorists and German radicals supported the Palestinians and even the Iranian Khomeinist regime; the Oklahoma City Federal Building bombing in 1995 was a clear act of terror by rightist elements against the democratic liberal system in the US.
 39. dell Valle, “The Reds, The Browns and the Greens.”
 40. “Evangelicals Who Serve the Anti-Christ!” David Duke Online Radio Report, 25 Jan. 2003, at www.davidduke.com/wp-print.php?p=100.
 41. This paragraph is based on Ely Karmon, “Hizballah and the Antiglobalization Movement: A New Coalition?” *PolicyWatch* 949 (27 Jan. 2005), Washington Institute for Near East Policy, at www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC05.php?CID=2244.
 42. Report on “Where Next for the Global Anti-War and Anti-Globalization Movements?” conference in Beirut, 17-19 Sept. 2004. Prepared by Iraq Solidarity Project, a grassroots collective based in Montreal, Canada, at <http://beirut.indymedia.org/ar/2004/10/1800.shtml>, 18 Oct. 2004.
 43. Gabriel Weimann, “www.terror.net – How Modern Terrorism Uses the Internet,” United States Institute of Peace Reports, Special Report No. 116 (March 2004), <http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr116.pdf>, and David Talbot, “Terror’s Server,” *TechnologyReview.com* (Feb. 2005), at www.technologyreview.com/printer_friendly_article.aspx?id=14150.
 44. D. E. Michael, “Unity In Diversity. The Strategy of Divide Et Impera,” national-anarchist campaign, at www.folkandfaith.com/articles/divide.shtml.
 45. Amir Taheri, “The Black-Red Alliance,” *Jerusalem Post*, 10 June 2004. See also Jean-Yves Camus, “The French Left and Political Islam: Secularism versus the Temptation of an Alliance,” at <http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/camus.html>.
 46. Ilich Ramirez Sanchez, dit Carlos (avec Jean-Michel Vernochet), *L’islam révolutionnaire* (Monaco, 2003).
 47. Ibid., pp. 89-97.
 48. Taheri, “The Black-Red Alliance.”
 49. “*Kaide* (‘Al-Qa’ida’), magazine published openly in Turkey,” MEMRI Special Dispatch Series No. 951, 7 Aug. 2005.
 50. Mukhtar Kabar, “Beirut Conference Shows International Solidarity,” Respect website, 9 Dec. 2006, at www.respectcoalition.org/2006/news.php?ite=1274.

51. NYT, 5 Sept. 2002.
52. *Associated Press*, 16 Sept. 2003.
53. *Dhimmi Watch*, 25 June 2005, at <http://www.jihadwatch.org/dhimmiwatch/>.
54. Greg Krikorian, "Arrest Made in Possible Terror Plot," *Los Angeles Times*, 16 Aug. 2005.
55. Michael Freund, *Jerusalem Post*, 12 Sept. 2006.
56. Yossi Lempkowicz, "Israeli Embassy Target of Oslo Synagogue Attackers," *European Jewish Press*, 22 Sept. 2006, at <http://ejpress.org/article/news/10914>.
57. "Czech Terror Alert. Plot Against Jews Reported in Prague," Spiegel Online, 6 Oct. 2006, at www.spiegel.de/international/0,1518,441131,00.html.
58. See Wenceslao Cruz Blanco, "La mezquita atacada en Venezuela," Nuncamas website, 16 Oct. 2006, at www.barinass.net.ve/nuncamas/index_nuncamas.php?p=75&more=1&c=1&tb=1&pb=1#more75.
59. Jose Orozco, "Venezuelan Jews Fear Chavez-Iran Ties," *Jerusalem Post*, 19 Sept. 2006.
60. <http://groups.msn.com/autonomiaislamicawayuu/hezboallah.msnw>.
61. The citations from the different websites belonging to Hezbollah Latino America were translated from Spanish to English by this author.
62. For a detailed analysis of Hezbollah Venezuela and Hezbollah Latino America see: Ely Karmon, "Hezbollah America Latina: Strange Group or Real Threat?" ICT website, 14 Nov. 2006, at www.instituteforcounterterrorism.org/apage/3539.php. Manuel R. Torres Soriano, "La fascinación por el éxito: el caso de Hezbollah en América Latina," *Jihad Monitor Occasional Paper*, No. 1, Oct. 17, 2006, at <http://www.ugr.es/~terris/Hezbollah%20Latino.pdf>; Javier Jordan and Manuel Torres, "Considerations on the First (Frustrated) Action of Hezbollah in Venezuela," *Jihad Monitor Special Paper*, November 2, 2006, at www.ugr.es/~terris/JMSRE.pdf.
63. *Hezbollah Venezuela*, "Nuestra posición oficial respecto a la revolución venezolana. Editorial," 3 Aug. 2006.
64. On Hezbollah Argentina, see Karmon, "Hezbollah America Latina,"
65. <http://www.radioislam.net/islam/spanish/sion/terror/cap2.htm>. On Radio Islam, see note 25.
66. See note 57.
67. Meir Litvak, "What Is behind Iran's Advocacy of Holocaust Denial?" The Center for Iranian Studies (CIS), Tel Aviv University, *Iranian Pulse* No. 3, 11 Sept. 2006.
68. "Rafsanjani Says Muslims Should Use Nuclear Weapon against Israel," Iran Press Service, at http://www.iran-press-service.com/articles_2001/dec_2001_nuke_threats_141201.htm.

69. Nicola Pedde, "Iran's Nuclear Gamble," Analisis Del Real Instituto Elcano, 7 Aug. 2006, at http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/analisis/1023/1023_Pedde_Iran_Nuclear_Gamble.pdf.
70. Amnon Rubinstein, "Iran: Suicide Bombing as a National Strategy," *Haaretz*, 19 May 2006.
71. Waller R. Newell, "Why Is Ahmadinejad Smiling? The Intellectual Sources of His Apocalyptic Vision," *Weekly Standard* 5, 16 Oct. 2006.
72. Michel Wieviorka, "La logique 'globale' de l'antisemitisme aujourd'hui," www.gauches.net; author's translation.
73. Waller R. Newell, "Why Is Ahmadinejad Smiling?"

Iran, the Jews and the Holocaust

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During the last two centuries, Iranian politics have oscillated between extremes as the country has searched for a viable path to confront the challenges of modernity. Since the late eighteenth century, it has gradually undergone a phase of Westernization—a process that was intensified prior to the collapse of the Pahlavi Monarchy (1925–79) – only to reverse direction under the Islamic Republic.¹

The dichotomy that has characterized recent Iranian politics is best exemplified by the distinctive visions of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. By all accounts, Khomeini's worldview was the complete antithesis of that of the Shah. The latter's attachment to the legacy of Cyrus the Great gave way to a return to the traditions of the Imam 'Ali. While the Shah sought to generate loyalty to the monarchy and to Iran's pre-Islamic heritage, the Islamic Republic's policies are based on strict adherence to Islamic dogma and values. While the previous regime made a determined drive for Westernization, the Islamic Republic views Western influence as a major threat.

Evidently, such vastly opposing views invariably subsume the two regimes' respective attitudes toward minority religions as well. As part of Iranian society, the Jews were inevitably influenced by the revolutionary change; as members of a religious minority, this cataclysm had distinctive ramifications for them. The revolution's virulently anti-Israel and anti-Zionist stance, too, was bound to arouse feeling against world Jewry and affect attitudes toward the Jews in Iran.

This essay will analyze the evolution of Iran's position toward its Jewish minority and toward Jewish issues worldwide, as well as President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's harsh rhetoric regarding world Jewry and the Holocaust. In order to better comprehend the magnitude of the change, it will begin by tracing the historical legacy of Iran's treatment of its Jews and discuss policy vis-à-vis Iranian Jewry since the Islamic Revolution. It will then examine in greater depth attempts in Iran to cast doubt on the

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validity of the Holocaust by focusing on the views of leading officials, scholars and media publications.

IRANIAN JEWRY: PAST LEGACY AND CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

The history of Iranian Jewry has known periods of suppression, persecution, and harassment as well as intervals of tolerance and peaceful coexistence. All in all, however, their experience was even more trying than that of Jews in other Muslim communities. "Compared to the Jews of Iran," Bernard Lewis wrote, "the Jews of the Ottoman Empire were living in paradise."² Growing contact with the West, mainly since the early nineteenth century, and the liberal movement that gave birth to the Constitutional Revolution in Iran (1905–11), helped to ameliorate their situation somewhat. As Habib Levy stated, these events brought the Jews the "precious gift" of an opportunity to break "the invisible chains which had bound them hand and foot," even if they "did not suddenly erase the toxic impurity of anti-Semitism" from peoples' minds.³ However, it was primarily during the Pahlavi monarchy, that Iranian Jews were able to improve their position in Iranian society.

The two decades under Reza Shah's rule "brought temporary relief to the Jews and other non-Muslims."⁴ While the Jews experienced significant advances in their social and economic situation during Reza Shah's reign, it changed even more substantially under Mohammad Reza Shah (1941-1979), reaching its zenith during the reform movement of the White Revolution (from 1963) – marking the Golden Era of Iranian Jewry. At that time, Jews enjoyed almost complete cultural and religious autonomy, unprecedented economic progress, and had political rights that were close to those of their Muslim compatriots. Even then, however, progress was often interrupted by difficult periods. Antisemitic literature continued to be published throughout the Pahlavi monarchy,⁵ and anti-Jewish propaganda became more visible in Iran during the early 1950s, following the establishment of the State of Israel, and under Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddeq. Yet, in comparison to earlier periods, the Jews' status improved considerably under the Pahlavis.

The Islamic Revolution turned assets into obvious liabilities for Iran's Jews. Their prominent socio-economic standing under the monarchy, their identification with the Shah and his policies, and their attachment to Israel, Zionism, and 'American imperialism' were all held against them. Iran's historical mistreatment of the Jews had left its mark on popular attitudes. The short interval of Jewish freedom under the last shah was too brief to cause a significant shift in societal attitudes toward the Jews. The basic principles of the revolutionary regime were based on

radical interpretations of Islamic dogma, and Ayatollah Khomeini's own doctrine (see below) would only exacerbate anti-Jewish sentiment. The economic challenges following the change of regime and the pressure on Iran from the outside world were also attributed, at least in part, to Israel and the Jews, who were believed to be 'moving the wheels' of the world economy. Moreover, the Islamic regime's decision to become the bearer of the anti-Zionist and anti-Israel flag fuelled this feeling. Less than three decades after the revolution, approximately two-thirds of the Jewish community (including most of the religious and social leadership) have left Iran. In 2007, an estimated 25,000 Jews remain there. Although there has been no actual governmental incitement or systematic harassment, "the Iranian Jews have received harsher treatment" than other recognized religious minorities – excluding the Baha'is.⁶

Khomeini's doctrine, as formulated prior to the Islamic Revolution, contained distinct anti-Jewish elements, combining Shi'i ideology with typical elements of European antisemitism. On the first page of his book *Al-Hukmah al-Islamiyyah* (Islamic Governance), Khomeini pointed out: "Since its inception, the Islamic movement has been afflicted with the Jews," who "established anti-Islamic propaganda and joined in various stratagems, and as you can see, this activity continues down to our present day." The Prophet Muhammad "eliminated" the Jews of the Bani Qurayza, Khomeini recalled, because they were a troublesome group, corrupting Muslim society and "damaging Islam and the Islamic state."⁷ In his earlier book, *Touzih al-Masa'el* (Clarification of the Questions), he emphasized the Shi'i doctrine of the ritual impurity of unbelievers (*nejasat*), listing "eleven things that contaminated," including sperm, dogs, pigs, carrion and unbelievers: the latter's entire body is unclean; even their "hair and fingernails and [bodily] secretion." Products which cannot be purified (such as food) should not be bought from infidels.⁸ A school textbook on Islamic culture and religion from the early years of the revolution which discussed "impure things [*chizhaye napak*]," similarly refers to causes of disease (microbes and viruses) and then lists the impure things, including dog, pig, alcohol, excrement, and infidels.⁹ In contrast to the nationalistic Pahlavi rule, which held the Jews as equals, Khomeini's Islamic doctrine inevitably led to the Jews being treated as inferior to the Muslim majority.

Immediately following Khomeini's triumphant return from exile, prominent leaders of the Jewish community, headed by Chief Rabbi Yedidya Shofet, visited him to convey loyalty to the new regime. They argued that Judaism and Zionism were wholly distinct issues. Khomeini adopted this formula. Vague as it often appears, this distinction is still generally endorsed in official statements.

Once the Islamic Revolution had stabilized, venomous attacks gave way to more balanced and tolerant statements with regard to Iranian Jewry. Religious minorities (with the exception of the Baha'is) came to rely on a measure of tolerance and protection. The Jews received official recognition as a minority group, and representation in the Majlis (parliament). Freedom of worship was not substantially restricted and numerous synagogues have remained active; as small as the Jewish community is, it is still the largest in any Muslim country.

The Islamic regime's relatively tolerant approach was noticeable on the surface, but at a deeper level matters were often more complex. Anti-Jewish sentiments abounded among segments of the population and occasionally found expression in official statements. To begin with, the distinction between Jews, Israel and Zionism was often blurred, much as it is in the Arab world. There were numerous references to Israel as a 'bunch of Jews', and occasional allusions to seventh century Jews as 'the Zionists of [Prophet] Muhammad's time'. Khomeini himself – often careful not to incite against the Jews – made a revealing slip. In 1982, he began one of his speeches by saying that those who followed in the path of Jesus Christ were even worse than the Jews, although it was perhaps "impossible to say that there is anything worse than the Jews." He then retracted: "I mean the Jews of Israel."¹⁰ Over time, negative references to Jews became commonplace in Iranian parlance. According to a series of articles published on the eve of the 1998 International Day of Jerusalem in the newspaper *Kar va Kargar*, all Jews, regardless of where they reside, are Zionists, and retain the same basic unflattering features.¹¹ An article in *Ettela'at* quoted the Qur'an to prove Jewish animosity to Islam: "Cursed were the unbelievers of the Children of Israel" for "their rebellion and their transgression."¹² During the Iran-Iraq war, an Iranian military operation was given the codename Khaybar, after the Jewish oasis besieged and conquered by the Prophet. President 'Ali Khamene'i explained that the name was in memory of the glorious victories of Islam over the Jews: Since "the front opposing us today is a Zionist front," he continued, "this will serve as a reminder for us of the struggle of Islam against the Jews of Khaybar."¹³ *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, as well as virulently antisemitic caricatures, were published repeatedly throughout this period.

For most Arab states, the conflict with Israel is chiefly a national and territorial dispute, but for Islamic Iran (much like Islamist movements, such as Hizballah and Hamas in the Arab world) it is a religious crusade. As one Iranian intellectual put it, since Israel is "by nature" the enemy of Islam and the Qur'an, it is "the religious duty [*taklife shar'i*]" of every Muslim to confront it.¹⁴ According to this logic, while in the past the

West wished to achieve its goals through the Church, it now promoted its interests indirectly – by setting the Jews against the Muslims in order to divide the Muslim world and eventually wage war against them. Former Foreign Minister ‘Ali Akbar Velayati claimed that the creation of Israel was a “diabolical action” aimed at “creat[ing] a Zionist and anti-Islamic fracture in the heart of the political geography of Islam,” and at transplanting “the historical crisis between Christians and Jews of Europe to the Islamic world and converting it into a crisis between Jews and Muslims in Palestine.” This, he added, was a “historical deal” which in part “absolved Jews of the death of Jesus Christ” and led to the “materialization of the aspiration of extremist and racist Jews in setting up a Jewish state.”¹⁵ All in all, Iranian policy was a combination of instigation and restraint; sowing the seeds of hatred – whether consciously or unconsciously – while preventing that hatred from being translated into violence.

The circumstances that led to the election of President Mohammad Khatami in 1997, his relatively pragmatic policy, and the more moderate statements following his election, inevitably led to some relaxation with regard to the Jews, too. Khatami’s emphasis on inter-faith dialogue and civil society and the need to defuse tension (with the West, for example), revealed a greater commitment to Iranian national interests than to doctrinaire religious convictions, and had a soothing effect on Iran’s religious minorities.

Occasionally, milder statements emerged, primarily from liberal thinkers. Hojjat ul-Islam (and Professor) Mohsen Kadivar – a devout adherent in the early days of the revolution and later one of the symbols of Iranian liberalism – maintained that the “truth of Islam does not mean the absolute falsehood of Judaism and Christianity.” While “complete salvation and reward” belongs to Muslims, he agreed, “we can both believe in one supreme truth and also not consider other religions and followers of other religions as completely false.”¹⁶ He reminded his co-religionists that even the Prophet and Imam ‘Ali “conducted talks with Jews” and signed treaties with them.¹⁷ Another leading Iranian intellectual, Hojjat ul-Islam Mohammad Mojtahed Shabestari, further maintained that the principles of religion and human rights were not necessarily identical. The latter, he noted, derive from a philosophical concept of equality, based on the idea that “the humanism of an individual has priority over his belief,” unlike religious principles in which equality is based on faith. Based on such premises, Shabestari stressed the need for dialogue between faiths, which in his view was not only recommended (*mostahab*) but essential (*zarurat*).¹⁸ For his part, Khatami rejected antisemitism as a Western phenomenon with “no

precedent” in Islam, where Jews and Muslims have long “lived harmoniously together.” In the East, he said, “we have had despotism and dictatorship, but never fascism or Nazism,” which were Western phenomena.¹⁹

Nevertheless, the conservative press maintained its critical tone, even when discussing general Jewish issues. An article in *Jomburi-ye Islami* rejected as incorrect Khatami’s suggestion that “anti-Judaism was a Western phenomenon with no precedent in Islam;” Islamic history, it stated, was rife with “Jewish plots against the Noble Prophet,” and the Holy Book warned against the Jews’ “enmity [*‘adawat*]” and “rancor (*kineh*)” toward Muslims.²⁰ Another article in *Kayhan* castigated Jews for viewing Muslims as “inferior peoples,” who were born only to slavery [*bardagi*] and doomed to remain thus forever.²¹ Iranian sources further argued that the “Talmudic mentality” approved “the logic of force,”²² advocating “the annihilation of the Muslims and legitimiz[ing] the shedding of their blood.”²³ While Islam forbade terrorism, another article continued, their “misleading Torah” explicitly commanded them: “Kill their [enemy’s] men, women, and children; kill even their cattle and sheep; burn their farmlands and destroy their abode.” The “thought process” of the Zionists and of Hitler, the article concluded, was similar.²⁴

CASTING DOUBT ON THE HOLOCAUST

In recent years Iran has become a major center for disseminating radical views regarding the Holocaust. Such views combine typical Western denial claims with Middle Eastern arguments (see below), and some distinctive Iranian revolutionary assertions. It should be stressed that while most Iranian sources do not openly deny the Holocaust altogether, they attempt to distort it, belittle its historical significance, or trivialize Holocaust atrocities. To begin with, Iranian sources stressed that obsessive Jewish references to the Holocaust were part of an orchestrated conspiracy to attract sympathy for Zionism and win international support for the establishment of Israel. Further, they argued, the Jews used Holocaust references to lend legitimacy to Zionist policies, further suppress the Palestinians and advance Zionist schemes.

As Middle East scholars Meir Litvak and Esther Webman demonstrate, representations of the Holocaust in the Muslim World – ranging from condemnation to justification or denial – have become criteria according to which Jews in general, and the State of Israel, in particular, are judged. While treatment of the Holocaust has never been monolithic, one early assertion has remained relatively constant: The Jews cultivated a compelling sense of sympathy following World War II,

which was consequently exploited to mobilize support for the establishment of their state. Adolf Hitler's Nazi antisemitism was justified, such arguments go, in light of Jewish sedition, financial dominance of the West, and currently, Israeli policy. The difficulty of reconciling the Jews' weakness and vulnerability in Europe with their newfound strength in the Middle East led a growing number of Muslims to highlight elements of Holocaust denial, as opposed to merely justifying this genocide.²⁵ Holocaust denial in Iran, Litvak continues, is one manifestation of a broader fusion between Iran's vehemently anti-Zionist position and traditional anti-Jewish themes. Ahmadinejad's portrayal of the Holocaust as a legend or myth is thus neither a new nor uniquely personal obsession but an intensification of themes prevalent in Islamic Iran's ideological discourse.²⁶ In line with the Arab Middle East, Iranian emphasis on Holocaust denial gained momentum in the late 1990s, even when Khatami's pro-reform camp was reaching the peak of its power.

The following commentary, published in *Tehran Times*, six months after Khatami's election, reflects the multi-dimensional charges, as well as the harsh language, often used to cast doubt on the Holocaust. It denounces the so-called Kosher brotherhood, as a group "too long intent on Goebbels-style propaganda, acting helpless and crying wolf as the occasion required, picking random targets for destruction and annihilation throughout the Middle East." They behave as an "American envoy at one time, as plenipotentiaries for some European states" at others and sometimes as "trained henchmen and paid killers, becoming pimps and tarts."²⁷ Oddly, Iranian sources at times stress the harm done to Jews in World War II in a fairly objective way, but this is mainly to emphasize that such atrocities occurred in the West; or to draw a comparison with 'the holocaust of our days' – that of the Palestinians.²⁸ Iran's representative in the UN Geneva office further argued that because Europe "wished to get rid" of the Jews, it rushed to establish a state for them. The Palestinians were thus called to "pay the price of Europeans' crimes in Auschwitz and Treblinka."²⁹ Moreover, just as the Europeans were right to fight Hitler, the Palestinians are justified in confronting "the Zionist invaders."³⁰ Rafsanjani typically added that Israel was "illegal, just as the Nazis' presence in France was."³¹

The trial of Roger Garaudy, who was convicted in a Paris court for contesting crimes against humanity,³² was exploited by Iran in order to establish a link to Iranian claims against Israel, Zionism, and world Jewry. Following his trial, Garaudy was invited to Tehran where he was received by top officials. The visit was used to expose Iranians to his views and express support for his 'scientific studies', but also as an

opportunity to add their own particular charges. They condemned Israel for bringing about a 'Palestinian holocaust' and denounced the West for establishing Israel and for bringing Garaudy to trial while at the same time defending British author Salman Rushdie who was accused of defaming Islam. Meeting Garaudy (20 April 1998), Iran's Supreme Leader 'Ali Khamene'i pointed to the similarities between Zionism and Nazism, and castigated the West, which on the one hand deplored "the racist behavior of the Nazis," but at the same time supported the Zionists' "Nazi-like behavior."³³ President Mohammad Khatami grieved that "a thinker" and "a believer" like Garaudy was brought to trial merely for publishing research which was "displeasing to the West."³⁴

Addressing an international conference on Palestine in Tehran (April 2001), Khamene'i further argued that there was "evidence on hand that a large number of non-Jewish hooligans and thugs of Eastern Europe were forced to migrate to Palestine as Jews." The purpose, he said, was "to install in the heart of the Islamic world an anti-Islamic state under the guise of supporting the victims of racism." Khamene'i added that historical documents attested to "close collaboration of the Zionists with Nazi Germany," and that the "exaggerated numbers" of Jews killed in the Holocaust, were "fabricated to solicit the sympathy of world public opinion, lay the ground for the occupation of Palestine and justify the atrocities of the Zionists."³⁵ An article in *Tehran Times* added that during the war, some poor non-Zionist Jews were deliberately sacrificed to further the hideous goal of establishing a Jewish state. According to the writer, "historical documents" proved that the massacre of Jews was "limited to the working class"—indicating collaboration between the Nazi regime and the Zionist lobby in purging Jews who were considered insignificant.³⁶

The hard-line press adopted an extremely radical tone. An article in *Jomhuri-ye Islami* maintained that "the false slogan of the murder of millions of Jews" was a "ridiculous pretext" through which the Zionists managed to convince world public opinion of the need to establish a Jewish state. Every writer, researcher and historian, who sought to refute "this historical allegation on the basis of reliable evidence," as did Roger Garaudy, was silenced.³⁷ Garaudy was brought to trial even though his claim was "not far from the truth" and many scholars considered the events of Auschwitz to be a "big lie," a *Resalat* article claimed, suggesting that it was quite possible, that instead of "writing the history" of the Nazi gas chambers, Western thinkers had "invented history."³⁸ A *Tehran Times* article defended the rights of scholars to doubt the "so-called Holocaust" which was the "brainchild of the Zionists," designed to "seek sympathies from the West" and "grab billions of dollars annually"

from them. To keep their “weapon of blackmail vibrant,” the article continued, they make innocent people like Garaudy the “targets of their irrational attacks.”³⁹

Referring to Garaudy’s trial, an article in *Kayhan International* typically termed it a “judicial holocaust” and the “trial of freedom of speech.” It claimed that the West had become “an obvious hostage” to the theory of “original sin,” to the point that countries such as France did not mind even violating their own founding principles just to appease the Zionists. Garaudy was only guilty “of not blindly towing the Zionist line” of “six million Jews killed.” By bringing such people to trial, the article added, “Europe wants to atone for its [own] periodic persecution of Jews,” while Jews “enjoyed every basic right and rose to prominent positions in the Muslim world.” Oddly, in France, “one can say anything against [French] national interests,” but a single word “against the preposterous fables of Israel and its vocal lobbies” was considered a crime. This was the result of “the Semitic myth” that had been “blown out of proportion” by the Zionists who controlled “the American state apparatus and economy.” This “anti-Semitic bug” has “so horrifyingly bitten the West” that many seem to consider the Jews as the only Semites, and to turn a blind eye to oppression of the Palestinians.⁴⁰ Garaudy was put on trial merely for expressing an “expert judgment,” that the gas chambers were among “the founding myths of the usurper state known as Israel.” Trying him was “tantamount to the dawn of a dark era of witch hunting,” the article concluded.⁴¹

Tehran Times seemed especially obsessed with the Holocaust. Perhaps “the biggest lie in history,” one article maintained, took shape during the Nuremberg trials, where confessions “obtained by means of torture” became “the cornerstone of the official Auschwitz version.”⁴² No one has ever asked the “gas chamber witnesses” any critical questions and, thus, “the terrible accusation” of genocide, remained based upon “the lies of a handful of Jewish swindlers like Rudolf Vrba, Filip Mueller and Elie Wiesel,” and “the confessions of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss who was tortured for three days before signing the statement his tormentors had prepared for him.”⁴³ There is no evidence on record for the gassing “of even one human being in a German camp,” it added, and German documents “directly refute” the “Holocaust story.”⁴⁴ According to an article published in *Tehran Times*, about 150,000 prisoners died in Auschwitz, “mostly from diseases.” There were also executions, it admitted, but this was only “for acts of resistance and sabotage.” Yet, it complained, the “massive reductions” of the Auschwitz death toll do not affect the “sacrosanct figure” of six million Jewish victims, which “remains as solid as the pyramids.”⁴⁵ Had Auschwitz been an

extermination camp, another article in the *Tehran Times* suggested, “virtually no Jew would have survived it,” yet memoirs of former Auschwitz inmates filled entire libraries. Such “professional survivors” who present themselves as witnesses of the Holocaust are themselves “living proof that the alleged extermination of the Jews did not take place.”⁴⁶

Another *Tehran Times* article reiterated that the Holocaust, “one of the biggest frauds of the outgoing century,” was a story “made up by Zionists to blackmail the West.” It regretted that those who dared to reveal ‘the truth’ were persecuted. One such case was the Swiss Gaston-Armand Amaudruz, who “proved with logic and evidence” that the Zionists’ claim was “false and unsubstantiated,” and was consequently sentenced to one year in prison under the Swiss anti-racism law. Similarly, in Britain, David Irving lost his libel battle in a British court to defend his views on the Holocaust. Yet, while the West paid reparations for “baseless claims,” it turned a blind eye to the Palestinians’ suffering. Their attitude, the article declared, was “a token of their subservience to Zionist circles, particularly their submission to the pro-Zionist US administration.”⁴⁷ The Jews claimed a “right to be paranoid,” another article continued, because they felt that the world was “after them.” Yet, not only governments, but all major publishing houses, newspapers and the entertainment industry in the US were headed by Jews. However, did being “historically persecuted,” give them the right to rule the world, to “occupy it, usurp it, control it?”⁴⁸ Most international financial institutions in the world, another article continued, were controlled and run by Zionists. Zionists prepared the ground through propaganda bombardment and brainwashing public opinion. They could even prevent scientific research if its conclusions did not fit their line. Thus, it asserted, Roger Garaudy wrote a book, “based purely on research,” which challenged the Holocaust and other notions exaggerating the number of Jews killed, but due to Zionist influence in the French judicial system, he was “fined for revealing historical facts.”⁴⁹

While Garaudy was the main guest of honor in Iran in 1998, other figures known for Holocaust distortion were also welcomed. German-born Fredrick Toben (who lives in Australia) arrived in December 1999. According to *Kayhan International* article, Toben was sentenced to jail in Germany (but subsequently released) in November 1999 for having exposed the fabrications of the gas chambers. Hitler was criminal, the article agreed, but why distort facts “to magnify the killings of a few thousand Jews into the preposterous figure of six million.” In the Christian West, it noted, one could insult Jesus Christ and the fundamentals of the faith, but it was “a crime to question the holocaust.”

Any research on the number of Jews killed, brought on "the wrath of Zion."⁵⁰

The link between events in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Holocaust was made even more frequently following the outbreak of the second intifada in 2000. Reporting from the West Bank, IRNA stated on the eve of Holocaust Memorial Day, 2001, that that year the commemoration had occurred in the midst of "a genocidal war" launched by the Jews against the Palestinians. Indeed, the report went on, the brutality and utter callousness of Israeli repression had prompted the analogy between "the German holocaust" against Jews and "the Jewish holocaust" against the Palestinians. The siege and encirclement of the Palestinian population, which had effectively turned these towns and villages into "concentration camps," IRNA maintained, was hardly an un-Nazi practice.⁵¹

THE AHMADINEJAD FACTOR

Radical views regarding the Holocaust, as noted above, were pronounced clearly long before Ahmadinejad's presidency. However, Ahmadinejad's critical tone, his frequent and inflammatory statements, and the fact that he is an incumbent head of state, have combined to further such attitudes in Iran and attract worldwide attention. Moreover, Ahmadinejad's public support for such a position has encouraged a series of initiatives in Iran – conferences, a caricature contest, widespread media coverage and books.

One might have thought that Ahmadinejad, whose election was due largely to his promise to improve the lot of the underprivileged, would have concentrated on domestic (socio-economic) issues rather than on the Holocaust. Moreover, while Iran's central objective seems to be buying time until it acquires a nuclear capability, such declarations and the consequent attention to Iranian radicalism would seem to be detrimental to its nuclear ambitions. The presence of American forces stationed close to Iranian borders and US influence encircling Iran, too, might be considered further inducement for Ahmadinejad to pay more attention to the 'near abroad' than to threaten to eradicate Israel or question the Holocaust. Yet, Ahmadinejad has taken every opportunity to voice his radical views.

On 26 October 2005, he presented his vision of a world without Israel or the US, urging that Israel be wiped off the face of the map.⁵² On 8 December, during the Islamic Conference Organization in Mecca, he made headlines by calling the Holocaust into question. Some European countries maintain that Hitler "burned millions of oppressed Jews in crematoria," he said, and "if someone proves the opposite, they

convict him and throw him into prison.” Although he did not accept this claim of the annihilation of European Jewry, even assuming it was true: “Does the killing of oppressed Jews by Hitler” justify support for the Zionist regime?⁵³ On 13 December, responding to the international uproar caused by his statements, he added: The Holocaust “has never been presented for a free scientific debate, and has become a red line and a myth that cannot be discussed.”⁵⁴ On 15 December, he went even further. They have invented “a legend” under the name “Massacre of the Jews,” he said, which they hold higher than God, religion and the prophets. “Why are you using those killings as a pretext to come to the heart of the Islamic world and dear Palestine and impose a phony Zionist regime?” he asked. He then appealed to Europe: “If you have committed a crime, it’s good if you allocate a part of your country or Europe, America, Canada, or Alaska to them so that they can establish [there] a country for themselves.”⁵⁵

In January 2006, following the Danish cartoon imbroglio, Ahmadinejad announced a Holocaust cartoon contest and an ‘academic’ conference to be held later in the year. Why, he asked, was it acceptable to defame the Prophet of Islam but not simply to question the veracity of an historical event? On 11 February 2006, in a televised address to a rally, he referred to Western scorn for Holocaust denial as “a medieval way of thinking.”⁵⁶ Ahmadinejad often frames the issue around the identity of his interlocutor, such as his open letter to German Chancellor Angela Merkel and interview with *Der Spiegel*, in which he emphasized the supposed injustice of blaming innocent young Germans and hinted at a global conspiracy propagating this myth to further Zionist and Israeli interests.⁵⁷ Since early 2006, however, Ahmadinejad has focused on his purported desire for an honest intellectual examination of the issue and its historical implications.⁵⁸ Thus, a consistent feature of his position is that regardless of the historical facts surrounding the Holocaust, the “real holocaust” is that which the Israelis are perpetrating against the Palestinians.

Ahmadinejad’s announcement of a conference on the Holocaust spawned worldwide condemnation and the meeting was postponed on numerous occasions. However, the “Review of the Holocaust: Global Vision” conference ultimately took place on 11–12 December 2006. Rasoul Mousavi, head of the Foreign Ministry’s Institute for Political and International Studies (IPIS), which organized the event, explained the need for the conference as an opportunity for scholars to discuss the subject “away from Western taboos and the restriction imposed on them in Europe.”⁵⁹ Thus, the alleged lack of academic freedom of inquiry

regarding the Holocaust became the premise for holding such a conference. This notion is reflected in the IPIS call for papers:

Recently, 'the Holocaust' turned into a main factor to influence the history and even the destiny of certain nations. The Institute for Political and International Studies (IPIS) believes that a suitable scientific and research opportunity and space shall be provided for researchers and for those interested in order to clarify the hidden and open corners of this issue, which is considered as the very important preoccupation of our world today.⁶⁰

The participation of six delegates from the Jewish ultra-Orthodox and anti-Zionist Neturei Karta received particular attention. While this group does not deny the Holocaust or challenge the validity of accepted death toll figures, they deemed their front-row presence at the event important "to lessen the hatred present in the entire Arab people against Jews," according to Jerusalem representative of the group, Israel Hirsch.⁶¹ However, their attendance can better be explained by the features common to both Neturei Karta's ideology and Ahmadinejad's anti-Israel rhetoric. Acknowledging the veracity of the Holocaust, Neturei Karta's Rabbi Yisroel Feldman stated in his address prepared for the conference (and read there by Rabbi Aharon Cohen): "There is also no moral justification for using these events to dispossess and occupy another people who have nothing whatsoever to do with what was done in Europe. Let Europe make amends for what took place if they so desire, not the Palestinians."⁶²

The remainder of the conference participants can be classified loosely into two groups: pseudo-academics and leaders of extremist groups from the West, who are alienated in their respective countries due to their radical views; and individuals from Arab and Muslim countries. Those belonging to the first group – including ex-Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke and prominent revisionist thinkers such as Frederick Toben, director of Australia's Adelaide Institute, American Bradley R. Smith, and French Professor Robert Faurisson – appeared to have dominated the floor at the conference, easily overshadowing Iranian and Muslim representatives.

Reflecting the notions discussed at the conference, the leading submissions to the Iranian Holocaust cartoon contest were also on display. Using traditional antisemitic stereotypes, the cartoons portrayed Israel's exploitation of the Holocaust, to justify brutality in the Middle East and oppression of Palestinians. The winning entry, submitted by a Moroccan, 'Abdallah Derkaoui, depicted an Israeli crane piling large cement blocks on Israel's security wall, gradually obscuring al-Aqsa

Mosque in Jerusalem; an image of a Nazi concentration camp covered the wall.⁶³

Such attitudes towards the Holocaust by top Iranian officials, obsessive media treatment of the issue, and the lack of alternative sources of information, combined with a negative image of the Jews and denunciations of Israeli politics, gave such contentions additional force.

Recently, there has been a proliferation of pseudo-academic and objective studies in Iran. In a way, the IPIS conference was an example of an attempt to conduct a supposedly fair academic review. Individual studies or collective works quickly followed. One such book authored by Mohammad Taghi Taghipour, *Beyond the Holocaust Scene*, was published by the Tehran-based Political Science & Research Institute (PSRI).⁶⁴ In the preface, PSRI states that its aim is to expose the legendary nature and historical distortion of the Holocaust. Contrary to the efforts of the Zionists' propaganda machinery, it maintained, free thinkers were now casting doubts on such claims. The book promises to expose in a "comprehensive, but precise, academic, and documented" study the Zionists' false claims about the issue (pp. 7–8). It contends that there was no Nazi scheme to eliminate Jews, although there were – as in any other war – prisoner camps where people from all nationalities were held. It also maintains that in 1942 typhoid broke out in some German camps, including Auschwitz, which led to some casualties (pp. 88–90). According to the study, recent documents show that there were no gas chambers in the Third Reich (pp. 95–6). In short, according to Taghipour, all available documentation confirmed that the Holocaust was "one big historical lie" created by world Zionism to advance their political goal of a Jewish state. Further, Europeans and Americans – to compensate for a crime that never took place – agreed to this scheme for which the Palestinians have to pay the price (pp. 117–118, 126).

The *Historical Studies Quarterly* published by PSRI devoted its fall 2006 edition to the Holocaust. Among the titles were: "Did 6 Million Really Die?" and "Truth Burning Furnaces."⁶⁵ Another new book on the Holocaust, *The Place of the Holocaust in the Zionist Project (Myth or Reality)*, by Sayyed Mohammad Tarahi, was published by the Center for Islamic Revolution Documents.⁶⁶ The book maintains that the Holocaust was an instrument, or a legend (*afsaneh*), created to justify the establishment of the Jewish state. The book promises to prove scientifically the various dimensions of the Holocaust myth (*Ostureh*) (pp. 17–21). In its five chapters the book explores the so-called historical, cultural, religious, political, and economic aspects of the Holocaust. Accordingly, the promotion of this myth was instrumental in achieving the Zionists' political goals and making it a symbol of their sufferings (*mazlumiyyat*) in

order to extract reparations. It concludes that no nation should be rebuked for emphasizing its sufferings, yet propagating and profiting unjustly from them should be admonished (pp. 261–7).

Additionally, Iranian TV programming has increasingly broadcast content that denigrates Jews and distorts the historical significance of the Holocaust. Under the guise of scholarly and learned discussion they transmit venomous views about the Jews and the Holocaust, which are disseminated to the wider population.

Criticism of Ahmadinejad's Holocaust rhetoric has not been limited to Western figures; opposition has also emerged from among intellectuals and members of the Iranian Jewish community. Referring to the Tehran conference, Sadegh Zibakalam, a political science professor at Tehran University and one of the most vociferous opponents of Ahmadinejad's Holocaust arguments, stated:

As an Iranian, I'm perplexed and astonished by the actions of our Foreign Ministry. I don't know what is the honor of gathering a group of anti-Semites, neo-Nazis, Ku Klux Klan members, and racists—and bring them to Iran, for what?... And this is happening at a time when our nuclear case is at the UN and we have to do our best to gain the trust of the international community [*sic*].⁶⁷

Elsewhere, he asserted that the Foreign Ministry was trying “to please the president,” and in so doing failed to properly inform him of the ramifications of his declarations. Other like-minded individuals joined in slamming Ahmadinejad's rhetoric for its negative impact on Iran's nuclear ambitions and its reputation in the international community. ‘Abbas ‘Abdi, one of the student leaders of the 1979 US embassy siege, warned of the “political and economic price” that would accompany Ahmadinejad's initiatives. “What do we gain by denying the Holocaust,” he asked in an interview with *E'temad-e Melli*. “It is best for us as humans to condemn the Holocaust and even participate in its memorials in order to confront Zionist crimes.”⁶⁸ The exiled Iranian cartoonist Nikahang Kosar viewed the Holocaust cartoon exhibition as “disrespect to the survivors” of the Holocaust and those who suffered during the war, adding: “I don't think it's very humane to use this tool to loathe Israel or to question the legitimacy of the Israeli regime.”⁶⁹ Haroun Yahaya'i, head of Iran's Jewish community, also spoke out. Unlike the political and economic concerns of intellectuals and cartoonists, Yahaya'i's remarks stemmed from personal offense and a sense of betrayal. He described the Holocaust as one of the 20th century's “most obvious and saddest events” and asked: “How is it possible to ignore all the undeniable evidence existing for the killing and exile of the Jews in Europe during

World War II?” Holding a “Holocaust denial seminar” in Iran would not achieve anything for the Iranians, merely soothe “the complexes of racists.”⁷⁰

CONCLUSIONS

What then are Iran’s reasons for promulgating such views? The immediate explanation may simply be a sincere belief in the need to eliminate Israel and a conviction that the Holocaust was a primary tool used to establish the Jewish state and justify the suppression of the Palestinians. America’s involvement in Iraq and growing Iranian oil income may have contributed to a perceived sense of strength. In addition, Ahmadinejad may hope to consolidate his political position at home by giving voice to extremist views against Israel. With Iran’s domestic problems continuing to multiply, he may also be trying to divert attention away from economic issues and toward an external enemy in order to mollify public opinion. Finally, voicing such opinions and taking the lead in supporting the Palestinian cause may be Ahmadinejad’s way of promoting Iranian leadership in the Islamic world. Regardless of the reasons for his frequent harangues on the Holocaust, the strong sentiments held against Jews (although not necessarily against the Jews of Iran) by the president and the media serve to further radicalize such views in Iranian society.

NOTES

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- I wish to thank the research assistants in the Center for Iranian Studies – Brandon Friedman, Rachel Kantz and Michael Maze – for their help in research for this paper.
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3. Habib Levy, *Comprehensive History of the Jews of Iran* (Costa Mesa, CA, 1999), pp. 483, 495.

4. Eliz Sanasarian, *Religious Minorities in Iran* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 46.
5. Amnon Netzer, "Anti-Semitism in Iran: 1925-1950," and Michael Zand, "The Image of the Jew among Iranians during the Second Half of the Twentieth Century: 1945-1979," *Pe'amim* 29 (1986), pp. 5-31 and 109-39, respectively (in Hebrew); Jaleh Pir-Nazar, "Chehreh-ye Yahud dar Athar-e Seh Nevisandeh-ye Motejadded-e Irani," *Iran-Nameh* 13/4 (Spring 1995), pp. 483-502.
6. Sanasarian, *Religious Minorities in Iran*, p. 110.
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10. *Jomhuri-ye Islami*, 20 Sept. 1982.
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12. Sura of the Table, 82, in *Ettela'at*, 28 Feb. 1984.
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15. 'Ali Akbar Velayati, *Iran va Masa'leh-e Felastin* (Iran and the Question of Palestine) (Tehran: 1997), pp. IV-VI, in English, Introduction, and pp. 89-90, 181-2.
16. *Salam*, 1 Jan. 1998.
17. *Hamsabari*, 15 Nov. 1998 - DR.
18. Mohammad Mojtahed Shabestari, "Islam va Masihiyat-e Orupa'i" (Islam and European Christianity), *Siyasat-e Khareji* 4/3 (Mehr-Azar 1989), pp. 409-15. See also Mohsen Kadivar and Mohammad Mojtahed Shabestari, "Din, Modara va Khoshunat" (Religion, Tolerance and Violence), *Kiyan* 45 (Jan.-March 1999), pp. 6-19.
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32. See <http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw98-9/france.htm>.
33. IRNA, 20 April 1998 – DR.
34. Tehran TV, 19 Jan. 1998 – DR.
35. IRNA, 24 April 2001. Palestinian President, Mahmud 'Abbas accused the Zionist Movement, in his doctoral thesis, of cooperating with the Nazis, due to their shared interests. Litvak and Webman, "The Representation of the Holocaust," p. 108.
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BOOK REVIEWS

Book Reviews

Forgotten Crimes – The Holocaust and People with Disabilities.

By Suzanne E. Evans. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee Press, 2004, 201 pp.

Evans' book is an elaborate and intelligent work based on several, more or less canonical, secondary sources. Its declared aim is to enlighten the wider public about the Nazi annihilation project against people with disabilities conducted between the years 1939 and 1945. However, it raises some fundamental questions.

Beginning with the title of the book, Evans calls for remembering a forgotten event. Nazi extermination of the disabled is far from exhaustively researched; still one might wonder whether the use of the term 'forgotten' is accurate. It may be safely assumed that the general public is less aware of the Nazi regime's annihilation of the disabled than that of the Jews. Since most people have only a scanty knowledge of the Jewish Shoah, one might deduce that they are even less familiar with the extermination of the physically and mentally disabled.

Yet, one might question whether reference to the disabled as a 'forgotten' group of victims will prove in the long run to be an injurious strategy. In fact, one might cast doubt on the book's fundamental objective: to create a minority identity category of people with disabilities. This entails the construction of an identity with its own history, culminating in a formative catastrophe, after a long tradition of persecutions and discrimination.

The issue is not simple, since it deals both with historical facts and with strategies of identity construction, collective memory and public consciousness, which need to be assessed in relation to political pragmatism and wider political patterns that were typical of the era.

Evans claims that by 1945 no fewer than 750,000 people with disabilities were annihilated by the Nazi regime and its collaborators (p. 18). This number is surprising at first glance. However, it incorporates not only victims processed into the system of annihilation under the label, 'a life unworthy of living', but also those marked for extinction primarily because of their identity (Jewish, Roma, political, a-social, sexual) and then branded at some point as being physically unfit for whatever reason (such as in the notorious Nazi selections), and exterminated. There is no doubt whatsoever that the facilities of exploitation and destruction that the Nazis developed for the handling of undesired populations – such as camps and ghettos – were geared to a higher mortality among the physically and mentally weak.

However, can one 'enlist' all those victims into the sum of the disabled who were annihilated? And by doing so, were they subtracted from the identity group in which they were primarily processed into the system? These are questions of little if any value for the historian. The issue is entirely political, belonging more precisely (though mistakenly) to the field of victimhood politics – or to what the French philosopher Jean Michel Chaumont labeled 'the competition of victims [*la concurrence des victimes*]'.

The very division of the Nazi genocide during World War II into discrete programs of genocide according to the identity of the community that faced annihilation has long been common both in research and in the public consciousness; this is exemplified in the separate treatment given to the genocides of the Roma and of the Jews. From this perspective, Evans' book seeks to do no more than add another category to the Nazi genocide – that of people with disabilities.

The rationale for the book lies in a growing inclination on the part of the disabled to conceptualize themselves in terms of a minority identity faced with systematic discrimination, like blacks, Jews or homosexuals. The role of a well-established historical narrative in the construction of a distinct and stable identity community is obvious. The contribution of a historical narrative that has as its climax a catastrophe revealing the well-concealed, though denied, desire of society to exclude and even destroy people with disabilities, is also evident. This is exactly what Evans book seeks to transmit.

We must differentiate between a practical and focused discussion of the political advantages of a minority identity community approach for the disabled, one that American and Western history of the last 50 years has proven effective, and a historical discussion of the way in which we should organize the past.

It should be noted that relating the Nazi annihilation of people with disabilities as a story in its own right, makes a real contribution to the universal history of World War II. Its main role lies in clearing existing history of misconceptions, such as the interpretation of the T4 project (mass murder of the handicapped and mentally ill) as the exposition of the Shoah. Including the extermination of the disabled in the narrative of the Shoah by using a teleological interpretation, with this annihilation perceived as foreshadowing the Shoah, is just as problematic as the dissection of the Nazi genocide project into well-separated discrete stories.

On the other hand, in order to be able to responsibly criticize identity community oriented attempts, such as that which Evans presents, we must make a real effort to describe what the Nazis did from the most

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universalistic viewpoint possible, and create the language and conceptual framework that will succeed in interweaving the various Nazi motives and criteria for the annihilation of each identity community into a single cause and criterion.

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Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz. An Essay in Historical Interpretation. By Jan Tomasz Gross. Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006, 303 pp.

In 2000, Jan Tomasz Gross, currently a professor at Princeton University, published a study entitled *Neighbors* (*Sąsiedzi*). This book, which describes in graphic detail the massacre of Jewish inhabitants of Jedwabne by their Polish neighbors, aroused a heated public debate and engendered a spate of historical research. Now Gross has turned to a subject no less controversial yet still somewhat neglected: antisemitic sentiments which prevailed in Poland after the Holocaust.

Gross begins by presenting Poland's situation at the end of the war, including the understandable sense of betrayal felt by many Poles when Russian demands were accepted on behalf of their country. Five years of brutal German occupation had left their mark on the Polish psyche, and this scarred country found it difficult to welcome back its wretched Jewish citizens who had survived the Holocaust in the East in camps or in hiding, most of them sole survivors of entire families.

Gross portrays clearly the unpleasant, brutal face of antisemitism in postwar Poland and stresses that even under the Communist regime – which at least declared equality for all – hatred of Jews continued at various levels of society. Jews returning to their homes were attacked verbally and physically not only by their former neighbors but by the local and state authorities as well. In fact, this was a Europe-wide phenomenon: Jewish survivors were met with contempt, distrust and even hostility in the Netherlands, Italy, Hungary and many other countries. Yet, the existence of antisemitism in the land of Auschwitz had unique expressions, features and significance. As in his previous book, Gross describes the chronicle of violence toward Jews which characterized many segments of Polish society. His portrayal of the masses' abhorrence of Jews is horrifying reading.

Gross sees a major motivation for violence against Jews in postwar Poland as stemming from the Polish takeover of Jewish property during the war, which, he said, transformed the Poles in some respects into 'accessories' to Nazi crimes. If one could blame a person from whom one benefited as a result of his disaster, one would not be taking advantage of an innocent victim. Thus, the very tragedy of the Jews, which enriched Poles, made Jewish suffering almost acceptable and hence justified Polish gain. Moreover, the war created in Poland a new 'normative' system, which determined who was 'entitled' to earn most from the murder of the Jews. Gross emphasizes the central role of

economic advancement in mobilizing the people, as Aly Götz did in reference to German society in his study: *Hitlers Volksstaat. Raub, Rassenkrieg und nationaler Sozialismus* (2005).

Gross also reveals other factors which contributed to the violence in Poland, among them, Christian antisemitism and blood libels. The 'pogrom that wasn't' in Rzeszów, in August 1945, violent events in Kraków, and the 1946 Kielce pogrom occurred in the wake of rumors about Jews killing Christian children.

The core of Gross' book is a detailed description of the Kielce pogrom, which claimed the lives of dozens of Jews. Walenty Błaszczyk, father of Henryk Błaszczyk, the eight-year-old boy who disappeared for two days while visiting former neighbors, informed the police that the boy had escaped Jews who had kidnapped him. On the morning of 4 July, the boy identified the Jewish Committee building on 7 Planty Street as the place in whose cellar he had been held, and identified Kalman Singer as the man who had seduced him to enter the house. Singer was arrested and beaten by the police while Dr. Seweryn Kahane, head of the Jewish Committee, tried to convince them of their mistake, pointing out that the building had no cellar. A crowd had gathered in front of the building where about 40 Jews lived, shouting that Christian children were being held and killed there by the Jews. Soldiers who were called searched the house and demanded that the Jews hand over all weapons they had for self-defense. After the first shot was fired – it is unclear by whom: a policeman, a soldier or one of the Jews – deadly violence broke out. Gross describes the scene graphically: the barbarity of the mob, the baseness of the police and the helplessness of the Jews. It should be emphasized that, unlike at Jedwabne, the Kielce pogrom was perpetrated both by the mob and by state and social agents such as the police, the army and workers from a nearby factory. Some Jews were gunned down – Dr. Kahane was shot in the back while he was trying to call the authorities for help – but most of the victims, among them many women and children, were beaten to death with stones, planks and metal bars.

The violence against Jews in Kielce did not stop at 7 Planty Street, and soon people began looking around for more Jews. Trains at the main railway station were searched for Jews; the 42 victims identified as such, were thrown from the trains and killed. Only when troops arrived from Warsaw did the mob scatter and the pogrom end.

The Kielce pogrom had a great impact on the remnants of Polish Jewry as well as on what was to become 'Communist Poland'. In the months to follow, tens of thousands of Polish Jews left Poland, many of them using the Zionist *Bricha* (escape to Palestine) organization. True, antisemitism and the Kielce pogrom were the main spurs for the flight,

but several other factors should also be named, including the psychological difficulty of survivors to continue their lives in the place where their loved ones had been brutally murdered and the desire of many to avoid living under a Communist regime.

This brings us to one of the most important contributions of *Fear*: the response of various segments of Polish society to the pogrom and the weight given, incorrectly, to the image of *Żydokomuna* (Jewish communism). Gross traces the reaction of the Polish intellectual elite, the representatives of the Catholic Church and the Polish Communist rulers to the pogrom, and the use they made of it in their efforts to shape postwar Poland. Moreover, Gross' examination of official and unofficial attitudes of the Communist regime toward Jews in Poland, the price many Jews paid as a result of this system, as well as the involvement of Jews in Communist secret service agencies, discredits the well-known claim that Jews played a major role in the implementation of communism on Poland, an allegation used to justify the hatred and violence against them.

The book eloquently describes how antisemitism in postwar Poland spread throughout the entire society, infiltrating even the formal state apparatus, and became a political and social tool used by various and even opposing groups. *Fear* demonstrates that hatred toward Jews was a norm and perhaps a unifying factor. The use of race hatred – especially hatred of Jews – that people, governments and ideological movements are willing to make in order to enlist the masses has particular relevance today. If Gross' book succeeds in arousing a public and academic debate about antisemitism as an effective tool for mobilization after Auschwitz, its importance and endurance are assured.

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Troubling the Waters: Black-Jewish Relations in the American Century. By Cheryl Greenberg. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006, 368 pp.

Numerous studies examining the relationship between Jews and African Americans have been published during the past two decades. Most describe and analyze the nature of those relationships in the past and the reasons for the apparent disintegration in recent years of what has been termed the black-Jewish alliance.⁽¹⁾ Cheryl Greenberg has now written the most comprehensive and best-researched assessment to date of black-Jewish relations in the United States during the twentieth century. It would not be amiss to say that her book is superior to anything that has previously appeared on the subject.

In six elegantly written chapters, she explores whether there ever was in fact a black-Jewish alliance, and if there was a so-called golden age of black-Jewish relations, what happened to it. She shows that what existed was less an alliance than a tumultuous political relationship. Nonetheless, the close association between the two groups energized the civil rights movement, shaped the agenda of liberalism, and had a profound effect on the course of American politics in general.

Focusing her study on national black and Jewish civil rights agencies, especially the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the American Jewish Committee, she explains that "to determine the nature and extent of a black and Jewish civil rights collaboration, one must concentrate on relations between the political organs of the two communities" (p. 7). Although she recognizes that the NAACP does not speak for all blacks or the American Jewish Committee for all Jews, she felt that these organizations serve as better guides for identifying the broader community's convictions than do individuals. Further, by the second half of the century, when the civil rights movement had gained momentum, national liberal organizations, such as the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), had become highly successful in promoting a politics of coalition between blacks and Jews.

Utilizing a variety of organizational records, archival collections, Jewish, black and general journals and newspapers, as well as a wealth of secondary and literary sources, Greenberg moderates the idealized version of mutuality between the black and Jewish communities. She convincingly demonstrates that blacks and Jews had different but overlapping goals and interests that came together at a particular historical moment. Leaders in both communities recognized this intersecting of interests and seized the opportunity for cooperation. This

resulted in their working together in ways that allowed them to achieve their objectives more effectively.

Nonetheless, fundamental differences of approach and priorities of the two groups remained. These continued to be manifested in low-level tensions and occasional sharp disagreements, such as those involving the growing movement for mass action strategies within the civil rights community. Jews had overcome discrimination and achieved success while generally adhering to the law. The notion of breaking laws through civil disobedience made them uncomfortable. Although Jewish groups eventually supported the tactics of the Montgomery bus boycott and civil disobedience, they viewed them with unease and refused direct participation. The divergent visions of the two groups eventually led to a weakening of the alliance, especially in the decades after the 1960s.

Although each group encountered discrimination, the experiences of most Jews diverged from those of most African Americans. Antisemitism in the United States has almost always been less vicious and violent than racism against African Americans. Moreover, antisemitism declined more rapidly in the second half of the twentieth century than did racist attitudes toward blacks. Jews might have been restricted from colleges, country clubs and exclusive neighborhoods, but they did not have to contend with segregationist laws and rampant mob violence. Furthermore, almost all Jews were white people; they could pass. Since social and economic opportunities were frequently based on the color of one's skin rather than on ethnicity or religion, Jews did not have to contend with the economic barriers that black Americans did. By the 1940s and 1950s the Jews' color and job skills had facilitated their mobility into entrepreneurial and white-collar positions. During those same years, most African Americans remained trapped at the bottom of any occupational field they were permitted to enter. Greenberg insightfully describes the role that the Jews' 'whiteness' and the class differences between Jews and African Americans have played in the communities' perceptions of each another.

Greenberg also deals with changes that affected ordinary Jewish and African Americans. She describes the process that took place during the 1930s and 1940s of upwardly mobile Jews in the North moving out of their old ethnic enclaves – she uses the term 'ghettos', which I think is misleading – and being replaced by African Americans, while the former kept their jobs, stores and other real-estate investments there. The rise in Jewish income also allowed Jewish housewives to hire African Americans as domestics. Thus, at the same time that Jewish and black civil rights organizations began to reach out to one another, Jews had also become landlords, rental agents, social workers, teachers, employers,

and shopkeepers in black communities. For the masses of blacks and Jews, relations on the everyday level took place in interchanges generally dominated by the Jews. By the early 1940s, the economic and class tensions thus generated threatened to derail the black-Jewish coalition.

Greenberg explores these issues as well as the impact that Jewish racism and black antisemitism had on the perceptions and actions of both groups. She shows how the period of cooperation that produced remarkable progress in civil rights was also wracked by tensions that constrained collaboration and foreshadowed the later collapse of mutual purpose between the two groups.

She concludes her fine study by describing and analyzing major issues – such as the sit-ins, the black power movement, and the Ocean Hill-Brownsville conflict of the 1960s, the affirmative action cases of the 1970s, the black stance on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the mob attacks against Hasidic Jews in Crown Heights, and the anti-Jewish rhetoric of Louis Farrakhan in the 1990s – that strained relations between blacks and Jews. Despite these and other very real difficulties between the two groups, Greenberg proffers the hope that black-Jewish cooperation is not dead. However, that is for future leaders of both groups to pursue. In the meantime, Cheryl Greenberg's engaging book should remain the seminal work on black-Jewish relations for some time to come.

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1. Recent examples include, Murray Friedman, *What Went Wrong? The Creation and Collapse of the Black Jewish Alliance* (NY, 1995); Jack Salzman and Cornel West (eds.), *Struggles in the Promised Land: Toward A History of Black-Jewish Relations in the United States* (Oxford University Press, 1997); V.P. Franklin, Nancy L. Grant, Harold M. Kletnick, and Genna Rae McNeil (eds.), *African Americans and Jews in the Twentieth Century: Studies in Convergence and Conflict* (University of Missouri Press, 1998); and Maurienne Adams and John Bracey (eds.), *Relations Between Blacks and Jews in the United States* (University of Massachusetts Press, 1999).

The Ransom of the Jews: The Story of the Extraordinary Secret Bargain between Romania and Israel. By Radu Ioanid. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2005, 254 pp.

The gist of this fine study, which could, in fact, be a work of fiction on the intrigues of the Cold War, was expressed by the author, Radu Ioanid, a director of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, in an interview to the Romanian daily *Adevărul*, in October 2006. "Romania's Communist leaders succeeded in realizing the 'golden dream' of antisemites – not only did they get rid of most of Romania's Jews," he said, "but they profited massively from this elimination." A look at some of the responses to this interview on the web demonstrates that antisemites can never be truly satisfied: some claimed that the Jews were demanding the return of the ransom money paid for them by the Jewish world, while others complained that the deal was not complete, and that Romania was still stuck with too many 'kikes'.

The Communist regimes of Eastern Europe did not usually engage in human traffic; however, after 1965 the regime of Nicolae Ceausescu continued a practice begun by his almost forgotten predecessor Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, a drab, old-style Stalinist who, although he disliked and feared Stalin, admired his techniques and after taking up the nationalist cause, gave the custom of trafficking in humans new meaning and content.

For years the Romanian Communist regime sold ethnic Germans to West Germany (there were no candidates seeking to emigrate to the former German Democratic Republic) and Jews to Israel. The book focuses on the sale of some 250,000 Jews, especially during the Ceausescu period, for about \$3000 per head, a price which varied according to the fluctuations of the world market and to the state of the Romanian economy – which often meant the Ceausescu clan's personal bank accounts. The price was often also a function of the person's worth in the eyes of both sides: rumors circulating among Israeli families at the time told, for example, of the low prices offered by Israel for Jewish writers specializing in Socialist realist novels depicting Romanian achievements.

The Romanians could, of course, provide a 'moral-economic' cover for their cynical deals; after all, the Jewish world was returning the investment made by the state in their education and professions to Romania – without acknowledging the significant Jewish contribution to Romanian science, culture and economy. The author reveals the story with the aid of recently opened, or partially available archives, as well as

personal interviews. In many respects it surpasses Cold War fiction in its revelations of an intricate web of ties between the intelligence services on both sides, and descriptions of some very colorful personages. On the Israeli side was the towering, almost legendary figure of Shaike Dan, whose missions ranged from parachuting into Romania in 1944 in order to save Jews from the Nazis and their Romanian allies, to carrying Samsonite briefcases filled with thousands of dollars in cash, which he handed over to small-time Romanian agents.

Students of international relations will be delighted by this book. Instead of concepts such as 'bilateral ties' and 'high level diplomatic talks', they will learn that relations between the two states were conducted mainly in the shadows and focused on human traffic. The deals for selling the Jews were very advantageous to the Romanian leadership. Israel provided a wide range of economic benefits in international markets by selling Romanian products under various covers in order to disguise their country of origin. Israel also gradually expanded military ties with Romania, supplying them with Soviet arms captured from the Arabs in the 1967 War, and thus access to Soviet military technology. Romania was the only country in the Communist bloc that did not break off relations with Israel in 1967, and Ceausescu was instrumental in mediating between Israel and the Arabs/Palestinians, including in Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977. Solving the Arab-Israeli conflict corresponded with Ceausescu's megalomaniac plan of becoming a world renowned peacemaker, while keeping a safe distance from Moscow. Israel's contribution to Romania's foreign policy was also valuable. In the best tradition of antisemites, Ceausescu believed – and Romanian Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen and dozens of other Jewish figures did their best not to disappoint him – that the road to Capitol Hill in Washington ran through the hills of Jerusalem. Albeit perhaps unwillingly, Israel did, in fact, become a major part of the Romanian regime's life support system.

The author utilized a number of sources, some based on personal interviews with experts, or people involved in Romanian-Israeli relations. One of those frequently quoted is Shlomo-Leibovic Lais, known for his activities as a writer and historian of Romanian-Jewish affairs. The reader has the sense that there are several key persons, probably on both sides (almost no Romanians were interviewed), and undoubtedly on the Israeli side, who possess more intimate details of the deals and their effect on Romanian-Israeli-international relations than they can reveal for the time being.

The book also discusses the overall context in which the entire process of selling Jews to Israel took place. Some aspects are left partially

open for further research. Thus, several questions might be raised. To what extent was the nature of Romanian-Israeli ties, and for that matter, world Jewry, shaped by the secret agreements on the sale of Jews, with their far-reaching political-economic repercussions? Of course, in official talks the subterranean channels of communications and deals never figured, and some, if not most of the diplomats and public figures involved on both sides were unaware of the exact nature and magnitude of the transactions (despite the rumors among Israeli families). Must we rewrite the complex story of Romanian-Israeli relations from the perspective of trafficking in Jews? Are we dealing with 'parallel histories'? The work *Romanian-Israeli Relations at the End of the Ceausescu Regime* (2002), by Yosef Govrin, a former Israeli ambassador to Romania, contains a wealth of information on Romanian Jewry and Ceausescu's policies, and is utilized by Radu Ioanid as a source; however, there is not a word in it on the topic of Ioanid's book. Perhaps we should treat the tale as a 'two-volume' series on Romanian-Israeli ties, which tackles the issues at the heart of these relations from different perspectives?

Last, but not least, were Ceausescu and his cronies antisemites? To what extent did the secret deals push the Romanians into clamping down on antisemitism that they themselves fomented? Or, did Israel and the Jewish world discreetly prefer to turn a blind eye to antisemitism in order not to jeopardize the secret relationship. The author does not provide clear answers to these questions; however, according to other available evidence, Ceausescu loathed being surrounded by too many Jews.

One point, however, clearly emerges from the book: Romanian leaders believed that Jews could be traded for money, and that it was always possible to find Jews as willing partners to do such business, especially when it meant bringing them to their ancient homeland.

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The Politics of Hate – Anti-Semitism, History, and the Holocaust in Modern Europe. By John Weiss. Chicago: Ivan Dee, 2003, 245 pp.

No student of antisemitism can fail to be amazed by the extraordinary resilience of this age-old malaise. For generations, antisemitism has flourished throughout Europe (and beyond), even in countries with a negligible Jewish population, under varying social systems, and with vastly different cultures. Of late, new historical research has indicated that in countries which have widely been recognized for their 'tolerance', and even for attempts to rescue Jews during the Holocaust, things were rarely quite as positive as they had been portrayed. Hence, a comparative political study of this phenomenon is a welcome development.

John Weiss, an emeritus professor at Lehman College and the Graduate Center of the City University in New York, explains what lay behind his decision to undertake this task:

To fully grasp the dangerous potential of racism we must also know the relationship between the fantasies of the antisemites and the long-term historical development of various nations, relationships that gave or denied racists the power to harm their Jewish communities.

Weiss continues:

It is important to witness and remember, but it is essential to explain... Without more knowledge of its long-term historical causes, the Holocaust may well end as an inexplicable enigma, a searing and bitter memory of horror kept alive chiefly within the Jewish community. As such, the Holocaust will offer little help to those who hope to learn from its causes possible ways to avoid future, if lesser, mass murders with different killers and victims.

Weiss provides a variety of explanations. In his opening remarks he draws attention to five core sources of antisemitism that eventually led to the Shoah: Christian theological antipathy toward Jews, hostility rooted in economic competition, fear of Jewish liberal and progressive movements, racial hostility, and hatred borne out of nationalism. His audience is the general public, not scholars who are obviously familiar with much of the information presented here. The book is written in a fluent and engaging style and the author endeavors to provide numerous examples to substantiate his contentions.

Of course, there are inherent dangers in any attempt to reach an 'explanation' of a phenomenon as complex as the Shoah, and some would even question whether the exercise should be undertaken at all. In

Goethe's play *Torquato Tasso*, the great German writer wrote: "Was wir verstehen, das koennen wir nicht tadeln" (What we understand, we cannot condemn). Tolstoy is credited with coining the proverb: "Tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner" (To understand fully is to excuse entirely). One suspects that there is a limit to just how much we can really comprehend without eventually 'contextualizing' the crime, and in so doing legitimize it. Such Holocaust deflectionism is flourishing in many parts of Europe, though it shows at least some signs of abating.

Sadly, although the memory of horror is being kept alive, one sees little evidence that humanity has learned anything from its causes, let alone "possible ways to avoid future, if lesser mass murders with different killers and victims," and Weiss is perhaps being overly optimistic in his statement that "the Holocaust was unique, but its historical origins tell us much that can help us in the battle against present and future horrors by other perpetrators with different victims." He himself mentions many outrages, including acts of genocide perpetrated in many parts of the world.

Weiss focuses on four countries: Germany, Austria, France, and Poland, to highlight the evolution of antisemitism. Toward the end of the book, which presents a thoroughly gloomy litany of antisemitic actions, Weiss discusses what he tellingly calls "the Italian exception."

The seemingly arbitrary selection of countries was motivated by Weiss' search for answers to the following questions:

Why did Germany initiate the Holocaust? Why did Austrians supply so many of the killers? Why was it that a million French fascists could not gain sufficient power to help destroy the Jews until the German conquest put the Vichy government in power? Why did fascist Italy not cooperate in the massacre of Jews until Mussolini had lost the war? Why was antisemitism far stronger in Eastern – as illustrated by Poland – than Western Europe?

The focus on these countries alone is somewhat surprising; certainly, the absence of Russia, Romania and Hungary, in particular, leaves the reader with the impression that there were major omissions.

Moreover, Weiss' expertise is clearly German-speaking Europe and his chapters on Germany and Austria are masterfully written and solidly argued. Weiss, the author of *Ideology of Death: Why the Holocaust Happened in Germany*, reminds us how very deeply rooted antisemitism is in German culture (Kant called the Jews "a nation of swindlers"; Hegel, "a moral dunghill"; Fichte wanted them removed from the country). He points out that the elites in Germany voluntarily played a disproportionate role in the annihilation of Jews (one-third of the officer corps of the Einsatzgruppen held university degrees at a time when less

than 10 percent of that age group had studied at institutions of higher learning). His text is far more readable (and therefore effective and convincing) than Goldhagen's ponderous *Willing Executioners*, which provoked such a powerful debate in German society.

To his credit, Weiss dissects the history of Austria going back to the Hapsburg period and the Austrians' culpability for the Shoah (as distinct from that of the Germans). He notes that William L. Shirer, a contemporaneous eyewitness, described the "orgy of sadism" conducted by Austrians against Jews as worse than anything he had seen in Berlin; that one in ten Austrian joined the Nazi party as compared to one in fifteen Germans; that Austrians, 8.5 percent of the population of Greater Germany, accounted for 15 percent of the membership of the SS and 70 percent of Eichmann's staff.

However, Weiss is on weaker ground when dealing with countries with which he is less familiar. In the two chapters on Poland, Weiss demonstrates a shallow knowledge of Polish-Jewish history and often repeats platitudinous stereotypes (presumably based on secondary sources). At other times his information is simply erroneous ("Many Polish Jews were peasants"). The history of antisemitism in Poland is more nuanced than Weiss acknowledges and resists a simplistic approach. This is exemplified in Weiss's assertion that "along with Ukraine and Romania, Poland became more antisemitic than any Western nation including Germany and Austria."

At the end of his treatment of Poland, Weiss writes: "We can never know, but it seems likely that without the alliance with the West and the murderous policies of the Nazis toward the Poles, a majority of Poles would have been willing participants and not simply indifferent bystanders during the Holocaust." That one sentence is especially unsettling because it reflects none of the fine distinctions involved in Polish-Jewish relations. Moreover, Weiss' failure to refer to the murderers (Germans, as well as Austrians) by name rather than as anonymous 'Nazis', perpetuates a lamentable but prevalent inaccuracy. In the testimonies of survivors collected immediately after the war, there are almost no references to Nazis – only Germans. Whatever its imperfections and with certain clarifications, however, this book could be put to effective use by university lecturers. It is a definite contribution to the popular literature on the subject.

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GENERAL ANALYSIS

General Analysis

OVERVIEW

The overall number of violent antisemitic events monitored worldwide in 2005 was significantly lower than in 2004 (406 compared to 501). Nevertheless, this was the second highest level recorded since 1989.

Although trends observed in 2004, the worst year in decades in terms of antisemitic activity, continued, other factors emerged which offered some hope. In our 2004 report and analysis we noted two parallel developments: violence against Jews, and against their property and institutions, in which social frustration combined with anti-Jewish prejudice and virulently anti-Israel sentiment played a significant role, on the one hand, and the efforts of international and regional organizations to combat antisemitism, on the other. The decrease in violence in 2005 may be explained partly by the initial, modest impact of these endeavors. Organizations such as ECRI (European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance), the EUMC (European Union Monitoring Center Against Racism and Xenophobia) and the UN, as well as church authorities and public and political figures, issued declarations against antisemitism, sought to work out a definition of the term, enhanced legislation, arrested Holocaust deniers, asked for forgiveness for the Holocaust and commemorated the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. The period of relative calm in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which often acts as a trigger for antisemitic events, contributed to the decline.

In contrast, verbal and written attacks of all kinds – including caricatures, slander, boycotts, accusations, the identification of Jews with Israelis and the comparison of Israelis to Nazis – proliferated. Though uncountable, such expressions, emanating especially from intellectual and academic circles (in the UK Russia, Ukraine and Canada) and from heads of state and politicians (in Iran and Venezuela), appear to have increased. Most troubling is the notion that Israel – and sometimes the Jewish people as a whole – should not exist. Holocaust denial has suffered some serious setbacks, particularly as a result of the arrest of some of its leading proponents. Moreover, the numerous events commemorating the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz have contributed to public awareness of the Holocaust. However, as polls show, many in the world are still ignorant of even basic facts about the Holocaust. They are also unaware that denial is being used as a political weapon, especially in the Arabic and Muslim world, with Iranian President Mahmud Ahmadinejad as the spearhead. His inflammatory

rhetoric, which combines denial of the Holocaust with delegitimation of Israel's right to exist, has won supporters in the West as well as in the Arab world.

Figures for violent acts and other antisemitic manifestations declined somewhat in Canada and the US and greatly in France, where a fall of 48 percent was registered compared to 2004. In the UK, although the total number of antisemitic events declined by 14 percent from 532 in 2004 to 455 in 2005, the figures for assaults and for vandalism against Jewish sites and property remained relatively the same. Canada, France and the UK recorded the second highest figure since monitoring began. The number of incidents almost doubled in Argentina and antisemitic attacks in Ukraine became more violent. As mentioned in previous reports, while numbers are important, we must also determine the nature of the incidents in order to obtain a complete picture. Indeed, hate and brutality were hallmarks of the acts perpetrated in 2005, often by frustrated young Muslim immigrants, acting spontaneously and independently, and by extreme right wingers who attacked both foreigners and Jews.

In conclusion, while anti-Israel diatribes by intellectuals, and anti-American and anti-Zionist sentiments in Western Europe and North America as well as in some Latin American and Muslim countries, have combined to instill a sense among Jews and Israelis that they are under physical and moral attack, the launching of activities aimed at studying the lessons of the past in order to improve the present, are encouraging signs for the future.

INTRODUCTION

On 1 November 2005 the United Nations General Assembly unanimously passed a historical resolution to institute 27 January, the anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz death camp in 1945, as Holocaust Remembrance Day. The draft of the resolution, submitted during the 60th session of the Assembly by the Israeli ambassador to the UN, was co-sponsored by the US, Australia, Canada, Russia and Israel. It should be noted that this was the first time that an Israeli proposal had ever been accepted by the UN.

Addressing the General Assembly on 24 January at an unprecedented special session marking the liberation of Auschwitz and other camps, Secretary-General Kofi Annan noted that the UN had been born out of the ashes of the Holocaust and that the murder of European Jews had led to the destruction of "an entire civilization." He stressed that in the wake of the Holocaust the world was obliged, among other tasks, to struggle against antisemitism: "We must be on the watch for any revival of antisemitism and [be] ready to act against the new forms of it that are appearing today."

In contrast, statements denying the Holocaust and defaming the Jewish people made by heads of states, members of parliament and leading academic figures were some of the most extreme ever heard. In a speech delivered on 10 December to the Islamic Conference Organization, Iranian President Mahmud Ahmadinejad declared that Israel should be transferred to Europe. Any historian or commentator who dares challenge the claim of some European countries that Hitler burnt millions of Jews is denounced and persecuted, he said, noting that he himself does not accept the assertion. If the Europeans feel such guilt, he continued, they should allocate areas in Germany or Austria for settling the Israelis. A month before, at a conference on Zionism held in Tehran, Ahmadinejad called for the elimination of Israel.

In Russia an appeal to the state prosecutor's office to investigate and ban all Jewish organizations in the country because of alleged extremist activity was signed in January 2005 by 500 people, including newspaper editors, intellectuals and 19 Duma deputies. The petition labels Judaism 'anti-Christian' and revives the antisemitic accusation of the blood libel. By autumn 2005 there were 15,000 signatures.

In Ukraine, Georgii Shchokin, president of the Inter-Regional Academy of Personnel Management (MAUP), wrote that the Jewish-Bolshevik yoke had dominated Ukraine for 70 years, causing millions of victims. MAUP, the largest non-governmental higher education

institution in Ukraine, with about 50,000 students, was a primary source of antisemitic agitation and propaganda in the country in 2005.

In June, the nationalist Ataka (Attack), the fourth largest party in Bulgaria, published a list of 1,500 well-known Bulgarian Jews on their homepage. The list appeared under the heading: "A plague infected, leprous and dangerous race, which has deserved to be eradicated since the day of its creation."

In Venezuela, politicians and journalists associated with the party of President Hugo Chavez used the Holocaust to attack both Israel and the local Jewish community, and compared the plight of the Palestinians to the Holocaust or denied it altogether. Chavez himself was criticized for using motifs from traditional anti-Jewish Christian texts, such as 'the wandering Jew' and the Jews' alleged crucifixion of Christ. Venezuelan oil interests have undoubtedly contributed to radicalizing the rhetoric of Venezuelan public figures, which sometimes does not fall short of the utterances of Iranian leaders.

The following analysis for 2005 will address three issues:

- Trends in antisemitic violence
- Commemoration of the Holocaust and the struggle against antisemitism
- Antisemitic and anti-Zionist manifestations on campus and the attempt to impose an academic boycott on Israel

TRENDS IN ANTISEMITIC VIOLENCE

The level of antisemitic violence (including major violent and vandalistic incidents and attacks by violent means) in 2005 decreased considerably compared to 2004, from 501 instances to 406. The decline in violent and vandalistic incidents may be explained by a period of relative calm in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which often acts as a trigger for antisemitic events, and/or better security and enforcement measures. Nevertheless, this was the second highest level recorded since 1989 (see Appendix).

There is a noticeable difference between the trends in the two types of violence, which calls for an explanation. While the number of major violent and vandalistic incidents rose almost steadily from the end of 2000, reaching a peak in 2004 and 2005, the figure for major attacks by violent means decreased, particularly after 2002, to 15 in 2005 – the lowest since the end of the 1980s – indicating the random nature of many antisemitic incidents. Analysis of numerous cases (as noted in our previous reports) shows that most violent incidents were spontaneous rather than premeditated and that most perpetrators did not belong to organized ideological groups which conspired to attack Jews. Socio-economic tensions in Western Europe, where most of the violence is perpetrated, appear to play a significant role in the behavior of these groups and individuals.

The continuous increase since 2000 in the level of antisemitic violence in France culminated in 2004 in a total of 104 incidents. The 72 violent incidents recorded in 2005, equaling the 2003 figure, constituted the second highest number in the last 15 years. By comparison, in 1999, a year before the outbreak of the antisemitic wave in Europe, France witnessed only 14 violent incidents. While confirming French Ministry of Interior data, which showed a decrease of 48 percent in antisemitic events of all types (504 in 2005 compared to 974 in 2004), CRIF, the leading Jewish organization in France, stressed that the number of violent acts against Jews was still ten times higher than in 1990. The decrease in antisemitic manifestations in 2005, especially in violent acts, might be explained, *inter alia*, by: intensive educational work, enforcement of anti-hate legislation, and the absence of trigger events in the Middle East. Nevertheless, the high level of antisemitic violence in 2005 indicates that the main factors responsible for the outbreak of the wave of antisemitism continued to be behind anti-Jewish activity, namely: a combination of social frustration and anti-Jewish prejudice and virulently anti-Israel sentiment, which exploded into violence against Jewish individuals and property.

Despite the decrease in the number of violent incidents, the pattern of incidents in France in 2005 pointed to a high level of antisemitic hatred directed against visibly Jewish victims. "We have a Jew," rejoiced one of the attackers of a young French Jew as he knifed him in a Lyon street in mid-February. The men who attacked the youth were charged with attempted homicide. A week earlier, at the Charpenne metro station in Villeurbanne, a group of youngsters caused serious head injuries to a Jewish man as they yelled, "Jews to the gas chambers." In Paris, three petrol bombs were thrown at the Sinai Jewish school in July and the slogans "Screw the Jews" and "Cremate the Jews" were painted on a synagogue in mid-February.

In contrast to the years 2003–2004, the level of violence against Jews in the UK in 2005 was higher than in France. According to Britain's Community Security Trust (CST), although the total number of antisemitic events in UK declined from 532 in 2004 to 455 in 2005, the figures for assaults and vandalism against Jewish sites and property remained more or less the same. Moreover, 2005 was the second successive year in which violent attacks on Jewish individuals outnumbered attacks on property, and the total number of events was the second highest ever recorded, corresponding to the long-term trend of rising incident levels since 1997. A series of violent assaults by gangs with metal bars on Orthodox Jews in Stamford Hill, London, which began in December 2004, illustrates the serious nature of some of the incidents.

In other west European countries such as the Netherlands, Sweden and particularly Belgium, which witnessed a considerable rise in numbers of violent incidents in the last couple of years, a relative decline was noted in 2005. Nevertheless, on 7 May 2005, five petrol bombs were thrown at a synagogue in the Anderlecht district of Brussels, causing a fire which took 45 minutes to extinguish and considerable damage. On 14 April, a 17-year-old Jewish youth was viciously attacked in Brussels by two young thugs, who yelled "Dirty Jew" and "Yahudi." In Switzerland, a synagogue and a Jewish-owned clothing store were torched on the same night in March in the southern city of Lugano.

A rise in antisemitic violence and vandalism was observed in Denmark. As in France and the UK, Jewish private property was damaged and Jewish individuals, including women and the elderly, were insulted, threatened and assaulted by persons of Muslim/Arab or African origin.

Based on victims' testimony, it seems that first- and second-generation immigrants, many of them Muslims, continue to play a role in violence perpetrated against Jews in Europe. In addition, as in previous

years, neo-Nazis and the traditionally antisemitic extreme right in general were behind numerous incidents of violence, abusive behavior, threats and vandalism. According to the CST in London, out of 168 antisemitic events of all kinds in 2005 in which a physical description of the perpetrator was provided, 85 were 'white', 2 were east European, 27 black, 30 Asian and 19 of 'Arab' appearance. Therefore 52 per cent – the majority – involved 'white' perpetrators. In Manchester, for example, a Jewish family walking down a street was attacked by a group of three white men, who shouted antisemitic abuse and punched the father in the face. Extreme rightists were probably behind the desecration of dozens of Jewish cemeteries, synagogues and memorials in Europe. In the UK, for example, Nazi symbols were daubed on 12 gravestones in the Jewish section of Aldershot cemetery in Hampshire; the door of the Rothschild family mausoleum was smashed and daubed with Nazi insignia, and in June, one hundred gravestones were overturned in West Ham Jewish cemetery. In France, vandals painted swastikas on 20 Jewish graves in the cemetery of Remiremont in early November, and in Switzerland the slogans "Heil Hitler" and "Gas the Jews" were painted on a Holocaust memorial and on the walls of the Great Synagogue in Geneva on 16 April. As in previous years extreme rightists and neo-Nazis were behind much cemetery desecration in Germany, too. The 36 incidents of vandalism of cemeteries and Jewish memorials constituted the largest number in Europe.

Canada

Canada has witnessed a continuing increase in violent antisemitic incidents in recent years, mainly due to the growing involvement of immigrants, many of them Muslims or persons of Arab origin, in hate activity against Jews. In 2005, the League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada (the League), which monitors antisemitic events in Canada, reported a marginal decrease of 3.3 percent in 2005 compared to 2004, including a fall in violent and vandalistic incidents. Indeed, according to our classification of major violent incidents, the number of such attacks against Jewish individuals and Jewish property and sites decreased from 54 in 2004 to 44 in 2005.

While the absence of Middle East triggers may have led to the small decrease in 2005, the pattern of incidents over the last four years persisted, with social frustration inflamed by anti-Jewish prejudice and extreme anti-Israel propaganda continuing to fuel violence against Jews in Canada. In several cases Jews were assaulted being first asked after if they were Jewish. In Montreal a visibly Jewish woman was hit on the back and harassed with insults as she walked past a group of young teens

in May, while in Kitchener/Waterloo a visiting rabbi was assaulted as he was walking along the street with his family in June. In addition, synagogues, community centers, cemeteries and Jewish private property were vandalized in Toronto, Ottawa, Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver.

Ukraine

A continuous increase in the level of antisemitic violence has been observed in recent years in Ukraine. This may be partly linked to the intensified proliferation of antisemitic propaganda and incitement by institutions such as the Inter-Regional Academy of Personnel Management (MAUP; see below). In one of the most serious incidents, ten skinheads, armed with bottles, sticks and knives, attacked two Jewish yeshiva students in an underground passage in the center of Kiev in August. Mordekhai Molozhenov, 28, was critically injured. Other students from the yeshiva reported previous skinhead attacks on them at the same place. Of the three suspects, one confessed, claiming he belonged to a skinhead group which beat the students because they were Jews. In April the rabbi of Zhitomir, Shlomo Wilhelm, was beaten by three young people on the street and in September two Israeli citizens, Rabbi Mikhail Menis and his son, were assaulted with chains and other weapons in Kiev by assailants who shouted Nazi slogans.

ANTISEMITIC AND ANTI-ZIONIST MANIFESTATIONS ON CAMPUS AND THE ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE AN ACADEMIC BOYCOTT ON ISRAEL

Western Europe

On 22 April 2005 the council of the Association of University Teachers in Britain (AUT) announced a boycott of Israel's Bar-Ilan and Haifa universities. The accusations against them were proven to be false and following a counter-campaign of AUT members, the boycott decision was revoked by a majority of the council a month later.

Nevertheless, the support expressed by other academic unions in the UK, such as NATFHE (National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education), as well as by many scholars in other countries, indicates that a boycott of Israeli universities would have strong appeal. It was clear that the move against the two Israeli universities was, in fact, part of a comprehensive, ongoing campaign against academic and cultural life in Israel, expressed in boycotting Israeli students and the participation of Israeli academics in international conferences, rejection of articles sent to scientific journals by Israeli scholars, and refusal to cooperate with Israeli academic institutions.

Despite the failure of the boycott attempt, the leaders of the campaign declared that the decision had set a precedent in a long war. Indeed, it was the culmination of a five-year campaign that began in Durban with article 425 of the final NGO declaration, which proclaimed a policy of complete and total isolation of Israel as an apartheid state. The main stages of this operation in Europe included a letter to the *Guardian*, written by Profs. Steven and Hilary Rose and signed by hundreds of academics, calling for a halt to European Union funding of research projects in Israel; the decision of Prof. Mona Baker from Manchester University to dismiss two Israeli researchers from the academic board of two translation journals; a motion adopted by Pierre and Marie Curie University (Paris 6) to suspend scientific cooperation with Israeli academic institutions; the refusal of Professor Andrew Wilkie from Oxford University to accept an Israeli PhD student because of his nationality; and an international conference, "Resisting Israeli Apartheid," held at London's School of Oriental and African Studies.

The first AUT decision, reprehensible in its interference with academic freedom and attempts to blackmail academics in order to change the governmental policy of a democratic state, may also be questioned in relation to the motivation of the boycott leaders: Was the initiative merely a part of the struggle against Israel's continued control

of the territories, or was it indeed a part of the anti-Zionist drive against the existence of Israel as a Jewish state?

The international conference, "Resisting Israeli Apartheid," held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, in January 2005, provided a clear response to this question. Leading boycott activists urged the 270 scholars gathered from various countries to undermine all Israeli institutions that "allow a pariah state to function and claim membership of the international community." The Israeli university community, in their view, was merely a branch of the criminal and illegitimate entity 'the State of Israel'. They also expressed the hope that just as external pressure, including cultural and academic boycotts, had contributed to the fall of white South Africa, it would prove to be an important weapon in the delegitimization of Israel.

A related question concerns the classification of the boycott as an antisemitic act, a claim rejected by the anti-Zionist initiators of the campaign, some of them Jews. Anti-Zionism, however, is an ideology with a specific target – to bring about the destruction of Israel as a Jewish state – and is thus perceived by many Jews and non-Jews as an antisemitic expression. As noted above, the EUMC in its 'working definition' accepted the contention, raised in the 1970s and 1980s during the anti-Zionist campaign led by the Arab world and by the Soviet Union and its satellites, that denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination by claiming that the existence of the State of Israel is a racist endeavor, is a manifestation of antisemitism.

North America

Radically anti-Israel activity at certain US universities has created an atmosphere of intimidation and fear among Jewish students. While 2005 saw a slight decline in such activity, militants on college campuses continued to link their opposition to the war in Iraq to Israel.

Major anti-Israel events organized in 2005 included the Al Awda "Right of Return" conference at the University of California, Los Angeles, on 13 April 2005, and a conference at Pace University, 24 February 2005, to 'educate' students and faculty on why Israel is an apartheid state. However, attempts to promote the movement for divestment of American investment in Israel and academic boycotts were unsuccessful. Pro-divestment activists managed to pass a couple of favorable resolutions at student and professional bodies in small colleges associated with the Michigan and Wisconsin systems, but these localized achievements lacked broad support within the institutions and were ultimately rejected by the universities' Board of Regents.

The most public controversy at an American university concerned allegations of anti-Israel bias in the Middle East and Asia Languages and Cultures (MELAC) Department at Columbia University. Many claims of strongly anti-Israel rhetoric were made by students against MELAC professors, two of whom had signed Columbia's divestment petition, and a committee was appointed to investigate the charges. The report concluded that there was no evidence of antisemitism, although no such complaint had been made. The report merely recommended strengthening Columbia's grievance procedures for students.

Radical speakers who appeared on college campuses under the guise of legitimate criticism of Israel and other covers continued to be the most troubling phenomena. On 2 February 2005, Amir-Abdel Malik Ali gave a lecture at the University of California, Irvine (UCI), in which he alluded to Zionist control of the media and Zionist conspiracies to control US foreign policy, including the occupation of Iraq. Large anti-Israel rallies on campus, with body bags representing 'victims of Israeli genocide', and students wearing green robes signifying solidarity with Hamas, were other events held at UCI.

Malik Zulu Shabazz, the antisemitic leader of the New Black Panther Party, was invited by a multicultural group to speak at Carnegie Mellon University, 17 February 2005, on 'black empowerment'. Shabazz vilified Jews, declaring that "Zionism is terrorism" and Israel a "terrorist state." He added that "you cannot be a real Jew and a Zionist at the same time," and frequently referred to "so-called Jews" and to "quote-unquote Jews."

In Canada, too, the campus continued to be an arena of virulently anti Zionist agitation. Anti-Zionist propaganda, frequently intertwined with antisemitic motifs, was distributed, Jewish students were victims of harassment and intimidation, and their property was vandalized. Many students who refused to vilify Israel or were suspected of supporting it were singled out. The League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada reported that in 2005 Jewish students – often visibly Jewish ones – were targeted in 48 antisemitic incidents on campus, a level similar to that in 2003 and 2004. In early November 2005, for example, antisemitic pamphlets entitled "Jewish Supremacism Unmasked" appeared at the University of Toronto, York University and Ryerson University.

An increasing number of Jewish students in universities and colleges in Canada claim that they fear reprisals if they argue that Israel has the right to exist. Some have reportedly ceased wearing any distinguishing marks of their religion such as skullcaps or Star of David jewelry. Anti-Zionism or denial of Israel's right to exist is not treated as legitimate grounds for complaint and only in rare cases can students who dare to complain prove that antisemitic rhetoric was used by extremely anti-

Zionist professors who hurt their feelings as Jews (Alain Goldschläger, "The Campus Scene," in *2005 Audit of Antisemitic Incidents*, League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada). A weeklong series of lectures entitled "Israeli Apartheid Week," at the University of Toronto, illustrates the virulence of the anti-Zionist campaign on Canadian campuses.

Following several cases in which Israeli officials and politicians were violently denied the right to present their opinions, a new initiative has been launched to prevent 'Israeli soldiers' from lecturing to Canadian students. Since many visiting professors are known to be in the reserves, the move should be seen as part of the academic boycott against Israel (see Goldschläger, above).

Ukraine

The Inter-Regional Academy of Personnel Management (MAUP) was a primary source of antisemitic agitation and propaganda in Ukraine in 2005. Founded in 1989 as a non-governmental institution of higher learning, MAUP was accredited by the Ukrainian Ministry of Education and today is the largest such establishment in Ukraine, with about 50,000 students at a number of campuses, the largest in Kiev. MAUP graduates include chairmen of state committees, deputy ministers, mayors, diplomats, leading members of the president's administration, heads of universities and schools, businessmen and military commanders.

The university organizes meetings and demonstrations, regularly issues antisemitic statements and since 1991 has published two academic periodicals, *Personal* and *Personal Plus*, with antisemitic content. MAUP directors were among the initiators of attempts to outlaw Jewish organizations in Ukraine and called for a ban on the Hassidic Jewish classic *Tanya* on the grounds that it incites racism against non-Jews.

MAUP President Georgii Shchokin, the force behind the antisemitic line of these publications, also serves as head of the International Personnel Academy (IPA – an international NGO, and a member of the European Network of National Information Centers [ENIC] for academic recognition and mobility, of the Council of Europe and UNESCO), from whose offices he issues antisemitic statements. Shchokin is a leader of the antisemitic Ukrainian Conservative Party (UKP), registered in March 2005 and labeled "the Ukrainian Ku Klux Klan" by the Ukrainian media. It publishes a newspaper, *Ukrainskii Konservator*, also with antisemitic content, as a supplement to *Personal Plus*. For example, an article in the fourth issue of *Ukrainskii Konservator*, 6 July 2005, demanded that the Ukrainian president order the investigation of several Jews, including Josef Zisels, chairperson of the General Council

of the Euro-Asian Jewish Congress, for 'anti-Ukrainian activity', allegedly conducted through "various Zionist and Judeo-Nazi organizations and media."

The weekly *Personal Plus* published numerous antisemitic articles in 2005. In September alone there were four articles attacking the *Shulchan Aruch* ('Set Table', a repository of Jewish law) – for inciting ethnic hatred and provoking "pogroms against the Jews"; a list of Ukrainian Jewish organizations labeled "enemies of Ukraine" and a call to investigate them; and book recommendations such as the collection *Zionist Protocols: Origins and Documents: A Historic Review*; O. Platonov's *100 Laws from the Talmud, When Jews are Marching*; Jürgen Graf's *Great Lie of the 20th Century: The Myth of the Genocide of the Jews during World War II*; and an article, "Jewish Legislation on Ukraine's Territory," listing kosher products available in Ukraine and urging Ukrainians not to buy them.

Many antisemitic articles in *Personal Plus* were written by Shchokin himself. On 11 November, for example, he claimed in "Zionist-Socialist Counter-Revolution in Ukraine and Its Manifestations in Education," that the Jewish-Bolshevik yoke had dominated Ukraine for 70 years, causing millions of victims. In the 23–29 November issue *Personal Plus* published "Zionist Blackmail Will Not Pass," a letter sent by Shchokin to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan accusing the Jews of the genocide of Ukrainians. Shchokin also complained to Anan of Israeli attempts to close MAUP and requested an investigation of 'Jewish Nazis' who, he claimed, were responsible for the Jewish-Bolshevik revolution, and for wars, repression and starvation which caused the death of over 50 million people. MAUP was therefore demanding an end to the State of Israel if it failed to comply with the UN Partition Resolution of 29 November 1947.

In June the MAUP website published a list of 16 names of "distributors, defenders and Judeo-Nazi activists," as well as a list of media organs and organizations that support "Jewish racism." In November MAUP put out a collection of antisemitic articles, "Stop the Criminal Activity of Organized Judaism." In December its publishing house issued a translation of Jürgen Graf's Holocaust denying book *The Great Lie of the 20th Century: The Myth of the Genocide of the Jews during World War II*. The book was sold at the institution's campuses and at MAUP kiosks in Kiev.

MAUP also organized demonstrations and international conferences. On 3 June 2005 it sponsored a symposium in Kiev entitled "Zionism – The Great Threat to Contemporary Civilization," attended by Levka Lukianenko, Ukrainian MP from the bloc of then Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, American white supremacist David Duke, and other

extremists from abroad. Several speakers called for the deportation of Ukraine's Jews. Another international conference, "The Jewish-Bolshevik Take-Over of 1917 as a Precondition for the Red Terror and Ukrainian Famine," with participants from Algeria, Afghanistan, Iran, Vietnam, Indonesia, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine and the US, was held by MAUP from 28 November to 1 December. In his speech, Georgii Shchokin claimed that bolshevism was the Jewish totalitarian ethnocracy behind the civil war (1917–22) and the starvation of the Ukrainian people (1922–23, 1932–33, 1946–47). He considered today's Socialists and Communists the direct successors of Jewish-Bolshevik ideology. The participants stressed the struggle against Zionism and its world influence. It was stated that the "Jewish-Bolshevik regime" was to blame for all the misfortunes of the Ukrainian people and an appeal was made to the UN and national governments to struggle against Jewish racism and the influence of the Jewish Diaspora. On 29 December, 15 MAUP students demonstrated in Kiev, demanding the expulsion of Jews and Russians from Ukrainian TV and radio.

White supremacist David Duke has close links to MAUP: on 9 September he received a PhD in history from the institution. His dissertation topic was "Zionism as a Form of Ethnic Supremacy." Defending his thesis, Duke claimed that "Jewish supremacism and extremism" were growing ever more radical and that Israel had been taken over by extremists. Duke teaches a course on history and international relations at MAUP.

MAUP has close contacts with several Muslim countries, particularly Saudi Arabia and Iran, and is partially funded by them. Although it maintains that its activities are 'merely' anti-Zionist, its use of traditional antisemitic propaganda, such as religious antisemitism and accusing the Jews of sole responsibility for the Russian October Revolution and for starvation in Ukraine, as well as the institution's ties with Holocaust deniers and Islamic forces, belies this claim.

As noted above, violent activities against Jews have intensified in recent years. On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, in January 2005, Ukrainian President Viktor Iushchenko declared that his country would not tolerate antisemitism. On 5 December he specifically mentioned MAUP when he urged Ukrainians to combat antisemitism and xenophobia and called for stronger measures to protect all religions and nationalities in Ukraine. In response, the MAUP website accused the president of being surrounded by Zionists and threatened a suit against his press secretary. However, the president has taken no action against MAUP, except to resign from its board. On 12 December 2005 Vladimir Matveev, correspondent of

JTA (Jewish Telegraphic Agency), was beaten near his home in Kiev a day after he had published an article about antisemitic activity at MAUP. Matveev was hospitalized.

On 11 July, 100 Ukrainian cultural figures, including writers, priests, scientists and artists, published a call "Against Xenophobia, for a European Ukraine," in the media. Noting governmental indifference to antisemitism and intolerance in general, and to the activity of MAUP in particular, they urged equal treatment for all Ukrainians without regard to ethnic origin. In a press release issued on 4 July, the Human Rights Center Nash Mir (Our World) condemned xenophobic and antisemitic statements emanating from MAUP sources, and accused the institution, among other charges, of justifying the Nazi regime and insulting the memory of Jews and non-Jews killed by the Nazis and their collaborators.

In October a group of Ukrainian deputies wrote to the Ministry of Education asking for assistance in the struggle against the propagation of ethnic hatred in several institutions of higher learning, and especially in MAUP. They received no response.

In November the government of Israel urged the Ukrainian authorities to close MAUP for its antisemitic attacks in *Personal Plus*. The request was made after numerous antisemitic articles, including one supporting the call of Iranian President Mahmud Ahmadinejad in October to destroy Israel, appeared in the paper. The Simon Wiesenthal Center published a similar request on its website on 21 November. MAUP denied the allegations of antisemitism. A month later the ADL published an open letter on its website to President Iushchenko urging him to fight antisemitism in his country, and particularly in MAUP.

On 14 December Vadim Rabinovich, leader of the All-Ukrainian Jewish Congress, asked the minister of justice and the Central Elections Committee to invalidate the registration of the antisemitic UKP headed by Georgii Shchokin, who announced that the party would run in the March 2006 parliamentary elections. Although the party was not banned, it did not receive the minimum 3 percent threshold required to elect representatives to the Ukrainian parliament.

COMMEMORATION OF THE HOLOCAUST AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ANTISEMITISM

Western Europe

The year 2005 saw groundbreaking decisions and statements as part of the continuing effort to curb antisemitic hatred and violence. On 17 March ECRI (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance) adopted a resolution condemning the use of racist, antisemitic and xenophobic elements in political discourse, a trend that had become noticeable among elements of mainstream parties. The EUMC (European Union Monitoring Centre against Racism and Xenophobia) published a 'working definition' of antisemitism as a practical guide for identifying and monitoring antisemitism. It determined, *inter alia*, that denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of the State of Israel is a racist endeavor, was an expression of antisemitism. On 30 August the French National School of Magistrates for judges, students, police and judicial functionaries decided to study the specific characteristics of antisemitic attacks, as a result of which one magistrate in each of the 35 courts of appeal is to oversee relations with the local Jewish community.

A clear stand on antisemitism and the Holocaust was taken in 2005 by Church representatives. During his visit to the synagogue of Cologne, Germany, on 19 August, Pope Benedict XVI condemned antisemitism and denial of the Holocaust and declared that humanity must never be allowed to forget or repeat such atrocious crimes. On 10 November the German Evangelical Church (EKD) announced that it would resist all extremism, including religious fanaticism. The declaration was published during the EKD Synod, at which religious fanaticism was compared to political extremism, antisemitism and racism. Member of the German Federal Parliament Herman Gröhe stressed that the Church must speak out against radical Islamism when it encourages murder, and violence. In May the Church of Scotland Commission published a declaration protesting sweeping criticism of Israel and pointing to the worrying increase in antisemitism incited by anti-Zionist elements of the left and members of the Muslim community.

Laws against hate crimes, antisemitism and Holocaust denial were discussed and enforced in several high-profile cases. In May the National Council of Switzerland said it would favor legislation forbidding the use in public of Nazi and fascist symbols. Racism, antisemitism and Holocaust denial are currently punishable by Swiss law, but not the open display of such insignia. Twenty cantons support the legislation as well as

most parties, except the Swiss People's Party of Christoph Blocher, the right-wing Swiss Democrats and the Greens.

On 3 November Judge Jeremy Roberts passed sentence in the Old Bailey, totaling 15 years imprisonment, on five leading members of the Racial Volunteer Force, an offshoot of Combat 18, for producing and distributing race hate material which called for the liquidation of Jews and blacks and firebombing synagogues. At the end of May, the Versailles Court of Appeals found Jean-Marie Colombani, editor of *Le Monde*, sociologist Edgar Morim, writer Daniele Sallenave and MEP Sami Nair, guilty of racial defamation of the Jewish people for a June 2002 article, "Israel-Palestine: The Cancer."

Holocaust denial was at the center of several court deliberations. In France Judge Emmanuel Binoche ruled on 13 June that Internet service providers must filter access to the AAARGH (Association of Veteran Fans of Stories of War and Holocausts) site, which disseminates material denying the Holocaust. The judgment was the first based on the June 2004 Trust in the Digital Economy law. On 3 February Bruno Gollnisch, professor at Lyon III University, was suspended from teaching by the minister of education for denying the Holocaust. (Gollnisch is Jean-Marie Le Pen's deputy in the extreme right Front National and representative of the FN in the European Parliament.) On 13 December Gollnisch's immunity was revoked by the European Parliament in Strasbourg and he was to face trial in May 2006. In Austria, John Gudenus, a legislator in the Bundesrat (Austria's Upper House), was stripped of his parliamentary immunity for a second time by the Vienna City Council, on 15 September, for remarks casting doubt on the Holocaust made in May 2005 during his visit to Mauthausen concentration camp.

The arrest of leading Holocaust deniers worldwide at the end of 2005 should be viewed against the backdrop of the European effort to implement existing laws against hate crimes. Ernst Zündel, a Canadian citizen of German origin, has been detained in a German prison since March 2005; Belgium denier Siegfried Verbeke was arrested in Amsterdam; German denier Germar Rudolf was arrested in Frankfurt (after being deported from the US); and British Holocaust denier David Irving was arrested in Austria on 11 November (and sentenced to prison in 2006).

In 2005, 60 years after the end of the war, commemoration of the Holocaust and its meaning for the new generations in Europe was the theme of public events, political statements and educational endeavors. On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, the European Parliament issued a statement urging European citizens to

remember and condemn the horror and tragedy of the Holocaust and to address the rise in antisemitism.

Public admission of responsibility and the request for forgiveness are important gestures in Holocaust commemoration and teaching. Marking the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, in Berlin on 25 January, Chancellor Gerhard Schröder stressed the historical responsibility of his country. A permanent exhibition, "The Deportation of the Jews on the German Railways, 1941–1945," opened at the Museum of German Technology, Berlin, on 25 October. On 27 January *Il Corriere della Sera* published a letter by a representative of the House of Savoy, Prince Victor Emmanuel, asking forgiveness from the Italian Jewish community and declaring that it was an error for the Italian Royal Family to have signed the racial laws of 1938. On 4 May Danish Prime Minister Fogh Rasmussen apologized before Queen Margrethe II and an audience of 5,000 people for the expulsion of innocent people to Nazi Germany, among them 21 Jews, during World War II. On 29 September Aad Veenman, head of the Nederlandse Spoorwegen (Netherlands Railways), admitted his company had taken an active part in the deportation of Dutch Jews to extermination camps during World War II by providing trains and personnel to transport Jews to camps in Germany and Poland. He apologized for the involvement of the company in Nazi crimes. In fall 2005, as part of their training, 100 young French policemen were told about their country's collaboration with the Nazi regime and of the role played by French police in the deportation of Jews and members of the French resistance movement.

National and international organizations and foundations, such as the OSCE, the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research, and the French Foundation for Shoah Remembrance, worked to promote Holocaust studies programs in educational institutions. In November 2005, for example, the Foundation for Shoah Remembrance distributed a DVD on the Holocaust to 28,000 high school students, teachers and libraries in the Paris area. The DVD deals with the deportation of 76,000 Jews from France and the liberation of the concentration camps.

It should be noted, however, that despite these efforts, polls conducted in Europe show that many people are ignorant about the Holocaust. A 2004 BBC poll in the UK showed that 45 percent of Britons (60 percent under 35) had never heard of Auschwitz. In March 2005 the American Jewish Committee (AJC) released a survey, "Thinking about the Holocaust 60 Years Later," on Holocaust remembrance and attitudes toward Jews in Europe and the US. The findings revealed that only 53 percent of those polled in Britain (and 44

percent in the US) knew that Auschwitz, Dachau and Treblinka were concentration or death camps; however, 88 percent in Austria, 77 percent in Germany and 78 percent in France were able to identify these places. In Germany a survey carried out by the University of Bielefeld showed that 50 percent of interviewees compared Israel's policy toward the Palestinians with the Nazi treatment of Jews in Germany, indicating a grave lack of knowledge about the Holocaust and misunderstanding of the situation in the Middle East.

Eastern Europe

Hungarian Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsany declared during a visit to New York in October 2005 that he would "ensure that the tragedy inflicted upon the Jewish people will never occur again and that Hungarian Jews will be protected." He and other leaders of central and east European states were among prominent figures who attended public events commemorating 60 years to the end of World War II. The US Congress resolution in January, commending countries and organizations for marking the liberation of Auschwitz and urging them to strengthen "the fight against racism, intolerance, bigotry, prejudice, discrimination, and antisemitism" seems to have made a considerable impression on leaders of east European states such as Hungary and Romania. On Holocaust Memorial Day in Romania, instituted in 2004, Foreign Minister Razvan Ungureanu declared that Romanian children must be taught that Jews were murdered in their country. This event, among several others held in Romania, took place in Iasi, the site of a mass pogrom in June 1941. Romanian President Traian Basescu emphasized the need for further education of the younger generation on the fate of the Jews in the Holocaust. These statements were in sharp contrast to the attitude that prevailed in Romania only few years ago (see *ASW* 2002/3).

Historical memory pertaining to the 60th anniversary of the end of the World War II and the liberation of the camps was a primary theme in the media of east European states. While the countries' leaders tried to avoid controversial statements on these issues, media articles focused on the different narratives relating to the end of the war, the liberation of the death camps and the impact of the beginning of the Cold War on the area. Both center-right and left-wing organs, such as the Hungarian *Népszabadság*, stressed the participation of senior officials in the ceremonies as an indication of the attitude of the current political elites toward the past. Media discussion also centered on the postwar world and the Soviet Communist takeover. The extremist right-wing press, such as Hungary's *Magyar Demokrata*, complained of 'overemphasis' on

the alleged suffering of the Jews and disregard of the 'Judeo-Communist' terror of the Communist period. They recalled the behavior of Soviet troops, often in gruesome detail, in the countries liberated by the Soviet armies (most of the former Socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the Balkans) in order to highlight the end of one of type of suffering and the beginning of another. Further, they discussed the nature of 'liberation' and its transformation at the end of the war, into 'occupation' by the Soviets and local Communists. Thus, there is a clear division between the nationalist right-wing, on the one hand, and the center and the liberal left, on the other, over the nature of the postwar situation, although no significant political force even hinted that it preferred continuation of the war and living under Nazi rule or auspices, and they all welcomed the end of the war as having brought relief to their devastated societies and states.

The year 2005, in fact, highlighted the struggle for the memory of postwar events, which results from the different experiences of various social and ethnic groups (Adam Krzeminski, "As Many Wars as Nations," *Sign and Sight*, 6 April 2005, www.signandsight.com). While Jewish collective memory stresses liberation and the end of the attempt by Nazis and local collaborators to annihilate the Jewish nation, non-Jewish memory focuses on the Communist era from an opposing viewpoint, as well as the postwar plight, Soviet plunder of the remnants of local economies, and the postwar trials. An example of differing perceptions of the past can be found in Slovakia in the case of Bishop Jan Vojtassak. In October 2005 the regional council of Presov approved a posthumous award to Bishop Jan Vojtassak. He had spent 12 years in jail after being persecuted by the Communist regime. However, the Jewish community protested the award since Vojtassak had been president of the State Council of Slovakia during World War II and had taken part in the deportation of Jews to death camps.

The events and discourse surrounding the 60th anniversary events were held against the background of the extreme right's continued dissemination of antisemitic propaganda, mostly in relation to the Holocaust period. As always, while distorting the Holocaust they linked the suffering of the east European people to the Jews and their role in the Communist regime. A "Letter to President G.W. Bush" published in the weekly *Romania Mare* of 8 April 2005 by Ion Coja, a notorious Romanian antisemitic academic, typified this trend. Coja denied there was a Holocaust in Romania, and accused the Jews of causing antisemitism in Romania and of subjugating Romania to the "international mafia dominated by the Jews." He also claimed the Jews had held key positions in the postwar Communist Party and had brought

about the indictment and execution of wartime fascist ruler Ion Antonescu. Coja is well known for his attempts to rehabilitate Antonescu, a campaign that has intensified with the approach of the 60th anniversary of his execution in 1946.

Interestingly, in Eastern Europe the so-called new antisemitism, mainly demonization of Israel, is much less evident than in Western Europe. The mainstream media in 2005 was usually less critical of Israel than some of the Western press, such as *Le Monde* and the *Guardian*, and anti-Israel material that appeared was often attributed to Western sources. Furthermore, the mainstream media was careful to avoid making a direct link between Israeli 'behavior' and Jewish stereotypes. In fact, they made it plain whenever an antisemitic motive was present in events that occurred in the West.

However, small though vocal groups, such as Istvan Csurka's Hungarian Life and Justice Party (MIEP), which is internally fragmented for reasons unrelated to the extremist line of the movement, stress alleged Israeli interests in keeping the war in Iraq alive through the US presence. Such voices are rare, and although opposition to the US presence in Iraq is growing, it does not appear to be translated into more vehement criticism of Israel.

The east/central European position toward Israel may be explained, first, by the ongoing debate between moderates and extremists in most of the states over their national history and the fate of the Jews during the Holocaust. Thus, the unresolved past is of more concern than attacking Israel. Second, a virulently anti-Israel line is still associated with the legacy of the hated Communist regime. Third, there is little sympathy for the Arab cause, and since there are no significant Muslim and Arab communities within these states, the media have no need to take their views into account. Moreover, since the post-Communist countries are in the process of expanding relations with moderate Arab and Muslim states, they are more interested in promoting a solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict than in supporting Islamic radicals. Fourth, countries that have joined the EU, as well as those expecting to become members in 2007 (Romania and Bulgaria), are busy adjusting their economies and systems to the new realities, and are less inclined, at least at this stage, to endanger the delicate balance between their deep friendship with the US and their new status in the EU by adopting the coded anti-Israel and antisemitic rhetoric typically found in the West.

Latin America

In Latin America events marking the 60th anniversary of the end of the war and the liberation of Auschwitz were held for the most part by the

Jewish communities. In Mexico Tribuna Israelita, the chief organization for monitoring and countering antisemitism, co-edited, together with the National Council against Discrimination (CONAPRED), a collection of articles by 30 Mexican journalists and writers commemorating 60 years from the liberation of Auschwitz. The work "Moon Landscape," painted by Petr Ginz, a 14-year-old Jewish boy, during his incarceration in the Theresienstadt ghetto, was immortalized in a postage stamp. Thanks to the community's efforts the anniversary activities received wide media coverage.

In Brazil, commemoration of Yom Hashoah and the end of World War II took place against the background of a virulently anti-Zionist campaign verging on antisemitism, in particular, comparisons between Nazi Germany and Israel (see *ASW* 2004). In Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Jewish communities held ceremonies to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the end of the war. In São Paulo, 200 soldiers from the army, the navy, the air force, the police, and the fire brigade participated in a ceremony in the Jewish Cultural Center.

A dramatic increase in neo-Nazi and antisemitic manifestations, and especially of antisemitic graffiti, cast a shadow on the ceremonies held in Argentina. Although governmental bodies and civic organizations and institutions adopted the US Senate decision to monitor antisemitism, the DAIA, the leading Jewish organization in Argentina, met with Minister of the Interior Anibal Fernandez, on 10 May, to protest the proliferation of swastikas in Buenos Aires, and particularly in the city of General Roca, in the southern province of Rio Negro. While in previous years the average number of antisemitic events ranged between 160 and 185, the figure for 2005 almost doubled, to 375. In addition to antisemitic graffiti, several Jewish organizations and community members reported receiving threats.

In addition, the 1994 AMIA community center bombing, in which 86 people were killed and over 200 injured, remains an open wound. After more than ten years of investigations and trials, the chief accomplices in the local connection have not been brought to justice. Undoubtedly, important evidence was concealed or forged and new scandals continue to be exposed (see Graciela Ben-Dror, "Antisemitism in Argentina from the Military Junta to the Democratic Era").

In their speeches leaders of the Argentinean Jewish community linked the 60th anniversary to rising antisemitism. The DAIA press release, issued on 27 January, mentioned the "dissemination of antisemitic material that is growing daily, and even denying the Holocaust." The statement also spoke of "the silence of the world then," and "the new antisemitism, often expressed as anti-Zionism." The DAIA

president also raised this topic on 3 May when the organization commemorated 62 years from the Warsaw ghetto uprising. The event, held in the San Martin Cultural Center, Buenos Aires, was attended by leading representatives of the state and the military as well as several ambassadors.

The 60th anniversary events also prompted a reflection on the history of antisemitism in Argentina and criticism of the school curricula. In a ceremony marking 60 years to the liberation of the camps that took place in the Holocaust Museum of Buenos Aires, Mario Feferbaum, president of the museum, spoke of the prohibition of the Yiddish press in Argentina, and the closure of the Jewish community's schools and newspapers from 1943 until the end of the war by the ruling junta. He stated that several streets still bore the name of those who were ideologically responsible for the regime and its acts. He also said that it was necessary to change the content of school curricula in Argentina because they ignored the role of the Jews in the nation.

Venezuela has witnessed an increased proliferation of virulently anti-Israel and anti-Zionist propaganda, frequently entwined with anti-Jewish slogans, since the election of President Hugo Chavez in 1998. This tendency has escalated since the failed coup against Chavez in 2002 in which circles close to the government accused Israel of involvement (see *ASW* 2002/3, 2003/4, 2004).

Official and semi-official events marking the 60th anniversary of the end of the war featured anti-Zionist expressions, including distortion of the Holocaust and demonization of Israel. Parliamentary President Nicolas Maduro, a Congressman from Chavez's party MVR, said, for example, in February 2005: "If we cry and condemn what was done in Auschwitz, we have also to... condemn what is being done to the Palestinian and Iraqi peoples." Similarly, journalist Augusto Hernandez wrote at the end of January that Israel "is doing the same thing to other people that the Nazis did to them, for very similar reasons," and an article in the supplement *Orbe* of the pro-Chavez newspaper *Vea* (7 Feb. 2005) stated that the Jews were "applying very similar practices that they suffered in Auschwitz to the Arabs." Further, it asserted that the Jews and the Zionists worked hand in hand with the Nazis to fulfill the Zionist mission.

At the end of October *Vea* editor Garcia Ponce wrote under the title "Genocide" that if somebody had to be judged for perpetrating genocide it was the government of the State of Israel. On 4 April journalist Basem Tajeldine claimed in the paper that the Zionists were the heirs of the rabbis who had asked for the death of Jesus "because they were defending their own interests."

Holocaust denial, anti-Zionism and demonization of Israel were broadcast on Venezuelan National Radio following the ceremonies in January at the UN and in Poland marking the liberation of the death camps. For example, Vladimir Acosta, program director of *Sobre el Tapete* ("Under Discussion"), said it was untrue that 6 million Jews were killed, "although it is terrible even if only 1 million were killed." He claimed that most of the victims were not Jews but Communists and that the Jews had managed to attract world attention to their tragedy only and to make it forget the murder of others. A month later Acosta, said that "what is important is not the Holocaust 60 years ago but the current mass killing of the Palestinians that Jews are carrying out today." He continued his attacks during the year but gradually replaced the word 'Jews' with 'Zionists'.

The Jewish community in Venezuela was also the target of extremely anti-Israel propaganda. In the radio program "Los papeles de Mandiga" broadcast by "YVKE Mundial" on 9 September, commentator Alberto Noria condemned Rabbi Pynchas Brenner and the community, claiming that some of them were rogues (*canallas*), and that when someone like the writer Mario Vargas Llosa criticized the State of Israel, they denounced him as an 'antisemite'. This is the "racist and criminal conception of the Jews who have control over the Jewish Confederation of Venezuela."

Chavez himself made a controversial statement in 2005 which was interpreted by some critics as antisemitic. In a Christmas speech delivered at the Manantial de los Suenos rehabilitation center on 24 December 2005, he declared: "Some minorities, the descendants of the same ones who crucified Christ, the descendants of the same ones who threw out [South American liberator Simon] Bolivar from here and also crucified him in a way in Santa Marta, over there in Colombia — a minority took possession of all the planet's gold, of the silver, the minerals, the waters, the good land, the oil, the riches, and they have concentrated the riches in a few hands." Chavez rejected the accusation that his speech included antisemitic nuances, alleging the attack on him was part of "an imperialist campaign." He was supported by Venezuelan Jewish community leaders of the CAIV (Confederation of Jewish Associations of Venezuela), who maintained that Chavez's comments were not antisemitic but were aimed at the white oligarchy. However, this was not the first time that Chavez used motifs from traditional Christian anti-Jewish texts. On 25 August 2004, a few days after his questionable victory in the referendum aimed at recalling him from office, the president attacked the opposition leadership, stating: "Don't let yourselves be poisoned by those wandering Jews." Relating to those who did not support him, he declared on the following day: "There are

some – every day there are fewer – ‘small leaders’ [*dirigencillos*] who don’t lead anyone, they are more isolated every day, and wander around like the wandering Jew.” According to the Jewish community, the phrase ‘wandering Jews’, was directed metaphorically at the leaders of the opposition parties, which Chavez claims have nothing to offer the country’s citizens (see *ASW 2004*).

The tendencies toward extreme anti-Zionist expressions and distortion of the Holocaust might be explained partly against the background of the close relationship between Venezuela and Iran and other Muslim countries, mainly in regard to mutual oil interests. They are also part of the Chavez government’s anti-American and anti-imperialist rhetoric, since Israel is viewed as a key factor in US politics and thus an enemy of the ‘anti imperialist revolution’.

The Arab Media

No new trends appeared in the antisemitic discourse in the Arab and Muslim worlds, despite the impetus given by newly elected (on 24 June 2005) President of Iran Mahmud Ahmadinejad. However, existing themes, discerned since the outbreak of the al-Aqsa intifada at the end of September 2000, continued. These included increased preoccupation with the Holocaust, as well as intensified attacks on Zionism by leaders who sought to incite not only regional but worldwide public opinion. Both these motifs had emerged in September 2001, in the course of Arab and Iranian efforts to bring about the denunciation of Zionism as racism and to trivialize the Holocaust at the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance in Durban, South Africa.

Discussion of the Holocaust was prompted by the UN Special Session in January 2005 commemorating 60 years to the liberation of the Nazi concentration camps and by the later UN decision to designate 27 January, the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, as Holocaust Remembrance Day, as well as by Ahmadinejad’s statements at the end of the year.

It should be noted at the outset that several Arab and Muslim countries, such as Jordan, Morocco and Pakistan, supported the UN initiative in January. However, the response by many in the Arab and Muslim world was either outright rejection or reservation. The Egyptian Parliament, for instance, unanimously dismissed it and the Muslim Council of Britain, the umbrella organization of British Muslim representative organizations, headed by Iqbal Sacranie, refused to take part in Britain’s official Holocaust Remembrance Day. This mixed reaction was fully reflected in the debate which evolved in the media,

revealing once again that the Arab discourse on the Holocaust is less monolithic and more complex than it was in the past. Yet, it still fails to distinguish between the human aspects of the Holocaust and the perceived resultant political gains of the Zionists, and persists in linking the Jewish tragedy to the plight of the Palestinians. Undoubtedly, the liberation of the concentration camps was an important historical event, wrote Ghida Fakhri in the London-based daily *al-Sharq al-Awsat* (21 Jan.), but does it really represent the end of the war? Why did the UN General Assembly decide to commemorate only one aspect of the horrors, which caused millions of deaths in Europe, Asia and Africa? Why did it not mark, for instance, ten years to the genocide in Rwanda, in 2004?

Many commentators in the Arab and Muslim world agreed that the UN decision reflected President George Bush's agenda, and handed a victory to Israeli PM Ariel Sharon, who would now be able to pursue his "aggressive and murderous policies" toward the Palestinians. By continually spotlighting the Holocaust, they added, Europe's response to the Palestinian problem would remain indecisive.

In a leader entitled "Auschwitz and Palestine" (27 Jan.), London-based *Al-Hayat* editor 'Abd al-Wahhab Badrakhan linked the two directly. It was natural for the UN to engage in memory of the Holocaust, which concerned all humanity, he wrote, but its exploitation in order to exonerate Israel's "bloody record" was a different matter. Any confusion between Israel and the Holocaust was a manipulation of its memory and detrimental to its lessons. Israel considered worldwide solidarity with the Jews in remembrance of the Holocaust as sympathy for its crimes against the Palestinian people, he contended, adding that the event itself and Kofi Annan's failure in his speech to mention the Palestinians, who had paid the price of Israel's ascent from the ashes, constituted an organized denial of the Palestinian catastrophe. Lebanese commentator Muhammad al-Sammak in *al-Mustaqbal* (31 Jan.) went further, accusing Israel of turning the West Bank and Gaza into a second Auschwitz.

Several Egyptian writers also accused Israel of exploiting memory of the Holocaust and slighting other persecutions, including African slavery and the persecution of non-Jews by the Nazis, and concluded that the UN decision reflected a change in the global balance of power and a victory for Israel. The same UN which a few years previously had denounced Zionism as a racist movement, wrote Egyptian Ambassador Sayyid Qasim al-Misri in the mainstream daily *al-Akhhbar* (3 Feb.), had not only revoked the resolution but succumbed to Zionist pressure. Even leftist intellectual Muhammad Sid Ahmad, who fully supported preservation of the memory of the German death camps, viewed the

commemoration as attesting “to Zionism’s ability to mobilize public opinion at the global level.” In an article published in *al-Abram Weekly* (3 Feb.), he lamented that the message of the triumph of the values of humanity over the dark forces unleashed by Nazi ideology had not been conveyed, and claimed that Jews were not entitled to exploit their victimization by the Nazis to justify depriving the Palestinian people of their basic human and political rights.

In an *al-Hayat* editorial from 29 January, entitled “In the Margins of the Liberation of Auschwitz,” liberal Lebanese writer Hazim Saghiya justified Arab writers who criticized alleged Israeli exploitation of the Holocaust. Their concern, he said, was understandable in view of ignorance of Palestinian suffering; however, the link made by either Israel or the Arabs between the Holocaust and the conflict in the Middle East was unacceptable. Sanctification of the Holocaust in Europe was a spiritual need which transcended religion, he wrote, and its political and material exploitation should not cancel out the rich and valid findings about the Holocaust that were continually coming to light.

Islamists, on the other hand, mostly denied the Holocaust. Hizballah’s mouthpiece *al-‘Abd al-Intiqad* (24 Jan.) referred often to “alleged” massacres of “large numbers” of Jews in gas chambers and crematoria in Auschwitz, and to Western revisionist historians persecuted because they were trying to demonstrate that “the so-called Holocaust” was invented to perpetuate European feelings of guilt toward the Jews and to cover up “unprecedented crimes” against the Arabs, and in particular against the Palestinians. Commemoration of the 60th anniversary had no symbolic meaning, the paper added, while the Paris-based Lebanese journalist Hayat al-Huwayk ‘Atiyya considered it “a hysteria” in the Islamist Jordanian weekly *al-Sabil* (18 Jan.). “Today the world celebrates the security of Israel,” asserted Jordanian Islamist Ibrahim ‘Allush in the same paper (1 Feb.). Notorious for his ideational support of Holocaust denial, ‘Allush branded the Holocaust “an invented lie” and “a global ideology” of the Zionist movement. Jews died in World War II like the other 45 million who perished due to war, hunger and disease. If we accept that Jews were exterminated in gas chambers, as a result of a policy planned to annihilate six million out of 15 million Jews, he argued, we acknowledge the “amazing Holocaust story.” These claims, he concluded, had been refuted by revisionist scholars.

Holocaust denial appeared in statements made by Iranian president Mahmud Ahmadinejad on two occasions in 2005: in an interview to Iranian TV during the Islamic Conference Organization meeting in Saudi Arabia on 8 December and on 15 December. “We do not accept the

claim of some European countries,” he said, that during the war Hitler killed millions of innocent Jews in furnaces and sent them to concentration camps. The Holocaust was “a legend” invented by the Jews who held it in higher esteem than religion, he explained. Linking the Holocaust to the Palestinian cause, he asked why innocent Palestinian people had to pay the price for a crime they had not committed, and proposed that Western countries allocate part of their lands for the establishment of a Jewish state. Similarly, at a student conference “A World without Zionism,” held on Jerusalem Day (instituted by Ayatollah Khomeini on the last Friday of the holy month of Ramadan), 26 October, he called for Israel to be wiped off the map.

Why does the Iranian president engage in such rhetoric now? Is it intended solely for domestic consumption? Is it a response to the pressure of international opposition to Iran’s development of nuclear weapons? Are these statements, perhaps, the indiscretions of an inexperienced president?

The answers to these questions are beyond the scope of this analysis, yet there is no doubt that Ahmadinejad is a fanatical ideologue, loyal to his revolutionary upbringing and to the Islamist worldview, in which the liberation of Palestine and antisemitic motifs are intertwined. Arab reactions to these statements demonstrated support, on the one hand, and rejection, on the other. Naturally, Islamist movements such as Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad and the Egyptian Muslim Brothers, as well as Egyptian opposition papers such as *al-Wafd*, identified with the president’s vision and goals. Khalid Mash`al, head of Hamas political bureau, praised him, while the statement of the general guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, Muhammad Mahdi `Akif, “He said aloud what millions of Muslims think,” was a recurring theme. Ahmadinejad’s argument was hardly a surprise to an Arab audience, wrote Rasha Saad in *al-Abram Weekly* (15 Dec.), and quoted *al-Hayat* editor `Abd al-Wahhab Badrakhan, who accepted the Iranian president’s statements as a reminder to the West and Israel, “that the historical facts do not match the image they have been portraying and which they work hard to sustain.” Ahmadinejad had only spoken the truth about the Arab-Israeli conflict and did not retract his claims despite angry reactions, asserted Yasir Za`atra, an Islamist, in the Jordanian daily *al-Dustur* (31 Oct. and 20 Dec.). Western reactions were the epitome of terrorism, hatred and hypocrisy, Rakan al-Majali concluded in *al-Dustur* (1 Nov.). Moreover, asserted Egyptian Islamist intellectual Fahmi Huwaydi in *al-Sharq al-Awsat* (2 Nov.), Palestine had been erased from the map with the consent of the same countries that had been upset by the Iranian president’s statements.

The worldwide condemnation of the Iranian president's declarations was seen by other commentators as serving Israel's interests, and although they agreed with his message, considered his tactics to be wrong. An *al-Abram* editorial (30 Oct.) categorically rejected the statements which, it said, could only lead to further disasters. Perhaps Arabs, Iranians and Muslims wanted to eliminate Israel, concluded Salah al-Qallab in *al-Sharq al-Awsat* (3 Nov.), but they were incapable of doing so. The president's declarations were merely an expression of will. Egyptian peace proponent `Abd al-Mun'im Sa'id (*al-Sharq al-Awsat*, 9 Nov.) maintained that they represented a complete reversal. Since the Madrid peace conference the perception of the conflict had changed substantially and questioning Israel's legitimate right to exist had been superseded by acknowledgment of the Palestinians' right to their own state. Ahmadinejad's statements were also rejected by Hazim Saghiya in an editorial in *al-Hayat* (24 Dec.). Saghiya, who since the mid-1990s has advocated a new approach toward the Holocaust, deplored the fact that Ahmadinejad's words had been received enthusiastically by the Arabs and that Holocaust denial had become "a disease" infecting Middle East rulers, whereas in the past it had been confined to the fanatic margins of society.

COUNTRY AND REGIONAL ABSTRACTS

(For full reports, see
<http://antisemitism/tau.ac.il/CR.htm>)

Western Europe

AUSTRIA

Austria has a Jewish population of 10,000 out of a total population of 8 million. Most registered members of the community are affiliated to the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien (Jewish Community Vienna).

The NGO Forum against Antisemitism reported 143 antisemitic incidents (2004: 122) including one of physical assault (2004: four) and over 100 threatening and insulting letters sent to officials and institutions of the Jewish community. On 21 February an Orthodox Jew was attacked by two youths in Vienna. The perpetrators fled after the intervention of another member of the community.

Dissension within the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), between the faction led by Carinthian Governor Jörg Haider and the more hard-line group around Euro-Parliament member Andreas Mölzer, culminated in a split in April, after the 'pragmatists' failed to muster a majority for Mölzer's expulsion. While FPÖ members of the government and the majority of FPÖ parliamentarians followed Haider to form the Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ), most FPÖ politicians and groups remained with the original party. Carinthia was the only state where the entire FPÖ cadre joined the BZÖ.

Under its new chairman, Heinz-Christian Strache, the FPÖ reverted to being a radical opposition party and intensified its racist rhetoric, pleasing neo-Nazis both within and outside Austria. Since most remaining FPÖ politicians have an antisemitic background (such as former membership in student fraternities and pan-Germanic groups), antisemitic and Nazi apologetics increased in 2005:

In an interview to the Viennese weekly *Falter* in March, Strache said it was obvious that the Republic of Austria was not responsible for Nazi crimes. He labeled deserters from the Wehrmacht 'perpetrators' and saw no difference between the fascist Austrian regime, the Nazi regime and the Allied occupation: "From 1933 to 1955 there was no democratic system in Austria. Similarly, BZÖ member of the Bundesrat Siegfried Kampl called deserters from the Nazi army "comrade murderers" and complained about the "brutal persecution of Nazis after 1945."

Viennese FPÖ politician Gregor Amhof wrote in the local paper *Bezirkszeitung Alsergrund* (May 2005) that there was no liberation in spring 1945. He equated victims of the war including "380,000 soldiers" with the victims of the Shoah. Moreover, the latter were not murdered, but "died in wartime." This leveling of the Holocaust goes hand-in-hand

with resentment against the Jewish victims as 'privileged'. Amhof claimed that war victims were less honored than victims of the Shoah. Although Amhof's contentions violate Austria's NS prohibition law, since 2000 justice officials have been reluctant to prosecute, especially if a FPÖ politician is involved.

An international meeting of representatives of right-wing extremist and neo-fascist parties from throughout Europe took place in Vienna from 11 to 13 November. The event was arranged by the FPÖ party college. In addition to FPÖ officials such as Heinz Christian Strache, Ewald Stadler and Andreas Mölzer, delegates came from six European countries (Belgium – Vlaams Belang; France – Front National; Italy – Azione Sociale; Romania – Romania Mare; Bulgaria – Ataka; and Spain – Alternativa Española). They discussed closer collaboration and forming a joint faction in the European Parliament in 2007.

On 27 July BZÖ member Siegfried Kampl, who, under the system of rotation, was due to become president of Austria's upper house, was barred from taking office because of pro-Nazi remarks. A coalition of Austrian parties approved a constitutional amendment to prevent him from becoming president.

Approving of the new FPÖ hard line, German neo-Nazi Philipp Hasselbach of NPD Youth (Junge Nationaldemokraten) wrote on the bulletin board *Wikingerversand* in October that there were many Nazis in the FPÖ. Since Austrian laws prohibit Nazi-activities in public, he said, they would have to use FPÖ party structures. Hasselbach, who is acquainted with several Viennese FPÖ politicians, alluded to the FPÖ Youth organization, "where leading cadres are known as Nazis."

Violent neo-Nazi-groups in Upper Austria and in Vorarlberg pose a threat to public safety. In Upper Austria the Alliance of Free Youth (BFJ), a group modeled on Hitler Youth, tried to gain support by holding demonstrations and other activities. In Vorarlberg skinheads from the transnational Blood & Honour arranged concerts and clandestine meetings. In Vienna, a local club house, run by the Team for Democratic Policy (AFP), a right-wing extremist group with neo-Nazi connections named after Dr. Fritz Stüber, a Nazi co-founder of FPÖ, is a key basis for neo-Nazi activities. Marking the anniversary of the death of Walter Nowotny (8 November 1944), a famed Nazi bomber pilot, has become an annual event held at the central cemetery in Vienna. In 2005 about 100 participants including several Viennese FPÖ politicians, met at his graveside.

British Holocaust denier David Irving was arrested on 11 November in Vienna. He had been invited to speak by the student fraternity Olympia, whose membership includes FPÖ politicians. The warrant for

his arrest dated from 1989 when he was on a lecture tour arranged by FPÖ academics. He was tried in 2006.

Irving's arrest sparked a debate in Austria over laws against Holocaust denial. On 18 November Christian Fleck, president of the Austrian Sociology Society, published an article in *Der Standard*, which stated that while Irving was being tried, Austrian Nazis who took part in the crimes of the Holocaust were not.

In December a letter to the Iranian embassy in Berlin, written by Austrian neo-Nazi Gerd Honsik, was published on the German neo-Nazi Internet page *Stoertebecker*. Honsik called on the Iranian government to pay the costs of a defense lawyer for Canadian German Holocaust denier Ernst Zündel, who was facing trial in Germany.

John Gudenus, a legislator in the Bundesrat (Austria's Upper House) was deprived of his parliamentary immunity on 15 September for remarks made in May 2005 during his visit to the Mauthausen concentration camp casting doubt on aspects of the Holocaust. He was to be tried in 2006. According to Austrian law, he could face up to 10 years in prison for denying the Holocaust if found guilty by an eight member panel of jurors.

Several antisemitic articles appeared during the year in *Zur Zeit*, the weekly published by Andreas Mölzer. In April, for example, Friedrich Romig claimed that the Bush administration would "do the Jews' bidding." According to Romig, the Jews had advanced to their efforts to control the world by appointing Paul Wolfowitz president of the World Bank.

An article in the July issue of *Die Aula* blamed the Jews for killing Jesus Christ, while in the September issue Holocaust denier Wolfgang Fröhlich was referred to as "a victim of the judiciary," after he was sentenced to four years in prison in August. (His imprisonment was subsequently shortened to 18 months and he was released in May 2006.)

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/austria.htm>

BELGIUM

Some 35,000 Jewish citizens live in Belgium out of a total population of 10 million. The two main centers of Belgian Jewry are Antwerp and Brussels. The Comité de Coordination des Organisations Juives de Belgique (Coordinating Committee of Jewish Organizations in Belgium – CCOJB) in Brussels is the community's umbrella organization.

After a notable increase in 2004 to 46 incidents, the year 2005 witnessed a slight decrease in antisemitic manifestations – 38, as recorded by the BESC (Bureau Exécutif de Surveillance Communautaire). Although there were no reports of extreme violence (causing potential loss of life), there were 8 cases of physical assault, 4 of vandalism of property, 10 of threats (verbal insults, etc.), 10 of abusive behavior (including graffiti), and 6 of receipt of antisemitic literature (in print or via the web).

The Middle East conflict has become a domestic political issue in Belgium. The majority of political parties support the Palestinian cause in order to gain the vote of the large Arab-Muslim community (see below). However, following violently antisemitic demonstrations at an Israeli-Belgian soccer match in Hasselt, the government was forced to acknowledge the reality of 'Arab'/'Muslim' antisemitism (see *ASW* 2004).

The presence of a small but visible ultra-Orthodox Jewish community in the Antwerp region, where support for the extreme right is very strong (see below), and where several extremist Arabic organizations incite young Muslims, constitutes an explosive cocktail. For instance, on 30 June 2005, a mother and her young son from the Antwerp Orthodox community were harassed in a streetcar by a gang of youngsters of North African descent, who shouted "Alle Joden moeten dood" (All the Jews must die). Recognizable as Jewish because he was wearing a skullcap, her son was kicked in the leg and spat at. According to the mother, the streetcar driver, also of Maghreb descent, not only failed to intervene but apparently laughed when he saw the attack in his rear view mirror. On 13 September, the Flemish public transportation company De Lijn announced that the streetcar driver had been punished.

Insulting references to the Holocaust made by groups of both North African descent and native Belgians are not uncommon, particularly in Flanders. For example, in March 20 skullcapped teenagers from the Bnei Akiva religious youth movement and their three counselors were harassed at the Deurne skating rink near Antwerp by two gangs of youngsters, one of North African descent and the other Flemish, who

shouted insults such as “Go back to Auschwitz.” On 5 November an Israeli player for Antwerp, Sam Lavan, was insulted by the well-known striker Patrick Goots at a second-division football match between KV Mechelen and Royal Antwerp FC. Goots said: “Apparently they didn’t do a proper job on the Jews in the gas chambers during World War II.”

There were several such incidents in French-speaking Belgium as well. In March, an information session attended by the rector and many faculty members of the Université Libre de Bruxelles was unable to continue as a result of a series of antisemitic insults leveled especially at the president of the main student society, LIBREX, simply because of his Jewish background. In September of the same year, at another institute of higher education (IHECS), a lecturer made overtly antisemitic statements such as “I don’t like the Jews”; “Apparently 6 million Jews, 5 million – a lot, anyway”; or yet again, “Judaism is a ridiculous religion.” These comments were made in a lecture hall holding 250 people.

In most cases victims of antisemitism lodged complaints to the police and/or to the Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism (CECLR/CEOOR), a governmental body dedicated to the fight against antisemitism. In March, for instance, the center condemned the report of an arrest of a diamond merchant on suspicion of financial fraud published by the main Belgian press agency (Belga), on the grounds that it made comments likely to fan antisemitism; the agency had mentioned his Jewish origin, in addition to his Dutch nationality.

Classic revolutionary or social antisemitism in which Israel, supported by the main capitalist power the US, is perceived as one of the evils of the world, and the Arabs as the main victims of capitalism, may be found in the publications of almost all leftist ideological trends and groups, such as the neo-Christian humanitarian movements, a large proportion of neo-anti-imperialists and other anti-globalization groups. This explains the very strong link between some radical leftist movements such as the Marxist-Leninist PTB/PVDA (Parti du Travail de Belgique) and radical Muslim groups such as the Antwerp-based AEL. For the traditional left, though, opposition to Israel is more tactical than ideological (see *ASW* 2003/4).

The Belgian site of the alternative Internet press agency Indymedia Belgium publishes antisemitic cartoons of the controversial Brazilian caricaturist Carlos Latuff, and is the most radically anti-Zionist among the other European Indymedia sites.

Belgium hosts a large number of Muslim communities. In fact, 20 percent of Brussels’ citizens originate in Muslim countries. The majority are naturalized Belgians or are Belgian by birth; thus, for instance, some

17 percent of regional MPs from Brussels have Arab-Muslim roots, mostly in Morocco. All were elected on democratic lists, the majority (90 percent) as candidates of the Francophone Socialist Party (PS).

In addition, some undemocratic Islamist organizations are active on the political scene. These include the Parti Citoyenneté et Prospérité (PCP) and the Parti des Jeunes Musulmans (PJM, an offshoot of the PCP) (see *ASW 2004*).

The anti-Zionist Arab European League (AEL), an immigrant protest movement aspiring to introduce Islamic law into Europe “by democratic means,” was created in Antwerp in 2000. Its leader Dyab Abou Jahjah, a Lebanese-born Muslim, has aroused controversy due to his opposition to integration and to his demand to ‘dezionize’ Antwerp (see *ASW 2003/4*).

Despite its demonstrations of solidarity with the Jewish community and with Israel since the creation of the AEL, and its more moderate tone in relation to the Holocaust and the Jews in general, the Vlaams Beland (VB; formerly Vlaams Blok – see *ASW 2004*), headed by Filip Dewinter, still retains ties with small neo-fascist and antisemitic groups, such as Voorpost and Were Di (see *ASW 2004*). Besides being the leading political party in the city of Antwerp, having gained 35 percent of the overall vote in the 2004 elections, the VB is also the main Flemish political party in the Brussels regional parliament, winning 6 of the 11 seats held by Flemings. The Vlaams Belang enjoyed the electoral support of one Flemish voter in four – and in its Antwerp bastion, one in three – in regional and European elections in 2004. Despite its electoral success, the party is ostracized by all other political organizations. A cordon sanitaire imposed by Belgium’s mainstream parties is aimed at preventing the VB from becoming a governing party on a federal, regional or local level.

The VB’s counterpart in the francophone part of Belgium is the Front national belge (FNB), which has the support of leaders of political groups and circles known for their endorsement of antisemitism and Holocaust denial, such as the excommunicated (from the Catholic Church) Fraternité sacerdotale Saint-Pie X and its political wing Belgique et Chrétienté, as well as Cercle Copernic (a cultural group belonging to the neo-Nazi stream of the New Right). The FNB – run by Daniel Féret, who has declared himself president for life – is subject to frequent threats of breakaways. Thus in May 2005, the only two FNB representatives in the Senate opted to change their faction’s name from National Front to National Force. The purpose of this action, initiated by Michael Delacroix, formerly Ferret’s right-hand man, was to revamp

the party so as to turn it into a political arm that would be as effective in the French-speaking areas as the VB is in Flanders.

Although no representatives opposed the resolution passed by the European Parliament on 27 January – the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp – paying homage to Nazi victims and rejecting and condemning revisionist ideas and Holocaust denial, ten abstained, including the three Vlaams Belang representatives: Frank Vanhecke (who was president of the parliament), Koenraad Dillen (an admirer of the Belgian SS general Léon Degrelle, and son and protégé of the founder-president and author of the first Dutch translation of a revisionist book), and Philip Claeys (formerly head of the VBJ, the party's youth wing).

On 17 February, the Belgian authorities' collusion in the antisemitic crackdown and deportation of Belgium's Jews to the Auschwitz extermination camp was mentioned officially. Philippe Moureaux, mayor of Brussel's Molenbeek-Saint-Jean district and also president of the Brussels Federation of the Socialist Party, conveyed his apologies and those of his administration to his Jewish fellow citizens for the crimes committed by municipal officials when implementing the antisemitic policy imposed by the Nazis during the war. This was the first time that a politician of his stature had officially recognized the responsibility of Belgian officials in the process that led to the murder of half of Belgium's Jewish community. Prime Minister Guy Verhofstadt had limited himself to conveying his emotion as a father when visiting the Auschwitz camp, refusing to speak out as head of state and to acknowledge that the registration of Belgium's Jews by Belgian officials was a crime that must be recognized and denounced.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/belgium.htm>

DENMARK

There are some 7,000 Jews in Denmark, out of a total population of 5.25 million. Most of the community is concentrated in Copenhagen, but smaller communities exist in Odense and Aarhus. The central communal organization is the Mosaiske Troessamfund.

Vandalism, sometimes repeated, of cars of members of the Jewish community was a common form of antisemitic expression in 2005. For example, the car of community spokesman Jacques Blum was vandalized four times. Evidence showed that it been kicked and damaged with a blunt instrument.

There were also frequent reports of insults and threats. In February alone, youths of Middle Eastern origin yelled “Jewish whore” and “Jewish pig” at a young Danish woman near Copenhagen’s Great Synagogue; another similar group labeled two Jews wearing skullcaps on their way home from synagogue “Jew bastard,” accompanied by jeers in Arabic; and two Middle Eastern looking men told a skullcapped Jew that he had better convert to Islam if he wanted to escape a beating. During the High Holy Days in October guards at synagogue entrances reported several instances of youths of Middle Eastern origin yelling insults such as “F—ing Jews” and “Jew swine.”

In March, Rabbi Emeritus Bent Melchior and community spokesman Jacques Blum received mail from the neo-Nazi Dansk Front, showing a Viking defending the flag of Denmark against “a Nigger, a Jew and a Turk.” Rabbi Melchior also received a handbill, in Arabic signed by Hizb ut-Tahrir (see below), saying Jews were dirty swine and should be cleaned. The Jewish retirement home in Copenhagen received three anonymous antisemitic letters.

In June, a neo-Nazi website posted pictures, names and phone numbers/e-mail addresses of Jews and foreigners – politicians, journalists and artists – in Denmark. The site claimed that Jews were conspiring to control the world. Police were investigating. An increase in the number of racist websites was reported by the security services.

The transnational fundamentalist Hizb ut-Tahrir (HuT) is well-established and very active in Denmark. The movement has considerable influence on young Muslims, and can gather 400–1,500 people to their various events. In 2002 Fadi Abdul Latif, its spokesman, was convicted of making antisemitic threats. A Justice Department investigation found that there was no basis in Danish law to prohibit HuT (see *ASW* 2003/4). The son of militant Palestinian Imam Ahmad Abu Laban (see

ASW 2002/3) was expelled from his college in Denmark for spreading the political message of HuT.

Other fundamentalist organizations active especially in educational institutions (such as universities and colleges) include Minhaj al-Quran, which operates among people of Pakistani origin, and al-Muhajiroun (see *United Kingdom*). Both disseminate propaganda urging the *khilafa* (political system in Islam; Caliphate) and Shariah laws. Two members of Minhaj al-Quran (Walid Khan and Ahmat Tanweer) won seats in the November municipal elections in Copenhagen. They were accused in the media of 'double-talk', one voice for the Danish public and one for the Muslim constituency.

The protracted international furor surrounding the publication of caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad began in Denmark when the mainstream newspaper *Jyllands Posten* (second largest circulation in the country) printed cartoons of the Prophet on 30 September. Over the next few months they were reprinted in some 50 newspapers worldwide, including in Egypt (*al-Fajr*, 17 Oct.). Mass demonstrations of Muslims took place in Denmark and in other countries of Western Europe, and especially in the Islamic world, and official complaints were made to the Danish government by Danish Muslims among many others. A delegation of Danish Muslims set out on an extended tour of the Middle East in order to rally support for its protest against the newspaper's act of 'blasphemy' against 1.3 billion Muslims worldwide. The affair has given rise to a wide-ranging debate throughout Danish society on freedom of speech, with opponents accusing those that permit publication of such cartoons of racism.

Ethnic youth (both newcomers and second or third generation immigrants) of Middle Eastern origin are increasingly implicated in growing criminality in the country. Many are concentrated in ghettos, such as Rosenhøj, where Hizb ut-Tahrir is very active.

Global Roots, a left-wing group active in attempting to boycott Israel, together with the humanitarian organization Folkekirkens Nødhjælp, erected replicas of Israel's security fence, three times during 2005: in front of a Copenhagen shopping mall from January to April; during the music festival in Roskilde in July, and at the end of the year on Axeltorv, in central Copenhagen. The impact of these actions was limited, especially in the last two instances because of contra-demonstrations by supporters of Israel. Participants at these events carried banners equating the Star of David with the swastika.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/denmark.htm>

FRANCE

The French Jewish community, numbering about 575,000 out of a total population of 58.5 million (1999 census), is the largest in Europe. The greatest concentration is in the Paris area, followed by Marseille, Lyon, Nice and Toulouse and Strasbourg, which is a major religious and cultural center. The three main organizations of French Jewry are the Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juives de France (CRIF), the Consistoire Central and the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU).

According to the Ministry of the Interior, a total of 504 antisemitic incidents was recorded in 2005 compared to 974 in 2004, a decrease of 48 percent; the decline was notable especially during the second half of 2005. The number of violent incidents dropped from 200 to 98, while the number of threats fell from 774 to 406. Nevertheless, CRIF, the leading Jewish organization in France, stressed that the figure for violent acts against Jews was still ten times higher than in 1990. Notably, there was a spate of heightened antisemitic activity during the visit of Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to France in July 2005, manifested in graffiti on many Paris walls, inciting to hatred and violent attacks against Jews. The major trends in 2005 appeared to be:

- a continuing decline in the antisemitic activity of the extreme right, the majority of which, however, remains ideologically hostile to the Jews and to the State of Israel;
- an increase in the antisemitic discourse within the Islamic fundamentalist movement, often disguised as anti-Zionism;
- an ongoing debate within the extreme left on the necessity of an alliance with the bloc of the Islamist movement which supports the anti-globalization movement (such as the Tariq Ramadan faction);
- a staunch anti-Zionist stand among part of the Afro-Caribbean community in support of comedian Dieudonné.

The decrease in antisemitic manifestations in 2005, especially in violent acts, might be explained, *inter alia*, by: intensive educational work, enforcement of anti-hate legislation, and the absence of trigger events in the Middle East (see *General Analysis*). It should be noted that racist actions, which mostly targeted the Muslim/Arab community, also decreased, but to a lesser extent (22 percent).

As in previous years, Jewish schoolchildren were attacked and abused in or near their schools. In separate incidents in Paris in April and May, three Jewish girls were assaulted and called “dirty Jews.” In Lyon two Jewish youngsters were attacked in February by a group of youths who

slashed the clothes of one of them with a knife and shouted "We have a Jew." The perpetrators were charged with attempted homicide.

Several adults, often identifiably Jewish, were also assaulted, especially near synagogues. A rabbi in Aix-en-Provence was struck by the same attacker on two successive days in September. The culprit was arrested. Sarcelles was the scene of several antisemitic incidents: unidentified men assaulted a Jewish youth and called him a dirty Jew on 19 July and a day later a Jewish man coming home from synagogue with his three children was verbally harassed by a similar group; police were investigating the possibility that the two events are connected.

Petrol bombs were used in several incidents to attack synagogues and Jewish property. Synagogues in Pierre Fitte near the 93rd Arrondissement in Paris, Sarrebourg and Stains, as well as the Sinai Jewish School in Paris and a Jewish pastry shop were all damaged by such weapons. Jewish cemeteries were desecrated in Remiremont, Gerstheim, Sarreguemines, Tour-de-Peilz and Avignon.

On 18 February 2005 Cameroon French comedian M'Bala M'Bala Dieudonné, speaking in Algiers, attacked CRIF, labeling it a Zionist terrorist body. He defended his right to call commemoration of the Holocaust 'remembrance pornography'. A day later Dieudonné claimed the phrase had been used by Israeli historian Idit Zertal. In response, Zertal told *Liberation* that the phrase never appeared in the original of her work *Nation and Death*. On 15 December, during a performance in Paris, Dieudonné encouraged the audience to boo while he called out names of Jewish artists and philosophers.

Dieudonné, an avowed anti-Zionist, claims that African slavery was a Jewish enterprise, which explains why the French state commemorates the Holocaust but does not recognize responsibility for the crime of slavery. Popular among immigrant youth and blacks, Dieudonné spreads his message through websites such as <http://lesogres.org>; <http://intox.hopto.org> and <http://dieudo.net/2007>. Each time he was sued for antisemitism by a Jewish organization in 2005, he was found not guilty by the courts. However, four Jewish activists who assaulted him in Martinique (French West Indies) on 1 March received a suspended jail sentence. He has announced his candidacy for the 2007 presidential election. Ginette Skandrani, a key figure in the 'red-brown' galaxy of fringe groups which harbor extreme anti-Zionist views, was expelled from the Green Party in 2005 and joined Dieudonné's campaign staff.

Even more extreme than Dieudonné are the French branch of Nation of Islam (which appears to be an unofficial chapter of the US-based movement) and the racist and separatist Tribu KA, which spreads outright hatred of Jews. Believing in a mixture of Egyptian divinities and

black supremacism, the movement has a network of websites such as www.africamaat.com and www.menaibuc.com, which claim that the black man was once the ruler of the world while the white man was at a low level of civilization.

The vote for the extreme right still reaches a high level in northern France, the southeast and the Riviera, and in Alsace-Lorraine, and the party attracts a significant proportion of the working-class and unemployed. Despite the attempts of Marine, daughter of Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of the Front National (FN) and his likely successor, to moderate the party's image, the FN remains an ultra-right movement, whose lower ranked and even national leaders often exhibit anti-Jewish prejudice or endorse denial of the Holocaust. For example, the party's second-in-command, Bruno Gollnisch, a university professor in Lyon, was suspended from his tenure for five years by the Higher Education Board, after he stated, *inter alia*, at a press conference on 11 October 2004: "There is no longer any serious historian who supports the findings of the Nuremberg Trials" (see *ASW* 2004). On 13 December 2005 Gollnisch's parliamentary immunity was revoked by the European Parliament in Strasbourg and he was to face trial in May 2006 for denying the Holocaust. In early January 2005 Minister of Justice Dominique Perben ordered an inquiry into Le Pen's remarks in *Rivarol* that the German occupation of France was not especially inhumane. About 76,000 Jews, including 12,000 children, were murdered then. On 8 March 2005 the charges against him of denial of Nazi crimes during the occupation were dropped.

The Mouvement pour la France (MPF), led by Philippe de Villiers, has become a growing force on the rightist political scene. The MPF was an arch-conservative, mostly upper-middle class party with a distinctly Catholic tone, opposing 'liberal' values and promoting nationalism and opposition to the European Union. On 11 September, in a speech at the party's summer university, Villiers outlined the new orientation of the movement, which he said was designed to attract disillusioned FN activists and voters. The new program evolves mainly around the notion that France is being Islamized and should return to its Judeo-Christian roots; that it should adopt highly restrictive immigration laws; and that it should reject the multi-cultural society.

A report by Renseignements Généraux (the state security police) released in January concerning the far right, estimated that the total number of militants ranged between 2,500 and 3,500. Specific mention was made of Alsace, where 35.5 percent of far right activity purportedly took place. The report stressed that the main target of far right hostility had become the Muslim community.

Neo-Nazis (who may also be skinheads) were probably responsible for several of the Jewish cemetery desecrations mentioned above. In February, then Minister of the Interior Dominique de Villepin announced that he would ban extremist neo-Nazi groups. On 18 May, the Alsatian movement, *Elsass Korps*, was outlawed. This was a loose group of some 30 'white power' neo-Nazi skinheads, with a record of convictions for racist violence. Other neo-Nazi groups are *Combat furtif-Werwolf* (about 100), also in Alsace; *la Meute de Fenrir* (neo-Nazi skinheads) in northern France, and the French section of the German-Austrian based *Truppenkameradschaft IV*, an association of former French *Waffen-SS* soldiers, which also attracts younger recruits to the neo-Nazi milieu. Although violent and racist, those groups are perceived today as posing a minor threat, when compared to radical Islamist organizations.

The strength of the Islamist movement should be assessed against the relatively low level of those practicing religion among French Muslims – about 15 percent. On the other hand, anti-Jewish prejudice among those who are devout remains high: according to a survey released in 2005 by the academic institution CEVIPOF, 46 percent of religious Muslims hold some kind of antisemitic prejudice, while 28 percent do not. Antisemitic prejudice among them tends to diminish with level of education: while 37 percent of those with two years higher education have antisemitic prejudices, only 20 percent of those with a university degree do. It is also important to stress that only a minority of religious Muslims feel bound by the decisions of the official body representing French Islam, the *Conseil Français du Culte Musulman* (CFCM; see below), elected in June 2005. This body is divided between three factions: moderate followers of the *Grande Mosquée de Paris*, led by CFCM chairman Dalil Boubakeur and supported by the Algerian government; the orthodox Sunni Union des Organisations Islamiques de France (UOIF; led by Laj Thami Breze), which are guided by the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and by the Egyptian-born Shaykh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, the UOIF's supreme religious authority; and the *Fédération Nationale des Musulmans de France*, a predominantly Moroccan organization whose former chairman, Mohamed Bechari, seems to be close to the Moroccan Islamist party PJD.

The UOIF remains a controversial organization. While it agreed to meet with representatives of CRIF for the first time in September 2004, Shaykh Qaradawi, who chairs the European Council for Fatwa and Research (based in Ireland), has condoned suicide bombings against civilians. At the March 2005 annual meeting of UOIF in Le Bourget, near Paris, the *Comité de Bienfaisance et de Secours aux Palestiniens*

(Committee for Charity and Assistance to Palestinians – CBSP) distributed video tapes urging jihad and death to the Jews. CRIF asked the UOIF to ban the distribution of such material and complained to the authorities. CBSP, a registered charity, allegedly raises money for institutions linked to the Islamic movement of the Arab-Israeli mayor of Umm al-Fahm, Shaykh Ra`id Salah.

Comedian Dieudonné attended the UOIF meeting at Le Bourget. The UOIF has no links to the anti-globalization movement, supports a socially conservative agenda and prefers to collaborate with right-wing parties such as the majority UMP (Union pour un Mouvement Populaire) and the UDF (Union pour la démocratie française).

While CFCM-affiliated organizations mostly represent the older generation of Muslims who were born abroad and maintain strong links to their native countries, the younger, French-born generation of practicing Muslims (estimated by state security agencies at 200,000) are more attracted to the Swiss fundamentalist theologian Tariq Ramadan, and the groups which disseminate his views, *Présence Musulmane* and the *Collectif des Musulmans de France*. Ramadan, who advocates a modern orthodox Islam, rooted in the reality of European societies and values, has close ties to the anti-globalization movement, with which he shares a virulent anti-Zionism, such as that appearing on the main French Islamic website www.oumma.com.

The important role of the Internet in the emergence of a ‘virtual’ Muslim identity in France can be seen in the existence of several well-designed sites with a wide audience, such as www.saphirnet.info and the www.mejliss.com. Other radical websites are www.islamiya.info; www.quibla.net and <http://news.stcom.net>. In June, a Paris court declared the webmaster of the Islamiya website guilty of incitement to racial hatred, after he posted online a collection of photographs equating the fate of Palestinians today with that of the Jews in the Holocaust.

The war in Iraq has radicalized people who are more Arab nationalist than religious zealots. These militants often try to build alliances with secular groups belonging to both ends of the political spectrum. This is exemplified by the case of Nouari Khiari, who was jailed in April 2005 because of reportedly raised money for jihad. An activist at anti-Zionist demonstrations, he also spoke at the European Social Forum in Paris (2003) and signed a petition of the *Indigènes de la République*, a left-wing movement which claims that France is still a colonial state and treats the Muslims as second-class citizens.

On 10 February the French Broadcasting Authority ordered the French satellite provider Eutelsat to cease transmitting broadcasts from the Iranian satellite TV channel Sahar 1, following screening of the

antisemitic movie *For You, Palestine* or *Zabra's Blue Eyes*, in December 2004 (which claims, *inter alia*, that the government of Israel steals organs from Palestinian children), as well as the antisemitic series *al-Shatat* (The Diaspora – see *ASW* 2004). The Conseil d'Etat confirmed the decision on 4 March, following an appeal by Sahar, and the ban became effective from this date.

On 26 February, following the prohibition, French Holocaust denier Robert Faurisson was interviewed by the Mehr News Agency. He complained that free speech had been abrogated by the ban, continued to deny the Holocaust and said Jews exploited their sufferings in WWII to get special treatment, and to control policy and the media throughout the world.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/france.htm>

GERMANY

Germany's Jewish population continued to grow. According to government estimates, there are now more than 200,000 Jews, making it the fastest growing community in the *Diáspora*. This increase is due mainly to immigration, with some 20,000 Jews (principally from the Former Soviet Union) settling there per annum. The largest Jewish centers are Berlin, Frankfurt, Munich and Hamburg, but Jewish communities are active in most other large urban areas. The Zentralrat acts as the roof organization of German Jewry, with headquarters in Berlin.

Attitudes towards the Jews and the Holocaust have been changing in Germany. The *Tabubruch* (breaking of the taboo), 60 years after the end of WWII, has become a central media issue accompanying the debate on antisemitism, opening the way for anti-Israel and anti-Jewish manifestations. On 1 November a memorial to Holocaust victims in Dessau was defaced with neo-Nazi slogans, saying "60 years later are we still guilty? No!!!"

No longer limited to the extreme right and the fringes of society, antisemitic trends and arguments masked as anti-Israel statements have not only linked contradictory ideologies such as those of the far right and far left, but are beginning to penetrate the mainstream. This may be seen as a means of catharsis whereby accusing Israel, as the Jewish state, of Nazi methods, helps to diminish guilt feelings toward the Jewish people; this process has been described as secondary antisemitism (see *ASW 2004* and previous reports). A survey at the University of Bielefeld revealing that 50 percent of interviewees compared Israel's policy toward the Arabs with the Nazi treatment of Jews, showed a disturbing lack of knowledge both about the Holocaust and about the situation in the Middle East.

Antisemitic crime rose by 25 percent in 2005. According to the Ministry of the Interior, there were 1,682 antisemitic offenses, or five per day. Holocaust memorials and Jewish cemeteries continued to be common targets for antisemites. For example, on 14 May a swastika was painted on the newly unveiled (12 May) Holocaust memorial in Berlin. On 14 December memorial stones commemorating Jews who lived in Halle before being deported by the Nazis which were placed on the pavement at their last address, were vandalized. The Jewish cemeteries of Ebersburg, Babenhausen and Frankische (Dortmund-Wickede) were also desecrated.

Many Jewish and non-Jewish sites in Berlin and its surroundings were defaced with the Star of David between the dates 14/15 October and 10/11 November. These included the Soviet War Memorial in Treptow, the grave of Heinrich Heine and the grave of Bertolt Brecht. Neo-Nazi comradeships were suspected of being responsible for these acts.

According to the authorities, some 39,000 persons belonged to the extreme right-wing of the political spectrum in 2005, a slight decline in membership compared to 2004 (40,700). However, the number of extreme right-wing parties and groupings rose from 168 in 2004 to 183 in 2005.

The Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (German National Democratic Party – NPD; founded 1964), led by Udo Voigt, is the oldest and most influential among the far right parties. Pressure to take action against the party came to a head on 21 January 2005 when NPD deputies in Saxony's parliament refused to take part in a minute's silence for victims of the Nazis during commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz death camp, demanding that the ceremony be restricted to commemorating the victims of the Allied 'bombing holocaust' of Dresden, in February 1945. Parliament rejected the request. In April, two years after an attempt to ban the NPD had almost succeeded (see *ASW* 2003/4), two judges of the Constitutional Court of Germany began to re-examine the possibility of outlawing the party.

The Republikaner, which attempts to present a more moderate image, has been losing membership steadily. In 2005 it was down to 6,500, half of its registration in 2000. Their main agitation is directed against foreigners and against the so-called africanization and islamization of German society. Franz Schönhuber, who chaired the party for almost a decade from 1986, died in December. The party is led by Dr. Rolf Schlierer.

The Deutsche Volksunion (German Peoples' Union – DVU), dominated by millionaire publisher Dr. Gerhard Frey for almost 30 years, remains the largest extreme right political party in Germany, with ca. 9,000 members in 2005. The weekly *National-Zeitung/Deutsche Wochenzeitung* reflects the party's xenophobic, antisemitic, anti-American and anti-Israel views. On 15 January the NPD and the DVU signed an agreement during the DVU party convention in Munich to continue their strategy of campaigning jointly in the 2006 federal election. While the NPD's task was to appeal to the 'national revolutionary' electorate, the DVU was to mobilize conservatives and patriots.

In assessing the influence of the extreme right in Germany, it should be noted that during the 2005 federal parliamentary elections, 5 percent

of west German young men between the ages of 18 to 24 voted for the NPD. In east Germany, the NPD received about 10 percent, notably, in Saxony-Anhalt, Brandenburg, Thuringia and Saxony.

As observed in previous years, the former GDR appears to be particularly fertile ground for spreading extreme rightist propaganda due to the lack of activities for youth. Music (see below) is used aggressively by extreme right-wing leaders to recruit east German youth.

According to the Federal Office for the Defense of the Constitution (BfV), the number of neo-Nazis activists in 2005 was 4,100, an increase of almost 10 percent over 2004 (3,800). Since 1995, most neo-Nazis have been organized into extra-parliamentary *Freie Kameradschaften* (free associations), with no centralized structure. One hundred and sixty *Kameradschaften* were active in 2005.

Countrywide, the police registered 958 violent acts motivated by extreme right-wing ideology, a rise of 23 percent (2004: 816); this tendency was also observed in extreme right-wing crimes, which rose by 25 percent from 12,051 in 2004 to 15,361 in 2005. If one adds unreported cases, the number is much higher, according to organizations dealing with the victims of racist violence in Germany. On 3 February 2006 the anti-fascist Apabiz and ReachOut organizations published a report of right-wing incidents in Berlin for the year 2005. It listed 134 events, including 98 violent assaults compared to 53 in 2004. Violent incidents of the extreme right almost doubled in Berlin in 2005.

According to the BfV, 193 concerts were held in 2005, a 40 percent rise, while the number of bands increased from 106 to 142. Apabiz claimed in a press release (Feb. 2006) that there was a 65 percent rise in the number of neo-Nazi concerts in Germany in 2005, from 155 in 2004 to 255. The close link between extreme right-wing political parties and the neo-Nazi music scene is illustrated by the antisemitic singer Michael Regener, who played his farewell concert before entering prison for three years, at the NPD congress in Thüringen in March 2005. Regener, lead singer of the banned group Landser, was accused of disseminating hatred and violence against foreigners and political opponents with provocative lyrics such as "Turks and Commies and all that scum will soon be forever gone," from a song called "The Reich Will Rise Again."

Many demonstrations in 2005 linked to the 60th anniversary of the end of WWII were organized by or included participants of the far right. For example: on 12 November, on the eve of the 'Day of Mourning', an unofficial holiday commemorating the victims of WWII, 2000 neo-Nazis demonstrated in Halbe, outside the largest WWII military cemetery in Germany. On 2 April, 400 neo-Nazis, sponsored by the Augsburg Brotherhood, marched in Munich, to be met by 6,000 counter-

demonstrators, while in Verden, 200 neo-Nazis were confronted by 750 school pupils. On 13 February 2005, 6,000 neo-Nazis and NPD supporters marched through Dresden to mark the Allied bombing of the city in WW II.

Since the 9/11 attacks in the US, extreme rightists have adopted the anti-American and anti-Israel rhetoric of the left, partly in an attempt to make political capital out of those attitudes that are increasingly dominating the public discourse. Anti-American, anti-Nato and pro-Islamist articles supporting terrorist attacks (as a legal means to fight the Israeli/Jewish oppressor) and anti-Israel positions are disseminated on hundreds of Internet sites associated with the extreme right. In most cases, anti-Jewish sentiment appears to be their only common denominator.

The promotion of antisemitic conspiracy theories by the traditionally xenophobic and anti-Muslim extreme right has led to its embrace of radical Islamists. During a demonstration in Essen, for example, on 16 April, under the banner "Keine Waffen für Israel? Keine Unterstützung für Zionisten!" (No weapons for Israel! No help for Zionists), neo-Nazi Axel Reitz ('Gauleiter Rheinland' or 'Gausekretär des Gau Rheinland') linked the struggle of the Arab world against the US and Israel to that of his group Kampfbund Deutscher Sozialisten. Together, he said, they form what he called a *Schicksalsgemeinschaft*, a common destiny.

Anti-Israel, sometimes radically antisemitic, propaganda accompanying TV programs indoctrinates young Germans of Arab origin daily via satellite. "Jews are killing Muslim children" is the message they receive, accompanied by photos or cartoons of mutilated children's bodies. A study on antisemitic tendencies among Muslim pupils showed that while antisemitic clichés were supported by a minority during the 1990s, after 11 September 2001 they were adopted by the majority. When asked about their source of information on Jews and Judaism (the Holocaust is widely denied as a Jewish fabrication), young Muslims usually refer to their parents, the Internet and satellite TV (al-Manar), all representing respectable and legitimate sources in their eyes.

The Turkish version of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (*Kavgam*) is a hit among Turkish nationalists in Germany (as well as in Turkey). Moreover, DVDs of the antisemitic TV series, *Sarah's Blue Eyes*, about a Palestinian girl who is forced to give up her eyes to benefit a blind Jewish child, were sold at a book fair at a mosque in Berlin's Kreuzberg district. The series, produced in Iran and dubbed in Turkish, serves as an indoctrination tool, the success of which could be seen, for example, at the Jewish Simchat Torah holiday services on 25 October, when youngsters of

Turkish and Lebanese origin shouted insults at the worshippers at the synagogue in Berlin-Kreuzberg.

The most immediate result of the fight against antisemitism was the adoption of legislation providing for means to outlaw antisemitic manifestations and declaring them anti-constitutional. Under a new law, demonstrations at memorial places of “outstanding, trans-regional significance” will be banned. Persons who violate it can face up to three years in prison or a fine. Consequently, municipal authorities refused permission for right-winger Norman Bordin and the neo-Nazi Aktionsburo Munchen to rally on 8 May at the Marienplatz, Munich, on the 60th anniversary of Germany’s surrender, branding it a provocation. The Marienplatz was the site of the *Altes Rathaus* (old city hall) where in 1938 the *Reichsprogromnacht*, which eventually came to symbolize the beginning of the persecution of the Jews in Europe, was decided. However, it was permitted to take place near by.

With the increase in politically motivated crimes threatening to lead to a new divide between eastern and western Germany, the government has decided to step up implementation of an education program in schools to prevent young people from drifting into extremist movements. Eleven schools in the states of Brandenburg, Berlin and Saxony are participating in the new nationwide project “Youth Leaders against Antisemitism.” The project, which was launched on 8 March, is organized jointly by the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation, the American Jewish Committee, the Centre for Antisemitism Research and the Berlin State Institute for School and Media.

In February, German Minister of Interior Otto Schily closed Yeni Akit GmbH, a publishing house headquartered in Moerfelden-Walldorf, Germany, which had been issuing the European edition of the Turkish Islamist publication *Vakit* since December 2001. Schily accused the paper of spreading “systematic incitement of hatred and violence” against Jews, the State of Israel, and the Western social order in general. He demanded that steps be taken against the newspaper in Turkey due to its continuous publication of anti-Jewish and anti-Israel, as well as anti-Western, articles (see *Turkey*).

On 28 December, the German authorities shut down the Multi-Kultur-Haus Islamic center in Neu-Ulm after it distributed material encouraging terrorism. The Multi-Kultur-Haus Association was banned on the same day for possession of material inciting Muslims to kill Christians and Jews.

On 10 April Brandenburg Minister of the Interior Jörg Schönbohm, CDU, banned the neo-Nazi Kameradschaft Hauptvolk and affiliate, Sturm 27, after a police raid on the homes of 40 members brought

evidence of anti-constitutional activities. They were declared a threat to the constitutional order. Hauptvolk labeled the Holocaust a lie and glorified Hitler. In March Berlin Minister of the Interior Ehrhart Koerting, SPD, banned the neo-Nazi Kameradschaft Tor and Berliner Alternative Sud-Ost, while on 14 July Brandenburg Minister Schönbohm outlawed the neo-Nazi *Kameradschaft* ANSDA-PO due to its adherence to Nazi ideology. The ANSDA-PO has close links to the DVU, the NSDAP and the NSDAP-AO.

German Holocaust denier Germar Rudolf (Germar Scheerer) was deported on 14 November from the US where he had fled to avoid a prison sentence in Germany. He was arrested the next day at Frankfurt airport. He may serve a 14 month prison sentence dating from 23 June 1995, in a Baden-Wurttemberg prison. Rudolf had denied the use of Zyklon B gas for mass murder by the Nazis during WWII.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/germany.htm>

GREECE

The current Jewish population of Greece is estimated at approximately 5,000 out of a total population of 10 million, 3,000 of whom live in Athens. The Kentrikō Israilitiko Symvoulío (Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece – KIS) is the governing body of the Jewish communities.

The situation regarding antisemitism in Greece has remained virtually unchanged in the past few years. As in 2004, there were no acts of vandalism against Jewish memorial sites and antisemitic activity was characterized mainly by occasional acts of graffiti in public places, often signed by Chrissi Avgghi, the main neo-Nazi organization in Greece. In the press, the anti-Israel line continued, albeit less intensively than in the three years following the outbreak of the intifada.

As in 2004, graffiti reading “Jews out,” signed by Chrissi Avgghi reappeared on several occasions on the Athens-Corinth highway, and was erased repeatedly (see also *ASW 2004*). Chrissi Avgghi appeared to be responsible for several other incidents of graffiti. For example, swastikas and graffiti reading “Foreigners out” and “Chrissi Avgghi Now” were reported at various public places on the island of Kephallonia, including on the marble plaque placed many years ago in honor of the support given by the Israeli Navy to the victims of the earthquake that devastated the island in 1953; on the residence of the local metropolitan bishop and on the island’s post office. In addition, the NGO Greek Helskini Monitor informed Prime Minister Costas Karamanlis that graffiti reading “Foreigners, get,” “Jews get out,” “Crush the Zionists,” and “Jewish whores! Prepare for the gallows,” had appeared at the entrance to the parking lot of the court house on Moustoxidou St. in Athens. It was signed by Chrissi Avgghi. In February, swastikas appeared on the façade of a shop in Athens owned by a Jew.

On 17 December the Archbishop of Athens, Christoudoulos Paraskevaides, compared Israel to hell during a service at the Aghios Spyridon Church. He retracted his statement after it was condemned by the Israeli ambassador. It should be noted that in January the archbishop had denied the assertion made in the US State Department Report on Global Antisemitism that Greece was a racist country, citing Greek assistance to Jews in obtaining false identity papers during the Nazi occupation. He stressed that the tradition of ‘burning the Jew’ at Easter symbolized ‘Judas the traitor’ and not Jews in general.

In September, a three-day pan-European neo-Nazi festival was announced to take place in a camping area in the Peloponnese. Chrissi

Avghi, NPD (Germany), Forza Nuova (Italy) and a Spanish Falange group were the organizers of the event, which was publicized on the Internet (www.euro-fest.tk) and was expected to attract leading figures of the European extreme right to its conferences and hate music concerts.

The announcement prompted a strong wave of protests, *inter alia*, by local anti-fascist organizations and international Jewish organizations such as the European Jewish Congress and the Anti-Defamation League. The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece sent letters to the public order and justice ministers, asking the government to forbid holding the festival on Greek soil. The Peloponnese local authorities declared their intention not to host the event. As a result, the government decided to ban the festival. The event was subsequently reduced to a meeting in the headquarters of Chrissi Avghi in Athens, attended by a few dozen neo-Nazis.

George Karatzaferis, leader of the nationalist, xenophobic LAOS (Popular Orthodox Herald) party, has a record of antisemitic statements. A member of the European Parliament since 2004, he belongs to the anti-EU constitution Independence and Democracy group. In keeping with his 'new European profile', Karatzaferis joined with the group in submitting a draft resolution on Holocaust remembrance. Further, he personally addressed a letter to the EP president on 7 February, proposing measures for combating antisemitism.

British Holocaust denier David Irving arrived in Greece for the launch of the Greek edition of his book *The War between the Generals* (published by Iolkos). The presentation was scheduled to take place on 25 October, at the conference hall of the Athens Journalists Union. On 4 October the Central Board of Jewish Communities sent a letter of protest to the Athens Journalist Union asking it not to host the author whose books insult the memory of Holocaust victims. Two days later the union issued a press release, announcing its board's decision not to host the event in order to prevent Irving from disseminating his Holocaust denying ideas. The event was canceled by the publishers and Irving made no public appearance.

In 2004, the date 27 January was established by law as the Memorial Day of Greek Jewish Martyrs and Heroes of the Holocaust. Accordingly, on 27 January 2005, a commemoration ceremony was held in Thessaloniki, at the city's Concert Hall, organized by the local Jewish community and the Prefecture of Thessaloniki. Key speaker at the event was German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer. A Presidential Decree was issued in February 2005 defining the nature and character of the memorial day. It delegates responsibility for the organization of ceremonies to the prefectures, thus encouraging the holding of

commemoration activities in several cities. Toward the 2005 date, the Ministry of Education distributed material on the history of the Holocaust of the Greek Jews, which was read in schools around Greece.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/greece.htm>

ITALY

Some 30,000 Jews live in Italy out of a total population of 57 million. The largest communities are in Rome and Milan, and there are smaller ones in Turin, Florence, Livorno, Trieste, Genoa and several other cities. The Unione delle Comunità Ebraiche Italiane (UCEI), founded in 1930, is the roof organization of Italian Jewry.

Antisemitism in 2005 was expressed mainly in propaganda activity. There were several antisemitic incidents associated with the Lazio soccer team, some of whose fans hold fascist or ultra-rightist views. On 10 April, Lazio fans waved swastikas and antisemitic banners in a game against the Livorno team in Rome's Olympic stadium. Some shouted "dirty Jew." Lazio was fined 25,000 euro for attacking the police after the game. Team striker Paolo di Canio also aroused protests when he gave the fascist salute in January and December 2005; he was banned for one game. Di Canio claimed that he was a fascist not a racist.

Pietro Melis, professor of Educational Sciences at the University of Cagliari, a supporter of animal rights and the ultra-rightist Northern League (LN), published an essay "Culture Clash and Scientific Metaculture. The West and the Natural Right" which includes statements such as: "The so-called Jewish temple was actually a big abattoir, where the so-called priests continuously poured the blood of still living animals over the altar. Therefore, it is right to declare oneself antisemitic toward religious Jews; nor can we complain about their death in the Nazi gas chambers." The text, published in the *Annals of Educational Sciences* of Cagliari University, was adopted for study during the academic year but was dropped after a point of order raised in parliament by MP Gianfranco Anedda of the Alleanza Nazionale.

In January, the LN student association Movimento Universitario Padano (MUP) hung posters attacking "Jewish Freemasonry" on the walls of the Catholic University in Milan.

In an interview to the newspaper *Il Riformista* on 10 September Italian economist and MP Guido Crosetto of the far right Forza Italia referred to "the influence of Jewish and American masons" in Italy.

Most Italian Islamic websites have close ties with the Islamic fundamentalist world, and therefore abound in anti-imperialist rhetoric and strongly-worded anti-Zionism. Sites such as *Informazione di cultura araba ed islamica in Italia* (www.arabcomint.com), *Associazione Islamica Ahl al Bait* (www.shia-islam.org), and *Arab.it* (www.arab.it), *Il portale islamico italiano* (www.islam-online.it) publish articles, photos and cartoons demonizing the Jewish state and Zionism. Equating the Jewish state with

Nazi Germany (and the inference of parallels between Zionism and Nazism) or South Africa under apartheid, as well as the claim of Jewish control of the media, are recurring themes. In addition, some of the negative symbolism which classic antisemitism ascribes to the Jews is transferred to Israel.

When asked to comment on the decision of the Muslim Council of Britain not to attend the official Holocaust Memorial Day event (see *UK*), Nabil Bayoumi, director of the An-Nur Mosque in Bologna, affiliated to UCOII, branded Holocaust commemoration “Jewish propaganda,” adding: “There is no use in talking about things which happened 60 years ago. Let’s talk about Palestine, about a whole people exterminated by the State of Israel,” and “Six million dead Jews, I’d like so much to know if this is true. Personally, I have never seen six million names... and addresses.”

Leftist demonization of Israel has resulted in attempts to prevent representatives of the Israeli government (or anyone reputed to be a ‘Zionist’) from taking part in events at Italian universities. Prof. Daniela Santos, lecturer on “Israel-Palestine: Two States, One Problem” at Turin University, had invited an attaché from the Israeli embassy in Rome to speak in April. Left-wing activist students armed with smoke grenades and flares tried to stop the lecture. They shouted that he was a Mossad agent and supported a fascist regime, and that he should be blown up on a bus. Santos, who did not return to the university, was later told by the dean of the faculty that demonstrations would be allowed, unless they were violent. Posters describing Santos as a Zionist were in evidence for weeks.

A well-known professor of philosophy at Turin University, who signed a petition initiated by far left students to ban Israeli delegates from appearing at the university; accused Israel, in an interview to the Turin-based newspaper *La Stampa* (24 May 2005), of carrying out “a racist and inhuman policy, a downright extermination war which seems bound to end only when the other is annihilated.”

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/italy.htm>

NETHERLANDS

An estimated 30,000 Jews live in the Netherlands today out of some 16 million inhabitants. The majority live in Amsterdam. Dutch Jewry is represented by three councils, based on affiliation: the Nederlands Israelitisch Kerkgenootschap, the Verbond van Liberaal Religieuze Joden and the Portugees Israelitisch Kerkgenootschap.

According to CIDI (Israel Information and Documentation Center), at 159, the number of antisemitic incidents returned to the pre-2001 level. The fall may be attributed to a reduced number of e-mails and incidents of verbal abuse. Nevertheless, in the physical violence category, the total of 9 incidents was the second highest since 1999 (5 in 2004). These included a fight provoked at a video rental shop by five youths of North-African background with a young Jewish couple, and throwing a rock at a car and yelling: "Jew whore, they forgot to finish you off during the war." The number of threats of violence was also high, 14 (15 in 2004), ranking third since 1999. Incidents reported by schools in 2005 were down to 12 from 18 in 2003 and 2004. Other institutions also experienced a general decline in numbers of antisemitic incidents. One of the main causes was the relative calm in the Middle East in 2005.

The Meldpunt Discriminatie Amsterdam (Amsterdam Antidiscrimination Agency), registered 24 complaints about antisemitism in 2005 compared to 45 in 2004. The National Expertise Center on Discrimination for the Public Prosecutor reported that the number of cases was down as well. According to the annual report of the MDI, antisemitism was no longer the largest category of complaints in 2005.

In 2005 perpetrators of North-African origin accounted for 38 percent of reports of antisemitic incidents, compared to 41 percent in 2002, 43.5 percent in 2003 and 45 percent in 2004.

With respect to the Internet, the MDI has reported several hundred right-wing extremist sites, including Stormfront.org, Polinico, Nationale Alliantie and Holland Hardcore. These sites attack all minorities: Jews, Muslims, blacks, homosexuals.

The share of right-wing extremists in antisemitism is reflected primarily in instances of graffiti and vandalism of Jewish buildings and monuments. Graffiti regularly includes swastikas, white power symbols, '88's (denoting 'HH' or 'Heil Hitler') and catchphrases such as '*wir sind zurück*' (We are back) and '*strafk~~ampf~~=mijnk~~ampf~~*' (prison camp = *Mein Kampf*).

Nine media incidents were registered as antisemitic or anti-Zionist. Gretta Duisenberg, chairwoman of the Comité Stop de Bezetting

(Committee against the Occupation) and wife of the president of the European Central Bank, for example, claimed on the television program "The Black Sheep": "They [Jewish women] annexed not only the Palestinian territories, [but also] the restaurant in the south [of Amsterdam]. That is how far they will go." *Propria Cures*, an Amsterdam magazine for students, referred to a Jewish writer as "a Jewish bloody whore whom they forgot to gas during the war."

In mid-October 2005, seven suspects belonging to the radical Islamist Hofstad network were arrested on suspicion of planning attacks on the Second Chamber of Parliament and the AIVD building. In his video testament, one of the suspects, Samir A, referred to the fate of suppressed brothers in Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine. The Hofstad network consists mainly of young persons who were raised in the Netherlands. Contacts with likeminded persons via the Internet, and lectures and meetings in private dwellings contribute strongly to their radicalization. Although the network operates locally and autonomously in the main, some members maintain contacts with extremist Islamic figures abroad.

Documents of militants such as 'Mohammed B.' (Mohammed Bouyeri, the suspected murderer of Theo van Gogh in November 2004), Internet traffic of the network's adherents and members, and last testaments found, show that the religious ideas of the Hofstad network are inspired by the ideology of the radical Islamist, al-Qa`ida affiliated Takfir wal Hijra.

Van Gogh's murder in November 2004 and its aftermath had a negative effect on mutual trust between Muslims and non-Muslims in the Netherlands. Even more than in 2004, social discontent increased among parts of these communities following several incidents of arson at Islamic schools and mosques. Government measures, such as the dispatch of troops to Iraq and Afghanistan, and its statement that it was looking into the possibility of banning the *burka* (all-enveloping outer garment), were interpreted by some Muslims as being directed against all of them.

The year 2005 witnessed a renewed assault by right-wing extremist circles on Muslim institutions in the Netherlands, such as mosques and schools. Right-wing extremists also expressed their rage and frustration at the murder of Theo van Gogh (in November 2004) on right-wing Internet forums, as well as great dissatisfaction about the role of the government which, they complained, put too much emphasis on dialogue with Muslims.

The murder further inflamed feelings between the xenophobic and nationalist 'Lonsdale' (named after the brand of clothing they wear)

youth and immigrant youngsters. For instance, there was a fight between indigenous and immigrant youngsters at a mosque in Venray and a fire at an Islamic primary school in Uden in spring 2005. Many of the hundreds of hard-core neo-Nazis active in the Netherlands were nurtured in the Lonsdale subculture.

In March 2005 the Media Commissioner ordered the Dutch satellite company New Skies to cease transmitting the antisemitic and anti-Western Hizballah satellite station al-Manar. In a letter to the Second Chamber of Parliament of 3 November 2005, Justice Minister Donner wrote that they were investigating potentially high-risk stations on the air in the Netherlands and how they might be blocked through existing or new instruments.

The reduction of perpetrators of North-African heritage might be attributed partly to education and 'dialog' projects launched in cities such as Amsterdam. Following antisemitic incidents in the Diamant neighborhood, CIDI worked with the Turkish organization Milli Görüş and the Moroccan Tans to organize a meeting with leaders of political parties in Amsterdam. CIDI is setting up several grassroots projects in the neighborhood as well.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/netherlands.htm>

SPAIN

The Jewish population is estimated at about 40,000 out of a general population of 40 million. The Federation of Jewish Communities of Spain (FCJE) represents Jewish interests to the government.

A few antisemitic incidents were recorded in 2005. On 17 April a memorial to the Jewish community of Jaen, banished from Spain in 1492, was defaced. The menorah was damaged and a swastika painted on a plaque. A complaint was filed with the police.

A group of students, probably left-wingers, insulted and attempted to assault Prof. Shlomo Ben-Ami, former Israeli ambassador to Spain, at Valencia University on 1 November.

In May 2005 the Barcelona Municipal Government issued a teacher's handbook, *Republicans i Republicanes als camps de concentració Nazis*, on the 'holocaust' of Spanish Republicans. A small part of the book, dedicated to "the Nazi genocide and other genocides," mentions two contemporary problems which it alleged were similar to the Nazi genocide: Israel's security 'wall' and the treatment of Taliban prisoners at the Guantanamo US military base. After protests from Jewish groups in Barcelona which discovered the content of the handbooks prior to distribution to teachers, the municipal government decided to expunge "anything that could hurt the sensitivity of the Jewish people." A Jewish professor of Jewish history at Barcelona University, Jaime Vidor, assisted the municipal government in this process.

The Libreria Europa bookshop which distributes antisemitic material, reopened in Barcelona at the beginning of 2005. Pedro Varela, who owns the shop, is awaiting appeal on his indictment for racism (see *ASW* 2000/1). In March 2005 US white supremacist David Duke (see *US*) spoke at the bookshop. He was interrupted by some fifty protestors.

The Atman Foundation for Dialogue among Civilizations, a think-tank linked to the publishers of the newspaper *El País* and the Socialist Party, invited professor of Islamic Studies Tariq Ramadan, a Swiss citizen (see *ASW* 2002/3), to lecture at its first seminar in Madrid. Ramadan was banned from entering the United States and France due to his alleged material support of a terrorist organization. PM Zapatero and two members of the opposition Popular Party, as well as the Israeli ambassador to Spain, declined to attend. The Victims of Terrorism Association also protested.

Spain is faced by an increasing threat of Islamic terrorism. According to judiciary sources, 137 persons linked to violent Islamic organizations were arrested in 2005, a rise of 59 percent compared to the previous

year. On 19 November then Interior Minister José Antonio Alonso announced that police had arrested eleven persons on suspicion of belonging to a cell that financed and gave logistical support to the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat in Algiers, which is connected to the Algerian Armed Islamic Group (GIA) and al-Qa`ida. A month later, police dismantled a network that trained and sent terrorists to Iraq. Eighteen persons were arrested, including their leader, a 25-year-old Iraqi, close to Abu Musab al Zarqawi, operative chief of al-Qa`ida (killed in June 2006).

It is estimated that some 600 violent attacks on members of minority groups (immigrants, religious minorities, prostitutes and homosexuals) are committed each year in Madrid by neo-Nazis. Only about one-third are reported to the police. Testifying before the Madrid Regional Assembly Presidential Committee, which studied the level of racism in the capital district, Esteban Ibarra, president of the Movement against Intolerance, said on 24 March that racism, antisemitism, Islamophobia and other forms of xenophobia were on the rise, especially in the wake of the March 2004 terrorist attacks. According to Ibarra, juveniles were involved in neo-Nazi groups and were ready to use violence.

Ibarra also presented the Special RAXEN 2005 Report on "racism and ultra-violence in soccer," in Zaragoza on 15 November. The report revealed that during the 2004-05 soccer season, Spain suffered the largest wave of racism in its history. Moreover, racist and xenophobic behavior was organized rather than sporadic. Although the level of vandalism had dropped in the 1990s following the establishment of a commission to deal with violence in sport, ultra-right groups were again infiltrating soccer stadiums.

In December 2004, 27 January was declared by Royal Decree as Holocaust Memorial Day. On 27 January politicians from across the political spectrum gathered at a memorial ceremony with representatives of Spain's Jewish community and survivors of the extermination camps. Six candles were lit in memory of the six million Jews who perished in the Nazi camps. Another was lit for the almost 6,000 Spanish republicans who died in concentration camps, and two more were dedicated to murdered Roma and those who risked their lives to save the persecuted.

Following its ban on broadcasts from Hizballah's al-Manar TV station in November 2004, the government stopped al-Manar transmissions to Latin America via the Spanish satellite Hispasat in June 2005.

Spanish police clamped down heavily on neo-Nazi activity in 2005. On 1 March the Catalanian police dismantled one of four major groups

that were active in the distribution of neo-Nazi material in Spain. A 21 year-old man, responsible for the New Glory company which sold such propaganda, was arrested. Twenty-one members of the Spanish branch of the neo-Nazi British group Blood & Honor were also arrested on 27 April in Madrid, Seville, Jaen, Burgos and Zaragoza. They were accused of advocating 'genocide', the possession and trafficking of arms, and crimes against basic human rights. Four of the arrested, accused of selling arms, Nazi books and xenophobic music, were given prison sentences. On 16 September police in Valencia arrested the alleged head of an anti-establishment group of the extreme right which advertised itself on the web. Some twenty associated neo-Nazis were also arrested. Nine were sent to prison within the next two days. Three of the detainees were from the military. On 26 October the authorities arrested nine people, described as skinheads, as they were about to attack a mosque with petrol bombs in the Catalanian province of Tarragona. These arrests followed the detention in Barcelona of six people linked to a neo-Nazi political party on charges of defending genocide. The accused were members of the National European State Party (Estado Nacional Europeo – ENE), and worked for a racist and antisemitic magazine called *Intemperie*. The publication lauds the policies of Adolf Hitler and opposes immigrants, blacks, Jews and homosexuals.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/spain.htm>

SWITZERLAND

The Jewish community remained stable at about 18,000, or 0.25 percent of Switzerland's population of 7.2 million. All major cities in Switzerland have a Jewish community, the largest ones being located in Zurich, Geneva, Basel and Lausanne. Seventeen communities are members of the Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities (SIG/FSCI). CICAD (Coordination Intercommunautaire Contre l'Antisémitisme et la Diffamation), based in Geneva, represents Switzerland's French-speaking Jewish communities.

An increase in the number and severity of antisemitic and racist activities was observed in 2005. The Meldestelle für antisemitische Vorfälle (office for the registration of antisemitic incidents in the German-speaking part of Switzerland) reported a total of 38 antisemitic incidents from September 2004 to September 2005.

CICAD recorded a total of 75 antisemitic incidents in the French-speaking part (Romandie) of Switzerland, from December 2004 to December 2005. These included two 'grave' incidents (this category includes physical attacks, targeted threats, desecration of cemeteries, destruction/arson of property or break-ins); 49 'serious' incidents (includes *targeted* mail, insults, offensive publications and swastikas); and 24 other incidents (includes *non-targeted* swastikas, antisemitic declarations and publications or discriminatory treatment).

A synagogue and a Jewish-owned clothing store in the southern city of Lugano were petrol bombed on the night of 14 March 2005. Both attacks, which were carried out by the same person, caused considerable damage, in particular, destruction of the synagogue library. No one was injured. The attack on the synagogue was the first case of arson against a Jewish institution in Switzerland in decades. The perpetrator, a 58 year old Italian, was arrested. After federal prosecutor Rosa Item ruled out antisemitic motives, the SIG wrote to Item asking her not to come to rash conclusions or to downplay antisemitism.

In December 2005, the attacker was found guilty of premeditated multiple arson attacks and sentenced to two years in jail and a fine of CHF 3,000 to be paid to SIG. However, the jail sentence was commuted to ambulatory psychiatric therapy. Four days after the attacks a silent rally took place in Lugano at which 2,500 participants called for tolerance and a struggle against racism. The event was convened by the municipality, the bishop of Lugano, the Evangelic Reform Church, the Islamic community of Tessin Canton and the Union of Jewish-Christian Friendship.

The Grand Synagogue in Geneva was defaced in April with swastikas and neo-Nazi slogans, and a memorial in front of the synagogue to Jews murdered in the Nazi death camps was spray-painted with the words "Heil Hitler" and "Gas the Jews." Following the attack, the governments of the canton and the City of Geneva expressed their strong support of the Jewish community and condemned all antisemitic actions. The investigation was still ongoing.

On 12 May, 13 tombstones were found damaged or overturned in the Jewish cemetery of La Tour-de-Peilz. The exact date of the desecration could not be established and the culprits were not found.

In December, a pamphlet on Jews and Israel, "The Echo of the Madmen of God," was distributed in Geneva and Lausanne. It included a caricature depicting Jews as pigs, a personal attack on a member of the World Jewish Congress, a degrading representation of the Ten Commandments and a Star of David with a serpent coiled around it. The pamphlet originated in Sion (Canton Valais). CICAD lodged a complaint with the attorney general of Geneva.

In the pamphlet "No to Military Cooperation with Israel," Mathais Reynard, president of Socialist Youth in French Valais, accused the Jews of taking advantage of the support of the West for them as victims of the Holocaust. In December, CICAD asked Swiss Socialists, whose party purports to fight against racism, antisemitism and discrimination, to reject this position.

The Partei National Orientierter Schweiz (PNOS) and the NAPO (National Extra-parliamentary Opposition) have overtaken the National Initiative Switzerland (NIS) as leading far right organizations. The PNOS gained its first seat in an executive body when 19-year-old Dominic Bannholzer was elected to the municipal council of Solothurn. Four leading members of the PNOS, including its president Jonas Gysin, were convicted of racism in July 2005 after the PNOS used a poster in the 2003 Aarau election campaign which recalled early 1930s' Nazi posters. The court ruled that the PNOS party program, in part formulated by Holocaust denier Bernhard Schaub, was racist.

NAPO activity consists mainly of advertising its presence in silent parades in smaller cities, on key dates such as 1 May. NAPO founder and representative Bernhard Schaub is a frequent speaker at national and international conferences on Holocaust denial and is in close contact with the German NPD and with many other far right groups throughout Europe. On 30 April he delivered an unauthorized May Day speech in Aarau to 60–80 extreme rightists. The speech, though alluding to global conspiracies, did not violate the anti-racism article of the Swiss Penal Code (StGB Art. 261bis) and the police did not intervene. A complaint

was filed by a trade union but the case was later dismissed owing to lack of conclusive evidence.

Some 700 neo-Nazis gathered on 1 August for the annual Swiss Independence Day festivities in Rütli, twice as many as in 2004, perhaps because of their improved organization. Moritz Leuenberger, a member of the Swiss National Council, accused his party, the Swiss People's Party (SVP), of minimizing the appearance of neo-Nazis and their vulgar behavior during the event. Former SVP leader Christoph Blocher, now a federal councilor, with responsibility for the Federal Department of Justice and Police, made no comment. Blocher has been accused of delaying the adoption of a law forbidding the display of Nazi symbols.

Two extreme right bands which play antisemitic songs appeared at a concert in Raum on 29 July organized by White Revolution. About 100 people attended. Extreme right concerts were also held in Holastel and Oberrieden, near Zurich, in June. Some 400 neo-Nazis rallied, illegally, in Brig (Valais), on 17 September, in memory of neo-Nazi Ian Stuart, founder of Blood & Honour. Police did not intervene.

Skinheads distributed CDs made by Schoolyard, a project of Germany's ultra-right NPD, in schools in the Aargau Canton, in September. The schools' principals tried to withdraw the material from circulation and instructed teachers to discuss the matter in class.

The Swiss government plans to propose new laws to reinforce domestic security and combat terrorism and hooliganism. The government also voted to continue support of a project against racism and xenophobia, allocating 1.1 million Swiss francs yearly to start in January 2006. The current fund, from February 2001, expires in 2005.

Following the August 2004 publication of a report of the Federal Department of Justice and Police on extremism in Switzerland, which also deals with "Jewish political extremism" (see *ASW 2004*), the Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities and other Jewish organizations wrote to Christoph Blocher, the federal minister in charge of the department, denying that Swiss Jewish organizations were extremist or violent and asking that the report be amended. While reference to specific organizations (such as the Association des étudiants israéliens de Genève) was deleted from the report, the allegation that Jewish organizations might "take justice into their own hands in case of an attack" was retained, despite a meeting held in January 2005 between representatives of SIG and Blocher, during which the minister conceded that there was no concrete evidence of Jewish political extremism in Switzerland.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/switzerland.htm>

UNITED KINGDOM

The Jewish community of the United Kingdom numbers about 350,000, out of a total population of 58 million. Two-thirds of the community is concentrated in Greater London. Other major Jewish centers are Manchester, Leeds and Glasgow. The central organization of British Jewry is the Board of Deputies of British Jews (BoD). Security and defense activity is organized through the Community Security Trust (CST).

According to the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), 390 antisemitic incidents took place during 2005 within the areas of the force that record such events; however, the police use a looser definition of racist and antisemitic crime, based on victims' perceptions (and only the largest police forces monitor antisemitic incidents), whereas the CST record only incidents where there is a demonstrable antisemitic motive.

The CST recorded a total of 455 antisemitic incidents during 2005, a 14 percent fall from the previous year (532 incidents). This was the second highest annual total ever, and corresponds to the long term trend of rising incident levels since 1997. The difference between the 2004 and 2005 totals can largely be explained by two clusters of incidents in 2004, each with a single perpetrator and which together accounted for 60 incidents.

The number of violent incidents recorded in 2005 was virtually the same as in 2004 (82 versus 83); moreover, as in 2004, violent incidents against Jews outnumbered incidents against property – 48 in 2005 versus 53 in 2004. For example, beginning in December 2004 there was a series of assaults with metal bars on Orthodox Jews in Stamford Hill, London. Tariq al-Daour, an Arab teenager, was charged in connection with the attacks but his trial collapsed when a witness failed to attend court. Al-Daour was subsequently charged in November with receiving money or other property that he knew might be used for terrorist purposes, after his arrest with others for terrorist offenses.

In January, Nazi symbols were daubed on twelve gravestones in the Jewish section of Aldershot cemetery in Hampshire; in June, one hundred gravestones were overturned and damaged in West Ham Jewish cemetery; seventy graves were overturned and damaged in Rainsough Jewish cemetery in Prestwich; and antisemitic graffiti was drawn on the walls of Rainham Jewish cemetery.

In the category of abusive behavior, which covers both verbal and written insults, 273 incidents were reported to the CST in 2005 – almost identical to the number reported in 2004 (272). This was the highest total

recorded in this category since the CST began recording antisemitic incidents, and encompasses the full range of low level, often spontaneous abuse that is indicative of antisemitism in society in general.

Antisemitic threats and the mass distribution of antisemitic literature both declined in 2005. The category of threats includes only clear verbal or written threats of which the CST recorded 25 in 2005, a decrease of 73 percent from the 2004 total of 93. In 2005 there were 27 reports of antisemitic literature, a fall of 13 percent from the 2004 figure of 31. This category, however, gives no indication of the extent of distribution, and mass mailings are counted as a single incident. Examples of literature distribution in 2005 included the handing out of Holocaust denial leaflets to the public in Hull city center and far right literature sent to synagogues in Leeds and London.

Antisemitic incidents levels usually follow a base line that rises and falls in response to trigger events, of which there were two in 2005: media pictures in January of Prince Harry, third in succession to the throne, dressed in Nazi uniform at a fancy dress party; and accusations by London Mayor Ken Livingstone (see below) that a Jewish journalist was acting like a concentration camp guard. The Prince Harry case led to a spike of 60 incidents in January, the highest monthly total.

The decline in Israeli Palestinian violence led to a reduction in incidents that made specific reference to Israel. In 2005, 39 incidents involved anti-Zionist language or imagery in an antisemitic context (compared to 124 in 2004) while 57 incidents included direct reference to Israel or the Middle East (compared to 114 in 2004). The fall in incidents apparently resulting from this link might therefore constitute a 'peace dividend'.

WH Smith, the largest bookseller and Tesco, the largest supermarket chain in the UK, were both forced to halt sales of antisemitic books which had been offered for sale on their websites. These included *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, *The Jews and Their Lies*, and *The Hitler We Loved and Why*. The sale, though not deliberate policy, was a result of listing virtually all books published in the UK. The companies took immediate action during November and December to remove them from their lists when it was brought to their attention. At the same time, however, Amazon UK declined to remove similar antisemitic books from their stock unless they had been declared illegal.

Great Minds, a compilation of poems by school children published by Forward Press in October, included one by a 12-year-old boy, written from the perspective of Adolf Hitler and lauding the murder of Jews. The book was published in a short run of 450 copies and distributed only to the contributors and the schools they attended but the

publication aroused strong condemnation from the Jewish community, members of parliament and the media. Despite protestations by Forward Press that the book was not intended to promote hatred of Jews, it was nevertheless pointed out in some press articles that the publishers had previously put out an antisemitic poem called *Beast of Zion* in 2002.

In February, London Mayor Ken Livingston likened a Jewish *Evening Standard* journalist to a concentration camp guard when he was interviewed leaving a late night party held for Chris Smith, the former minister for culture. His behavior was referred to the Standards Board for England in September after his refusal to apologize received widespread and continuing media coverage. The board referred it to an adjudication panel.

On the Islamist scene, Omar Bakri Mohammed, former leader of al-Muhajiroun (AM –The Emigrants) and Hizb ut Tahrir (HUT – Islamic Liberation Party), fled to Lebanon in August, allegedly on a family visit. His departure came the day after the government announced its intention to ban both groups under proposed anti-terrorism legislation (see below). The home secretary forbade his return to the UK.

In November AM leader Anjem Choudary announced the formation of a new Islamic group to be called Ahl al Sunnah Wal Jamaa (ASWJ – The Messenger and His Companions), with the aim of uniting the AM successor groups Al-Ghurabbaa and the Saviour Sect. He stated that ASWJ would be guided by Omar Bakri Mohammed but in a subsequent visit to meet Mohammed in Lebanon, Choudary and three others were expelled and deported back to Britain. Both HUT and ASWJ promote antisemitic messages.

Supporters of the Muslim Public Affairs Committee (MPAC), a web-based antisemitic Islamist group, campaigned in a number of constituencies during the general election against sitting MPs whom they believed were pro-Zionist. In Rochdale they were forced to apologize in the local press after a leaflet distributed in their name falsely alleged that Labour MP Lorna Fitzsimmons was “a Jewish member of the Labour Friends of Israel and an ardent Zionist and member of the most powerful anti-Muslim lobby in the world, the Israel Lobby.” A Channel 4 television documentary broadcast shortly after the election showed that members of the Liberal Democrat Party had worked together with MPAC during the campaign.

In December a “great debate about Zionism” organized by MPAC was cancelled by Westminster University because the group was banned by the National Union of Students (NUS), although the meeting went ahead on the same day at the Quaker-owned Friends House in central London. The event was arranged to mark the publication of a book by

former BBC journalist Alan Hart, entitled *Zionism: The Real Enemy of the Jews*.

The Iran-oriented Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC), established in 1997 and led by Massoud Shadjareh, campaigns for Muslim human rights, demonizes Zionism and promotes antisemitism. The group organizes the annual al-Quds Day march at the end of Ramadan.

Leading members of the Muslim Association of Britain (MAB), mostly exiles from the banned Egyptian group the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), promote Islamist ideology within the Muslim community. The MAB was founded in the UK by Kamal Tawfik el Helbawy, the MB representative in Britain; activists include Azam Tamimi, a former MB activist in Jordan, and Muhammad Sawalha, aka Abu Abada, a former Hamas military commander. The MAB denies Israel's right to exist and promotes antisemitism. Toward the end of 2004, MAB members took over the Finsbury Park Mosque, formerly a base for recruitment of jihadi terrorists under its previous imam Shaykh Abu Hamsa al-Masri, who was convicted for incitement to murder and antisemitism in early 2006 (see *ASW 2004*).

On the far right, despite the prosecution of senior members, including its leader, Nick Griffin, the British National Party (BNP) proved itself again to be the most dynamic far right party in 2005. It continued its move away from rural affairs and its anti-EU campaign in order to concentrate on inner city issues, particularly its activity against Muslims and the entry of migrant workers from east European countries. In the May 2005 general election, the BNP stood 119 candidates in England, Scotland and Wales and received 192,746 votes (4.18 percent of the vote). This compares to 47,195 votes that 33 BNP candidates received in the 2001 general election (3.92 percent). It increased its vote in a number of constituencies and performed better than any far right party had done in previous elections but did not win any parliamentary seats. It also failed to win any seats in the county council elections held at the same time.

The National Front (NF) held anti-Muslim demonstrations in July outside the Finsbury Park and Central London Mosques, following the July suicide bomb attacks, and demonstrations in August against asylum seekers in Chatham, Kent. Antisemitism and Holocaust denial are reflected in the speeches of BNP and NF leaders and members and in the literature sold through their book clubs, although less publicly than before and sometimes under the rubric of anti-Zionism.

The newly-formed anti-Zionist 'Respect, the Unity Coalition', headed by George Galloway MP, stood 26 candidates in the general election and

received a total of 68,100 votes (6.84 percent). Its best result came in the Bethnal Green and Bow constituency in east London, where Galloway beat the Jewish sitting Labour MP, Oona King, who faced antisemitic abuse during the campaign. The founders of Respect, former leaders of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party and members of the Muslim Association of Britain, led public campaigns in support of Saddam Hussayn and against the Iraq war.

In March, the government published an Equality Bill which would have merged the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) into a newly formed body, the Commission for Equality and Human Rights. However the proposed merger has now been postponed until 2009. *Inter alia*, the bill, which is due to be finalized during 2006, makes discrimination on the grounds of religion or belief unlawful in the provision of goods, facilities and services, education, and the exercise of public functions.

The Racial and Religious Hatred Bill 2005-06 published in June for discussion in parliament, incorporates provisions that were included in the Serious Organized Crime and Police Bill 2004-05, but dropped before the May 2005 general election in order to secure passage of that bill. It seeks to extend existing incitement to racial hatred offenses (which provide protection to the Jewish community) to include instigation of hatred against persons on religious grounds.

In August, Prime Minister Tony Blair outlined the government's proposed anti-terrorism legislation. Recommendations included a ban on HUT and the successors of AM, the deportation of foreign nationals who foster hatred or advocate violence, the condoning or glorifying of terrorism, and the listing of extremist websites, bookshops and other centers of concern where engagement with them would be grounds for deportation. However, the proposals face stiff parliamentary opposition on human rights grounds and agreement on them was expected only in mid-2006.

As part of its counter-terrorism strategy the government also planned to provide the police with powers to close houses of worship where it could be shown that ministers of religion incite hatred against others. Although it abandoned the plans in the face of opposition from many faith groups and the police, it introduced a stipulation for all those seeking to enter the UK as religious workers: they will now be allowed to stay for up to two years only. Imported ministers of religion will have to prove their ability to a higher level than previously, but the government again abandoned plans to impose a post-entry civic knowledge test.

In March the Citizens Advice Bureau launched its racial incidents monitoring report at a reception at Church House. They noted the

increasing number of reports to their bureaus around the country by Jewish victims of antisemitic violence.

In April members of the Association of University Teachers (AUT) voted to boycott Israel's Bar Ilan and Haifa Universities, but the decisions were subsequently reversed at an emergency meeting in May when the union voted to give practical support to Palestinian and Israeli trade unionists and committed itself to a full review of its international policy.

Three Jewish students who held official positions within the NUS (National Union of Students) resigned their posts at the annual Blackpool conference in May after they claimed that the union turned a blind eye to antisemitism on university campuses. Antisemitic leaflets published by the General Union of Palestinian students, including one which referred to *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, were distributed at the conference. A subsequent independent inquiry noted that although "there were clearly occasions when matters could have been dealt with more quickly, and more efficiently, they did not demonstrate apathy to antisemitism". It did however recommend that the NUS develop a clear code of practice to guide a rapid response to antisemitism and racism.

Serious concern was expressed by the BoD, members of parliament and the media at the inclusion of some members of Home Office taskforces appointed to examine extremism among young Muslims in the wake of the London bombings. In particular the inclusion of Ahmad Thomson, a convert to Islam and Inayat Banglawala, the media spokesman of the Muslim Council of Britain, were thought to be inappropriate. In 1994 Thomson wrote a book called *The New World Order* in which he claimed that Freemasons and Jews conspired to colonize the Middle East and now controlled the governments of Europe and America. He also alleged that the international media and Hollywood were run by Jews and that the murder of 6 million Jews in the Holocaust was "a big lie." Bunglawala has stated several times that Zionism is racism.

In March, the Metropolitan Police Service conducted a series of raids across London under the Operation Athena initiative which targets hate crime, and which led to 135 arrests. In July, they held a reception to publicize their joint research project with the Institute for Jewish Policy Research on Hate Crimes against London's Jews. The project, which used police crime reports to analyze the nature of antisemitic crime and the perpetrators, was the first in which external researchers were allowed access to internal police reports. The authors noted that the majority of attacks against London's Jews and communal property were spontaneous rather than mission-oriented in origin, that more attacks

took place on the Sabbath than at other times, and that nearly half the perpetrators were not white youths but came from a mixture of backgrounds, including Muslim. It also noted that reporting of antisemitic incidents and crimes to both the police and the CST understated the true picture.

In September a report written by Professor Anthony Glees of the Brunel University Centre for Intelligence and Security Studies charted the presence of extremist groups operating on British university campuses, some of which pose a threat to national security. The report listed more than 30 institutions where AM, HUT and BNP members are active.

A poll of Muslim community views conducted by Populus in December and published in *The Times* and *Jewish Chronicle* newspapers in February 2006 showed that 37 per cent of 500 Muslim adults surveyed viewed Anglo-Jewry as a "legitimate target as part of the struggle for justice in the Middle East"; 53 per cent believed British Jews exerted too much influence over foreign policy; 46 per cent thought Jews were in league with the Freemasons to control politics and the media. Fifty-two percent, however, backed Israel's right to exist. Overall, the poll indicated that the Muslim community is less extreme toward Israel than are its representative groups and leaders.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/uk.htm>

CIS and Baltic States

BALTIC STATES

All three states, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia (which gained independence at the beginning of the 1990s) have set up historical committees researching the Soviet and German occupations of their respective countries. The committees claim that the Soviet occupation of these states greatly influenced the attitude of the local population toward the Jews. Part of the population, they conclude, collaborated with the Nazis because they saw the Germans as liberators from the oppressive Soviet regime, and they took part in anti-Jewish actions because they identified the Jews with the Soviets.

Republic of Lithuania

There are about 6,000 Jews in Lithuania (out of a total population of about 3.5 million). Most live in Vilnius (Vilna), the capital; there are smaller communities in other cities such as Kaunas (Kovno), Klaipėda (Memel) and Šiauliai. Lithuania declared independence on 11 March 1990 (the first of the Soviet republics to do so); however, Moscow only recognized it as a separate state in September 1991.

The government continued to support the International Commission for Investigating the Crimes of Nazi and Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania. In 2004, the committee, made up of historians, human rights activists, members of international Jewish organizations, and Lithuanian and foreign lawyers, published several research studies, commissioned from Lithuania and abroad (see www.komisija.lt/en/). The Commission promotes programs of Holocaust education, including tolerance development, in the country's schools. It also organizes conferences and seminars to promote the development of a tolerant society.

Antisemitism continued at a low rate in 2005. On 10 April Mindaugas Murza, leader of the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party and councilman in Šiauliai, said at a party meeting that world Jewry would be thrown onto the dust heap of history. He called the Jews the cruelest enemy of humanity and inciters of war. On 8 May, the 60th anniversary of the end of World War II, motorcyclists in SS uniforms shouted antisemitic and Nazi slogans while passing the building in Vilnius which houses the offices of the Jewish community; a memorial ceremony to Holocaust victims was in progress there. On 10 June ten tombstones at the Jewish cemetery in Palanga were broken. A memorial to Holocaust victims in the Kretinga region (north-western Lithuania) was desecrated

on the eve of the visit to Lithuania of Israeli President Moshe Katsav, on 23 September (the 62nd anniversary of the liquidation of the Vilnius ghetto and Lithuanian Holocaust Memorial Day).

Republic of Latvia

There are about 15,000 Jews in Latvia (out of about 2.2 million). Riga is an important center of Jewish life in the Baltic States. Smaller communities exist in cities such as Daugavpils (Dvinsk). The leading Jewish organization in Latvia is the Society for Jewish Culture.

The Latvian Committee of Historians (11 members, including historians from the Institute of History of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the University of Latvia, the State History Archives of Latvia and the Museum of Occupation, as well as representatives from the presidential office) co-opts studies from researchers abroad and organizes international conferences on the period of the Soviet and German occupations during World War II.

Antisemitic incidents in Latvia are rare and are mostly connected to commemoration of the Holocaust. On 11 September a memorial to Holocaust victims in Bikernieki woods, Riga, was damaged and smeared with paint. This memorial marks the site where about 35,000 people, both Jews and non-Jews, were murdered during World War II. On 29 December a Hanukah menorah placed by the Jewish community in Riga near the Israeli embassy was broken. The Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs condemned the incident.

The collection *The History of Latvia: Twentieth Century* went on sale on 25 January. It ignores Nazi crimes in general and refers to the Salaspils concentration camp as an educational labor camp, without mentioning the Jews killed there or Soviet prisoners of war killed nearby. One of the authors is Antonia Zunda, advisor to the president on history. Another author, Aivar Stranga, was refused entry into Russia in February when the Russian translation went on sale because he denied that Jews were burned in the synagogue in Riga in 1941.

The city authorities of Liepae licensed a gathering of former Latvian SS soldiers on 16 March. The meeting was initiated by the Union of National Power, whose leader, Aigar Prusis, has repeatedly denied the Holocaust in Latvia. An exhibition directed at the rehabilitation of Herbert Cukurs, known as the Hangman of Riga, was opened in the same city in June, despite protests by the Jewish community.

Republic of Estonia

About 2,500 Jews reside in Estonia (out of about 1.3 million), mostly in the capital Tallinn. Smaller Jewish communities exist in Tartu and Narva.

The Jewish Community is an umbrella organization that includes all religious and secular Jewish societies and groups.

The Estonian Historical Committee on the Soviet and German occupations during World War II was the first of the Baltic committees to publish an official report (in 2001), admitting that the Estonian police as well as civilians, took part in the murder of Jews. The report also states that local inhabitants saw the Germans as liberators because of the Soviet occupation of Estonia, and especially because of the mass deportation of Estonians in June 1941.

The few antisemitic incidents recorded in 2005 were connected to the Holocaust. In February the Ministry of Defense distributed a movie to Estonian schools, which praised Estonian volunteers to the SS during World War II and claimed that the Nazi occupation saved Estonia from the Soviets. No mention was made of the SS murder of Jews or of the transportation of thousands of Jews to camps in Estonia.

On 9 February the newspaper *Kesknadal* of the mainstream Centrist Party, part of the government coalition, published an article by former Nazi legionnaire I. Saar entitled, "History Cannot Be Sold at Auction," criticizing the Estonian government's decision of September 2004 to dismantle a memorial in the city of Lihula honoring Estonian SS soldiers (see *ASW 2004*).

On 16 July about 1,500 former Estonian SS collaborators held a rally in Tartu, attended by Rein Lang, minister of justice (Reform Party). The rally was condemned by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/baltics.htm>

REPUBLIC OF BELARUS

According to the last census held in 1999, there were 29,000 Jews in Belarus (out of about 9 million). However, local Jewish organizations put the figure at 50,000 Jews, while the Jewish Agency estimates that 70,000 people are entitled to immigrate to Israel. About half of the Jews live in the capital Minsk. The Union of Jewish Associations and Communities has branches in 24 cities and towns.

The law on religion ('On Freedom of Religious Believers and Religious Organizations', 2002) formalized restrictions on religious freedom, *inter alia*, limiting the freedom of religious organizations to conduct religious education. Foreigners are not allowed to head religious organizations, which must also obtain governmental approval before distributing any religious publication or carrying out any activity such as a conference.

The level of antisemitic activity in 2005 remained unchanged from the previous year and relatively low compared to that in Russia and Ukraine. The response to antisemitic incidents was even weaker than in Russia and Ukraine.

Violence was expressed mainly in the desecration of Jewish graves and anti-Jewish graffiti in public places. The large-scale destruction of gravestones and Holocaust memorials has become a routine event; in many cases the authorities refuse not only to help restore the gravestones but ignore these incidents altogether. Swastikas painted on walls, fences and in underground passages were frequently observed.

In March 2005 memorial stones to Jews from Hamburg, Düsseldorf and Bremen (murdered in the Minsk ghetto in 1941–42) at the former Jewish cemetery in Minsk (where the Minsk Ghetto was located during the Holocaust) were desecrated. At the end of the summer, the symbol 'SS' was painted on the central stone of the same memorial. In early April a swastika and antisemitic insults were painted on one of the Holocaust memorials in Pinsk and on 26 April one of three Holocaust memorials in Lida was desecrated. Also in April, 20 tombstones were broken at the Jewish cemetery in Mikashevich, Brest region. On 28 May and in November gravestones were broken at the Jewish cemetery in Rechitsa. In July and August memorial plaques at places of mass murder of local and west European Jews (1941 and 1943) in the Borisov region were destroyed.

In December 2005 the Kuropaty memorial complex to Jewish, Muslim and Christian victims of the Stalinist repressions was vandalized. The perpetrators painted swastikas, 'Slavianskii Soiuz' the letters 'SS' and

the number 1488 on the monument. Slavianskii Soiuz (SS) is a skinhead movement, founded in Russia in 1999 and headed by Dmitrii Demushkin. The number 1488 is the year when the first attempt to expose and punish the 'Judaizers' (a group of dissenters in Russia who refused to accept the official religious canon and were alleged by the Russian Orthodox Church to have been influenced by Judaism) took place in Novgorod. This might be a veiled threat to the Jewish population of Belarus. In addition, the number 14 usually stands for the 14 words: "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children," and the number 88 signifies "Heil Hitler."

As in previous years, the "Belarusian Pravoslav Calendar" for 2005, distributed by the Holy Petropavlovskii Cathedral in Minsk, marked 3 May as a day of a prayer in memory of the child saint Gavriil, allegedly murdered by the Jews in 1690. The text of the prayer contains insults to the Jews (see *ASW* 2003/4).

The newspaper *Kommunist Belorussii* (of the Belarus Communist Party) published an article by B. Protasov, a biology professor from Moscow, entitled "Inter-Racial Marriages – A Means to Exterminate a Nation," in its 7th and 8th editions (Feb. and March 2005). The piece paraphrased the Nazi theory about the destructive influence of the Jews in countries where they allegedly succeeded in seizing power.

Publication of books containing anti-Jewish propaganda continued at the Pravoslavnaia iniciativa, 70 percent of whose stocks are held by the Pravoslav diocese. An example is the book *Convicting Those Who Slaughtered Russia*, by Boris Mironov, formerly Russian minister of the press. This is a collection of articles attacking globalization, Jews and Zionism and including citations from *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, antisemitic caricatures, the fiction that the tsar's family was murdered as part of a Jewish ritual, and the equation of Judaism and Zionism with Nazism.

In December 2005 the book *Stalin's Testament*, by Belarusian antisemitic author Eduard Skobelev, appeared on sale. The book, containing the inscription "published with the support of the President of the Republic of Belarus," includes fabrications about the Jewish people. In 2003 the manuscript of the book was partly published in part by the *Neman* journal. In his introduction Skobelev then wrote that the Jews have enormous capital and political influence and "a special technology ... for maximizing their power." Anti-Jewish motifs can be found in many of Skobelev's publications. For example, on 5 April 2005 *Respublika*, the newspaper of the Belarusian Cabinet Council, published his article "Do Not Allow a Belarusian Maiidan [literally, 'square' or 'assembly place'; after the Orange Revolution (2004), it became a synonym for 'revolution']," containing stereotypes from the Soviet

period and citations from the antisemitic press replacing the word 'Jew' with phrases such as 'world government', and 'global/God-chosen architects'.

Antisemitic motifs can also be found in articles written by Belarusian journalists abroad. In an article published on 7 September 2005 in the chauvinistic Moscow newspaper *Zavtra*, Evgenii Rostikov (a journalist at the above mentioned *Respublika*) continues the decades-old attempt to discredit the renowned Jewish painter from Belarus, Marc Chagall. For instance, he names the events commemorating Chagall as "ritual dancing."

In 2005 there were several attempts to obtain an official condemnation of the authors of antisemitic publications. On 15 March the Belarus Helsinki Committee (a voluntary, independent human rights organization, registered in 1995 by the Ministry of Justice) handed the Belarus Prosecutor's Office and the minister of information a declaration, entitled "On Calls for Ethnic and Racist Hatred," concerning the above mentioned article by B. Protasov in *Communist Belorussii*. The prosecutor replied that according to the Belarusian law on publishing and mass media, the newspaper and the journalist could not be held responsible for publishing material insulting the honor and dignity of a citizen or abusing the freedom of the press if it had previously been published by another source; thus, since *Communist Belorussii* had reprinted the article from the Russian newspaper *Marsh Slavianki*, the former could not be held responsible. At the same time, the Central Committee of the Belarusian Communist Party admitted that it was a mistake to publish the article since its content contradicted Marxist-Leninist ideology and the party's political platform on the nationalities question. This announcement was published in the edition of *Communist Belorussii* following the one containing the article. No other measures to discredit or disavow the article were taken.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/belarus.htm>

REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

Moldova has a Jewish community of about 30,000 out of a total population of 4.5 million. Community organizations are united under the Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Moldova and the Jewish Congress of Moldova.

A few cases of antisemitic violence were recorded in Moldova in 2005. In early April five tombstones in the ancient Jewish cemetery in Soroka were desecrated; one was completely shattered. The perpetrators who desecrated this cemetery in 2003 were never caught. In March the Jewish cemetery in Tiraspol (Transnistria) was vandalized and in May unknown persons attempted to set fire to the Tiraspol synagogue.

Anti-Jewish prejudices in Moldova are expressed mainly through Holocaust denial, which is deeply rooted and strongly linked to the issue of collective identity; in particular, the facts of the genocide against Jews (and other groups) during the fascist Romanian occupation of Moldova (1941–44) are questioned or distorted.

Distortion of the Holocaust in Moldova serves as a tool in the political concept of reunification with Romania on the basis of ethnic and linguistic ties. Thus, revisionists try to whitewash the history of the period when Moldova was controlled by the Romanian government during World War II. Today, both extreme nationalists in Romania and so-called unionists (pro-Romania nationalists) in Moldova promote historical revisionism.

The main arguments of Holocaust revisionists are the following: only German Nazis were responsible for the Holocaust; all Jews were Communists; the Romanian army fought against Jews as Communists, Ion Antonescu was the savior of the nation; his goal was to unite the Romanian lands; Antonescu is a national hero; and the figures of exterminated Jews in Romania are exaggerated.

Holocaust revisionism also occupies an influential place in the academic discourse in Moldova. Lack of knowledge about the Holocaust makes the task of the revisionists easier. In 1992 Moldovan schools and universities began teaching the history of the Romanians on the basis of a book written by Petre Panaitescu in 1942, which reflected the fascist/nationalist tendencies of the time. Although there have been some governmental and non-governmental initiatives to change the situation, history teaching in general, and teaching of the Holocaust in particular, remains a major problem in Moldova. The governmental initiative to introduce a new history course at schools which would include a chapter about the Holocaust is frequently attacked by

nationalistic groups such as Oleg Brega's NGO Hyde Park (see *ASW* 2004), the Union of Writers of Moldova and the Union of Historians of Moldova.

Holocaust denial in Moldova is actually an import from Romania. For example, revisionist books published in Romania, such as *Holocaust in Romania?* edited by Ion Coja (with contributions of Anatol Petrencu and Paul Goma – see below), and *Did the Holocaust Take Place in Romania?* by Radu Theodoru (founding member of the Greater Romania Party), were widely distributed in Chisinau in 2004–5. Theodoru is supported by French Holocaust denier Robert Faurisson. Both books distort the Holocaust in Romania by manipulating the history of Soviet rule in Bessarabia, 1940–41, claiming that the massacres of Jews were 'merely' a reaction to Jewish support of the Soviet regime and to the anti-Nazi partisans during the war. The books are also anti-Zionist and promote the myth of a Jewish conspiracy.

The main protagonists of Holocaust revisionism in Moldova are Anatol Petrencu, president of the Association of Historians of Moldova; Nicolae Dabija, chairman of the Union of Writers of Moldova, editor of the newspaper *Literatura si Arta* and deputy chairman of the Social Liberal Party of Moldova; writer Paul Goma, currently living in France, whose antisemitic books are published in Chisinau and widely distributed by Hyde Park through the Internet. They are strongly influenced by Romanian historians and university professors such as Gheorge Buzatu and the above mentioned Ion Coja. Moreover, some Moldovan historians are guided by Romanian historiographic tradition, especially the dominant nationalist line.

Much antisemitism in Moldova is disseminated on the Internet, which is becoming increasingly popular among Moldovan youth. Internet websites and discussion forums, such as *moldova.net*, *www.curaj.net* and *yam.ro*, are used to spread ultra-nationalist and revisionist ideas. Such forums play an important role, filling a gap that existed in the youth-oriented media market.

Extremist activities of Russia-oriented groups, such as the National Bolshevik Party, which has a small branch in Moldova promoting totalitarian, fascist and Stalinist messages, are advanced via the Internet. Besides its chauvinistic website, the National Bolshevik Party spread their ideas by distributing leaflets among young people. After the National Bolshevik Party was refused registration as a political party in 2005, it signed up as non-governmental organization. Their activities are especially visible in Transnistria, a breakaway region with de facto independence. In cooperation with other Moldovan NGOs, the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly (HCA) in Moldova monitors the site and passes on

details about their Dutch host, <http://www.nazbol.tk>, for appropriate action to be taken in the Netherlands.

Moldova has made some important gestures, including officially recognizing the facts of the Holocaust. President Vladimir Voronin explicitly condemned historical denial in his speech on the occasion of Victory Day, 9 May 2005.

The first attempts to fight against Holocaust denial in Moldova began in 1997–98. A group of former ghetto prisoners (publicist and music critic Efim Tcaci, academician Efim Levit and poet Anatol Gujel) founded the Anti-fascist Democratic Alliance, whose main goal is to fight antisemitism and Holocaust denial on the social and academic levels. The quarterly magazine *Ne zăbudem* (We Will Not Forget) is published by them. The book by Efim Tcaci, *Anti-Judaism, or Troglodyte World*, was published by the HCA in 1998.

Some local groups, such as the HCA and the Anti-fascist Democratic Alliance, combat antisemitism and xenophobia by publishing magazines such as *Collage*, and monitoring them in the media and on the Internet in cooperation with INACH (International Network against Cyber Hate). Two Jewish newspapers, *Evreiskoe Mestecko and Istoki*, also contribute to the fight against antisemitism in Moldova.

In 2005 the book *Holocaust: Pages of History*, on Antonescu's role in the killing of Jews during the Holocaust, was published. This was the first book on the Holocaust in Moldova to become available to the general public in independent Moldova. The author, Moldovan historian Serghei Nazaria, was attacked by the nationalist intelligentsia.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/moldova.htm>

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

According to the last population census held in 2002, the Jewish population in Russia was 230,000, out of about 144 million; however, since not all Jews reveal their nationality, the number is probably higher. Most Jews live in the big cities. Jewish roof organizations include the VAAD (also known as the Federation of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Russia, FEOR) and the Russian Jewish Congress (REK).

In general, antisemitism in election campaigns is usually limited to marginal candidates with no prospects of winning more than 1–2 percent of the vote. However, in December, during by-elections to the State Duma in Moscow, an independent candidate, ex-Colonel Vladimir Kvachkov – who was in custody, awaiting trial for the attempted assassination of Anatolii Chubais (chairman of the Unified Energy System of Russia, a Jew and former MP, who in the early 1990s was part of a group of economists who pushed for privatization of state property) – won 29 percent of the vote. While in detention, he wrote a tract calling for violence against “Judeo-international occupation.” The high-circulation national newspaper *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, which is known for its xenophobia, attempted to clear Kvachkov of antisemitism by explaining that the reference to ‘Yids’ meant “greedy people” and not all Jews.” His trial was continuing.

In late 2005/early 2006 the nationalist Rodina (Motherland – National Patriotic Union) party was banned from participating in local elections in most regions of Russia, including Moscow, due to its promotion of xenophobia and antisemitism. Rodina, led by Dmitrii Rogozin, was originally created as a pro-Putin national leftist bloc (both nationalist and socialist in orientation) that would compete with the Communists prior to the 2003 elections to the State Duma.

In October 2005, the Slavic Union (Slavianskii Soiuz – SS, a skinhead movement) published a video on its website in which Duma Deputy Nikolaii Kurianovich, of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR), standing near SS leader Dmitrii Demushkin, said that the SS movement and skinheads were useful organizations. and made the Nazi salute. Chief Rabbi Berl Lazar wrote to LDPR head Vladimir Zhirinovskii asking him to take steps to rid the party of racists and antisemites. In reply, Zhirinovskii claimed that the LDPR aimed to unite all opposition forces in one party and that Kurianovich was trying to establish relations with several youth groups, including skinheads, in the

hope that some of them might be drawn away from extremism. He denied that the party was antisemitic or xenophobic.

Antisemitic statements were made in 2005 by the deputy chairman of Tula Duma, Vladimir Timakov (Rodina Party), who in 2005 served as chief editor of *Zasechnii Rubezh* which for years has published antisemitic articles, and by the deputy chairman of the Legislative Assembly of Vladimir region, Aleksandr Siniagin (Communist Party). In February, another regional deputy from Vladimir, Aleksei Andrianov, head of the local, nationalist Nationwide Russian Union, distributed election leaflets containing phrases such as "Judaic gangrene" and "a new world order under the rule of the Jewish bourgeoisie," which Andrianov claimed Stalin had frustrated in his campaign against 'rootless cosmopolitans'. On 16 February and 25 March former governor of Kaliningrad region Leonid Gorbenko, co-chairman of the local separatist Rubezh Rodiny movement, made antisemitic remarks, such as "the Yids sold out Russia," and "there are Jews all around," during a press conference. Vladimir Yudin, a deputy from the Tver region Legislative Assembly and doctor of philology, known for defending neo-Nazis in court, published an antisemitic book entitled *Where the Fatherland Begins...* (Summer 2005), with the support of the local administration. However, all copies of the book were confiscated following protests of Yudin's colleagues from Tver University and the local Jewish community.

The trend of violent attacks motivated by inter-ethnic and inter-religious hatred continued to rise. Most assaults were carried out by groups of teenagers from sub-groups of racist skinheads. These 'youth groups' target victims according to racial, national and religious origin. Jews are not the prime target of 'street racists': the main victims are blacks and natives of the Caucasus, Central Asia and Asian-Pacific regions; however, because of the generally high level of aggressive racism in the country, Jews are often attacked.

A non-Jewish citizen, Leonid Tysiachnyi, was brutally beaten on 1 January at Moscow's Pushkin metro station. When the attacker was arrested, he said that he had attacked Tysiachnyi only because he looked like a Jew. He was released, which is not unusual, since attackers in such cases are frequently not prosecuted.

Two rabbis, Aleksandr Lakshin and Reuven Kuravskii, were attacked while walking with two children in an underground passage near the Marina Roscha Jewish Center in Moscow. The perpetrators shouted antisemitic insults and injured Lakshin, who was hospitalized with head injuries and broken bones. Two hours earlier a Jewish couple had been attacked in the same place. On 19 January two suspects were arrested and on 21 July the Ostankinskii district court in Moscow convicted

Dmitrii Rozanov and Andreii Maksin of assault and hooliganism rather than of an antisemitic attack. Rozanov was sentenced to four years imprisonment and Maksin to a year and a half.

Arson and vandalism of Jewish religious and cultural property is quite common. On 1 January a wooden synagogue in the village of Saltykovka outside Moscow was set alight. Six weeks later, swastikas were painted on the fence of the synagogue. A group of youths who appeared to be skinheads set fire to a building housing the Atikva Center for Jewish Religion and Culture on the night of 9/10 June in Penza.

On 26 January four males and one female entered the Perov Synagogue of the Shamir religious Jewish community in Moscow and announced they had come to “beat the Jew.” On 15 February members of the community found swastikas and antisemitic slogans on the doors of the synagogue. Desecration of synagogues was also recorded in Samara (March), Malakhovka (near Moscow, May), Vladimir (June), Nizhnii Novgorod (September and October) and Lipetsk (September).

The walls of Jewish community and cultural establishments were covered with graffiti containing swastikas, offensive slogans and threats, and windows were smashed in Moscow, Petrozavodsk, Siktivkar and Samara, Taganrog and Vladimir, *inter alia*.

Antisemitic graffiti, such as swastikas and the slogans “Beat the kikes,” “Down with the Jewish plague,” “Down with Zionism” and “Death to the Yids” appeared in the streets of cities and towns such as Iuzhnii Sakhalin, Yoshkar Ola and Syktyvkar.

The year 2005 witnessed a surge in antisemitic propaganda, linked mainly to the ‘Letter of 500’ – an appeal to the prosecutor general urging him to review the activity of all Jewish organizations in Russia due to their alleged extremism. The definition of extremism in the 2002 law is very vague, allowing a broad interpretation. The chief evidence produced against the Jewish organizations was the book *Kitsur Shulkehan Arukh*, cited already in 2002 by radical nationalist publicist Mikhail Nazarov as a violation of the then recently adopted Law on Combating Extremist Activity. The alleged intolerance of the *Shulkehan Arukh* and its shorter version – *Kitsur Shulkehan Arukh* – toward non-Jews was first discussed in Russia about a century ago. Nazarov combined an antisemitic interpretation of *Kitsur Shulkehan Arukh* with Jewish conspiracy myths to produce a theory, according to which all Jewish organizations were inspired by hatred against non-Jews, and therefore must be banned. This was, in fact, the basis of the letter to the prosecutor general, which Nazarov initiated.

Signature collection began in late autumn 2004 and by 14 January 2005, when it was published by *Rus Pravoslavnaiia*, the letter had been

signed by 500 people, including 19 members of the Russian State Duma: 14 from the above mentioned Rodina Party and 5 from the Communist Party. Neither Rodina nor the Communists disowned the signatories, although formally the parties did not support the letter.

On 21 March the State Office of the Public Prosecutor received a second version of the letter with 5,000 signatures (known as the 'Letter of 5000'). Apart from small stylistic changes, the basic difference from the first version was that instead of demanding the closure of all Jewish organizations, the signatories now called for the institution of "legal proceedings toward the banning in our country of all religious and national associations based on the morals of *Shulchan Arukh* as an extremist text." By the end of 2005, 15,000 signatures had been collected.

Further, in 2005 Nazarov attempted to revive the blood libel myth of ritual killings by Jews. On 12 May 2005 he published an article, "To Live without Fear of Judaism," in which he accused the Jews of the disappearance, on 16 April 2005, a week before the Jewish holiday of Pesach, of five non-Jewish children in Krasnoiarsk. Nazarov's 'proof' was the 1913 Belyis case, which, he claimed, proved Jewish ritual murder. He also accused local Governor Aleksandr Khloponin of covering up this crime. In mid-May 2005 the children's bodies were found in a Krasnoiarsk drain.

In St. Petersburg, "Nasha Strategia" (Our Strategy), an explicitly antisemitic TV show (see *ASW* 2004), ceased in winter 2005, when funds apparently ran out; another, equally antisemitic TV show, "Two vs. One," hosted by two former hosts of "Nasha Strategia," Denis Litov and Igor Muratov, replaced it. Broadcasting to the regions, in addition to St. Petersburg, they invite high-profile guests, including Sergei Mironov, speaker of the Federal Council. The hosts express their antisemitic prejudices incessantly and try to provoke their guests into doing the same. In November 2005 Russian national TV transmitted a series about the Russian poet Sergei Esenin in which "Jewish Bolsheviks headed by Trotsky" were accused of murdering the poet, who, in fact, hanged himself in 1925. The Jewish characters in the series were presented negatively and stereotypically.

"Narodnoye Radio" (Popular Radio), based in Moscow is also known for the antisemitic content of its broadcasts, which appear to be mostly religious. On 22 February the website of the nation-wide Moscow-based Radonezh radio station of the Russian Orthodox Church posted an interview with Deacon Andreii Kuraev in which he demanded the closure of all Jewish organizations and claimed that Jewish oligarchs, the West and President Vladimir Putin all exploit antisemitism.

In October the extremist newspaper *Patriot* published an article by MP Nikolai Kondratenko (Communist Party), claiming that the Zionists rule Russia, control the media and nurture mistrust between Russians and Muslims in the country. The article was also published in *Brianskaia Pravda*, the newspaper of the Briansk branch of the Communist Party.

Russian antisemites were inspired by the extremist statements made by Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in December 2005 (see *Arab Countries*). The RNE held a solidarity meeting outside the Iranian Embassy in Moscow to “condemn Israeli policies and world Jewry.” Muslim leaders in Russia, too, made antisemitic and anti-Zionist statements (see below). Leading Islamic websites traditionally equate Zionism with racism and *Islam.ru* always encloses the word ‘Israel’ in quotes. In response to Rabbi Berl Lazar’s call, following the terrorist attacks in London in July, for a war to destroy Islamic terrorists whom he condemned in the strongest terms, Mukaddas Bibarsov, chairman of the Volga Region Muslim Religious Board, accused the rabbi of inciting hatred against Muslims “following the worst of Nazi tradition.” Mufti Ismail Shangareev joined Mufti Bibarsov in these charges.

Antisemitic books are freely obtainable in stores and book kiosks in Russia. In early June a bookstore in Krasnodar was selling fascist and antisemitic literature, including books on the Third Reich, the SS, Heinrich Himmler, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and speeches of Rudolph Hess. In July an antisemitic book, *The Jewish Question in Russia*, by Oleg Platonov, went on sale at the book store of the Russian State Duma. The author claimed in the book that the Jews had always seen Russia as their main enemy. Platonov also wrote that Jews murder Christian children and have a negative influence on Russian culture.

Several attacks on Jewish or Jewish-related websites were reported. Hackers associated with the Slavic Union attacked a number of websites, including *Jewish.ru* (Global Jewish Online Center) and the Jewish News Agency (AEN) site, adding Nazi symbols and a link to their own site, in June.

The official response to antisemitic propaganda remained weak in Russia. Antisemitic pronouncements are so numerous that they are virtually routine, and therefore do not attract the attention of law enforcement authorities. Most requests to prosecutors by Jewish groups or other NGOs to open criminal investigations into such incidents are ignored and even if they are dealt with, they rarely reach the courts. Attacks and vandalism also often remain unpunished, with the rare exception of high profile cases, such as the above-mentioned attack on the two rabbis on 14 January.

Official reactions to the 'Letter of 500' included statements by the Foreign Ministry, both houses of the Russian Parliament and many individual politicians. Although several MPs withdrew their signatures, the campaign continued, with some well-known personalities, such as former world chess champion Boris Spasskii, adding their names. For a year the Prosecutor's Office refused to initiate criminal proceedings for incitement of hatred, and this failure to act sent a signal that such large-scale and explicit expressions of antisemitism were not illegal. The *Rus' Pravoslavnaia* newspaper and website which published the 'Letter of 500' on 14 January was warned that its conduct was illegal, but it continues to issue antisemitic materials, including films from history archives, such as the Soviet production *Tainoye i Iavnoe* (Hidden and Obvious) and the Nazi German one *Der Ewige Jude* (The Eternal Jew). President Putin condemned the letter only on 27 January while in Poland for the ceremony marking the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz – a speech directed mainly to an international audience rather than the Russian public.

Nonetheless, the year 2005 witnessed, for the first time in post-Soviet years, a considerable increase in convictions for dissemination of hate propaganda. A total of 13 offenders were found guilty under article 282 of the Criminal Code for this offense, six of whom were fined or given short prison terms. However, antisemitic materials were part of the hate propaganda in only a few cases.

In February, the Syktyvkar Federal Court handed down a one year probationary sentence to a student for publishing neo-Nazi, including antisemitic, propaganda on his website in 2002. On 9 December the Lenin Federal Court of St. Petersburg sentenced Dmitrii Bobrov, leader of the neo-Nazi skinhead group Schultz-88, to six years imprisonment for organizing an extremist and antisemitic organization. Three other members of the group received suspended sentences of three years each for taking part in the activity of an extremist organization.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/russia.htm>

TRANSCAUCASIA & CENTRAL ASIA

Transcaucasia consists of three republics: Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Central Asia comprises five republics: Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

Republic of Armenia

About 900 Jews live in Armenia (out of a population of 3.9 million, 94 percent of whom are Armenian Apostolic). The leading Jewish organization in the country is the Jewish Community of Yerevan.

Antisemitic attitudes in Armenia originate in several theories, the most common being that Jews organized the genocide of Armenians by the Turks in 1915. In April 2005 the Armenian Center for Strategic and National Research conducted a poll on this issue. One thousand nine hundred people country-wide were asked who was to blame for the massacre: 13.5 percent answered that Russia was to blame, while 5.2 percent said the Jews were responsible.

On 21 January 2005 the Public Prosecutor's Office in Yerevan opened a criminal case against Armen Avetisian, chairman of the small ultra-nationalist Union of the Armenian Aryans, for incitement of ethnic hatred, after he had made antisemitic statements (for example, that he would rid Armenia of Jews). He was arrested on 24 January. However, Avetisian has many supporters, including members of the Union of Writers, academics and politicians. On 28 January Viktor Dallakian and Manuk Gasparian from the Artarutun bloc offered to pay his bail. On 17 March Avetisian pleaded not guilty, claiming that he was merely anti-Zionist. He received a three year suspended sentence.

Cases of desecration of Jewish facilities are very rare in Armenia. On 11 February it was discovered that a Holocaust memorial in Yerevan had been overturned.

Republic of Uzbekistan

There are about 10,000 Jews in Uzbekistan, including 3,000 Bukharan Jews (out of approximately 27 million people, about 88 percent of whom are Sunni Muslims). Since becoming independent (1991), the country has maintained friendly relations with Israel and has permitted the free function of Jewish organizations: the Association of Jewish Communities of Uzbekistan, the Republican Jewish Cultural National Center and the World Congress of Bukharan Jews.

On 9 November, Aleksei Volosevich, correspondent of the Fergana online information agency, who wrote of the persecution of the opposition in the country, was seriously beaten near his home in

Tashkent by five men. The text: "Here lives a bribable journalist, a Jew, who understands nothing about Islam." was painted on his door.

Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami (see *ASW* 2003/4) is known for its antisemitic ideology and antisemitic propaganda. This organization, which is officially banned in the country, also believes there is a conspiracy between Zionism and the State of Israel. In a leaflet distributed in 2005 they accused President Islam Karimov of being a Jew and "the biggest enemy of the Muslim people," and asked how long the authorities would remain silent about the crimes of the Jews.

Antisemites in Uzbekistan (not all of them Muslim) use the Internet to distribute their propaganda. For example, in June 2005 the tract "Karimov Tribe: Destroying Uzbekistan" was published on www.centrasia.ru, a directory of news and opinions on Central Asia that claims to be non-political and open to everyone. The author, Usman Khaknazarov, stated that the Jews had "the wrong information about their superiority. They consider other people to be their slaves... Jews are a people who follow an ideological program, based on Zionism (a chauvinistic and fascist ideology, that all people were created by God in order to serve Jews)."

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/transcaucasia.htm>

UKRAINE

According to the 2003 population census, there were 103,600 Jews in Ukraine (population: ~ 47.7 million), residing mainly in large and medium-size cities. However, local Jewish organizations put the number between 200,000 and 400,000 since many Jews prefer not to reveal their identity. Jewish umbrella organizations include the Vaad of Ukraine (Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities), Jewish Confederation of Ukraine, All-Ukrainian Jewish Congress and the United Jewish Community of Ukraine, as well as the Orthodox Association of Jewish Religious Organizations of Ukraine (AJROU) and the Federation of Jewish Communities of Ukraine (ChaBaD).

Racist violence in Ukraine including antisemitic acts escalated in 2005. Antisemitic violence was expressed throughout the year in attacks on Jews and Jewish community facilities, and desecration of synagogues and Jewish graves across Ukraine.

On 7 January, several Jewish children and adults were beaten by a group of youths in the central square of Simferopol. On 1 March skinheads attacked a young Jew near the Brodsky Synagogue in Kiev, and on 27 April the rabbi of the Jewish community in Zhitomir was assaulted. Two yeshiva students were attacked in the center of Kiev on 28 August; Mordekhai Molozhenov, 32, was severely injured. Three suspects were arrested and one of them confessed to membership in a skinhead group. Their trial began in January 2006. On 11 September, two Israeli citizens, Rabbi Michael Menis and his 14-year-old son, were also beaten by skinheads in Kiev. On 27 August, a group of skinheads shouted "You got out of Gaza, get into the gas chambers," and gave the Nazi salute to Jews outside a synagogue in Dnepropetrovsk.

Several synagogues, as well as Jewish graves and memorials, were desecrated and Jewish property was vandalized, including paving around the monument in Babi Yar and a sign marking the visit of Israeli President Moshe Katsav, in mid-April; five Jewish gravestones in the Podlesnoe cemetery in Vinnitsa in October; and the windows and walls (painted with swastikas) of a synagogue in Ivano-Frankovsk, in February. Synagogues were desecrated in Izmail (March), Dnepropetrovsk (April, July and December), Vinnitsa (May) and Chernovtsy (August). It is suspected that youths associated with skinhead groups were involved in about two-thirds of desecration cases (both synagogues and cemeteries).

Over 660 antisemitic articles were published in Ukraine in 2005 compared to 300 in 2004. Antisemitic propaganda came mainly from one source in 2005 – the Inter-Regional Academy of Personnel Management,

or MAUP (see *General Analysis*) – the largest private higher education institution in Ukraine, with dozens of regional branches and tens of thousands of students. MAUP is a major publisher of antisemitic books (such *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*) and journals (*Personal*, *Personal Plus*, *For Free Ukraine Plus*, *Ukrainian Gazette Plus*, *For Ukrainian Ukraine*, *Newsletter* and *Ukrainian Leader*), and has even established its own distribution network; its book kiosks are located near most metro stations in Kiev.

Antisemitic subjects figure in most MAUP ‘research’, which concludes, *inter alia*, that the Jews are to blame for all social ills of modern times, from liberalism to communism. Many MAUP publications call for a struggle against Zionism, which they compare to Nazism and which allegedly presents a threat to all humankind. Antisemitic articles, sometimes several at a time, can be found in almost every issue of MAUP newspapers, particularly *Personal Plus* and *Ukrainian Gazette Plus*.

Since 2002 MAUP has conducted an aggressive anti-Zionist campaign, led by its president Georgii Shchokin. Still underway in 2005, it has turned into the loudest antisemitic crusade in the history of post-Soviet Ukraine. The embassies of Libya and Iran and representatives of the Palestinian Authority as well as several non-governmental Arab organizations are among MAUP’s sponsors. The institution maintains relations with antisemites in Russia (from the extreme right and the Moscow Patriarchy), the Middle East and the West, including well known American white supremacist David Duke (who, in September 2005, received a Ph.D. in history from MAUP and also teaches there), and initiates international conferences and demonstrations. On 22 November Shchokin published a statement supporting the anti-Zionist attacks of Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

Another troubling antisemitic manifestation was the ‘Letter of 100’, published in April 2005 and containing 100 signatures. The letter petitions Ukrainian President Viktor Iushchenko, Chairman of the Supreme Rada (Ukrainian parliament) V. Litvin and Supreme Court Chief Justice V. Maliarenko “to stop the criminal activity of organized Jewry,” which is allegedly trying to undermine Ukrainian sovereignty. The signatories demand that law enforcement agencies inspect Jewish religious and national organizations and “according to the results of the inspection bring the lawbreakers to justice.” The appeal also calls for the cancellation of awards granted to Jewish organizations by former President Leonid Kuchma. Among the signatories were representatives from MAUP, as well as four Supreme Rada deputies: Oleg Tiagnibok (former member of Our Ukraine bloc), Stepan Khmara (former member

of the Iulia Timoshenko Bloc – BIuT), Andreii Shkil (BIuT member) and Ivan Spodarenko (member of Socialist Party of Ukraine). Khmara and Shkil later denied signing the petition.

Although Ukrainian President Iushchenko and other officials have repeatedly emphasized the necessity to struggle against xenophobia and antisemitism and despite appeals to the Public Prosecutor's Office and other governmental bodies by human rights and Jewish organizations in Ukraine and abroad, the state took almost no preventive or punitive steps, and brochures and journals filled with hatred for the Jewish people, the Jewish religion and the Jewish state continued to be published by MAUP. In the summer the journal *Personal* was deprived of its scientific status by VAK (All-Ukrainian Attestation Committee) under the Ministry of Science and Education, due to its publication of antisemitic articles which occupy at least half of each issue. The decision was approved by Minister of Science and Education Stanislav Nikolaenko (Socialist Party of Ukraine). This was the only action taken against MAUP since the start of its antisemitic activity.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/ukraine.htm>

Eastern Europe

HUNGARY

The 80,000 Jews living in Hungary, out of a total population of 10.55 million, constitute the largest Jewish community in Eastern Europe outside the borders of the former Soviet Union. The great majority live in Budapest, but there are also communities in Miskolc and Debrecen, as well as in smaller cities. The Federation of Jewish Communities (Mazsihisz) is the main body of Hungarian Jewry.

Antisemitism in Hungary in 2005 was manifested mainly in far right publications and demonstrations. MIEP supporters continued their tradition of shouting antisemitic and anti-American slogans at their annual rally in Budapest in March 2005 commemorating the 1848–49 revolution. Demonstrating against the US on this date is a historical irony, since the US was the only important state to support the Hungarian fight for independence in 1848–49, and the leader of the revolution, Lajos Kossuth, was received in the US as a hero and appeared before the US Congress in 1852.

Participants in the annual anniversary demonstrations of the nationalist right marking the 1956 uprising, in October, shouted antisemitic and anti-Israel slogans, such as accusing Israel of war crimes. The center-right traditionally distances itself from the right-wing rally, led in recent years by Istvan Csurka, leader of the ultra-right MIEP (Hungarian Justice and Life Party) and neither camp is represented at the official Socialist led celebrations.

Official Hungarian support for the US position in Iraq, though less enthusiastic than in the first year of the war, was criticized, among others, by Csurka, who provided regular analyses in his party's weekly and monthly *Magyar Forum*, in an attempt to prove complete Hungarian servitude to foreign interests. Csurka reiterated that in Hungary everything was decided according to the interests of the Washington–Tel Aviv global war axis. Anti-Israel and anti-US slogans were usually a part of the anti-war demonstrations organized by the extreme right, which did not attract large numbers of participants.

Jewish infiltration of the Hungarian nation and their undermining of Hungarian national interests, a principal theme in nationalist propaganda, continued in the MIEP's *Magyar Forum*, the right-wing *Magyar Demokrata* and on several websites, such as www.jobbik.net. On 25 November this website published a typical pseudo-historical essay portraying Hungary as one of the "most densely Jewish populated states in Europe," having

suffered an influx of 'Galician Jews' in the 19th century. Antisemites distinguish between the 'Galician invasion' – the newcomers – and 'our' Jews – the 'old timers' – who, although not much liked, are superior to the former who are uneducated and sinister.

On 13 December the antisemitism monitoring site www.antiszemitizmus.hu re-published a version of one of "Csurka's urban legends," based on an alleged meeting held in a suburban Budapest villa, on the eve of the collapse of the Hungarian Communist regime in early 1989, between a Soviet colonel, a representative of the US embassy, a representative of the Israeli secret service, representatives of the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faiths, and several Hungarian (Communist) leaders, some of whom are still in power today. According to a secret agreement in the style of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, they called for a ban on anti-Jewish pronouncements, activities and organizations, as well as ultra-right-wing activity, and complete compensation for Hungarian Jewish 'losses' during World War II (note the reference to 'losses' as a euphemism for the Holocaust). The 'agreement' was supposedly renewed in 2003 and amended to include the need for complete "subordination of Hungary to the EU and to the global colonization plans of the US and Israel."

As to the "total subordination of Hungary" to Jewish interests, Csurka's movement continued to stress the Israeli-Jewish role in investment in Hungary, especially in new shopping malls, hotels and luxury apartment buildings. In December, *Magyar Forum* used the word 'Judapest', to describe Jewish attempts to judaize Budapest completely. According to antiszemitizmus.hu, the term 'Judapest' was lifted from a column in *Szombat*. 'Judapest', it claimed, was used ironically in the column in imitation of antisemitic publications.

Israeli economic penetration and its alleged takeover of Hungary is an obsession of *Magyar Forum*. In May, an article mentioning the alleged business interests of Israeli Ambassador David Admon, showed a map of the territory of historical Hungary in green, with an Israeli flag superimposed on it. According to the *Magyar Forum* website, in May, "Jewish-Soros [American Jewish businessman of Hungarian origin] capital is preparing Hungary for the arrival of masses of Russian Jews after the imminent collapse of the State of Israel," in other words, a 21st century version of the 'Galician invasion'.

In February, Hungarian police confronted groups of local neo-Nazis, especially members of Blood & Honour, who were celebrating the anniversary of the 1945 attempt of Hungarian and Nazi troops to break out of Soviet-besieged Budapest. Following such displays of neo-Nazi power, the authorities promise to clamp down. However, the marches

have become an annual display of neo-Nazism and Holocaust denial; as such, they are criticized by liberals and leftists in the Hungarian media.

As in previous years, a small group of neo-Nazis tried to commemorate the 61st anniversary of the rise to power of the Nazi Arrow Cross party in Hungary in October 2005. The event was smaller than in 2004 when it received more media attention (see *ASW 2004*)

Responding to the official ceremonies marking the 61st anniversary of the Holocaust in Hungary, *Magyar Demokrata* published several pieces on the culture of memory in Hungary and elsewhere. On 24 March it complained of “holo-propaganda” – according to which Hollywood avoided dealing with Stalin’s crimes lest this would “detract from the essential topic, the suffering of the Jews.”

Full report online at:

<http://tau.ac.il/Anti-Semitism/asw2005/hungary.htm>

POLAND

There are some 5,000–10,000 Jews in Poland out of a total population of close to 40 million. The majority live in Warsaw, Wrocław, Kraków and Łódź, and there are smaller communities in several other cities. There are virtually no Jews in the eastern part of Poland where once large, important communities, such as those of Lublin and Białystok, existed. The Union of Jewish Religious Communities (*Związek Kongregacji Wyznania Mojżeszowego*), or *Kehilla*, and the secular Jewish Socio-Cultural Society (*Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne Żydowskie*), or *Ferband*, are the two leading communal organizations and these, together with other Jewish groups, are linked by membership in the *KKOZRP*, which acts as an umbrella organization.

The level of antisemitism remained relatively high despite the small number of Jews living in Poland. The non-governmental anti-racist Never Again Association registered about 120 incidents in 2005; a few were anti-Roma but most were antisemitic, with verbal attacks predominating. For example, on 14 November a group of youths insulted Jewish visitors to the site of Majdanek death camp. It was also reported that a group of local residents protesting a proposed monument at the grave of the famous 18th century Rabbi Akiba Eger in Poznań, shouted “Jews cannot tell us what to do,” and “This is a Catholic land and we don’t want a Jewish cemetery here.”

Crude antisemitism can still be observed on the Internet, such as the increasingly popular website of the Polish section of the neo-Nazi-skinhead Blood and Honour movement, and at football matches, where football fans routinely call each other ‘Jews’ as a term of abuse.

In a speech to trade union leaders in Gdańsk on 14 August, on the 25th anniversary of the anti-Communist Solidarity Movement, Father Henryk Jankowski, notorious for his antisemitic rhetoric, said “anti-Catholic Masons, Jewish bankers and hell-born atheist Socialists” are imposing their agenda on the laws of Poland.

The parliamentary and presidential elections held on 25 September 2005 radically changed the political map in Poland. Notably, it increased the influence of the antisemitic, Catholic nationalist Radio Maryja and its founder Father Tadeusz Rydzyk, as well as associated TV and print media. Their support for the right-wing conservative Law and Justice party (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* – PiS) and its presidential candidate Lech Kaczyński was a major factor in their dual electoral victory. The far right antisemitic League of Polish Families (*Liga Polskich Rodzin* – LPR) and

the nationalist populist Self-Defense (Samoobrona) party joined forces in an informal coalition backing the Law and Justice government.

The LPR, led by Roman Giertych, polled only 8 percent of the vote, after losing the support of Radio Maryja to the PiS. In the second half of 2005 PiS appropriated the Catholic fundamentalist and nationalist ideology of the LPR, and Radio Maryja became the main medium for the promotion of Law and Justice policy.

New Prime Minister Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz from the PiS, as well as his top cabinet ministers, frequently traveled to Radio Maryja's headquarters in Torun, in order to take part in marathon live broadcasts and express support for the controversial radio station. This intimacy between the country's leadership and extremists is without precedent in Poland. Meanwhile, Radio Maryja continued to promote antisemitic views, including denial of the facts of the Jedwabne pogrom in 1941.

Another PiS activist is MEP Marcin Libicki, until recently a leading member of the National Right (PN), the official sister organization of Jean-Marie Le Pen's Front National in France. In the 1990s Libicki was a member of the board of *Prawica Narodowa* (National Right) magazine, which published, *inter alia*, Holocaust-denying texts written by the late Belgian collaborator General Leon Degrelle. In 2005 Libicki launched a campaign to force the Polish public prosecutor to take legal action against the website of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles for alleged 'anti-Polish' content in its presentation of WWII history.

A leading MP elected on the Samoobrona ticket is Mateusz Piskorski, a 28-year old graduate of Szczecin University, active in radical neo-fascist circles since the mid-1990s as an editor and publisher of several ultra-nationalist and racist magazines (such as *Odala*), which espouse open admiration for Adolf Hitler as well as crude Holocaust denial. Piskorski is also linked to Tomasz Szczepanski's neo-pagan nationalist association Niklot, which is active among skinheads and in the 'blackmetal' subculture. Having emerged in 2005 as the party's main spokesman on international affairs, he has strong links to the extremist Moscow-based Eurasian Movement, led by Aleksandr Dugin (see *ASW* 2002/3).

The government's new orientation found immediate expression in the prohibition and subsequent violent dispersal of an anti-discrimination march in Poznan on 19 November. Seventy-five people were held for taking part in the 'unlawful demonstration' and right-wing politicians and the Catholic Church accused the organizers of the march of promoting gay rights. The following week a wave of protests and solidarity demonstrations swept throughout numerous Polish cities, led by a broad coalition of anti-fascists, human rights supporters, intellectuals, artists and various political groups voicing their resistance to

new government policy, especially the banning of demonstrations. In cities such as Elblag, demonstrators were violently confronted by skinheads and football hooligans, some belonging to the antisemitic National Rebirth of Poland and LPR's youth wing, All-Polish Youth.

All-Polish Youth (MW) is a radical nationalist organization, which continues the tradition of the violent, antisemitic youth organization of the same name which was active in the 1920s and 1930s. In January *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Poland's largest newspaper, reported that antisemitic books, such as Henry Ford's *The International Jew*, were being used by the MW to indoctrinate its members. Also in January, LPR and MW members were observed singing antisemitic songs and shouting "Heil Hitler" on a train while on their way to the LPR national congress. In October, LPR and MW leader Roman Giertych became chairman of the parliamentary committee on special services.

Responses to racism and antisemitism come mostly from civil organizations. For example, the Polish Football Association has begun removing racist symbols from stadiums following publication of a manual for football officials produced jointly with the Never Again Association. On the official level, condemnation of antisemitism is rarely followed by effective political and legal measures, as demonstrated by the continuing distribution of antisemitic material by the state owned company Ruch (including the publications of Leszek Bubel and the National Rebirth of Poland, NOP).

On 23 February former president and Nobel Prize Laureate Lech Waleśa wrote an open letter to the bishops and faithful of the Catholic Church accusing Radio Maryja of inciting antisemitism and demanding cancellation of their license. Archbishop Sławoj Leszek Głódz, head of the church Mass Media Council, replied that Waleśa was emotional and that the station was merely dealing with social and political issues.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/poland.htm>

ROMANIA

According to the 2002 census, the Jewish community in Romania has dwindled to fewer than 6,000 out of a total population of 21.5 million. Major Jewish centers are Bucharest, Iasi, Cluj and Oradea. The Federation of Jewish Communities of Romania coordinates communal activities.

There were several attempts by small nationalist, xenophobic, antisemitic Iron Guard, or Legionnaire, groups (deriving from the movement founded by Corneliu Zelea Codreanu in the interwar period) in 2005 to organize meetings and public discussions on the history of the movement. Pro-Iron Guard publications, as well as various antisemitic and Holocaust denial texts, are openly displayed at book stalls in the major cities. One such publication is *Obiectiv Legionar*, launched in 2003 (see *ASW* 2003/4). The New Right organization Noua Dreapta organized marches and religious ceremonies in 2005 to commemorate Codreanu.

As in previous years, antisemitic propaganda accompanied the continuing campaign to rehabilitate the legacy of wartime fascist leader Ion Antonescu and cleanse historical memory of the fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust. The material on pro-Legionnaire sites such as Pagina Romaniei Nationaliste and Dreapta Noua, attempts to introduce the doctrines of Iron Guard founder Corneliu Zelea Codreanu to the younger generation through historical revisionism, including whitewashing the Iron Guard's murderous activities, such as the January 1941 pogrom in Iasi, which it attributes to 'Jewish behavior'. Such propaganda activities may be linked directly to official and public reactions following submission of the Report of the International Commission of Historians on the Holocaust in Romania in October 2004 (see below).

Several Jewish sites were desecrated in 2005. While the overall number of antisemitic events was no higher than the average of recent years, the authorities are now showing more openness by publicizing antisemitic incidents and responding more rapidly. In March several graves were desecrated at a Jewish cemetery in Ploiesti. On 1 October four youths painted swastikas in the courtyard of the synagogue in Targu-Mures. The youths, who were apprehended, also drew swastikas on two buildings belonging to the Jewish community. The investigation was discontinued after one of the accused committed suicide. In August a swastika was found in the wall of an unused synagogue in Cluj. Swastikas also appeared on a school and a neighborhood in Suceava.

The debate in Romanian society over the nation's role in the Holocaust intensified in late 2005, with arguments for and against the rehabilitation of Ion Antonescu. Romania's entry into NATO and negotiations over its pending membership of the EU and other structures of integration on 1 January 2007, heightened discussion concerning Romania's need to face its role in the Holocaust.

The report of the International Commission of Historians on the Holocaust in Romania (often referred to in the media as 'the Wiesel Commission' – see also below) was presented to President Ion Iliescu prior the presidential elections in October 2004 (see *ASW 2004*). The report, which now serves as a guide for Romania's treatment of the Holocaust, was originally made available on the site of the Romanian presidency, www.presidency.ro, indicating its endorsement at the highest level; however it was relegated to a less accessible part of the site in 2005. The wide media coverage following its publication generated much public interest and discussion of 'the Holocaust in Romania', a concept that has now entered Romanian terminology, after years of debate as to whether there was a Holocaust there.

Denial and belittling of the Holocaust occur quite frequently in Romania; in 2005 there were several cases, the most well-known of which was that of Professor Corvin Lupu, a historian from Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu who, according to the Romanian weekly 22 (22 June), published an article in the periodical *Transilvania* (3/2005) denying there was a Holocaust in Romania ("The notion that there was a genocide in Romania against the Jewish people is unacceptable. The Jewish people are the ones who should be indebted to the Romanian people"). The Center for Monitoring and Combating Antisemitism (MCA) and the Jewish community filed complaints against Lupu. However, the charges were dropped by the prosecutor's office on the grounds that the article could not be classified as a crime according to a 2002 government decree. In addition, Licar (League for the Struggle against Anti-Romanianism) leader Ion Coja published an open letter, on 8 April, in *Romania Mare* (of the Greater Romania Party – see below) to President G.W. Bush, denying Romanian participation in the Holocaust and making Jews responsible for antisemitism in Romania because of alleged pressure from abroad to see Antonescu as a war criminal.

Following its resounding defeat in the 2004 elections, when it tried to win Jewish votes, the Greater Romania Party (PRM), led by Corneliu Vadim Tudor, returned to its former antisemitic line, although it has been more preoccupied with internal struggles.

In October Holocaust Day was commemorated for the second time in Romania following the decision to mark 9 October, the beginning of

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deportations to Transnistria in 1941. The official high-level events indicated Romania's determination to confront its own past despite continuing nationalist pressures and pro-fascist ideas often expressed in parts of the media.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/romania.htm>

REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

The Jewish community in Serbia and Montenegro has some 3,000 members out of a total population of 7 million. Most live in Belgrade, the capital, and the rest are dispersed among Novi Sad, Zemun, Subotica and a few smaller cities. The roof organization is the Federation of Jewish Communities of Serbia and Montenegro (FJCSM), located in Belgrade.

Antisemitic activity in Serbia is usually confined to graffiti on walls and buildings, usually belonging to Jewish individuals and organizations, but sometimes on non-Jewish ones because the perpetrators assume that the Jews control everything. Many of these incidents have been attributed to Obraz (see below). Such activity was reported in many Serbian cities in 2005. For example, on 26–27 January, a memorial plate dedicated to Jewish victims of World War II in Novi Knjazevac was coated with oil paint and a swastika and the words “Jews” (*Zhidovi*), scrawled on it. Central Belgrade and its surroundings were covered with anti-Zionist/antisemitic posters and graffiti on 22 March. Slogans on the wall of the Jewish cemetery read: “Fight the 5 October Zionist occupation of Serbia [fall of Milosevic regime]; “B-92 [an independent TV channel which opposed the Milosevic regime] is Jewish Television!” “Jewish parasites get out of Serbia”; “We want freedom and not Jewish occupation! Serbia belongs to Serbs!” Similar graffiti appeared on buildings of the Rex Cultural Center (which engages in ‘cultural decontamination’ – showing films and lectures about recent Balkan wars and Serbian responsibility for them), formerly, the Jewish Oneg Shabbat Center; the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights and the Foundation for Humanity and Law. Graffiti accused the heads of the last two institutions of being “Jewish puppets.”

In May, several buildings in the city of Zrenjanin, Vojvodina, including a restaurant with a memorial plaque to the synagogue that once stood there and to Jewish victims of the Holocaust were covered with fascist and antisemitic messages. In Nish, southern Serbia, the synagogue was desecrated twice – in June and July – with antisemitic slogans such as “Death to servants of Zionism” and “Arbeit macht frei.”

In February 2005 a list of Jews living in Serbia, including their home and office phone numbers and addresses appeared on the white supremacist Stormfront site, Serbian section. Although it was eventually removed, the site continues to regularly explain the damage Jewish people do to the world in general and particularly to Serbia.

A brochure containing the tract "Serbs in the Claws of Jews," by Milorad Mojic, was distributed in Novi Sad, in February. The piece was originally written in 1940/1. The author claims, *inter alia*, that "Jews can dishonor non-Jewish girls."

Almost all Serbia's extreme right nationalist parties claim that they have nothing against other nations and minorities and only want to strengthen national identity. None are overtly antisemitic, probably due to the law prohibiting incitement of racial, religious or ethnic hatred and intolerance.

The Serbian Orthodox Church (Srpska Pravoslavna Crkva – SPC), as well as associated groups, is known for its ambivalent attitude toward the Jews and antisemitism, and some high-ranking Church officials have been observed at nationalist events. While on the one hand, representatives of the Church have condemned antisemitic acts and stated that antisemitism is not in the nature of Serbian Orthodoxy, on the other, the Church recently proclaimed an antisemite – Archbishop Nikolaj Velimirovic – a saint. A highly educated man who became a symbol of Serbian thought, spiritualism and Orthodoxy, Velimirovic freely expressed his antisemitic beliefs in several of his works, including those – re-issued repeatedly, such as *Through the Cell Window* (Valijevo, 2003) – from his days in Dachau concentration camp in 1945, where the German occupiers had imprisoned him because of the threat he allegedly posed due to his promotion of Serbian strength and values and unity of the Orthodox world.

Velimirovic is the spirit behind several nationalist organizations: Obraz (or Otcastveni Pokret Obraz – Face), a well-organized ultra-rightist group, was formed in the mid-1990s in Belgrade University's Faculty of History. Some of its members, such as Rados Ljusic, the unofficial ideologist of the movement, are known for their radical views. The official Obraz website asks: "Will Serbs exist in the near future or will we be murdered by Shiptars [derogatory term for Albanians], those who converted to Islam, or die by the hand of Judeo-Masonic NATO murderers?... or will we... drown in the sewers of the Soros Open Society [foundation of Hungarian American Jew George Soros] and the New World Order?"

Many antisemitic and racial incidents, such as graffiti on Jewish facilities, on buildings where Jews are employed or on institutions perceived to house liberal/open-minded people (Belgrade University's Faculty of Philosophy, B-92 TV, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights), have been attributed to Obraz, but have not been proven. The current leader is Mladen Obradovic. The site provides links to far right organizations throughout Europe.

Begun in Belgrade University's Faculty of Philology in 1999, Dveri (Gates) is one of the largest movements, attracting both extreme right and Orthodox supporters. The organization opposes globalization and mondialism (an alternative form of globalization). It has close links to the SPC and Church officials sometimes lecture at their weekly meetings at the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering. In 2001, Dveri claimed that Orthodox Serbian unity cannot be achieved with those who do not accept the Truth, such as Jews, Muslims and Protestants. Their ideology is based on conspiracy theories (such as powerful forces controlling the world) and extreme xenophobia, requiring Serbia to unite nationally and religiously. The movement has a journal and is expanding rapidly throughout Serbia.

The Serbian People's Movement (Svetozar Miletic), located in Vojvodina, is a far right organization, although this is not apparent from its program (due to the law prohibiting incitement of racial, religious or ethnic hatred). Many of its members are professionals and academics and the movement has the support of high-ranking SPC officials. Its website has links to the organizations mentioned above, as well as to groups, such as Final Combat (see below) which share its point of view.

Final Combat (Poslednji Obracun), led by Dimitrije Najdanovic, has members from Serbia and among Diaspora Serbs, as well as from other nations. Their ideology, a slightly modified version of National Socialism, opposes interracial relations and urges supporters to avoid Jews "even when they offer gifts."

The Serbian Right (Srpska Desnica) apparently acts as an umbrella for all Church-related far right groups. Other nationalist organizations, with varying degrees of antisemitism, include: the Serbian Knights (Srpski Vitezovi), also based on Serbian Orthodoxy and located in Belgrade University's medical faculty; Rasionalisti, the Serbian division of Stormfront; the extremely antisemitic US-based Serbian Defense League, connected to Stormfront; and the neo-Nazi National Line (Nacionalni Stroj).

The most antisemitic publisher is the Christian IHTUS, founded and owned by Ratibor Djurdjevic, who returned in the early 1990s from the US to which he had immigrated. Djurdjevic receives support from Zarko Gavrilovic a retired priest from the SPC. Djurdjevic wrote, translated and published books such as: *The Elders of Zion; 3000 Years in the Service of the Satan; The Myth about the Holocaust* and *Judeo-Bankers and the Rise of Hitler*. These books can be purchased cheaply in Belgrade; in fact, one of the bookshops specializing in such literature is located in the center, beside the Museum of Genocide. Although the local Jewish community brought legal charges against him, he was unable to appear in court,

allegedly due to ill-health; nevertheless, he continues to write and publish.

Other publishers of antisemitic books include Ekopress in Zrenjanin, and Vojvodina, which printed *Mein Kampf* (foreword written by well-known Serbian writer Radomir Smiljanic). Dejan Lucic specializes in 'conspiracy theories' and blames the Jews for all the evil in the world, and especially in Serbia. *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is widely available.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/serbia.htm>

SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Slovakia has some 3,000 Jews out of a total population of 5.35 million. The largest Jewish community is in the capital Bratislava. The Central Union of Jewish Religious Communities in the Slovak Republic is the main communal organization.

The country recorded a low level of antisemitic activity in 2005; however the trend of desecrating Jewish sites continued. In early January 2005, 19 tombstones in the Jewish cemetery of Ruzomberok were vandalized; the investigation was proceeding very slowly. In June 2005 vandals broke a pane of glass on the Bratislava memorial of Rabbi Chatam Sofer. In July signs saying "The Holocaust is a lie," appeared on a new Holocaust memorial in Rimavska Sec.

The ultra-nationalist Slovenska Pospolitost (Slovak Community) registered as a political party in January 2005, immediately prompting calls from liberal segments of Slovak society for it to be outlawed. The movement's ideology is clearly pro-Tiso: its bulletin praises the wartime fascist Tiso state and uses its symbols openly. It opposes the EU and accuses the Jews of harming Slovakia's interests, warning "Do not let Slovakia be circumcised." The movement's leader is a secondary school teacher, Marian Kotleba. He complained that national symbols of Slovakia were being removed en masse and replaced by Hungarian or Jewish symbols. The declared aim of the movement is to "rid ourselves once and for all of enemies and parasites. For the good of the Slovak family, as Jozef Tiso wanted."

Another nationalist organization, Matica Slovenska bestowed a 'human rights' award on Jozef Mikus, an official of the Slovak Foreign Ministry during Tiso's regime who fled the country to escape imprisonment.

Rehabilitation of the wartime Tiso regime continued to be the main theme of the struggle in 2005 between neo-fascist, antisemitic, populist elements, and liberal forces. The views of the former are expressed forcefully in public discourse as well as in various publications. Right-wing extremists maintained their high level of activity, begun in 1999 largely in connection with the 66th anniversary of the founding of the wartime Slovak fascist state (14 March 1939). Slovenska Pospolitost, for example, organized a rally on this date.

The attempts to rewrite history took place in a variety of forums, such as 'scientific' meetings and numerous publications. Leading revisionists such as Milan S. Durica and Jozef M. Rydlo continued to write positive appraisals of the Tiso regime. Moreover, the apologetic

Catholic line in defense of Tiso's legacy appears to have intensified (see *ASW 2004*).

During 2005 the public Institute of National Remembrance gathered information on Jewish property confiscated in the Holocaust. It was intending to publish the names of companies owned by Jews and taken over by the fascist regime in late 2005. The Institute's website also released data on some of the 70,000 Jews who perished in Slovakia as well as in the extermination camps.

Following increased cooperation between Slovak educational and cultural institutions with their Israeli and Jewish counterparts on Holocaust education, as well as with Yad Vashem, Slovakia became a member of the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research in late 2005.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/slovakia.htm>

The Middle East

ARAB COUNTRIES

No specific event occurred in 2005 to trigger a change in the level of antisemitic manifestations or introduce new trends in the Arab antisemitic discourse. Existing themes discerned since the outbreak of the al-Aqsa intifada at the end of September 2000 became further entrenched. These included increased preoccupation with the Holocaust, as well as intensified attacks on Zionism by leaders who sought to incite not only regional but worldwide public opinion (see *ASW* 2000/1, 2001/2). Especially noteworthy were the statements made by newly elected Iranian President Mahmud Ahmadinejad (on 24 June 2005). Incitement against Israel and Zionism persisted, as did Arab and Muslim belief in conspiracy theories in which Zionists and Jews play a major role. Almost every event, wherever it occurred, involving Arabs or Muslims – the disengagement from Gaza, the war in Iraq, the terrorist attacks in London, Jordan, Saudi Arabia or Egypt, the assassination of Lebanese PM Rafiq al-Hariri or the publication of cartoons in a Danish paper perceived as bashing the Prophet Muhammad and Islam – was interpreted as a Zionist/Jewish plot against the Arab and Muslim worlds.

The year 2005 also witnessed the islamization of antisemitism. The term islamization is usually used to indicate the incorporation of Islamic antisemitic motifs derived from Islamic sources and tradition in the classical Christian antisemitism imported from the West. However, it also means the increasing prominence of antisemitic themes, including Holocaust denial, in the Islamist discourse, most conspicuously in the Iranian president's statements. He represents a camp which uses antisemitic terminology and publicly threatens to carry out acts against Israeli and Jewish targets in and outside Israel.

The continuing demand for Arab versions of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and *Mein Kampf*, as well as for other antisemitic literature, ensures the repeated publication of these works in various Arab countries and even their export to Britain. This is perhaps the clearest indication of the widespread belief in conspiracy theories in general, and the involvement of Jews and Zionists in plotting in particular.

As in previous years, conspiracy theories also flourished in relation to specific events (see *ASW* 2001–2004). Israel and its intelligence arm the Mossad, sometimes in collaboration with the US, were implicated in most of these events. Consequently, Israel – regarded as the main beneficiary of the deteriorating situation in Iraq and post-September 11,

and as manipulating Arab affairs by impelling Islamist movements to perpetrate suicide bombings – was blamed for the assassination of Lebanese PM Rafiq al-Hariri.

The war on terrorism, the ongoing war in Iraq and continuing Israeli efforts to combat Palestinian militant and Islamist movements did not bring any change in the agenda of international jihadist groups identified with al-Qa`ida and other Islamist trends. Their global aims included an unrelenting war against the Jews and Crusaders, on both the military and cultural fronts. The war against the Jews as a people and not only against Israelis was justified by pointing to encounters between Jews and Muslims in the period of the Prophet Muhammad to prove the Jews' inherent cunning and hostility toward Islam, as well as to the Jewish scriptures which are allegedly replete with aggression and terrorism.

Normalization seemed to arouse fears of Israeli penetration into Egypt through land purchase, corruption of Egyptian youth and spreading Zionist values on its way to dominate the world. This hostile atmosphere toward Israel and the Jews was also reflected in books published in Egypt and in conferences held there during the year. In Jordan, too, popular resistance to normalization contrasted with the reconciliatory approach of the regime. At the beginning of March the Jordanian branch of Hizb ut-Tahrir submitted a letter to the parliament warning of the danger of maintaining relations with "the Zionist enemy." Particularly vociferous was the Islamist mouthpiece *al-Sabil*, which regularly reports the activities of anti-normalization groups. Despite a decline in incitement in the official media, dissemination of anti-Israel and antisemitic propaganda continued in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Two events out of several linked to the Holocaust during the year 2005 (among them, commemoration of Holocaust Memorial Day in Israel, David Irving's trial in Austria in November, and the visit of American Holocaust denier David Duke to Syria in November) triggered wide-ranging discussions, reflecting diverse attitudes: the UN special session in January 2005 commemorating 60 years to the liberation of the Nazi concentration camps followed by the UN decision to designate 27 January, the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, as Holocaust Remembrance Day, and Iranian President Ahmadinejad's statements denying the Holocaust at the end of the year.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/arab.htm>

TURKEY

The Jewish community numbers approximately 20,000 out of a total population of 70 million. Some 18,000 live in Istanbul, 1,500 in Izmir and the rest are scattered throughout the country. The Jewish community is represented by the Chief Rabbinate.

No violent antisemitic incidents were recorded in Turkey in 2005. However, Turkish police are constantly on the alert and have stepped up security at Jewish institutions whenever a potential threat is detected.

Most antisemitism in Turkey is manifested in publications – newspapers, magazines and books. Many young educated Turks are heavily influenced by this propaganda and consequently form a negative view of Jews and Israel, although they may never have met a Jew or an Israeli.

A wide range of subjects relating to Jews and Israel are treated with an antisemitic slant by the Islamist and ultra-nationalist media. Extremely antisemitic articles may be found in the Islamist newspapers *Anadoluda Vakit* (*Vakit*) and *Milli Gazete* (semi-official organ representing the Islamist ideology 'National View', of the Felicity (Saadet) Party), and in the ultra-nationalist publications *Ortadoğu* and *Yeniçağ* (*Türkiye De Yeni Çağ*). These articles can be divided loosely into 1) commentaries which attack Jews or Judaism directly, such as their alleged desecration of the Old Testament or which cite books such as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; and 2) criticism of Israeli policies, the Israeli prime minister and Zionism. *Vakit* columnist Mustafa Kaplan, for example, who routinely targets Jews, published an article in which he claimed: "Those who are not Jews are seen as dogs," in reference to the Talmud. Hasan Damir also attacks Jews in *Yeniçağ*. On 1 January he claimed that the Jews of Turkey are stabbing the Turkish people in the back despite the help Jews have received from Turks over the years. On 19 September he remarked that dollar, sterling or euro was all Jewish money. In the second category, slurs such as "Israel=Murderer of kids" appear in publications such as *Milli Gazete*. On 31 October the latter published an article by Hakan Albayrak, accusing the Israeli government of genocide and stating that Zionism represented genocide itself.

Conspiracy theories are used by both Islamists and ultra-nationalists to demonize Jews and Israel. Turkish-Israeli arms modernization projects; agricultural projects in southeast Turkey connected to GAP (the South-East Anatolia Agricultural Irrigation Project), which employ Israeli experts; mutual visits of Turkish and Israeli officials; and the alleged role of the Mossad in northern Iraq (for example, "The Mossad

is the Boss in Northern Iraq”) have all nourished these theories. Another common theory is that the Jews, the supposed chosen people, are trying to take over the world by creating internal problems in the countries to which they have spread, thereby destroying them.

The *Donmes* (Crypto-Jews, followers of Shabtai Zvi, 1626–76), who converted to Islam, are frequently discussed in the Islamist media. The descendants of the *Donmes* are accused by journalists such as Mehmet Sevkett Eygi of *Millî Gazete* and by leftist Yalçın Küçük in several of his books of being undercover Jews who have attained high office in the Turkish administration, which they misuse for their own hidden agenda.

Another claim often raised by ultra-nationalist papers such as *Ortadoğu* and *Yeniçağ* since the war in Iraq is that most Kurds, including leaders Mustafa Barzani and Jalal Talabani, are of Jewish origin, whose alleged aim is to set up another Israel in northern Iraq under the guise of a sovereign Kurdish state. Such a state, which will serve the ultimate dream of a Greater Israel – ‘the Promised Land’ – from the Nile to the Euphrates, will include part of southeast Turkey. This would explain, so the line of reasoning continues, why Israel is allegedly buying up land in southeast Turkey, *inter alia*, through the agency of Turkish Jews. On 8 January, for example, the Islamist daily *Yeni Şafak*, known as the unofficial mouthpiece of the ruling Justice and Development Party, published an article which alleged that Israel was attempting to set up farms in southeastern Turkey and populating them with Russian and Ethiopian Jews whose integration into Israel was problematic. It was also reported during 2005, by journalists such as Ayhan Bilgin in *Vakit*, that the Mossad and Israel were responsible for planting mines which killed Turkish soldiers in southeast Turkey. Such claims created a very negative atmosphere against Israel and Jews in Turkey.

During a February 2005 interview with *Das Magazin*, internationally acclaimed Turkish novelist Orhan Pamuk made statements implicating Turkey in massacres against Armenians and persecution of the Kurds, declaring: “Thirty thousand Kurds and a million Armenians were killed in these lands.” He was labeled a traitor and condemned in many newspapers, especially in the ultra-nationalist *Yeniçağ*. Moreover, their claims that he was “a Jewish lover,” “best friend of the Jews” and “the servant of Jews,” fomented an anti-Jewish atmosphere. Criminal charges of ‘insulting Turkishness’ were brought against him, but were later dropped.

Islamist-oriented TV channels such as Mesaj and Kanal 7 take advantage of every news item concerning the Middle East to attack the Jews with derogatory religious statements, sometimes including quotes from the Qur’an.

Translations of classic antisemitic tracts such as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and Henry Ford's *International Jew* are sold at well-known bookstores. Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, a bestseller printed by various publishing houses, is apparently subsidized and sold very cheaply. When mainstream newspapers such as *Akşam* headlined this fact, referring to it as a "dangerous development," Turkish Jewish community leaders received many phone calls, including from media representatives, asking for their reaction. After the issue died down, the government served prosecution orders against the publishers of the books, as owners of the copyright. *Mein Kampf* is the only book which seems to have been removed from bookstores.

Another book which aroused a lively discourse in the media in 2005 was the popular futuristic anti-American novel *Metal Fırtına* (Metal Storm). According to the authors, Orkhun Uçar and Burak Turna, who gave an interview to the mainstream publication *Vatan*, after reading the book people would understand the realities behind Israel and the Jews and cease to regard them positively since they would see how the Jews betrayed Turkey and the Turkish people who had embraced them throughout history.

It should also be noted that many books dealing with conspiracy theories relating to Israel and Jews are freely available in well-known bookstores.

Three events commemorating the Holocaust were organized by the Turkish Jewish community in 2005: an exhibit from the Salonika Holocaust Museum at the Profilo Shopping Mall Theater, Istanbul; a documentary, *The Story of the Violins That Survived the Holocaust*, accompanied by a violin concert by Amnon Weinstein; and for the first time, the participation of some 50 Turkish Jews in the March of the Living on the 60th anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz death camp in Poland.

There has been a significant increase of articles denying the Holocaust in the radical Turkish press. Fatih Sertyüz, in *Milli Gazete*, Hasan Karakaya, in *Vakit* and Selçuk Düzgün, in *Ortadoğu*, all complain that Hitler did not finish off the Jews. Common expressions include: "the Holocaust tale," "lies about genocide," "rooms are not 'gas chambers' and have never been used for such purposes," "the so-called Yad Vashem Genocide Museum," and "the 'legend' called the liberation of Auschwitz." After an article, accompanied by a picture of Hitler and entitled "Hitler's 'Gas' Is a Lie, As Is the 'Jazz' of the Zionists," by Hasan Karakaya, appeared (30 Nov. 2004) in *Vakit*, which is also published in Germany, it was discovered by a German parliamentarian and translated into German. As a result, German Interior Minister Otto

Schilly closed down Yeni Akit, headquarters of the publication of the European edition and demanded that steps be taken against the newspaper in Turkey due to the continuous publication of anti-Jewish and anti-Israel, as well as anti-Western, articles. Turkish Interior Minister Abdulkadir Aksu told Schilly on 12 April 2005 that no action could be taken against the newspaper since there was no law permitting prosecution of the owners. *Vakit* expressed its anger at the ban in Germany by comparing Schilly to Hitler and declaring German politicians to be at the beck and call of the "Jewish lobby."

On the other hand, the well-known writer Engin Ardiç, whose articles appear in the mainstream newspaper *Akşam*, fights actively against Holocaust denial. He has written many times and in great detail about the horror and uniqueness of the Holocaust, after visiting Auschwitz and other camps. Further, columnists from mainstream papers such as Ertuğrul Özkök and Hadi Uluengin from *Hürriyet*, Ayşe Hür and Türker Alkan from *Radikal* and Şemsi Yücel from *Takvim*, as well as Ayşe Günaysu from the fringe, mainly Kurdish-directed paper *Özgür Gündem*, have all written articles condemning antisemitism.

Five cases were being tried in Istanbul. Two dealt with the books *Turkey under the Threat of Israel and Zionism*, by the Turkish nationalist Cemal Anadol, and *The Wooden Sword of the Jew*, by Mustafa Akgün, a columnist with *Milli Gazete* (see *ASW* 2004). Three cases concerned antisemitic statements published in the press. Two of these were initiated by Minister of Justice Cemil Çiçek, who for the first time ever ordered prosecution proceedings concerning antisemitic remarks made during a newspaper interview given in December 2003 by the son of a terrorist who blew himself up in the bomb attack at HSBC Bank on 20 November 2003; another concerned the above-mentioned article in *Vakit*.

The trial of the alleged perpetrators of the November 2003 bombings was also continuing. Some of the arrested were released after the court determined that the attack was not an organized criminal act.

A book called *Fact or Fraud*, by Goran Larsson, which refutes *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, has been published in Turkish and sold in popular bookstores.

In January 2005, Turkish Foreign Affairs Minister Abdullah Gül participated in the ceremonies commemorating the 60th anniversary of Auschwitz, in Poland. He then visited Israel for the first time, and was followed by Minister of Justice Cemil Çiçek and Prime Minister R. Tayyip Erdoğan. The visits, including pictures from Yad Vashem and the speeches made there, especially Cemil Çiçek's statement that

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“Antisemitism is a perversion,” were given wide media coverage in Turkey.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/turkey.htm>

North America

CANADA

Estimates of the size of the Jewish community range from 340,000 to 380,000, out of a total population of approximately 31.1 million. This represents little more than one percent of the population of Canada, down from 1.2 percent a decade ago. The main Jewish centers are Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Winnipeg, Ottawa, Calgary and Edmonton (4,925). The chief advocacy organizations are B'nai Brith Canada and the Council for Israel and Jewish Advocacy (CIJA).

In 2005, 829 incidents were reported to B'nai Brith League for Human Rights (the League), an overall decrease of 3.3 percent over the previous year. However, this reduction follows increases of 46.7 percent in 2004 (857 incidents), 27.2 percent in 2003 (584 incidents) and over 60 percent in 2002 (459 cases). In fact, the total for 2005 still represents the second highest number of incidents since the inception of the League's Audit 23 years ago, and is almost three times the number reported just five years previously when there were 286 cases.

Of the total, 531 (64.1 percent) were classified as harassment, 273 (32.9 percent) as vandalism and 25 (3.0 percent) as violence. Seventy-two harassment incidents involved threats (including bomb threats and threats directed against individuals or sites). The increase in the number of harassment cases in 2005, suggests that in the short term at least, this type of activity has become the method of choice for the majority of those wishing to vent anti-Jewish sentiments.

The figure for vandalism in 2005 dropped by 26 percent from the previous year. Far right-wing activity continued to feature in reports of antisemitic activity in Canada in 2005. Of the 273 cases of vandalism reported Canada-wide, 160 cases involved swastikas on public sites, community buildings and private homes and property.

It has been suggested that increased security measures at major Jewish institutions, especially in Toronto, which in 2004 was hit by a series of such incidents, might have deterred some potential vandals. In Montreal, legal proceedings relating to the 2004 firebombing of the United Talmud Torah Elementary School and the ongoing trial of the perpetrator kept such issues at the forefront of community consciousness (see *ASW* 2004). However, in some areas, such as Alberta, far from Jewish population centers, the number of cases of vandalism has risen. Similarly, in Ottawa, vandalism jumped in 2005 by 29.2 percent over the previous year. In fact, 64.6 percent of incidents in

the capital were classed in this category, whereas harassment made up the majority of incidents elsewhere.

Incidents involving violence decreased overall from 31 cases in 2004 to 25 in 2005. However, in Toronto it rose to 16 incidents from 14 in the previous year, perhaps reflecting the increase in violence in the city in general.

Thirty-five incidents were directed at synagogues in 2005, compared to 40 the previous year, including synagogues in Montreal, Winnipeg, Ottawa, Edmonton and Belleville, Ontario. This suggests that Jewish houses of worship are still considered prime targets. There were also 19 incidents aimed at Jewish communal buildings, such as charitable organizations and community centers, down from 25 in 2004.

Cases involving cemetery desecration dropped to two in 2005 (in Edmonton and Ottawa), from ten in the previous year. The strong police response and negative public reaction following a high profile cemetery desecration case in Toronto in 2004 may have deterred potential perpetrators.

There were 113 incidents directed against Jewish homes, down from 2004 but still up from 95 in 2003. The improvement may be due to increased vigilance by police following rushes of incidents targeting private homes in Toronto and Thornhill, Ontario, during the spring of 2004.

The drop to 48 incidents in the public school system from 66 in 2004 was still more than twice the number recorded in 2003 (22). The eight Jewish schools targeted in 2005 are included in the total number of school incidents.

In 2005, 46 incidents were recorded in the workplace, similar to the 2004 figures, but double the 23 incidents recorded in 2003. An increasing number of cases are occurring in public service settings. Clearly, ingrained prejudice is a problem in government bureaucracy, both federally and provincially, as much as in other employment sectors.

As in previous years, the ethnic origin of the perpetrators was analyzed where possible, for example, where there was a face-to-face encounter and/or the perpetrator identified himself. As in the two previous years, the single most active group carrying out antisemitic incidents was found to be made up of persons who identified themselves as Arab. In 2004 it was reported that this number had more than doubled from 36 in 2003 to 80 in 2004. Although in 2005, the figure declined to 56, this still shows an increase of 64 percent between 2003 and 2005.

Although there were no major trigger events in 2005 emanating from the Middle East, there were intense, short bursts of activity that have

been noted in the past. The antecedents for such spates of antisemitic incidents could be local, such as the attention surrounding the Zündel security certificate hearing in early 2005, which led to a small increase in the first two months of the year. The publicity generated by the trial of native leader David Ahenakew in April 2005 served a similar purpose in terms of the higher level of incidents in May (see below).

There was a region-specific increase in Quebec in January following a spate of antisemitic response in the media to an agreement that was announced, but later struck down, increasing public funding to Jewish schools. Out of a total of 133 incidents during the entire year for the province, 20, or 15 percent, took place in the opening month of the year.

In addition to antisemitic messaging in French or English, anti-Jewish propaganda was disseminated by ethnic groups through foreign language media outlets based in Canada. For example, there were 17 incidents of ethnic media employing Holocaust denial and antisemitic rhetoric in Hungarian, Russian, Pakistani and Chinese publications. In Montreal, a rash of graffiti late in the year appeared to be connected to the Russian ultra-nationalist party Natsional-Sotsialisticheskoe Obshchestvo (NSO – National Socialist Society; <http://www.nso-korpus.info/>) known for its antisemitic messaging.

Jewish students – often visibly Jewish – were targeted in 48 antisemitic incidents reported on campus, similar to levels in 2003 and 2004. Inflammatory anti-Israel campaigns continue to be mounted, demonizing the Jewish state, delegitimizing its existence, and at times endorsing violence and terrorism against its citizens. For example, University of Toronto students announced their intention to file complaints of alleged antisemitic and pro-terrorist statements in speeches made at the 2005 Israel Apartheid Week on that campus. In addition, and as reported in previous years, the anti-Israel atmosphere in some classrooms has sometimes led to anti-Jewish outbursts. There have also been cases in which students experience a more subtle antisemitism, but have refrained from reporting it due to fearing that their academic standing would be compromised.

Professors generally described as left-leaning have spoken or written to the detriment of the Jewish community. For example, Professor David Noble at York University in Toronto alleged in a series of flyers and public statements that Jewish business interests were controlling the university's agenda. A complaint against University of Ottawa Professor Michel Chossudovsky concerning the posting of Holocaust denial comments on a website he runs resulted in the removal of most of the offending material.

In 2005 the League's Anti-Hate Hotline received 161 reports of web-based hate activity with a Canadian connection in terms of content, perpetrators and/or victims, compared to 47 in 2004 and 32 in 2003. This number includes 34 incidents involving targeted hate through direct e-mail messaging, in which the perpetrator managed to obtain the victim's personal e-mail address. Neo-Nazi and Islamist sites continued to disseminate hate material throughout 2005, despite some limited success in shutting down some of these sites, at least temporarily.

Notably, the Canadian Human Rights Commission and Tribunal have signaled a willingness to step up activity to fight hate on the Internet, especially in light of the intensification of neo-Nazi activity through the web, in Canada, as well as around the world. A number of complaints, relating to antisemitic Internet postings by those identifying with extreme right activities were filed with the Commission and referred to the Tribunal for hearing in 2006.

In its decision in *Warman v. Kulbashian*, the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal ordered hefty fines against individuals for their role in maintaining several hate websites and newsletters. The case was significant because it was the first time in Canada that the Internet provider was also found liable for playing a role in soliciting and actively promoting hate content, although the actual servers were established in the United States.

Holocaust denial is not a crime in Canada, and thus remains a common element in anti-Jewish, as well as anti-Israel activity, on campuses, in racist flyers, in Internet propaganda and in street graffiti. It continues to be disseminated by both the far right and the far left. In one incident in 2005, Winnipeg residents complained of finding flyers containing virulent Holocaust denial material plastered on the windshields of their cars parked outside a high school.

Holocaust denial also continues to be a theme in pseudo-academic debate on campus, led by invited speakers such as Lenni Brenner at universities in Hamilton, Ontario and Montreal. The number of reported cases of Holocaust denial/trivialization rose from 15 in 2004 to 39 in 2005. This increase may be ascribed partly to the legitimacy given to such revisionism by academia, which consequently infiltrates mainstream society, without the stigma of overt neo-Nazi activity. A second factor is the recent re-emergence of small Canadian-based neo-Nazi groups.

Reports continue to confirm that extremist Islamic groups fundraise, recruit, disseminate propaganda and conduct operational planning in Canada, taking advantage of the country's liberal immigration and asylum policies. These activities are proscribed under the country's anti-terrorism legislation, though only one charge has been laid since the

legislation was enacted in 2001. Momin Khawaja, a Canadian-born software developer arrested in March, 2004, is being held in connection with alleged links to a foiled British bomb plot. There are also ongoing proceedings in which four individuals with alleged links to extremist Islamic groups are challenging security certificates issued against each of them.

A mandatory review of Canada's anti-terrorism legislation that began under the previous government was still in progress at the end of 2005 when federal elections took place. The new government has pledged to take a stronger stand against extremist elements operating on Canadian soil, as well as on the issue of global terrorism.

Reports increasingly point to the existence of a cadre of 'home grown' extremists within the immigrant and refugee population. The investigative book *The Path to Terror* by Canadian journalist Stewart Bell demonstrates this trend.

In recent years antisemitism in far left circles has become more overt, although it is frequently veiled in the language of anti-Zionist rhetoric and therefore is generally tolerated, whether on campus or in public demonstrations. Such groups often borrow from the imagery used on far right sites. For example, signs appeared at anti-war protests in Ottawa equating Israeli leaders with Hitler and the Jewish Star of David with the swastika. Antisemitic postings were reported on far left sites such as Indymedia outlets originating in Canada, as well as in other left-leaning media. In one posting, control by Jews was blamed for a rise in the price of oil.

Far left groups and media sites have embraced anti-Israel causes with alacrity and often join forces with groups espousing such positions. This collusion was reflected in comments by Dr. Mohamed Elmasry, University of Waterloo engineering professor and president of the Canadian Islamic Congress, who publicly justified terror attacks against Israelis over the age of 18.

Right-wing extremists continued to be active across the country. Neo-Nazi symbols were reported at high schools in the Ontario area, as well as on other school property across the country. A high-school student in the Belleville area (Ontario) was charged in connection with an antisemitic flyer containing a hand-drawn swastika and racist comments. Attempts to recruit high school students to the far right/white supremacist cause were recorded on a number of websites. A growing source of hate culture among Canadian youth is 'hate rock'.

White supremacists are among the most active extreme rightists. This is evidenced, for example, in the Canadian-based website Stormfront Canada for neo-Nazis and their sympathizers, and the activities of Paul

Fromm of CAFE, who sees himself as the protector of European white culture and free speech. A number of militant white supremacists are facing criminal charges and/or human rights complaints in Canada.

Racist organizations are still not prohibited in the country, putting Canada in continued violation of Article 4(b) of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. A proposal that racist groups and racist symbols be banned in Canada did not meet with broad public support.

The legal system was used during 2005 to access protection for victims of hate-related activity, with varying measures of success. There was an increase in the number of charges laid in 2005 to a total of 37, compared to 12 in 2004,

Of the 829 incidents of antisemitic incidents recorded in 2005, only 32 percent, or 303 incidents, were brought by victims to the attention of law enforcement agencies, representing a drop from the previous year when 45 percent of incidents were reported to the police.

A number of hate-related cases in the public eye during 2005 suggest that hate crimes are finally being treated more seriously. In 2005, following ongoing delays, aboriginal leader David Ahenakew was convicted of willfully promoting hatred against Jews. The charges stemmed from a 2002 discussion with a reporter in which Ahenakew referred to Jews, among other things, as a "disease" and commented that Hitler was right to "fry" six million of them.

There were also encouraging signs in the apparent willingness to use the criminal system to fight the explosion of hate on the Internet. In 2005, Alberta-based Reinhard Gusav Mueller (Aka Reni Sentana-Reis) was convicted of willfully promoting hatred in connection with anti-Jewish comments he posted to a website. This was the first criminal prosecution related to Internet hate propaganda to go to trial in Canada.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/canada.htm>

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Jewish community in the United States – the largest concentration of Jews in the world outside Israel – numbers 5.2–6 million, or 2.2 percent of the total population of 282.1 million. The bulk of American Jewry live in major metropolitan areas and their environs, including New York, Los Angeles, Southeast Florida, Chicago, Boston, San Francisco Bay, Philadelphia and Cleveland. Leading national Jewish organizations include the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) and the Anti-Defamation League (ADL).

While most antisemitic activity in the US is limited to hate propaganda, members of extremist organizations and their associates -- as well as some private individuals – sometimes engage in threats, violence and vandalism. The overall total of 1,757 antisemitic incidents in 2005 was down 3 percent from 2004 (1,821); this is still a higher level than that reported in the preceding six year period. According to FBI statistics, antisemitic incidents constituted 12.5 percent of the total number of hate crimes reported in 2004.

Cases of harassment decreased by 3 percent in 2005, with 1,140 reported compared to 1,177 in 2004. Acts of vandalism decreased by 4 per cent to 617 incidents, compared to 644 reported in 2004 (and 628 in 2003). Examples ranged from synagogue vandalism to swastikas and other anti-Jewish graffiti painted on schools, private homes and public buildings.

In the eight states with the highest number of harassment reports, 112 of 871 incidents of harassment, 13 percent, were related to right-wing extremist group propaganda activity, compared to 15 percent in 2004. An unusually high number of incidents in early 2005 (17 harassment, 11 vandalism) in the rural state of Montana was due to concerted activity by the National Alliance.

A factor that again played a role in both harassment and vandalism incidents was the high number of antisemitic acts reported at middle and high schools. In the eight states with the highest overall totals of antisemitic acts in 2005, 13 percent of all incidents were school-based – the same level reported in 2004. Incidents included swastikas painted or scratched on desks, walls and other school property and antisemitic name-calling, slurs, mockery and bullying.

Campus incidents increased significantly, to 98, from the 2004 total of 74, still fewer than the 106 reported in 2002. (In the three-year period

2000–2002, campus incidents increased by over 50 percent.) Besides vandalism of Jewish student organization property and harassment of Jewish students, these included some activities that crossed the line from anti-war and anti-Israel rallies and demonstrations to harassment of Jewish students and other antisemitic phenomena.

Increasingly, international terrorist organizations with an antisemitic agenda – including Hamas, Hizballah, and al-Qa`ida-affiliated groups – which target the United States generally, and Jews specifically – have found Internet providers in the United States less willing to host their antisemitic and violence-promoting materials. Nevertheless, terrorist groups continued to use US providers to post and distribute anti-US and antisemitic propaganda, and to urge the targeting of Jews in the US and around the world. Pronouncements by al-Qa`ida leaders, including Usama bin Ladin and Ayman al-Zawahiri often include accusations against ‘the ‘Crusaders’ and ‘the Jews’. For example, a rocket attack on 27 December, from southern Lebanon against Israeli targets was followed by an audio message by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi posted to the Internet via a US server that stated: “The rocket firing at the descendants of monkeys and pigs from the south of Lebanon was only the start of a blessed in-depth strike against the Zionist enemy... All that was on the instructions of the sheikh of the mujahideen, Osama bin Laden, may God preserve him.”

The year 2005 witnessed the disintegration of two major white supremacist groups: Aryan Nations and National Alliance, and the final demise of a third, the World Church of the Creator (now Creativity Movement), with the sentencing of leader Matt Hale in April to 40 years in prison for soliciting the murder of Federal Judge Joan H. Lefkow and obstructing justice.

With the split of the once powerful National Alliance (and the formation of a new rival group, National Vanguard), the National Socialist Movement has come to the fore and is trying to position itself as the leading neo-Nazi group in the country. The majority of extremist groups focused in 2005 on distributing flyers and organizing rallies against immigration. Several extremist groups had television shows on cable television, including the National Alliance and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The skinhead movement which had seemed to fade in the 1990s appears to have re-emerged, a trend accompanied also by a rise in violent skinhead activity.

Following his release from prison in May 2004 (see *ASW* 2004), former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke continued promoting his antisemitic theories and white supremacist outreach. Duke has a weekly live Internet question and answer program on Don Black’s *Stormfront*

forum, featuring prominent extremist guests. He flew to Sweden twice in 2005, in January to give speeches and meet with like-minded Scandinavian racists, and in August to speak at a 'Nordic Alliance Festival'. Duke convened the annual European American Conference in New Orleans on 20–22 May 2005, with the theme of unification in opposition to Jews. Significantly, three hundred disparate American and international white supremacists gathered to participate in the conference.

In June Duke attended an antisemitic conference in Ukraine, entitled "Zionism as the Biggest Threat to Modern Civilization," sponsored by MAUP, the Inter-regional Academy of Personnel Management (see *Ukraine*). In September he was officially awarded a doctorate in history by MAUP, where he has lectured occasionally since 2002. MAUP had earlier given him an honorary doctorate. His dissertation topic was "Zionism as a Form of Ethnic Supremacism."

Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, organized the Millions More Movement, commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Million Man March. Despite continued antisemitic and racially divisive statements, he gained mainstream support from the black community for the march in October. At one Millions More Movement rally, Farrakhan responded to critics by attacking the Jewish community: "I do not hate the Jewish people; put that down! What I hate is the degree of control that they exercise over black intellectual, cultural expression..."

NOI member Ashahed M. Muhammad, who runs the antisemitic website Truth Establishment Institute, published *The Synagogue of Satan*, an antisemitic work advocating Jewish conspiracy theories, Holocaust revisionism, and biblical connections to Satan/evil. The theme of the book is that the 'truth' is being obscured by satanic powers, led by Jewish organizations, Jewish theology, and Jewish predilections to immorality. The book was encouraged by the NOI leadership, and promoted on the website of the NOI organ *The Final Call*.

Malik Shabazz of the New Black Panther Party (NBPP), known for previous anti Zionist and antisemitic statements, told students at Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, in February: "Zionism is racism," "Zionism is terrorism" and "you cannot be a real Jew and a Zionist at the same time." Shabazz had been invited by Spirit, which describes itself as a multicultural student group.

Deprived of the pseudo-academic respectability formerly granted by the California-based Institute for Historical Review (IHR), in decline since 2001, the neo-Nazi proclivities of Holocaust deniers in the United States have come into sharper focus. During an early 2005 US lecture tour British Holocaust denier David Irving spoke at several meetings of

the neo-Nazi National Alliance. Ingrid Rimland, wife and webmaster of Ernst Zündel and a Holocaust denier in her own right spoke at the University of Colorado at Boulder and addressed a National Alliance meeting in June 2005.

Germar Rudolf, a Holocaust denier convicted of inciting racial hatred and defaming the memory of the dead in his native Germany in 1995, also positioned himself in American right-wing extremist circles during his time in the US, becoming an associate of David Duke and serving on the editorial board of the Holocaust denying monthly *The Barnes Review*. Rudolf was deported back to Germany by US immigration authorities in November 2005.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/usa.htm>

Latin America

ARGENTINA

The Jewish population of Argentina, numbering about 180,000 out of a total population of 37 million, has been declining since the 1960s. Some 80 percent live in the city of Buenos Aires and the Greater Buenos Aires area. Cities with a large Jewish presence include Rosario, Córdoba, San Miguel de Tucumán, Mendoza, Bahía Blanca, La Plata and Santa Fe. The leading Jewish organization is the DAIA (Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas), which represents communities and organizations to the authorities and is responsible for safeguarding the rights of members. AMIA (Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina) is the main community center for educational, cultural and recreational activities.

According to the annual report of the DAIA, the number of antisemitic incidents more than doubled in 2005 – 375 compared to 160–185 in previous years. However, most were manifestations of graffiti, especially swastikas, painted on walls on or near Jewish facilities, including cemeteries. There were also phone threats and insults to Jewish individuals and institutions. The graffiti was usually the work of urban groups with neo-Nazi connections.

According to the NGO INADI (National Institute against Discrimination, Xenophobia and Racism), 7 percent of the reports it received in 2005 related to antisemitism.

Several cemeteries were desecrated. Antisemitic slogans and swastikas were found sprayed throughout the La Tablada cemetery on 24 July. Plaques, flower pots and fixtures at the Carmel Jewish cemetery in the town of Ingeniero Sajaroff (Villaguay) were vandalized on 17 January. The Sephardic cemetery at the city of Mendoza was also defaced with swastikas.

The Jewish Center of Ramos Mejia was spray painted and flyers were handed out denying the Holocaust and branding it a 'holostory'. Two culprits, Leonel de la Torre and Jose Remigio Galva, were caught. Their political views were not revealed.

Graffiti, including swastikas and the slogan "Jews out," appeared on walls at central locations and near synagogues in the city of General Roca, in the southern province of Rio Negro, on 9 May. The inscription, "Jews, the eternal cancer. God, deliver us from them" also appeared in the neighborhood of Palermo, in Buenos Aires. The text "A Jew lives here. She is not welcome in this neighborhood" appeared at the front of the house of a Jewish plastic artist in Belgrano, Buenos Aires.

Further, swastikas frequently appear on the walls of cities and towns. The display of symbols linked to the Nazi era is common in the soccer stadium. For example, the swastika appears frequently in the Talleres Cordoba stadium and some youths displayed Nazi flags there when their team played their main rival Belgrano de Cordoba in 2005.

T-shirts decorated with swastikas were sold in the city of Cordoba on 18 March. Nazi symbols were also displayed at a union demonstration in the Province of Chaco on 4 May.

The 15-year-old son of an Orthodox rabbi was verbally abused with antisemitic insults when he emerged from a subway station. A non-Jew was similarly abused. Federal Judge Daniel Rafecas found the culprits guilty of aggravated threats under the anti-discrimination law. He ordered them to visit the Buenos Aires Holocaust Museum, together with their parents.

Most antisemitic propaganda appears on the websites of Argentinean neo-Nazis, who disseminate classic Nazi literature and incite violence. Explaining the significance of 30 January 1933, one piece claims that Adolf Hitler's rise to power as German chancellor symbolizes that the enemies of all good things on earth are not invincible and that this fact should motivate their fight.

Of Argentina's two main extreme right-wing organizations, Partido Nuevo Triunfo (PNT) and Partido Nuevo Orden Social Patriotico (PNOSP), only the former was active in 2005. Alejandro Biondini (pseudonym 'Kalki' – see *ASW* 2001/2) continues to lead the PNT, which runs the website Ciudad Libertad de Opinion and celebrates Hitler's birthday. Since the Federal Supreme Court denied the party legal status because of its identification with Nazism, it cannot field candidates in elections. PNT is associated with another small far right party, Accion Ciudadana (100–150 members), which obtained only 3,802 votes, or 0.2 percent, in the elections to Buenos Aires City Assembly held on 23 October 2005.

There was no progress in the judicial investigations into the bombings of the Israeli embassy (1992) and the AMIA community center (1994) in Buenos Aires. This state of affairs left the Jewish community frustrated and raised doubts about the competence of the legal system to do justice.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/argentina.htm>

BRAZIL

Brazil, the largest country in Latin America, has a Jewish population of about 100,000, out of a total population of over 185 million inhabitants. Most Jews live in Brazil's major cities – Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Porto Alegre – but some live in small communities on the shores of the Amazon River and in other remote locations, such as Bahia, Belém and Manaus. The Confederação Israelita do Brasil (CONIB) is the umbrella institution representing the Jewish communities of Brazil.

The most serious antisemitic incident in 2005 was a skinhead attack in the city of Porto Alegre, in the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul, on 8 May. The youths assaulted three visibly Jewish youngsters (two of them wore skullcaps) with knives, seriously wounding one of them. Four skinheads were arrested and received probationary sentences. Books from the antisemitic Castan Editorial House (see *ASW* 2004), such as *Livro Branco do Cristianismo*, by a former sergeant of the Brazilian army Sérgio Oliveira, a well-known neo-Nazi figure, were found in a police raid in their homes.

In January graffiti against colored people, homosexuals and Jews was found on the walls and toilets of the PUC, Catholic University, of Rio de Janeiro. In May, Nazi symbols and antisemitic graffiti appeared on the walls of the UFRJ (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro). In both cases the authorities and the secretary for human rights asked the police to intervene. The rector of PUC and the president of the Rio de Janeiro Jewish community Osias Wurman issued a joint statement declaring that they would work together “conducting seminars about the Holocaust, antisemitism and all kind of discrimination.”

Some radical left-wing circles called for an end to the State of Israel. In an article entitled “Sharon, Bush and the UN Supported the Peace of the Cemeteries,” in the party paper *Opinião Socialista* (14–20 April), Cecilia Toledo, a journalist with the small radical left-wing political party PSTU (Partido Socialista do Trabalho Unido), claimed that destruction of the Israel state was the only possible solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. There was no possibility of peace “because it is impossible to make peace between thieves and victims... The only peace that can be attained is with “the unconditional help of the oppressed and poor states around the world in order to destroy the State of Israel.”

Left-wing journalists make no effort to understand the Israeli side of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and continued to depict Israel as a colonialist state working for US interests. In an Internet article, entitled “International Fundamentalism,” the influential Catholic left-wing

intellectual and writer Leonardo Boff (formerly a priest), maintained that there were three types of fundamentalism or terrorism on the international scene: globalization (represented by the US), Islamic suicide bombing (represented by bin Laden) and 'preventive war' (represented by Bush and Sharon). "The basis of Sharon's terrorist state is... the idea that the Jews have a greater right than the Palestinians to have a state as great as that which existed in the time of King David. That is why Sharon continues to colonize and will boycott any peace initiative that does not suit this purpose," he said.

The *Brazilian Journal* (*Jornal do Brasil*, once the main newspaper in Rio de Janeiro, now second to *O Globo*) was the most antisemitic and anti-Israel publication in 2005. Following protests from the Jewish community, Nelson Tanuri, its director said that he would cease publishing the column of 'Nataniel Jebão', pseudonym of Fausto Wolff, who compared Ariel Sharon to Hitler. The paper also published a cartoon of Sharon on his sickbed playing chess with a resurrected Arafat, who hinted that the Palestinians would have the last move.

Despite his conviction for racism by the Federal Supreme Court, Holocaust denier Sigfried Ellwanger, Castan continues to sell antisemitic books on the website of his publishing house Editorial House Revisão (see *ASW* 2004). In the article "Números de Auschwitz e outros números," Professor Altair Reinehr, a friend and defense witness at Ellwanger's trial, claimed in the 'traditional' newspaper of Joinville/SC *A Notícia* (12 March 2005) that the Holocaust was a legend. He said that Ellwanger had asked his American friend Fred Leuchter Jr., "a US expert in the construction of gas chambers," to visit Auschwitz in order to analyze whether there really were gas chambers there. Leuchter was convicted in Massachusetts in 1990 for impersonating an engineer.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/brazil.htm>

CHILE

The Jewish community of Chile, numbering approximately 15,000 out of a total population of 14.5 million, is concentrated mostly in the capital Santiago de Chile, with a scattering in the provinces of Iquique, Valparaíso, Viña del Mar, Concepción, Temuco and Valdivia.

An increase in antisemitic activity was recorded in Chile. Harassment and graffiti were the main forms of antisemitic expression, exceeding the figures for the previous three years. There were 40 antisemitic incidents altogether, including two violent incidents against Jews, 19 of harassment and 12 of graffiti. In the violence category, a father reported two consecutive assaults on his son by an unidentified group, and a fight broke out between Palestinian and Jewish youths following a barrage of insults directed by the former at the latter.

In the harassment category, passengers in a car passing the Jewish community center in Santiago De Chile on 24 June, threw a toy bear out of the window, with a message saying, "Death to the Jews!"

There were also several antisemitic incidents on university campuses. On 16 June, two Jewish students at the University of Los Andes reported to community leaders that a professor of anthropology had stated during a lecture that Jews are ignorant and smell bad. A similar claim relating to the same professor was made in 2004. Further, after a student at the University of ARCIS (Universidad ARCIS) asked her professor, Francisco Krebs, to postpone by a day a group seminar for presentation of papers because of the Jewish Day of Atonement Yom Kippur, the professor, after asking Catholics, Evangelists and Jehovah Witnesses to identify themselves on the day, stated: "If Hitler had completed his work you wouldn't have this little problem [the delay in the presentations] today."

The newspaper *El Tiempo* of the city of Santa Cruz (2 May) published an article by Marcelo Contreras, who compared Jews to usurers, commenting that they were an unfortunate fact that had to be tolerated. On the same day, the radio program "Good Evening Chile, Good Evening Pudahuel" on Radio Station Pudahuel broadcast a quiz, which included the question: Who put the bread in the oven? One of the respondents replied, "The Jewish dog," which was voted the best answer.

A program screened on Chile's national TV station in late 2005 exposing the magnitude of the neo-Nazi movement, and particularly its growth in the country's interior, aroused a strong public reaction. The program acted as a boomerang against neo-Nazis, most of whom went

underground or lowered their profile considerably (including the Patria Nueva Sociedad – Patriotic New Society, PNS). Some groups split or began to reorganize. At the same time, steps were taken in the Congress to hasten enactment of an anti-discrimination law. A draft of the law was approved on 5 October. It includes discrimination motivated by xenophobia, class differences, racism and religious belief. It has to be approved by the Senate and the Supreme Court before it is passed into law.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/chile.htm>

MEXICO

The Jewish community numbers about 40,000, out of a total population of 104 million. Most Jews live in the capital Mexico City and its suburbs, while the rest are located in the cities of Guadalajara, Monterrey, Tijuana and Cancun. The Jewish Central Committee of Mexico (JCCM) is the representative body of Mexican Jews.

Thirty-seven antisemitic incidents were reported in 2005, one more than in 2004. As in previous years, most were offensive e-mails received by Jewish institutions. Although no violent antisemitic incidents were recorded, there were several cases of insults shouted at Jews as well as threatening phone calls, such as one received on 15 April by the Sephardic School.

Anti-Jewish graffiti, mainly swastikas, were found in the environs of synagogues as well as in neighborhoods with large Jewish populations. Throughout the year, a stand at the La Lagunilla public market sold a variety of Nazi memorabilia. In September a group of street vendors organized a protest outside the Ministry of Health, at which one of the signs read: "All the problems are caused by Jews."

At the end of September and beginning of October, swastikas and antisemitic graffiti (such as "Jewish pig") against Dr. Santiago Levy, director of the Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social (IMSS – Government Social Security Institute), were painted on the walls and sidewalks of the IMSS offices, and participants in demonstrations of the IMSS Worker's Union shouted antisemitic expressions. The workers' were protesting a new law being promoted by Levy to change some of the union's benefits. The Jewish community issued a condemnatory press release, which gained the immediate support of the media, the government and the authorities, including the president. Within an hour of the community statement, the union sent a letter apologizing and denying any official participation. The incident was condemned by various media organs. The CONAPRED (National Council to Prevent and Eradicate Discrimination), the center-left PASDC (Social Alliance Democratic and Farmers Party), and the IMSS all filed suits against the union and, following a hearing before the CONAPRED, the workers were ordered to participate in a seminar on discrimination.

There are no overtly antisemitic radio stations, newspapers or television broadcasters; however, some articles in mainstream publications contained antisemitic references: for example, "... [the Jews] own all the dollars and the gold in Mexico and they can take it with them" (José Carlos Robles, *El Sol de Medio Día*, 6 July).

On 14 May, during a morning news program transmitted on Radio Centro, the host, Héctor Martínez Serrano argued that “before talking about the seriousness of the Holocaust we should know the motives and know more... it is a topic inflated by the Jews who control the propaganda and are powerful within the media... it was not a lie, but its not such an important topic.”

The dynamics of the Israeli-Arab conflict have had a major impact on the mainstream media where anti-Israel positions are frequently mixed with antisemitic stereotypes. “... Sharon is transforming the Palestinian territory into an immense extermination camp, just like Hitler. Sharon can be compared to Hitler” (José Cabrera Parra, *La Crisis*, 6 July).

Left-wing demonization of Israel is often linked to traditional anti-Americanism: “The United States and Israel base their economies in the armament industries... On the pretext of combating terrorism, they reserve the ‘right’ to determine who they consider terrorist and protect the terrorists that work for them” (Gilberto López y Rivas, *La Jornada*, 17 July). “Who can stop the beast? In the name of ‘democracy’ and ‘freedom’, nations such as Afghanistan and Iraq have been totally destroyed by the ‘international community’. And an entire people, Palestine, tenaciously and heroically resists the extermination policy imposed by Israel” (José Steinsleger, *La Jornada*, 23 Nov.).

In the anti-Zionist discourse, including in the mainstream media, Israel is portrayed as the perpetual aggressor and its argument of self-defense is regarded as a pretext to launch new ‘fascist’ and ‘racist’ attacks. “Unfortunately, Jews consider themselves the Chosen People. This idea – openly racist and segregationist in favor of the so called Children of Abraham, has been used as an excuse to justify all types of aggression against people whom they consider inferior” (Ricardo Monroy D’Garde, *Unomasuno*, 22 Sept.).

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion was sold in some bookstores and coffee shops. In August the books were removed from the shelves as part of a campaign run by Tribuna Israelita, the JCCM’s public opinion and analysis agency, to sensitize the public to the danger of distributing such literature.

Although local and international copyright laws forbid the publication of *Mein Kampf* in Mexico, the book is available in bookstores and at illegal stands in downtown Mexico City, where Nazi insignia and memorabilia can also be found.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/mexico.htm>

URUGUAY

The Jewish community of Uruguay is estimated at about 25,000 out of a population of 3.2 million. The majority of Jews live in the capital Montevideo, with a smaller community in the city of Paysandú. The Comité Central Israelita del Uruguay (CCIU), embracing some 60 communities and organizations, functions as the national Jewish representative body.

The level of antisemitic activity in 2005 was similar to that recorded in 2004. Wall graffiti in the streets and on or near Jewish institutions was the main expression of antisemitism. Small ultra-right-wing groups, such as Aryan Significance (Protagonismo Ario) and Skinheads (Cabecitas rapadas), with nationalistic and neo-Nazi tendencies, appeared to have been responsible for most antisemitic manifestations.

Antisemitic graffiti appeared in the capital city Montevideo as well as in small towns with almost no Jews. For example, in March large swastikas alongside a Star of David were painted on the Jewish Treasury building in Montevideo. On 27 May the slogan "Death to the Jews and the Negroes" signed by skinheads (Cabecitas rapadas) appeared on the walls of the Brausse School, in the small city of Pando, Department of Canelones, near Montevideo, where almost no Jews live.

The slogan "Israel is a fascist state" and drawings of a huge swastika alongside a Star of David, appeared together with an anarchist symbol on 16 August on the wall of a sport club (Club Trouville), in Montevideo. Similar graffiti was smeared on the same day on a wall in the neighborhood of Pocitos, where a large number of Jewish families live. Pocitos was targeted again in September and December when inscriptions such as "Ugly Jews," "Gay Jews" and "Even making soap out of you is too good," accompanied by large swastikas, were painted there.

On 31 May, the leaders of the anarchist group apparently responsible for the above graffiti, Ignacio Jacobo and Felipe Gabriel Vilanova Vidal, passed through the EIHU (Escuela Integral Hebrea Uruguay) Jewish school shouting: insults such as "Dirty Jews" and "Jews are dirty Zionists." They were arrested but freed on the following day because they had no criminal record.

There was no noticeable growth of antisemitism in the Uruguayan mainstream or ultra-right media and neither the press nor journalists in Uruguay may be considered antisemitic. Nevertheless, some groups and publications on the radical left, such as the unequivocally pro-Palestinian

La Juventud (Youth), link antisemitic stereotypes to anti-Israel political positions.

A leaflet containing swastikas and anti-Jewish slogans (such as “Negroes to Africa,” “Yellow people to Asia,” “Jews to soap”) was distributed in the Faculty of Psychology at the University of the Republic in Montevideo on 4 April by the ultra-right-wing Protagonismo Ario. Other leaflets of the group, stating “Destroy the cursed Judo-Masonic-Marxist alliance” and “No to Marxism and No to Liberalism. Say Yes only to Nationalism,” were handed out there in September.

The ultra-rightist individual ‘Agusgas’ advertised Nazi literature for sale, including Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*, on the commercial web page www.deremate.com.uy.

On 28 June, Herman Hansen, governor of Ciudad Vieja, Montevideo, was accused by local Jewish businessmen of making antisemitic statements. Hansen allegedly praised Hitler during a meeting over a conflict relating to public transport in the area.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/uruguay.htm>

VENEZUELA

There are probably no more than 15,000 Jews remaining in Venezuela, out of a total population of close to 26 million. Most of the Jews live in the capital Caracas, while the second largest community is in Maracaibo. The Confederación de Asociaciones Israelitas de Venezuela (CAIV) embraces five organizations: Asociación Israelita de Venezuela (Sephardi), Unión Israelita de Caracas (Ashkenazi), the Zionist Organization, B'nai B'rith and Organization of Jewish Women.

The tone for the antisemitism that has permeated Venezuelan society in recent years is set by President Hugo Chavez himself, who generally blames the Jews and/or the Israeli government for perceived historical or contemporary injustices. For instance, in his discourse commemorating the Day of the Discovery of America in October 2005, he compared the situation of the Indians with that of the Palestinians: “[you Indians whom] governments, economic sectors and great land estates murdered... in this land. You were expelled from your homeland, like the heroic Palestinian people were” (*El Nacional*, 13 Oct.).

Venezuela's strong links with Iran and the Arab world, as a member of the oil producing nations, influence the Chavez government's attitude toward the Middle East conflict as well as toward the Jews. On 28 October 2005, the Iranian deputy minister of foreign relations for Europe and Latin America, Sa'id Jalili, who was making an official visit to Venezuela and other Latin American countries, said on Venezuelan Television that Iranian President Ahmadinejad's statements about the need to eliminate the State of Israel had been taken out of context. However, claiming that Israel was not a truly democratic country, he proposed holding a referendum of all Arabs, Jews and Christians, out of which a really democratic country would emerge and solve the problem in the area. This in effect would mean the end of the State of Israel.

Antisemitic messages featured in the speeches and literature of government officials, pro-government organizations and the left. The anti-Americanism of the government and its populist ideology provide a framework for statements that at times may be interpreted as antisemitic and at others are undoubtedly so. For example, in August, a leaflet announcing the 16th International Festival of Youth and Students, scheduled for 7–15 August and distributed by pro-government groups at the Simon Bolivar International Airport in Caracas, accused the CIA of planning to depose Chavez from the presidency: “... following Iraq and Iran's threat of a petroleum embargo on all nations that support the Jewish government's genocidal policies of Ariel Sharon in the military

occupied Palestinian territories.” Thus, it was stated, the US defends its interests in the Middle East and its Jewish ally unconditionally.

In February and March the official media published several articles comparing the Israeli army’s treatment of the Palestinians with the Holocaust and the suffering of the Jewish people. These were apparently intended to ‘balance’ reports of the UN session commemorating the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. An article in *Correo de Caracas* (weekly of Municipality of Libertador; 7–13 Feb. 2005), entitled “What Is Going On?” (“Qué tal”), claimed, for instance, that these events were preparation for a US-Israeli attack on Iran and inferred that contemporary Jews were behaving like Nazis.

Nicolás Maduro, president of the National Assembly and deputy representing the coalition party MVR (Movimiento Quinta Republica – Chavez’ party) told the mainstream newspaper *El Universal* (05 Feb.), that: “If we cry and repudiate Auschwitz, thereby remembering the dark part of humanity, we need to do the same for the Palestinian and Iraqi people.”

In “The Current Holocaust (“El Holocausto actual”), printed in the pro-Chavez *Últimas Noticias* (31 Jan.), Augusto Hernández, an attorney working for a government organization, claimed that he could not understand how the Jews, as an intelligent community who could arouse international awareness with their emphasis on commemoration of the Holocaust, could persecute another people for reasons similar to those for which they were persecuted by the Nazis. “The Holocaust is now being repeated against the Arabs, by Israel.”

Similarly, in “Auschwitz” (the national *El Mundo*, 2 Feb.), the government-linked sociologist Jeudiel Martínez claimed that the families of exterminated Jews had been carrying out carefully planned ethnic cleansing in Palestine.

A program on Radio Nacional de Venezuela went further, casting doubts on the Holocaust. In “On the Table” (*Sobre el tapete*), aired on 2 February and re-broadcast by Canal Informativo, journalist Vladimir Acosta, referring to the Auschwitz commemoration events, said it was known that the number of 6 million was false and though one million was tragic, Jewish lies were more upsetting. He also spoke of Jewish monopoly of a tragedy that had affected other victims as well. Two weeks later he asserted on the same program that commemoration of Auschwitz was a form of blackmail; those who were victims for 2000 years were now the perpetrators in Palestine: “The Zionist and fascist state of Israel allows itself to assassinate Palestinians.”

On the program “La Hojilla,” the moderator Mario Silva explained that although more Poles, Czechs and Russians had been killed in World

War II, the Jews were the ones who monopolized the subject on film because of their control of Hollywood. He, too, compared the suffering of the Palestinians to that inflicted by Hitler.

On the program "Vive TV" (20 Nov.), on state TV, which discussed the discovery of America, lecturer Jorge Falcone said that "money had created a candle to the 6 million Jews that died," but no one lamented the 20 million people who died during the conquest of America because they did not have the money that the Jews have.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/venezuela.htm>

Australasia and South Africa

AUSTRALIA

The 115–120,000 Jews in Australia out of a total population of over 20 million constitute the largest Jewish community in the East Asia Pacific Region. The great majority of Australian Jews live in Melbourne and Sydney, but there are also significant communities in Perth, Brisbane, the Gold Coast and Adelaide. The elected body of the Jewish community is the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ).

During 2005, the ECAJ logged 281 reports of anti-Jewish violence, vandalism, harassment and intimidation, the lowest figure since 1997. Nevertheless, this number is about twice that recorded in the early 1990s. Although many of the incidents were threats rather than physical attacks on persons or property, hundreds of Jewish individuals and organizations were targeted, some many times over. Most of the attacks were anonymous.

Antisemitic individuals or those associated with far left publications or extreme right organizations may have been sources of inspiration or served as justification for these attacks. The Internet facilitated anti-Jewish conspiracy theories, which occasionally reached the mainstream media and broader audiences. The virulence of some public criticism of Israeli actions and their continued misrepresentation, as well as misinformation about Israel's history and politics serve to encourage and rationalize anti-Jewish bigotry (see below).

Although the number of incidents of assault, arson and vandalism in 2005 was the lowest since 1998, the combined figure for physical assault, property damage, vandalism, graffiti and face-to-face harassment was nevertheless 3 percent above average. The rate of threats conveyed by telephone, mail, leaflets, posters or e-mail was average for the 15-year period.

Reports of anti-Jewish graffiti were 40 percent above the annual average. The level of e-mail harassment, which had risen continuously until 2004, returned to pre-2001 amounts.

Coverage of issues relating to the Australian Jewish community by the mainstream media is extensive and out of all proportion to the community's size. However, it is generally responsible and does not play unduly on the 'Jewishness' of individuals or of issues. There are no overtly antisemitic radio stations, newspapers or television broadcasters; however, some comments and letters in mainstream publications in 2005, although much fewer than in the previous four years, contained

antisemitic references. They included: a description by a mainstream columnist of Douglas Feith, US Under Secretary for Defense until Aug. 05, as a “mad-eyed Zionist” (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 Jan.); and a comment by a contestant in the TV show “Big Brother” that a rival perceived as ungenerous was a “Jew” (TV10, 14 May).

There were also concerns about Internet bulletin boards associated with mainstream media. Examples included: Holocaust denying comments posted by Fredrick Toben of the Adelaide Institute in the online guestbook of ABC Radio National’s “Saturday Breakfast” (22 May 2005); Holocaust denial and attacks on “the jews” posted anonymously on the *Canberra Times* Internet discussion forum (18 Aug.); and a series of posts including promotion of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, claims that “Jewish hands” control all US media and assertions that all antisemitism was the result of Jewish ‘actions’ on the Dateline Forum of SBS television (31 Dec.).

The online forums of Islamic Sydney provided evidence of the proliferation of antisemitic myths within the Australian Muslim community. In January, a discussion took place on “Freemasons and Freemasonry,” in which it was alleged Masonry “serves the aims of world Jewry” and “the core of absolute secrecy and strict hierarchy enables it to make use of the positions and influence of its non-Jewish members to serve the Jewish cause.” In another discussion, ‘Afroz’, a forum mediator, referred to concerns about antisemitism as “a whole lot of huloo buloo” with “the use of victim mentality to make others a victim of theirs [*sic*]” (25 May). In other discussions, it was alleged that “a Satanic Cult” comprising Jews “rules the world” (15 June); “Al-Qaeda is a Jewish myth just like the Holocaust” (21 Oct.); and “Jewish fundamentalism for instance teaches... Gentiles should not even be considered or treated as human beings” (8 Dec. 2005).

Similarly, depictions of Judaism as existentially opposed to non-Jews, in general, and/or to Islam, in particular, appeared on the discussion forum of the Islamic Association of Australia (2 March); Mission Islam (Australia) (22 July); Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jamaah’s Islamic Information and Support Centre of Australia (18 Aug.) and Mecca News (7 Oct.).

In 2005, a number of Australian journalists exposed the promotion of vicious antisemitic material circulating amongst Islamic youth in Australia and the sale of books such as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* at major bookstores serving the Islamic community. The spokesperson for Hizb ut-Tahrir in Australia stated that “Jews are a people of slander” and that it was appropriate to kill Jews to “establish an Islamic state” (ABC Radio, 25 July).

Notably, the Australian Federation of Islamic Councils, the roof body of Australian Muslims, was among the groups which publicly condemned antisemitism in the Islamic community in 2005 (21 July).

The Australian branches of the far left transnational Indymedia group, are sources of extremely anti-Israel and overtly antisemitic material. Examples include: "the story of Zionism is the story of Nazism and Apartheid rolled into one" (Sydney Indymedia, 2 Feb.); "it is their duty as Jews to steal from those around them that are not Jewish" (Melbourne Indymedia, 2 Feb.); and "the jews... willingly perform ritualistic rape and mutilations and drinking of infant blood" (Sydney Indymedia, 8 March 2005).

Although there is little evidence to suggest Holocaust denial has an impact on the way the Holocaust is taught, or has any influence on scholars or scholarship, the dissemination of material which offends and intimidates Holocaust survivors and their families is a key activity of extreme right-wing elements in Australia. Typical behavior of deniers is to write letters to newspapers requesting a debate on the facts of the Holocaust or asserting that since one or more details relating to the Holocaust is not correctly understood, a massive fraud has been perpetrated on humanity by those who can benefit from it. They also promote material for journalists, students and others claiming that they are being denied a fair hearing of 'the truth' or send Holocaust denial material directly to individuals who have been identified as survivors or descendants of survivors of the Nazi Holocaust. The Australian Justice Fund, for example, leafleted a Sydney suburb housing a large number of Holocaust survivors with material promoting Holocaust denial.

While no new matters relating to antisemitism were determined under Australia's anti-racism legislation, two new complaints were lodged by the ECAJ with the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission in 2005: concerning the publication of overtly antisemitic material on the website of the fundamentalist Bible Believers and in the Queensland newspaper of the One Nation Party (see *ASW* 1988/9). They were due for adjudication in 2006.

A right-wing extremist in Western Australia, Shannon Post, was jailed in April for six months and three weeks for a graffiti attack on a Perth synagogue in July 2004.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/australia.htm>

NEW ZEALAND

The number of Jews in New Zealand is estimated at 10,000, or 0.23 percent of the general population of about 4.2 million. The New Zealand Jewish Council represents the community's political interests to the government.

Antisemitism in New Zealand is usually limited to offensive e-mails, letters and occasional vandalism, sometimes punctuated by more serious events such as arson attacks or bomb threats, such as those received in August 2004 and April 2005. Actual physical attacks on New Zealand Jews have not been reported since 1991.

It should be noted that in early 2004 two Israeli nationals were arrested and accused of being Mossad spies. News coverage and subsequent developments provoked a series of antisemitic incidents. In August and September, headstones of Jewish graves were smashed or desecrated in two cemeteries in and around Wellington and Wanganui, and a Jewish prayer house was burned in the Wellington area, while in Auckland the car of the rabbi of the Hebrew congregation was vandalized (a Star of David and the words 'Mossad' and 'traitor' were scratched on it).

In 2005, there were 15 reported incidents of antisemitism, a reduction of 40 percent compared to the previous year when 25 incidents were recorded and 9 in 2003. Fifty-three percent of events in 2005 comprised e-mails, letters and phone calls from right-wing groups or individuals, or mentally unstable people in psychological care. The remaining 47 percent consisted of: graffiti and vandalism (21 percent); verbal abuse and intimidation (13 percent); suspicious objects ('bomb threats') left at Jewish institutions (such as a briefcase found outside a door to the Auckland Hebrew Congregation in April; 13 percent).

E-mails and letters from right-wing groups included references to Adolf Hitler, as well as swastikas, which also appeared in incidents of vandalism.

Labour MP John Tamihere reportedly declared in April in an interview (which Tamihere claims was off the record) to *Interview Magazine* in reference to Maori grievances, that he was "sick and tired of hearing how many Jews got gassed [in the Holocaust]." Prime Minister Helen Clark (Labour) called Tamihere's remarks offensive, and unacceptable to the party. Tamihere has been placed on extended leave.

The most openly extreme right-wing group in New Zealand is the National Front. Their membership is small (they did not manage to submit the 500 signatures required to register as a political party in June

2005). In May 2005, Kyle Chapman, leader of the National Front, reportedly stepped down and was replaced by Sid Wilson. In August, two Front members vandalized mosques in response to the July 2005 London bombings. They were arrested and convicted. Members of the National Front were found to have joined various New Zealand Jewish mailing lists. They posted radical right-wing views (including antisemitic material) on online forums, including personal details of members of the Jewish community. The New Zealand police did not arrest any of these individuals over the postings since, they claimed, their activities did not breach any of New Zealand's laws.

New Zealand is not generally considered in terms of terrorist activity. However, the 2004 Security Intelligence Service (SIS) report revealed that there were individuals in or from New Zealand who supported Islamic extremist causes. They indicated "attempts to use New Zealand as a safe haven from which activities of security concern elsewhere can be facilitated and/or the involvement of people from New Zealand in such activities." The *New Zealand Herald* reported that a small group of Maori Muslims were being recruited in prison and claimed to support Usama bin Ladin. The New Zealand Federation of Islamic Associations is reportedly funding this group. Significantly, the rabbi of the Auckland Hebrew Congregation received an Islamic-style written and oral threat in 2003.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/new-zealand.htm>

SOUTH AFRICA

The Jewish community, estimated at 75,000–80,000, has stabilized since the latter half of 2003. The main Jewish centers are Johannesburg and Cape Town; smaller communities exist in Durban and Pretoria, as well as in Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, East London and the Greater Plettenberg Bay area. The central representative Jewish civil rights organization is the South African Jewish Board of Deputies (SAJBD).

Antisemitism in South Africa today is largely confined to extremist groupings within the country's 800,000-strong Muslim community. The once relatively mainstream Muslim Judicial Council (MJC) has become more radical in recent years, openly backing extremist Islamic networks such as Hamas and Hizballah. Its leadership, and in particular Deputy President Ighsaan Hendricks, continued to make incendiary speeches during 2005. Though avoiding overtly antisemitic statements, Hendricks made several menacing references to local Jewish support for international Zionism and its alleged misdeeds. In December 2004, for example, Hendricks charged that all Zionists were the enemies of Islam and went on to say: "Many of the Jewish community of Cape Town sons serve in the army that occupies the land of the Palestinians and who brutally killed many of our Palestinians [*sic*]."

Twenty antisemitic incidents were recorded in South Africa in 2005, almost half that of the previous year (37). Of these, half fell under the category of verbal abuse, while there were seven cases of antisemitic hate mail and two involving a confrontation between neighbors in which antisemitism appeared to be a contributing factor.

The most worrying development was a move by the MJC to make the local Jewish community answerable for alleged attacks on Muslims and Islamic holy sites. In May, the Cape Town office of the SAJBD received a letter from the MJC claiming that the Israelis were plotting to destroy the al-Aqsa Mosque and demanding that the SAJBD accept a memorandum of protest. Although it refused to accept the memorandum, the SAJBD extended an invitation to the MJC to meet and discuss Jewish-Muslim relations. In response, MJC Secretary Shaykh Ahmed Seddick wrote a virulently antisemitic letter, saying, *inter alia*: "The Quran and the Bible state that the Jews were killers and murderers of Prophets. The Jews have attempted to kill Jesus... global Jewry denies... historical facts and dismisses the Word of God 'as a pack of lies and fabrication'... Who are the liars and fabricators of untruths, misinformation, disinformation and falsehood propagation – The

Muslim Judicial Council/global Muslims or the Jewish Board of Deputies/global Jewry?"

The MJC memorandum was handed over to the Department of Foreign Affairs in the course of a protest march in Cape Town city center. About 10,000 Muslims took part in the march, well short of the target of 100,000 the organizers were hoping to achieve. Slogans and banners dealt mainly with al-Aqsa. Although the demonstration was not overtly anti-Jewish, much extremely anti-Israel, and occasionally anti-American, sentiment was voiced.

Islamic extremist movements are active mainly in the Western Cape Province. They include Qibla, founded in 1979 and labeled a terrorist movement by the US State Department, and the Islamic Unity Convention. The latter has been engaged in an extended court battle with the SAJBD over antisemitic broadcasting by the IUC mouthpiece Radio 786 (see below).

The Media Review Network, a Muslim media advocacy group which promotes the ideologies of Muslim extremist organizations the world over, remains a vociferous presence in the South African media and propagates antisemitic material, including Holocaust denial, on its website. Nevertheless, the MRN continues to be used uncritically as a source representing Muslim opinion by the mainstream South African media.

Concern has been growing over additional evidence that South Africa is being used as a base for planning international terrorist attacks. In December *Daily Voice*, a non-mainstream Cape Town publication that nevertheless claims a substantial readership, revealed that al-Qa'ida-style training camps had existed at several locations in the Western Cape for several years. The number of South African Muslims arrested around the world on suspicion of taking part in attacks continued to grow. They include Haroon Rashid Aswat, a former resident of Johannesburg, arrested in Zambia in July in connection with the London subway bombings in July 2005.

Over the past decade the SAJBD has regularly lodged complaints, and on occasion taken legal action, against antisemitic broadcasting. A hearing into such a complaint, dating from 1998, against Radio 786, a Muslim community station in Cape Town run by the Islamic Unity Convention (IUC), was being held up by the latter's stalling tactics and by the failure of the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) to act decisively to bring the matter to a conclusion (see *ASW 2004*). The last three court applications by the IUC were unsuccessful, and the case was due to be heard by the Monitoring and Complaints Unit of ICASA in March 2006.

The SAJBD's case against Voice of the Cape, another Cape Town Muslim community radio station, was brought to a successful conclusion in September, when the Monitoring and Complaints Unit of ICASA upheld the SAJBD's complaint against the station. It ruled that Voice of the Cape had violated the Broadcasting Code when it aired an interview with local Muslim theology student Shaykh Mogamat Colby, who made violently antisemitic statements without being challenged by the host (see *ASW 2004*). Voice of the Cape was ordered to implement appropriate monitoring procedures to prevent a repetition of such an incident and to broadcast an apology to the Jewish community.

In July antisemitic graffiti, including the words "offensive bastard" in Biblical Greek and Hebrew and a large swastika, was spray-painted by a resident of White River on his wall in full view of his Jewish neighbor. The Jewish neighbor, through the Human Rights Commission, took the case to the Equity Court. As a result, the first trial on an antisemitic matter in post-apartheid South Africa was to be heard in early February 2006.

Full report online at:

<http://antisemitism.tau.ac.il/asw2005/sth-africa.htm>

Appendices

The graphs in this section refer to violent acts perpetrated against Jewish targets worldwide during 2005. The figures are based on the database of the Stephen Roth Institute and reports of the Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism.

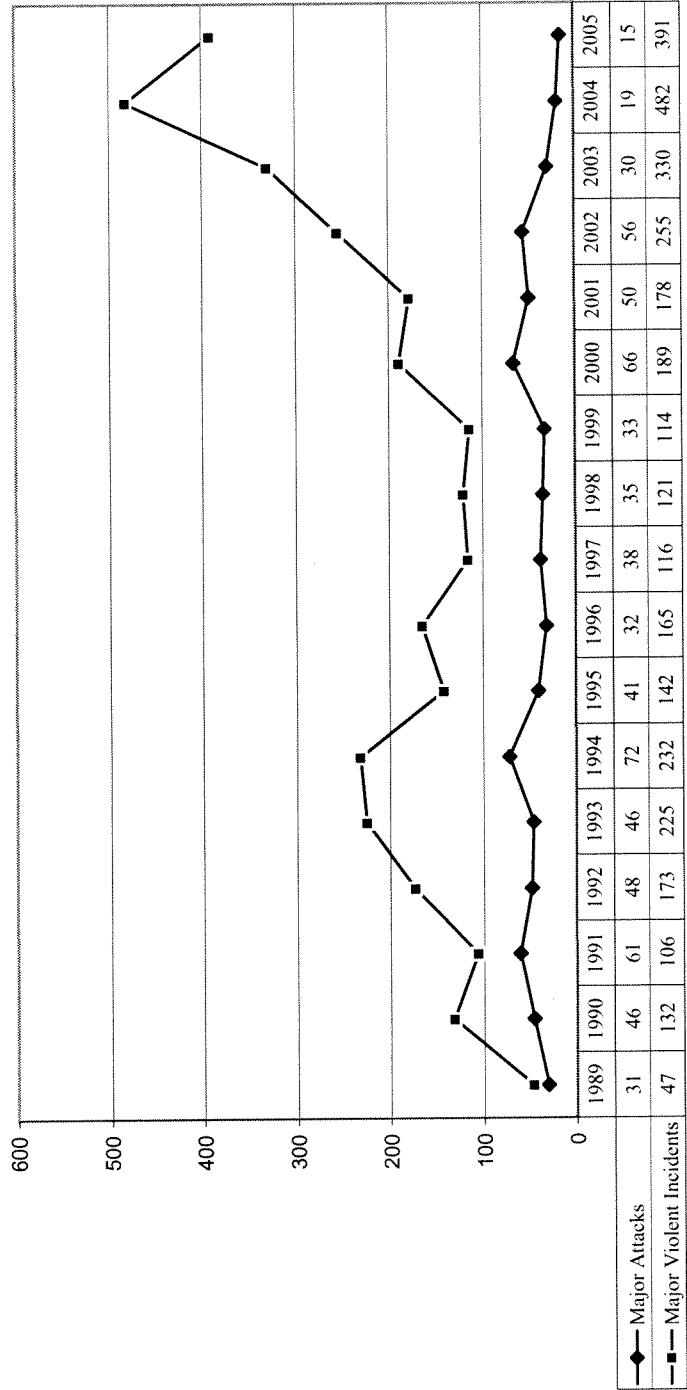
The data in the tables are classified into two categories:

(1) Major attacks. Includes attacks and attempted attacks by violent means, such as arson, firebombs, shootings, etc.

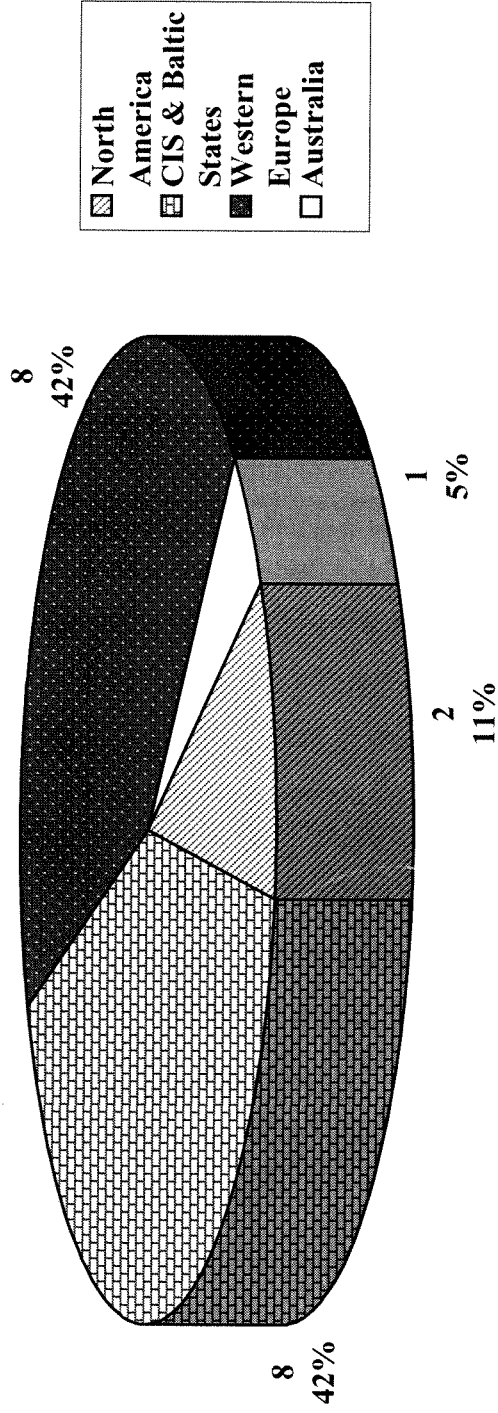
(2) Major violent incidents. Includes harassment of individuals and vandalism of Jewish property and sites, e.g., damage to community buildings, desecration of synagogues and street violence not involving the use of a weapon.

It should be stressed that the data presented in the various graphs reflect only serious acts of antisemitic violence.

Violent Antisemitic Incidents 1989-2005

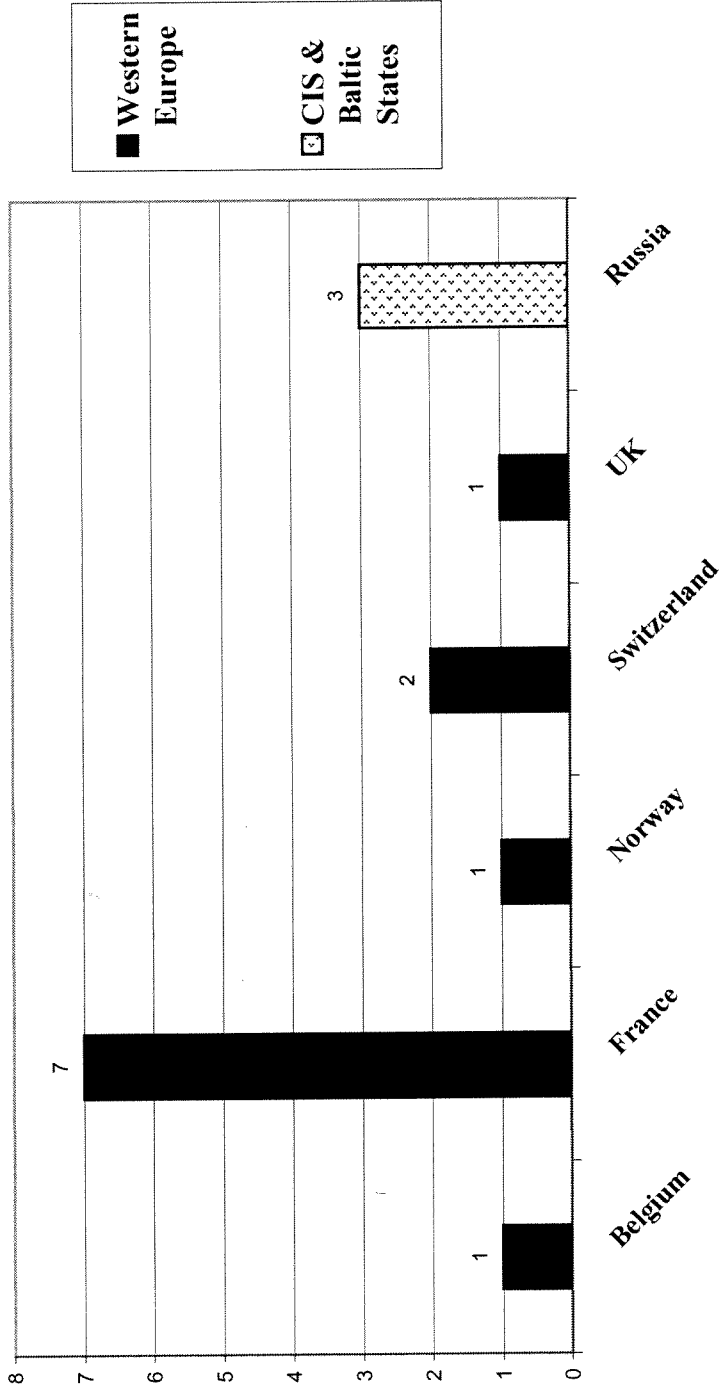


Major Attacks in 2005 Breakdown by Continent



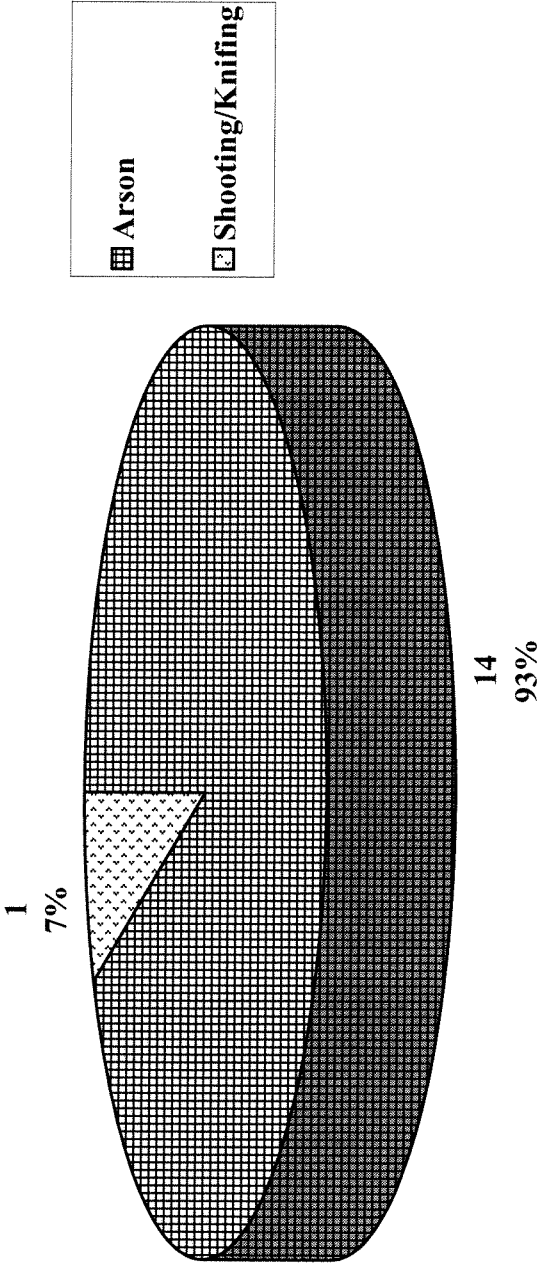
Major Attacks in 2005

Breakdown by Country

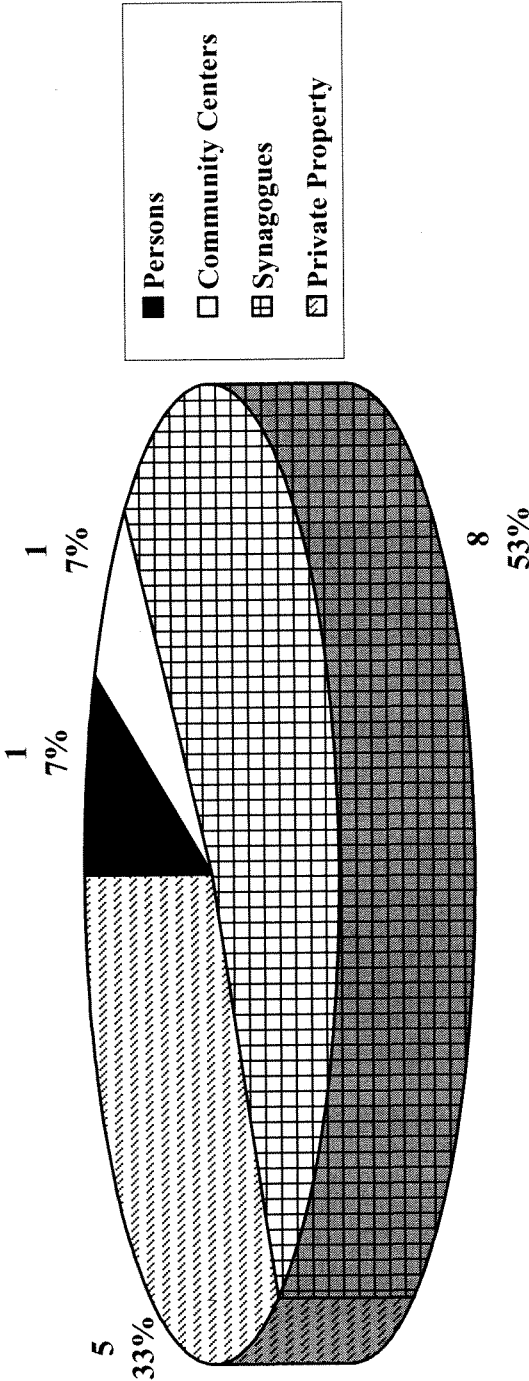


Major Attacks in 2005

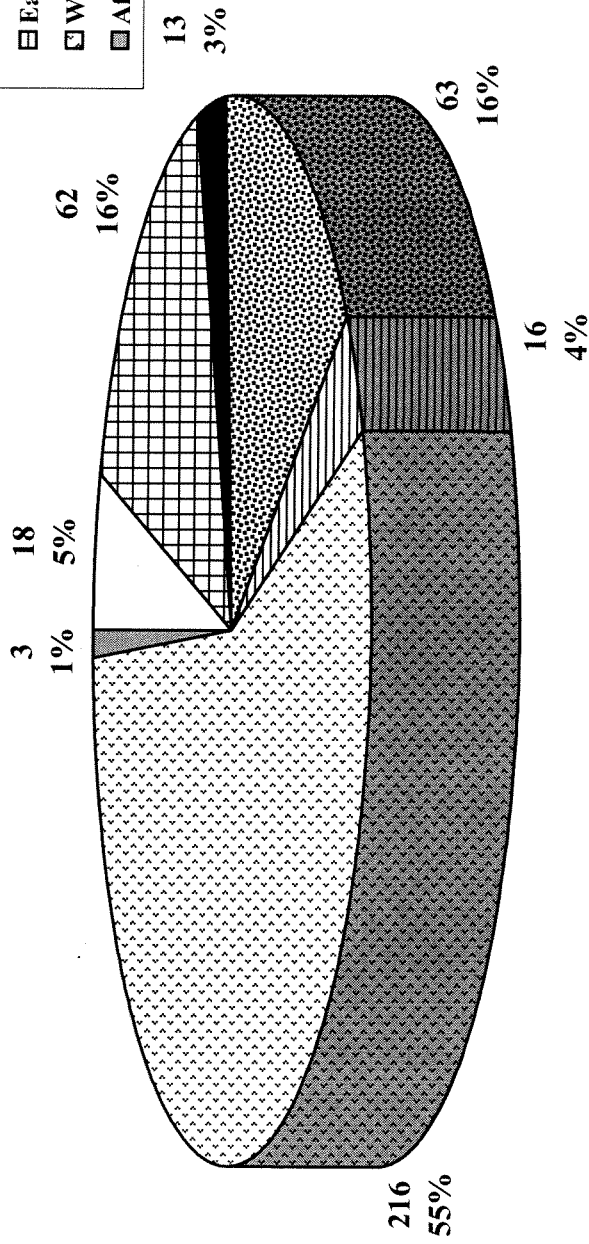
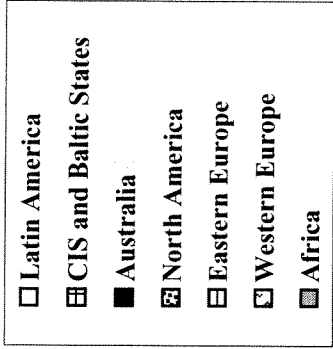
Breakdown by Modus Operandi



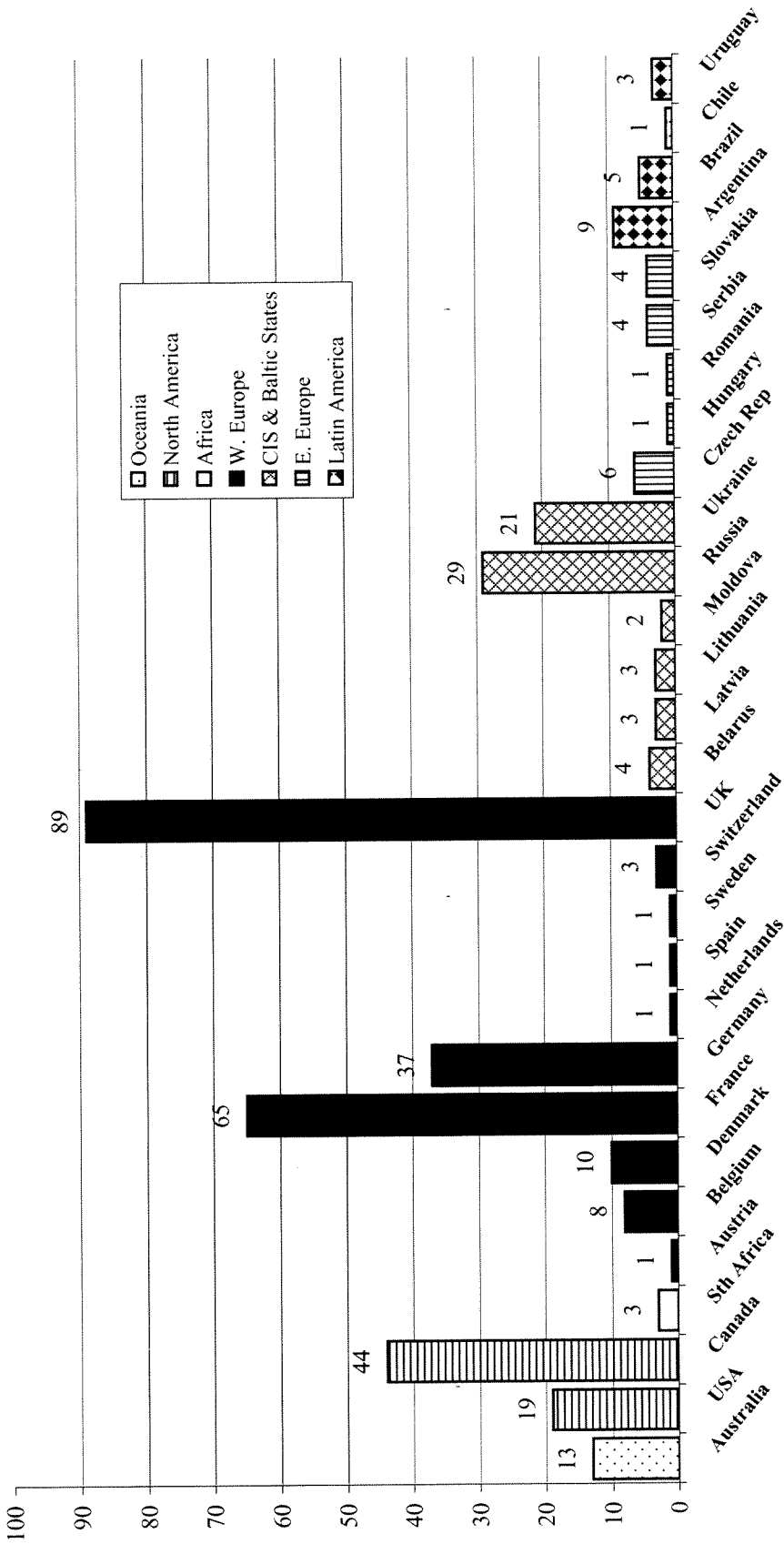
Major Attacks in 2005
Breakdown by Target



Major Violent Incidents in 2005 Breakdown by Continent

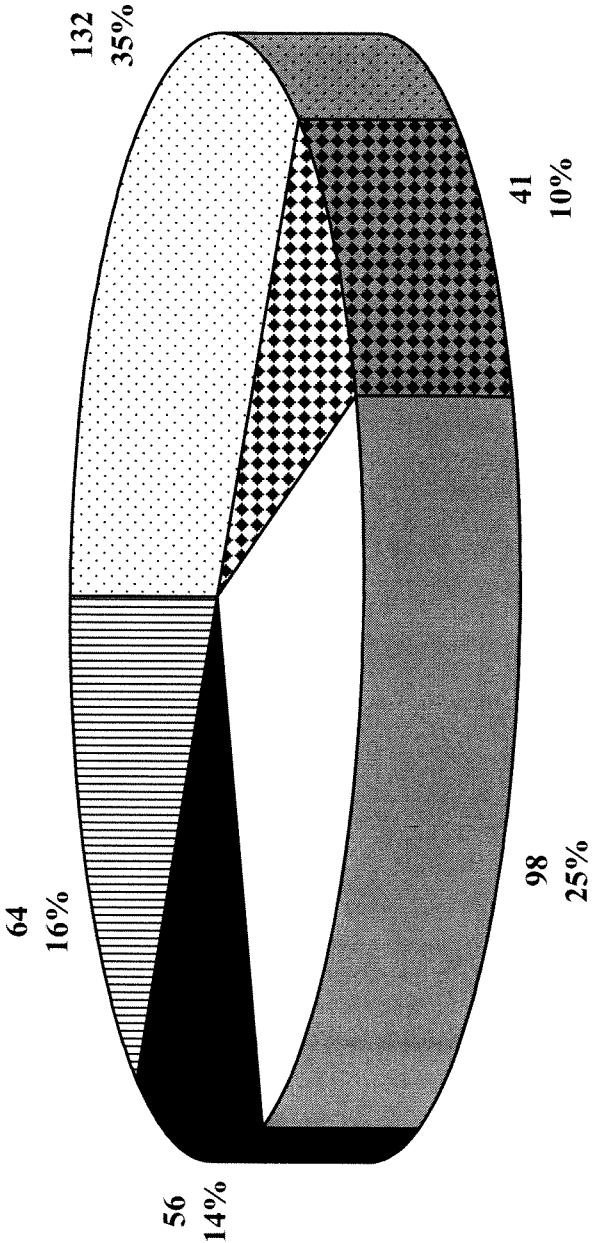
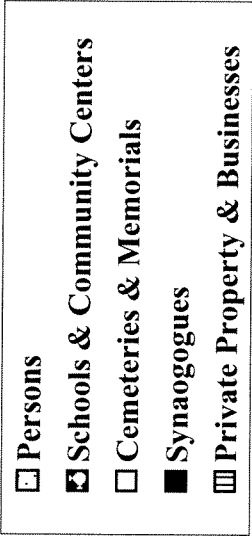


Major Violent Incidents in 2005 Breakdown by Country



Major Violent Incidents in 2005

Breakdown by Target



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