



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT

Titel der Masterarbeit

“New Antisemitism in the Islamic Republic of Iran
Ideology Critique of the Regime’s Antisemitic Israel policy”

Verfasser

Róbert András Jacsó, BA

angestrebter akademischer Grad

Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2013

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt: A 066 824

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt: Masterstudium Politikwissenschaft

Betreuerin: Univ.-Prof. Dr. Eva Kreisky

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	INTRODUCTION	4
2	RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCESSES	8
2.1	QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS	9
2.2	QUALITATIVE EXPERT INTERVIEW	13
2.2.1	PROGRESSING – FIRST STEPS	14
2.2.2	HOW TO INQUIRE AND REGISTER DATA	15
2.2.3	PROCESSING DATA	17
2.2.4	EVALUATING DATA	17
3	DEFINING ANTISEMITISM	19
3.1	WORKING DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM	20
3.2	HUMAN RIGHTS AND ANTISEMITISM	22
3.2.1	DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS 1948	22
3.2.2	SHARIA AND HUMAN RIGHTS	23
3.3	CONCEPTUAL HISTORY OF ANTISEMITISM	25
3.3.1	ANTI-JUDAISM	26
3.3.2	RACIAL ANTISEMITISM	30
3.4	SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL APPROACHES	34
3.4.1	ETHNIC PREJUDICE	35
3.4.2	XENOPHOBIA VS. CHIMERIA	38
3.5	JEWISH STATE THEORIES AND NEW ANTISEMITISM	42
3.5.1	JEWISH STATE THEORIES, THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CRITIQUE OF ISRAEL	43
3.5.2	3D TEST OF ANTISEMITISM	52
4	CASE STUDY: NEW ANTISEMITISM AND IDEOLOGY CRITIQUE OF IRANIAN ISRAEL POLICY	56
4.1	CHARACTERISTICS OF ARAB-MUSLIM ANTISEMITISM	56
4.2	NEW ANTISEMITISM IN IRAN	58
4.2.1	DENYING OR MINIMALIZING THE HOLOCAUST	62
4.3	EXPERT INTERVIEW WITH MATTHIAS KÜNTZEL	66
4.3.1	“GUIDELINE QUESTIONS”	66
4.3.2	EVALUATION AND ANALYSIS	67
4.3.2.1	Category 1: Antisemitism, Anti-Judaism and anti-Zionism (coherences):	67
4.3.2.2	Category 2: Antisemitism’s relations to Anti-Americanism	68
4.3.2.3	Category 3: Nazi- and Iranian-type Antisemitism: Similarities and Differences	69
4.3.2.3.1	Similarities	70

4.3.2.3.2 Differences	71
4.4 QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS: GOOGLE ALERT RESEARCH RESULTS	73
4.4.1 THE SANDY HOOK MASSACRE	74
4.4.2 THE CHUCK HAGEL CASE	75
5 CONCLUSION	78
6 BIBLIOGRAPHY	81
6.1 BOOKS, STUDIES, ARTICLES	81
6.2 INTERNET LINKS	84
7 ATTACHMENTS	86
7.1 US DEPARTMENT OF STATE WORKING DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM BASED ON THE EUROPEAN MONITORING CENTRE ON RACISM AND XENOPHOBIA	86
7.2 TOM PAULIN: ON BEING DEALT THE ANTI-SEMITIC CARD	88
7.3 INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTION	92
7.4 RELEVANT GOOGLE ALERTS (ALPHABETICAL ORDER)	104
7.5 CARTOONS WITH ANTISEMITIC CONTENT (WWW.HOLOCARTOONS.COM)	107

1 Introduction

Antisemitic government propaganda in Iran is becoming more and more dangerous and threatening to international level of politics. Mahmud Ahmadinejad and his regime has become the first government to be openly antisemitic since the Third Reich. After the monstrosity and horror mankind experienced in the war against Nazi Germany and its allies, the idea of such disaster repeating itself is highly unacceptable. The international community along with international organizations have to take any steps necessary to prevent such a disaster from happening again. Of course a peaceful treatment of the problem is preferable, and to find a solution researching present events and trends in Iran is necessary.

Since the Cold War has ended, co-operation among great international organizations has perchance become the best possible way to prevent such a catastrophe. Cooperation among the so called 'Great Powers' has never been so plausible or likely. The United Nations is an international organization counting Iran and Israel among its member-states. The crisis evolving between these two member states lately is highly contradictory with the principles the UN was built on. The organization – to prevent a possible war between its member states – in my opinion has a responsibility to handle the situation (along, of course, with other organizations and NGOs) if it wants to keep its credibility.

Peace-keeping (or peace-building) in the Middle East has never been an easy task. This area is the meeting point of three of the five major religious groups (Jewish, Christian and Muslim share important cultural and religious traditions here). These three religions have different cultures, education, frame of mind and mentality. They are very different from the inside which is why the situation seems unmanageable in the Middle East.

But the focus of this thesis is not to solve the whole situation in the Middle East. This thesis is meant to research and submit a discussion on a very specific, single and noxious factor of a possible conflict: Antisemitism. Since Israel was established in the 'heart' of the Land of Islam in 1948, conflict on the Holy Land grew together with anti-Zionism and (new) antisemitism. According to many scholars in antisemitism theory, with the establishment of Israel a very new antisemitism has emerged as well. New antisemitism has roots in 'old anti-Semitism', but differs in many ways. In the center of new antisemitism stands the Jewish

state of Israel which has, figuratively, become the Jew of the World, 'advancing' antisemitism onto an international level.

The Iranian regime does not want to destroy Jewry. Under the flag of anti-Zionism (which is mixed with antisemitism) it is intended to destroy the Jewish state: Israel. Using antisemitic propaganda in its Israel policy which denies the Holocaust, demonizes Israel by stating that Israel is responsible for all evil happening in the World, characterizes Israel as the same as the Third Reich by claiming Israel is responsible for the Holocaust of Palestinians (called the Nakba), and suggests that a couple hundred of Zionists rule the world and manipulates the Western states to act like it is best for Israel. Such critique of Israel certainly cannot be valid or legitimate.

Such antisemitic policy-making is unprecedented since World War II. That is why it must be taken very seriously. In the conceptual (theoretical) part of this thesis a comprehensive analysis of antisemitism, such as new antisemitism with focus on anti-Zionism and criticism of Israel is studied, with a special respect on characteristics of Iranian antisemitic Israel policy. In this part it is necessary to locate what can be determined as 'legal'/'valid'/'acceptable' or 'illegal'/'invalid'/'unacceptable' criticism of Israel.

A chapter discussing Israeli history, Zionism, its critique and together with new possible nation-building options for instead of Israel has to be discussed to understand what legal criticism is. Israel, such as like any democratic state, cannot be free of criticism. Criticism is necessary for every democratic state. Nation-building processes, Zionism as a political movement, ethnic fragmentation and pluralism present in Israel needs to be criticized and studied to bring solutions to existing problems and difficulties.

Another important aspect has to be discussed before empirical presentation of observations. One has to consider the fact that such ideologies as liberalism; emancipation; modernism; freedom of men and even national socialism, Darwinism or social-Darwinism has not evolved, or better said, did not set foot in Muslim culture and society differently like in Europe. Enlightenment in European sense brought many social freedoms that are gentile for individuals living among other ideological circumstances. This frames an ideological hole in the Muslim world – which is understood as from the aspect of Western viewer – and meanwhile sorts of discrimination highly acceptable in Muslim culture are not anymore

being tolerated by Western society. Understanding what antisemitism or anti-Zionism exactly means in a society in which Western Enlightenment did not occur is as well an important aspect of this research.

Although European Enlightenment did not occur in Iran, ideologies it gave birth to somewhat reached the country. Küntzel wrote in his essay that Nazi Germany successfully broadcasted antisemitic content during WWII. Events that happened in Europe in the time of Nazism successfully infested other societies as well. Antisemitic Nazi propaganda reared its head in Iran too, where it then evolved itself and formed a new type of antisemitism fitting for Iranian politics. The Nazi origin of Muslim antisemitism is discussed by Küntzel posing the question if Iranian antisemitism was the stepchild of German National Socialism.¹

The empirical part presents evidence of antisemitic nature of Iranian regime's Israel policy. Declarations, statements, government-sponsored antisemitic exhibitions are presented to serve as proof of new antisemitism existing and blossoming in the grounds of the regime. Articles based on statements of Iranian chief politicians such as Ahmadinejad, Khamenei, and other chief politicians are represented to show 'unacceptable criticism of Israel'. Content analysis of these articles, homepages, videos and exhibition materials sponsored by Iranian government, such as research material found by using Google Alerts in a one-month-period (12.12.12-12.01.13), present the current reality in Israel policy of Iran.

Interviewing an expert is always important and relevant for a qualitative research. Besides analyzing the content of articles published in titled newspapers or websites, expert interview with Matthias Küntzel about the current situation in Iran is also a significant part of empirical research.

The expert is a political scientist based in Hamburg, Germany. He is an external research associate at the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a founder and member of the board of directors of the German chapter of Scholars for Peace in the Middle East. Among other books, he is the author of *Jihad and Jew-Hatred: Islamism, Nazism and the Roots of 9/11* and *The Germans and Iran: Past and Present of a Fateful Friendship*. Küntzel's essays on Islamism,

¹ Küntzel, Matthias 'Iranian Antisemitism: Stepchild of German National Socialism' The Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs IV:1, January 2010 available at <http://www.matthiaskuentzel.de/contents/iranian-antisemitism-stepchild-of-german-national-socialism> (06.02.2013 14:35)

antisemitism, and Iran have appeared in *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New Republic*, *The Jerusalem Post*, *Die Zeit* and elsewhere.² Being an expert on the topic being studied in this thesis, a qualitative expert interview shows different aspects, such as new resources, brings new observations and proposes limitations and recommendations for further research.

² <http://www.matthiaskuentzel.de/contents/about-the-author/> (06.02.2013 14:38)

2 Research Methods and Processes

In this thesis, qualitative research techniques are used. Qualitative research is about exploring, understanding and answering questions. One can find contents (ideas, thoughts and opinions) about qualitative research nearly everywhere. According to Gill Ernaut, director of the Linguistic Landscapes in the United Kingdom,

“You might be a student, a healthcare worker, or a policy advisor. You might not even consider yourself a researcher. But if you're analyzing documents, surveys, audio, videos or pictures, then chances are you're involved in qualitative research.”³

But what is qualitative research in more detail?

“Qualitative research is used to gain insight into people's attitudes, behaviours, value systems, concerns, motivations, aspirations, culture or lifestyles. It's used to inform business decisions, policy formation, communication and research. Focus groups, in-depth interviews, content analysis, ethnography, evaluation and semiotics are among the many formal approaches that are used [...]”⁴

As the Professor of the Faculty of Education of the University of Plymouth, Peter Woods, wrote qualitative research stems from three main parts: “observation, interviews and documentary analysis.”⁵ In this thesis the recommended progression of the research is followed and two qualitative research methods are used.

³ Ernaut, Gill ‘What is Qualitative Research?’ article available at <http://www.gsrinternational.com/what-is-qualitative-research.aspx> (06.02.2013 14:49)

⁴ ibid.

⁵ P Woods ‘Qualitative Research’, Faculty of Education, University of Plymouth, 2006 available at <http://www.edu.plymouth.ac.uk/resined/qualitative%20methods%202/qualrsh.htm> (06.02.2013 14:46)

2.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

Content analysis concentrates on understanding some kind of communication. This scientific study of the written language helps users to understand the sociology, political science, psychology and cognitive science behind the written word. The most frequent way of analyzing with this method is textual which frames the main method of this thesis.

With qualitative content analysis it is possible to analyze visual communication as well. Antisemitic cartoons appear often in the media foremost in Iran where competitions are organized in the interest of denying the Holocaust.⁶ This thesis deals with a particular kind of cartoon, the political cartoon. Political cartoons play a significant role in public discourse on what society or their media producers regard as important topical issues.

“Content analysis is a social science methodology that is based on the understanding of human communication including writing, painting and context. This includes understanding the meaning of text, the phrases used, the key terms, the authenticity and the authorship. It is a quantitative, scientific method that can look at the objectivity, intersubjectivity, the validity, the replicability and more of a specific document.”⁷

It is used to determine the presence of certain words, concepts, themes, phrases, characters, or sentences within texts or sets of texts and to quantify this presence in an objective manner. One can understand texts as books, essays, sentences, chapters, articles from a newspaper, discussions, informal conversations, etc.

To conduct content analysis on a text, the text is coded or broken down into manageable categories on a variety of levels and then it is examined. Examination is performed by conceptual or relational analysis. The results collected by using this method are then taken out being used to make inferences about the messages within the text(s), the writer(s), the audience, and even the culture and time of which they are a part of. For example, content analysis can indicate pertinent features such as comprehensiveness of coverage or the

⁶ <http://holocartoons.com/main.php> (see relevant cartoons in Appendix [7.5]) (06.02.2013 15:05)

⁷ <http://www.contentanalysis.org/> (06.02.2013 15:13)

intentions, biases, prejudices, and oversights of authors, publishers, as well as all other persons responsible for the content of materials.⁸

There are two general categories of content analysis: conceptual analysis and relational analysis. This thesis deals with the traditional, more often used conceptual analysis. In conceptual analysis, a concept is chosen for examination and the number of its occurrences are noted within the content being analyzed. By breaking down (or coding) the contents of the materials into meaningful and pertinent units of information, certain characteristics of the message may be analyzed and interpreted.⁹

As every research method, content analysis also has advantages and disadvantages.

Advantages of content analysis:

- can be used to interpret texts for purposes such as the development of expert systems
- provides insight into complex models of human thought and language use
- looks directly at communication via texts or transcripts, and hence gets at the central aspect of social interaction
- when done well, is considered as a relatively "exact" research method

Meanwhile disadvantages:

- can be extremely time consuming
- can be difficult to automate or computerize
- is often devoid of theoretical base¹⁰

In the 21st century the importance of the internet is unalienable. The media has also relocated their headquarters online. Every significant newspaper, television channel and radio station has a homepage and post-transmit is associated with radio and TV. Considering the importance of the internet nowadays it is decided to use this opportunity to analyze an important way of disseminating information.

⁸ <http://www.gslis.utexas.edu/~palmquis/courses/content.html> (06.02.2013 15:15)

⁹ ibid

¹⁰ ibid

Thanks to the international firm Google, a very useful method is available by using the internet. This tool, supported by Google, is called *Google Alerts*. Google Alerts was employed as a method to capture contents (therefore a useful method for content analysis) published internationally on the Internet. Google Alerts is an online search and notification application, which allows a user to receive customized alerts of the latest relevant Google search engine results. The user creates individual alerts based on their own query search keywords. The automated search is international in its reach and can be set up with various appropriate functions. Each alert delivers an email containing a summary of captured URL links that contain references of keywords that the user specifies. This method of data collection was selected in order to collect as many articles that contain as many keywords as possible on any given day.¹¹

Alerts

Search query:

Result type:

How often:

How many:

Deliver to:

CREATE ALERT Manage your alerts

Alerts

Search query:

Result type:

How often:

How many:

Deliver to:

CREATE ALERT Manage your alerts

Alerts

Everything	Volume	How often	Deliver to
☐ holocaust denial iran	Only the best results	Once a day	Edit
☐ Zionism	Only the best results	Once a day	Edit
News	Volume	How often	Deliver to
☐ ahmadinejad israel	Only the best results	Once a day	Edit
☐ iran israel	Only the best results	Once a day	Edit
☐ khamenei israel	Only the best results	Once a day	Edit

Delete
CREATE A NEW ALERT
Switch to text emails
Export alerts

[Google Alerts Help](#) - [Terms of Use](#) - [Privacy Policy](#) - [Google Home](#) - © 2012 Google

¹¹. Smith Steven W “Cartoons and the new anti-Semitism” Master Thesis at Massey University College of Creative Arts, Wellington, New Zealand 2012 p. 23-28

According to the settings installed I received e-mails everyday for each topic. The e-mails contained every text published on the internet in the topic given. Contents I received included news, articles, blogs, videos, discussions and books published. Google Alerts keywords that I selected to participate in my content analysis are seen in the figure and are listed here:

- Holocaust denial & Iran
- Zionism
- Ahmadinejad & Israel
- Iran & Israel
- Khamenei & Israel

The first phase of the gathering process was designed to locate as much content from the Iranian side as possible that potentially evidenced instances of antisemitic messages and illegal, antisemitic criticism of Israel. All content about Israel, Zionism, Judaism or antisemitism corporately or individually and any related issues were gathered.¹² In this research five different Alerts were created and analyzed. The alerts were programmed to deliver results daily. This translated to a potential of 5 emails a day containing (according to Google Alerts) only the best results of URL links. The data gathered with this type of method is very relevant and usable to analyze and criticize antisemitic Iranian Israel policy.

¹² Smith Steven W "Cartoons and the new anti-Semitism" Master Thesis at Massey University College of Creative Arts, Wellington, New Zealand 2012 p. 23-28

2.2 Qualitative Expert Interview

As second method for this research the *qualitative expert interview* is used. But what is qualitative interviewing and how is it properly set up?

“Qualitative Interviewing is an adventure in learning about teaching in different countries, their cultural views, their problems and solutions, and how their practices are similar and different than our own.”¹³

As Herbert and Irene Rubin drafted, interviews are the art of hearing data. The quality of the interview actually depends on the interviewer and not on the (expert) interviewee. The interviewer has the responsibility to get accurate information for his/her research: the expert interviewee is of course a master in his/her field, but the interviewer only needs the information that he can use in his research and not more.

“The way we interview depends on what we want to know. It is a process of finding out what others feel and think about their worlds. The result is to understand the major points of their message and how it compares [similar & different] to your own situation. Not only do you need to be a good conversationalist, but also a good listener.”¹⁴

The technique or type of the interview also demands serious circumspection. As Raymond Opdenakker points out, with modern technologies in communication and information swapping, more and more new possible ways are opened for conducting a qualitative interview. Next to the ‘old style’ face-to-face interviews Opdenakker discusses in his article the advantages and disadvantages of qualitative interviewing. He comes up with three more options:

“Face-to-face interviews have long been the dominant interview technique in the field of qualitative research. In the last two decades, telephone interviewing became more and more common. Due to the explosive growth of new communication forms, such as computer mediated communication (for example e-mail and chat boxes), other interview techniques can be introduced and used within the field of qualitative research. For a study in the domain of

¹³ Rubin, Herbert J.; Rubin, Irene S. ' Qualitative interviewing. The art of hearing data' Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California 2005

¹⁴ *ibid.*

virtual teams, I used various communication possibilities to interview informants as well as face-to-face interviews.”¹⁵

Telephone (accurately Skype) is the relevant communication technique used for this thesis. Matthias Küntzel, an expert in the topic of antisemitism and Iran, was interviewed. Since he is an expert living in Germany, Skype was an excellent tool to use to conduct the interview. A very important element was to record the conversation. For that issue different programs are available: Pamela PCR is, for example, totally compatible with Skype and automatically asks if you wanted to record the upcoming conversation. Recording the conversation is crucial when transcribing the interview accurately.

2.2.1 Progressing – First Steps

Definition and characteristics of an expert interview need to be presented. Since an expert is the interviewee, it must be clear for the interviewer that the person he/she chooses is an actual expert on the researched field; respectively he/she can give an accurate answer on the questions.

The already determined “guideline questions” (“Interviewleitfaden”) have to cover the field of topic during the interview. These serve as a “spinal column” of the interview. During the dialog with the expert small questions can be asked: For example in case of misunderstandings or accessory questions that are referring to the “guideline question”.

Finally, it is important that the opinions expressed within the interview can confirm or confute the research question¹⁶ – can a positive or a negative answer be given on the research question.

In expert interviews we can get in touch with an expert’s subjective opinion about the research field. It is impossible that all of the experts, researchers and professors have the exact same judgment on the same topic. Since they are all human beings – it is impossible.

¹⁵ Opdenakker, Raymond ‘Advantages and Disadvantages of Four Interview Techniques in Qualitative Research’ FQS Forum: Qualitative Social Research. Sozialforschung Volume 7, No. 4, Article 11 – September 2006 available at <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/175/391> (03.01.2013 19:45)

¹⁶ Diekmann, Andreas ‘Methoden der Sozialforschung. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften’ 1st edition , 2006 p. 446

That is why qualitative interviews always show a different point of view depending on the interviewee.

2.2.2 How to Inquire and Register Data

This interview is an open and standardized type of expert interview. Mayring points out that an interview is open when the interviewee has the option to freely express his/her opinion about the topic asked by the interviewer. Standardized refers to the approach of the questioning.¹⁷

In this interview there were eight “guideline questions”. These eight questions are the guide lines for the interviewer during the interview. The interviewer has to lead the interview along these questions. The interviewee answers these questions to his/her best knowledge. If the question was not clear for the interviewee easier, complementary questions are given that solve the possible misunderstandings between the question and the interviewee. With the right questions asked the interview can be very beneficial at the evaluation period.

In the beginning of the interview is important to inform the interviewee about the goals and use of the interview. It is significant that the interviewee agrees on recording and using the interview – ethical rules must be valid when making an interview. Other ethical rules must be considered as well: the rule of “*no damage*” (the researcher should not harm the reputation of the interviewee in any ways); *benefit* (subjectivity of the interviewee is important, but the research should reflect a positive and identifiable benefit in favor of the research); *autonomy* (values and decisions of the interviewee(s) shall be respected); *justice* (all people shall be treated equally).¹⁸ The goal of the interview is that the interviewee answers as free as possible and via his/her answers the interviewer can get familiar with the interviewee’s empirical knowledge and experience.¹⁹

¹⁷ Mayring, Philipp ‘Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Grundlagen und Techniken’. Weinheim, Beltz, 8th Edition 2001 p. 66

¹⁸ Murphy, Elizabeth; Dingwall, Robert ‘The Ethics of Ethnography’ in Atkinson, Paul (et. al.) ‘Handbook of Ethnography’ Sage Publications, London, 2001 p. 339

¹⁹ Schnell, Rainer (et. al.) ‘Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung’ R. Oldenbourg Verlag, München (a. o.), 5th Edition, p. 353

“Trust” is a useful element between the two (or more) actors of an interview. If the connection between the interviewee and the interviewer is built on “trust”, after Grunow, the interview is called “soft”.

“Weich ist ein Interview, wenn der Interviewer versucht, ein Vertrauensverhältnis zum Befragten zu entwickeln, indem er der Person des Befragten (nicht den Antworten) seine Sympathie demonstriert.“²⁰

Via this atmosphere a loose conversation can evolve which is very beneficial for the evaluation of the interview. Many facts can come to surface without influencing the interviewee. Since interviews are useful to summarize personal opinions, eventually moderate answers can occur: if the interviewee has another opinion he/she will not share the whole opinion. The problem of the language can also appear. If the interview is not in the interviewer’s or the interviewee’s mother tongue then a moderation in the answers are also likely. It can be possible that the interviewee cannot, or is not sure that he/she can express him- or herself the way he/she would in the mother tongue. So, it is possible that the reason for more moderate questions based on an insecurity in the foreign language. This could also damage the value of an expert interview.

In expert interviews random sampling is to be avoided. Since we work with experts, the exact persons have to be contacted, which are familiar with the interviewer’s research.²¹ It is important to choose the right, the most potentially informative interview partner. After deciding upon an expert one can get in touch with the person via e-mail or telephone. In the case of this thesis the contact method was e-mailing Küntzel. After agreeing on conducting the interview (via Skype) and making an appointment it was a clear way for the next step.

²⁰ Grunow, Dieter in Fuchs, Werner (et. al) ‘Lexicon zur Soziologie’ LIT Verlag 2000 p. 240

²¹ Lamnek, Siegfried ‘Qualitative Sozialforschung’ Belz, Weinheim, 4th edition, 2005 p. 384

2.2.3 Processing Data

After the interview was conducted the next step was the exact transcription of the dialogue. As Mayring explains transcriptions means transferring spoken language to a written form.²² Transcription for this thesis was written into a *Word Document* which made the evaluation easier. This contains a word by word transcription of the interview with small corrections which do not change the original meaning. The small breaks, “ehs”, “ehms” are permissible to be left out of the transcription, dialect – eventually foreign words (when the interview is in English and the interviewee’s mother tongue is another language, it can occur that some words are told in his/her mother tongue.) – is always to transcript in the “normalized form” of the language.²³

Since the interview was made with only one participant, citations from the interviewee can be signed with his/her name: **Matthias Küntzel (Interview)**.

2.2.4 Evaluating Data

The next step after the transcription of the interview is the evaluation. For the evaluation of the expert interview the evaluation-method from Philipp Mayring²⁴ (qualitative content analysis) is used.

“Ziel der Analyse ist es, das Material so zu reduzieren, dass die wesentlichen Inhalte erhalten bleiben, durch Abstraktion einen überschaubaren Corpus zu schaffen, der immer noch Abbild des Grundmaterials ist.”²⁵

According to Mayring, categories are to help the evaluation of the interview. For the research at hand three categories are chosen. Three categories are connected to the interview and due to that valuable information can surface. The information we gained from

²² Mayring, Philipp ‘Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Grundlagen und Techniken’ Weinheim, Beltz, 8th Edition, 2001 p. 89

²³ ibid. p. 91

²⁴ ibid. p. 91

²⁵ ibid. p. 65

the evaluation of the interview can be compared with different opinions from other experts and theories.

Mayring suggests that evaluation should be built up in five steps. According to this interview the first step is the determination of the categories in accordance with the research question(s). The second step is the assignation of corresponding quotes (from the interview) to these categories, which then are to be extracted and reviewed. Paraphrasing of chosen quotes from the transcription is the fourth part of the evaluation. The fifth step should be the presentation of results gleaned from the interview. It is important to discuss and analyze the results collected from the interview. With this subjective opinion we have from the interviewee, one can discuss or agree with the expert and include the findings in his/her research.²⁶

The categories of evaluation are:

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1. | Antisemitism, Anti-Judaism and anti-Zionism (coherences) |
| 2. | New Antisemitism's relations to Anti-Americanism |
| 3. | Nazi- and Iranian-type Antisemitism: Similarities and Differences |

The interview conducted with Matthias Küntzel is evaluated based on three categories above.

²⁶ Mayring, Philipp 'Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Grundlagen und Techniken'. Weinheim, Beltz, 8th Edition, 2001

3 Defining Antisemitism

This chapter serves to present social scientific theories on antisemitism which are important and beneficial to analyze antisemitic Iranian policies towards the state of Israel. Since this thesis is about to present a critique on antisemitic ideology towards the Jewish state the most sufficient and proper theories have to be selected to understand (new) antisemitism.

Therefore an extensive analysis of antisemitism from acknowledged scholars is necessary. In the first part of the analysis the origins of antisemitism is investigated. Under the term 'origins', Anti-Judaism as well as racial antisemitism of the 19th-20th century is interpreted since antecedents of new antisemitism has to be understood to analyze the current trend.

To be able to discuss the newest trend of antisemitism in the Muslim world and Iran, a comprehensive analysis of 'old-' respectively traditional antisemitism is absolutely necessary. Within this part of the thesis (along with anti-Judaism by which old antisemitism and 19th-20th century racial antisemitism is determined) Langmuir's socio-psychological interpretation of antisemitism and the mindset of an antisemite is presented.

Numerous scholars of antisemitism (Taguieff, Lewis, Sacks, Küntzel, Klug, etc.) presume that a new antisemitism exists today. This new antisemitism is on an international level and mostly functions with Israel as the "Jewish state" or the "Jew of states". In a way new antisemitism makes the state of Israel 'the Jew of the international community' in the same way that 'old anti-Semitism' distinguished a Jewish individual during long centuries.

Critique of Israel is often impregnated with antisemitic means. Critique of Israel is necessary, such as it is for all other democratic countries worldwide, as long as it is not antisemitic. Iran formed its critique of Israel around some conceptions that are highly antisemitic therefore very dangerous if unleashed. This is why comprehensive analysis of (new) antisemitism is substantial.

In a scientific essay it is important to define expressions and terms exactly. Antisemitism is a complex phenomenon which is very old in the history of mankind. It has many 'mutations' and sections which make it hard to understand and define precisely. In the following sub-chapters an attempt is made to present the origins of the 'world's oldest hatred' and

understand it as it is today. Different approaches and theories are discussed – psychological approach, xenophobia, anti-Judaism, racial antisemitism and Judeophobia. To understand these expressions we have to sink deeply into the scientific level of research.

Featuring ancient, religious and racial antisemitism is essential for the research of present time's new antisemitism. Just as Igansky points out, there is a relation among different types of antisemitisms which are ideologically connected to each other.

“[...] each beginning entails the absorption of earlier antisemitism. Each beginning is a recapitulation, adopting the worst aspects of the version to which it succeeds, and integrating them into its own version of Jew-hatred.”²⁷

As he then explains antisemitism, along with all other xenophobic or racist attitudes within a society, by promoting intolerance makes a pluralist society impossible. As he means antisemitism “denies Jews the opportunity of making contributions which benefit society as a whole [and] pollutes political discourse”²⁸; but this observation can be also applied on today's situation in Israel. It fits in the current social situation and is an answer on why Zionism is failing, why is Zionism not the proper solution for Israel's future.

3.1 Working Definition of Antisemitism

Maybe the easiest way to 'get to know' antisemitism is through international organizations and government brochures. These working definitions, while they do not serve as full explanation and analysis of a topic, they do serve as guidelines for understand approximately what antisemitism is. There are institutions and organizations which investigate antisemitism and draft a so called working definition on antisemitism. These agencies formulated a definition which is broadly accepted in Western society. The working definition is adapted by different institutions – for example the former European Monitoring Center on Racism and

²⁷ Julius, Anthony 'Is there anything 'new' in new antisemitism?' in Igansky, Paul; Kosmin, Barry (ed.) 'A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st-Century Britain' Profile Books Ltd. London 2003 p. 74–75

²⁸ *ibid*

Xenophobia, today (since December 2003) European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) or the United States Department of State²⁹. The FRA defines antisemitism as:

“Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities. [...] Antisemitism frequently charges Jews with conspiring to harm humanity and it is often used to blame Jews for “why things go wrong.”³⁰

In addition, FRA determines the hostility against the state of Israel, as “conceived as a Jewish collectivity.”³¹ The definition given by FRA worked out some “everyday-life examples” to determine antisemitism. From the examples available, I am presenting a couple that may appear during the research of antisemitism in Iran.

- “Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective – such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or Jewish controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.”³²
- Denying the fact [...] of genocide of the Jewish people at the hands of National Socialist Germany and its supporters and accomplices during World War II (the Holocaust).³³

These approaches especially are very characteristic of the Iranian regime’s antisemitic anti-Zionism. One can often read that American politics and media are under the rule of Jews or that the Holocaust has never happened. Iranian antisemitic state propaganda promotes such illusions to legitimize its conflict with Israel.

²⁹ Applied definition on antisemitism by U.S. Department of State

<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/156684.pdf> (06.02.2013 15:51)

³⁰ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, Working Definition of Antisemitism available at <http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/material/pub/AS/AS-WorkingDefinition-draft.pdf> (06.02.2013 15:53)

³¹ ibid

³² ibid

³³ ibid

With this presentation of antisemitism, a general and complete definition of antisemitism is incomplete. The definition drafted by the FRA is a working definition to recognize antisemitism in everyday life. A further, more exact analyzes of antisemitism follows.

3.2 Human Rights and Antisemitism

To understand Muslim antisemitism it is important to analyze the differences existing between the conception of human rights in western ('Christian') culture and Muslim culture. Since the Enlightenment, new ideas and theories appeared in Western philosophy: Emancipation, Socialism, Liberalism, etc. These, 'western' philosophies did not occur or develop in Muslim culture. This is the reason it is important to investigate the differences between the 'Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights' from 1981; 'The Universal Declaration of Human Rights' formulated by the United Nations in 1948 and traditional Islamic 'Sharia' law.

3.2.1 Declaration of Human Rights 1948

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights³⁴ was created after WWII, by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. It is a comprehensive description of human rights which stands from 30 articles. These articles can be aggregated into six smaller groups.

- Articles 1 and 2 are foundation blocks. These determine the principles of brotherhood, dignity, equality and liberty
- Articles 3-11 set out rights of an individual (right to life, prohibition of exploitation and slavery)
- Articles 12-17 describe the rights of an individual within society
- Articles 18-21 deals with public, political, religious, spiritual freedom and freedom of association

³⁴ The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is available at <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml> (6.10.2012 21:43)

- Articles 22-27 describe economic, social and cultural rights
- Articles 27-30 are binding the whole structure together; concerned with the duty of the individual to society; and prohibit the usage of these rights against the ambitions of the United Nations.

Based on the Declaration formed by the UN, on 19th September 1981, the Muslim Sunnis in London declared the *Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights*³⁵. One could question the necessity of Islamic rethinking the United Nation's declaration, and also why it was published in a Western and not a Muslim country.

The answer is that Muslims were not allowed to publish such a document in a Muslim country, since the thoughts these rights were built on principles Islamic traditions were not familiar with and were originated in Europe, so they were abandoned. Ayatollah Khomeini even went further by stating that human rights are corrupt, set out by Zionists to annihilate the true religion, whereas his successor, Ali Khamenei, labeled The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nation as hocus-pocus of Satan.³⁶

3.2.2 Sharia and Human Rights

The above described events and motives let us conclude that human rights do not function the same way in Muslim countries and Western countries. It is a different culture with different traditions which affects the legal system; the relations between society and state; and of course human rights as well. A big difference is that the Muslim 'umma'³⁷ and the 'ruler' melt into one entity. In Islamic culture one 'ruler' follows the other; the political culture did not yet permit anything different. People are seen as God's creatures which have duties and no rights. Other than that the Quran indirectly forbids any resistance.³⁸

³⁵ Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights available at <http://www.alhewar.com/ISLAMDECL.html> (6.10.2012 22:07)

³⁶ Bassam Tibi 'Die Verschwörung. Das Trauma arabischer Politik' München, 2nd Edition 1994, p 40

³⁷ Umma means the community, which is governed by the 'ruler'

³⁸ Bassam Tibi 'Die Verschwörung. Das Trauma arabischer Politik' München, 2nd Edition 1994 p 47

“O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you. And if you disagree over anything, refer it to Allah and the Messenger, if you should believe in Allah and the Last Day. That is the best [way] and best in result.”³⁹

In traditional Islam law the ‘umma’ is central concept of the society. All the Muslims form a homogenous community which represents the collective which against individuals only have duties, but no rights. In Sharia⁴⁰ individuals do not have rights that are secured from institutions of the government or any state department; it did never exist in traditional Islam. In that attitude human rights of individuals against the state, who is representing the collective, remains disregarded. That is why to a western observer three fields of human rights violations are especially bothering: 1. Lack of freedom of religion and tolerance against other religions; 2. Protection of individuals against the state; and 3. Equality of genders in any fields of life.⁴¹

Differentiations between European (respectively Western) and traditional Muslim (Sharia) understanding of human rights show that Muslim culture may not even think of antisemitism as it is defined by Western thoughts. The Declaration of Human Rights says that

“[...] everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status”⁴²

which has the premise that Jews, women, Christians, blacks, Asians, republicans, communists, etc are all equal before each other; whereas traditional Sharia, which is followed, among other countries, in the Islamic Republic of Iran, do not include any of these freedoms. Therefore Jews, Christians, blacks, and everybody not part of the Muslim ‘umma’ is beyond equality.

³⁹ The Noble Qur’an: Surah 4 Verse 59 available at <http://quran.com/4> (6.10.2012 22:51)

⁴⁰ Sharia means the moral code and religious law of Islam

⁴¹ Bassam Tibi ‘Die Verschwörung. Das Trauma arabischer Politik’ München, 2nd Edition 1994 p 47-50

⁴² The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is available at <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml> (6.10.2012 23:20)

3.3 Conceptual History of Antisemitism

In this chapter the main focus lies in Christian-religious *and* racial antisemitism. One can call this European, but actually religion plays the role here, but since Europe happened to be the place where Christianity became the most potent, general religion (by this I mean the Roman Empire, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, before the discovery of the New World), European-type antisemitism is also an understandable term. Scholars such as Matthias Küntzel, Gavin I. Langmuir, John G. Gager, etc. think that antisemitism is a term to define racial hostility against Jewish individuals and groups. Researchers in this topic often prefer to use the term anti-Judaism which is defined as religious hostility, hatred or fear.

As Sharansky explains, for Western society, classical antisemitism is easy to recognize. If a person from this culture watches a movie about Jewish people draining the blood of Gentile children or plotting to take over world it is clear to them that this is antisemitism.

Such movies, produced recently by the government-controlled media in Egypt and Syria and broadcast via satellite to hundreds of millions of Muslims around the world, including millions of Muslim immigrants in Western Europe, employ motifs and canards that are familiar to us.⁴³

Other social scientists and antisemitism researchers like Hanna Arendt make difference between religious and racial antisemitism. The problem with this differentiation is that “those adjectives only distinguish secondary characteristics of the hostility; they do not imply a fundamental difference in its nature. Although the adjectives distinguish different historical rationalizations for the hostility, the noun “antisemitism” still implies constancy in the basic cause and quality of hostility against Jews at any time.”⁴⁴

The title shows, in this sub-chapter a short demonstration of the origins and history of anti-Judaism, which chronologically takes place approximately until the middle of the 19th century, will take place.

⁴³ Sharansky, Natan ‘Antisemitism in 3-D. Differentiating legitimate criticism of Israel from the so-called new anti-Semitism’ Hagalil.com Online News Magazine, 05.03.2004 available at <http://www.hagalil.com/antisemitismus/europa/sharansky-1.htm>

⁴⁴ Langmuir, Gavin I., ‘Toward a Definition of Antisemitism’ University of California Press. University of California, Los Angeles. 1990 p. 314

John G. Gager writes in his book, *'The origins of anti-Semitism'*, that anti-Semitism – or in this case anti-Judaism is originated in early Christian times.

“Without knowing it, we perceive the past according to paradigms first created many centuries ago. In the historical religions of Judaism and Christianity, the distant past shapes the present in untold ways. [...] The source of this image is not “the facts” but the literature of controversy between Jews and Christians in antiquity, namely, the gospels and other early Christian literature. Even the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Nag Hammadi writings have frequently been treated as though they could be comfortably inserted into framework and categories of the orthodox past.”⁴⁵

This means, in Gager’s opinion, that the ancient antagonism between Christianity and Judaism started not long after Jesus’ death. Gospels and literature provide evidence. Later, he explains, among Christian theologians there may have existed pro- and contra-Jewish groups. He points out that this ancient debate about the relation to Judaism was not among Jews and Christians, but among Christians only. After the debate, eventually, the anti-Jewish side won.⁴⁶

3.3.1 Anti-Judaism

After determining the starting point and circumstances of anti-Judaism, one shall ask the question: What is then anti-Judaism? According to Gavin I. Langmuir, anti-Judaism is a “total or partial opposition to Judaism”⁴⁷.

“Anti-Judaism, therefore, can be pagan, Christian, Communist, or what you will, but its specific character will depend on the character of the competing system. Voltaire’s anti-Judaism differed from that of Augustine as Augustine’s differed from that of Tacitus. Of all forms of anti-Judaism, the Christian has been the most intense because of the intimate dependence of Christianity on Judaism.”⁴⁸

As pointed out, Langmuir has the opinion of that Christian anti-Judaism was getting so powerful, because of its dependence on Judaism. To be an authentic religion, Christianity

⁴⁵ Gager, John G. ‘The Origins of Anti-Semitism. Attitudes Toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity’ Oxford University Press, New York 1985 p. 266

⁴⁶ *ibid* p. 268-269

⁴⁷ Langmuir, Gavin I., ‘Toward a Definition of Antisemitism’ University of California Press. University of California, Los Angeles. 1990p. 57

⁴⁸ *ibid*

chose anti-Judaism to convince believers about its truth. And in this 'propaganda' against Jews they have become Christ-killers, usurpers, the cause of Black Death in Europe in the 14th Century. Iranian regime basically uses the same method to delegitimize Israel. The government tries to dehumanize Jewish people and delegitimize Israel to prove its truth and reach its goal to abolish Israel.

During the development of medieval society the Church continued its anti-Jewish propaganda. Medieval society developed a Jewish minority that had a degraded position inside society. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, because of these developments, Jews were no longer simply dispersed adherents of an inferior religion but had been assigned a definite, collective, religious, legal and social status in the organization of medieval society.

They had become an institutionalized inferior minority, symbolized ecclesiastically by the distinctive clothing commanded by the Fourth Lateran Council. The way was open for the development of a false irrational conception of the Jew.⁴⁹ The council practically relegated and institutionalized the Jewish minority in northern Europe which became defenseless against physical and mental manipulation.

"In addition to anti-Judaism, antisemitism now appears, developing slowly until 1300 and then intensifying rapidly, starting in the north and only gradually spreading to the south of Europe. It starts where the Jewish population was smallest and most defenseless, and where the pressure of majority anti-Judaism – doctrinal, legal, and popular – had most restricted diversity within the minority."⁵⁰

Langmuir also questions if anti-Judaism was antisemitism as well. According to his discussion, in Europe by the middle of the 14th Century, anti-Judaism became so extreme that Jews were accused for poisoning wells, cannibalism, ritual crucifixion, and responsible for the Black Death.

The author argues if by antisemitism "we mean not only its racist manifestation but all instances in which people, because they are labeled Jews, are feared as symbols of sub-humanity and hated for threatening characteristics they do not in fact possess"⁵¹, then in this

⁴⁹ ibid p. 61

⁵⁰ ibid p. 61

⁵¹ ibid p. 301-302

case extreme, non-religious anti-Judaism can be called antisemitic – since nobody actually observed Jews committing crimes they were accused for.

In the long history of Christian anti-Judaism and antisemitism, hostility was constant. Jonathan Sacks, the Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth, asks the question *How does antisemitism survive?* He formulates the answer to his question as,

“Antisemitism is not a belief system, a coherent set of ideas. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Jews were hated because they were rich and because they were poor; because they were capitalists and because they were communists; because they kept to themselves and because they got everywhere; because they were superstitious believers and because they were rootless cosmopolitans who believed nothing.”⁵²

Sacks interprets antisemitism as a virus which in order to stay alive it mutates. His metaphor is the ‘war’ between human immune system and the virus. The virus, in order to vanquish the immune system, has to mutate. The immune system has the defense mechanism to filter out last year’s virus, but it fails against the new, mutated one. As Sacks observes it, this was exactly the case when religious anti-Judaism mutated into racial antisemitism.⁵³

“There was a belief that in an age of enlightenment – emancipation, the French Revolution, the secular nation-state – prejudice would die, not least the age-old Christian prejudice against Judaism and Jews. What happened instead was that religious anti-Judaism mutated into racial antisemitism.”⁵⁴

In a hostile world Jews had to learn how to ‘survive’ in the ‘war against the virus.’ Sacks refers to two opportunities for a Jew living in exile in two different eras.

- The first example is from the prophet Jeremiah. He sent a letter to the Jews who had been forcibly taken from Israel or who had fled. He told them (Jeremiah 29): “Seek the peace and prosperity of the city to which you were exiled, and pray to God for it, for in its peace, you will find peace.”⁵⁵

⁵² Sacks, Jonathan ‘A new Antisemitism?’ in Igansky, Paul; Kosmin, Barry (ed.) ‘A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st-Century Britain’ Profile Books Ltd. London 2003 p 45.

⁵³ *ibid* p. 45

⁵⁴ *ibid* p. 45

⁵⁵ *ibid* p. 49

- The second example is from the 19th Century Europe. This was the time of Enlightenment, emancipation and the evolution of a secular nation state. “For the first time in history, Jews were offered equal rights as citizens. The promise was that the rule of reason would dispel the ancient mists of prejudice.”⁵⁶

To summarize anti-Judaism and to understand its possibility to mutate into racial antisemitism in the nineteenth century the theory of W. I. Thomas shall be served as explanation: the *self-fulfilling prophecy*. The essence of this theory lies in one fundamental statement. If one realizes this fundamental statement as real and true, then everything originates from this statement is logically understood as truth: “if men defined situations as real, they are real in their consequences”⁵⁷. From Thomas’ definition, Robert K. Merton formulated a new definition of *self-fulfilling prophecy*:

“The self-fulfilling prophecy is, in the beginning, a false definition of the situation evoking new behavior which makes the originally false conception come true.”⁵⁸

The *self-fulfilling prophecy’s* false conception in the case of anti-Judaism and antisemitism is that why Jews killed Jesus Christ. Jews did not murdered Jesus because of his religious thoughts and religious reforms: He was killed because of the nature of Jews.

“Jews were not inferior because they did not believe and killed Christ; they disbelieved and killed Christ because of their essentially inferior nature that was also manifest in their clannishness, avarice, and cowardice.”⁵⁹

Proceeding from this starting point, according to Thomas’ and Merton’s theory, everything what happened to European Jewry can be seen as true for people believing in the false conception. The definition of *self-fulfilling prophecy* is a theory to understand how the originally religious differentiation of Jews became racial antisemitism.

⁵⁶ ibid p. 50

⁵⁷ Langmuir, Gavin I., ‘Toward a Definition of Antisemitism’ University of California Press. University of California, Los Angeles. 1990 p. 342

⁵⁸ ibid p. 342

⁵⁹ ibid p. 348

3.3.2 Racial Antisemitism

Racial antisemitism appeared in the nineteenth century. In the Enlightenment new theories appeared which had a huge impression on elder thoughts as well. Darwin's theory of natural selection and the evolution made an enormous impact on society. The conception of 'human races' developed itself between intellectuals in the 19th Century European society.

The first person who had ever written down the word 'anti-Semitism' was Wilhelm Marr in the late 1870's. Marr at the end of the 19th Century was an activist of Zionism, but later became a critic of the movement and Zionism fell out of his interests.⁶⁰

Unfortunately for them, Jews were inescapably visible in the Western world – by virtue of their professions, their social mobility, their many successes in modernity, and, of course, their centrality in the core teachings of Christianity.⁶¹

Today the conception of 'race' among human beings has lost its social meaning. Scientists proved that this conception is not a proper term to social sciences. As Langmuir explains the defects about racial theory it becomes clear why it is false to talk about 'races' among humans.

“[...] “race” refers not to a process of nature but to an artifact of human consciousness which, like phlogiston or centaurs, may have no existence outside the mind of the people studied.”⁶²

He interprets that present biological knowledge about race could not cause antisemites hostility and hatred about Jews, since they were wrong in their belief about race; ergo racism could not cause their antisemitism.⁶³ So actually, the term “racial antisemitism”, related to the state of contemporary science, is also not correct; unlike in 19th and 20th centuries when science categorized people by races.

According to his approach, no such thing as a racist exists. One can use the term 'racist' for someone who believes in this misconception. For example, if someone is hostile against

⁶⁰ Penslar, Derek J.; Marrus, Michael R.; Gross Stein, Janice 'Contemporary Antisemitism. Canada and the World' University of Toronto Press Inc. Toronto 2005 p. 84

⁶¹ *ibid* p. 58

⁶² Langmuir, Gavin I., 'Toward a Definition of Antisemitism' University of California Press. University of California, Los Angeles. 1990 p. 313

⁶³ *ibid* p. 313

Jews, because he believes Jews belong to a lower caste of society – he can be called a racist (and an antisemite if his hatred relates to Jews).

It was Hanna Arendt who is told to be the first proponent of the view that racial or ‘modern anti-Semitism’ is a uniquely modern phenomenon. She pointed out that modern anti-Semitism is racist in its *form* but it does *not* meet *Christian* values in its character. As she wrote, it is anti-Christian in its character. She explains the discontinuity of modern anti-Semitism after religious anti-Judaism with a chasm between the antique and the modern, secular world. Due to these observations she asserts that “the charge against Christianity in general, with its two thousand years of history, cannot be proved, and if it could be proved, it would be horrible.” Others said it cannot be unequivocally said that for modern, racial antisemitism, Christian anti-Judaism is responsible.⁶⁴ Arendt points out the discontinuity between anti-Judaism and racial antisemitism, but as discussed above, Igansky describes the connections. Arendt may be right about the discontinuity but the relations between ‘mutations’ exist.

Uriel Tal’s observations during the existence of the German Second Reich (1870-1914), also confirm Hanna Arendt’s opinion that religious anti-Judaism and racial antisemitism do not directly connect, the latter did not develop from the former. There is discontinuity between them.

Tal’s study of Germany “has demonstrated the co-existence and mutual impact of two anti-Semitism at that time – one Christian, the other explicitly anti-Christian. The Christian variety, expressed widely by pastors and theologians, clearly has roots, in the Christian tradition. But Tal observes that “racial anti-Semites appropriate basic Christian ideas even while reproaching them and adapted them for their own purposes.”⁶⁵

Langmuir shares another point of view about Hanna Arendt’s historically-minded theory between religious anti-Judaism and racial antisemitism. He points out that there have been some serious changes to the characteristics of antisemitism that scholars need to use adjectives to be able to make some distinctions.

⁶⁴ Gager, John G. ‘The Origins of Anti-Semitism. Attitudes Toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity’ Oxford University Press, New York 1985 p. 267

⁶⁵ *ibid* p. 267

Arendt uses adjectives like 'religious' and 'racial' to distinguish between different types of antisemitism, but these adjectives refer only to secondary characteristics of the hostility. These, according to Langmuir, are not primary characteristics.

"[...] they do not imply a fundamental difference in its nature. Although the adjectives distinguish different historical rationalizations for the hostility, the noun "antisemitism" still implies a constancy in the basic cause and quality of hostility against Jews at any time."⁶⁶

Langmuir applies other terms, social and psychological 'illnesses' in order to define antisemitism: Realistic-, xenophobic- and chimerical antisemitism. These categories are discussed later.

According to Jonathan Sacks, one can see the existence and true danger of antisemitism when the combination of two factors is presented:

"[...] the belief that Jews are so powerful that they are responsible for the evils of the world, and the knowledge that they are so powerless that they can be attacked with impunity. Those two factors are in abundant evidence today in many parts of the world."⁶⁷

In history both factors were represented when the Holocaust took place. With the establishment of Israel, the right of self-defense and thanks to significant arm export to Israel by Western states, this is not the case today.

As an example on racial antisemitism in Europe, specifically France on the turn of the 19th and 20th century, the observations of Theodor Herzl are presented. It shows that in Enlightened Europe, and secular France, which at the time was the most civilized country in Europe, racial antisemitism existed and was dangerous.

"We have sincerely tried everywhere to merge with the national communities in which we live, seeking only to preserve the faith of our fathers. It is not permitted to us. In vain are we loyal patriots, sometimes super-loyal. In vain do we make the same sacrifices of life and property as our fellow citizens. In vain do we strive to enhance the fame of our native lands in the arts and sciences, or her wealth by trade and commerce. In our native lands, where we have lived for centuries, we

⁶⁶ Langmuir, Gavin I., 'Toward a Definition of Antisemitism' University of California Press. University of California, Los Angeles. 1990 p. 314

⁶⁷ Sacks, Jonathan 'A new Antisemitism?' in Igansky, Paul; Kosmin, Barry (ed.) 'A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st-Century Britain' Profile Books Ltd. London 2003 p.40

are still decried as aliens, often by men whose ancestors had not yet come, at a time when Jewish sighs had long been heard in country.”⁶⁸

This letter also serves as evidence how European Diaspora Jewry tried to assimilate into societies of their country, and as such testifies that it did not work out. Further discussion follows that investigates, how Jewish cosmopolitanism and assimilation state-theories could not function in nationalistic Europe at the time, and how nationalism, European exclusion, Zionism and the Holocaust lead to establishment of Israel.

The metaphor that Jonathan Sacks pointed out was already discussed earlier. But according to him there can be another, second mutation of antisemitism observed. To provide an explanation Sacks took Raul Hilberg’s example about how religious anti-Judaism deformed into racial antisemitism and finally genocide. As Hilberg formulates:

“The missionaries of Christianity had said in effect: You have no right to live among us as Jews. The secular rulers who followed had proclaimed: You have no right to live among us. The German Nazis at last decreed: You have no right to live.”⁶⁹

Today, after the Shoah, Sacks points out that the second mutation of antisemitism transpired from racial antisemitism to religious anti-Zionism (with the added premise that all Jews are Zionists).⁷⁰

David Berger, a scholar of medieval Jewish history, writes that antisemitism is a very complex social phenomenon that effects history, sociology, economy, political science, psychology, and theology or religion generally. Its presence is easy to distinguish, although it constantly changes.⁷¹ This is the reason why we are not trying to explain antisemitism. This thesis meant to analyze and criticize antisemitic anti-Zionism, contemporary Israel policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

⁶⁸ *ibid* p. 51

⁶⁹ Hilberg, Raul ‘The Destruction of the European Jews’ 3rd Edition Yale university Press 2003 p 9

⁷⁰ Sacks, Jonathan ‘A new Antisemitism?’ in Igansky, Paul; Kosmin, Barry (ed.) ‘A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st-Century Britain’ Profile Books Ltd. London 2003 p. 46

⁷¹ Penslar, Derek J.; Marrus, Michael R.; Gross Stein, Janice ‘Contemporary Antisemitism. Canada and the World’ University of Toronto Press Inc. Toronto 2005 p. 57–58

3.4 Socio-Psychological and Social Approaches

In this chapter mainly the psychological and socio-psychological background of antisemitism is discussed. Different theories of social sciences are mentioned, mostly group theories and experiments about what happens when a member of group gets excluded from an environment that he once belonged to, why and how does it happen, how the other members of the group become hostile against him. The theory was chosen for a better understanding antisemitic mindset.

An earlier chapter is particularly based on the theories discussed by *Gavin A. Langmuir*. In his book *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism*, he clearly and reasonably explains antisemitism and its psychological impacts which is why his observations serve as stepping stone of the following chapter.

Langmuir describes antisemitism as ‘unprovoked, irrational hostility’. As he points out, one must make a difference between rational and irrational hostility. Irrational hostility means baseless anti-Jewishness, which lies between hatred of Jews with and without at least some concrete foundation in terms of Jewish life and faith.⁷²

Rational and irrational hostility against Jews differ from each other. Whereas rational hostility can be framed as anti-Judaism which is based on a technically religious conflict, irrational hostility against Jews is an attack on an entire people’s characteristics. That is why Langmuir determine ‘irrational hostility against Jews’ the most reliable working definition for antisemitism.⁷³

Michael R. Marrus pops up another, very interesting observation and definition of antisemitism.

“‘Hating Jews more than is absolutely necessary’ – I characterized the phrase above as coy, as indeed it is. I return to it now because, as a definition, it provides an uncannily useful perspective on a very recent, jarring, but unavoidable phenomenon: the rise of a present-day intense

⁷² Penslar, Derek J.; Marrus, Michael R.; Gross Stein, Janice ‘Contemporary Antisemitism. Canada and the World’ University of Toronto Press Inc. Toronto 2005 p. 54

⁷³ *ibid* p. 54

preoccupation with Jews, and especially its nexus with a new, suddenly intense preoccupation with Israel.”⁷⁴

This definition may be slightly inappropriate, but if one looks beyond the surface and thinks about the relationship between antisemitism and anti-Zionism or criticism of Israel, the propriety and correctness can be seen.

The first phenomenon to discuss, based on Langmuir’s research, is simply Racism. The second social-psychological approach to understand antisemitism and its character is ‘*ethnic prejudice*’ in which two further sub-types are widely discussed: *xenophobia* and the so called *chimeria*. These approaches are widely and profoundly discussed in the book of Gavin I. Langmuir: *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism*.

3.4.1 Ethnic Prejudice

Antisemitism today can be seen as a social conflict instead of a historical study of a specific conflict. If the historical perspective is taken out, hostility against Jews shows no different characteristics than any other social conflict (for example the social conflict between Caucasians and afro-Americans in North-America). Following this logic antisemitism is expressed as *ethnocentrism* or *ethnic prejudice*, or simply *prejudice*. The advantage of using the term ethnic prejudice is that it is determined by social sciences, based on existing theories of social sciences instead of rationalizations of racists or victims of such hostility. Weakness of this approach is that “any hostility to Jews collectively at any time can still be denoted as “antisemitism”.”⁷⁵

Ethnic prejudice can be easily explained with the phenomenon called group conflict. Since it is in strong relationship with culture and cultural differences and can set up hostility against the group different from the bigger group, hostility generates itself automatically. Sociologists, ethnologists and psychologists such as Sigmund Freud, Desmond Morris or R. D. Laing researched this social phenomenon called *group conflict*. Freud writes that “Group

⁷⁴ ibid p. 54

⁷⁵ Langmuir, Gavin I., ‘Toward a Definition of Antisemitism’ University of California Press. University of California, Los Angeles. 1990 p. 315–317

conflict, or hostilities between different groups, is a pervasive feature common to all levels of social organization (e.g., sports teams, ethnic groups, nations, religions, gangs)".⁷⁶ In case of hostility against Jews one can see the bigger group "European society" and the smaller group "Jews". The bigger group proved itself dominant and became hostile against the smaller one.

"Milton Rokeach, for example, argued that people were intolerant of Jews and blacks because the hostile persons "knew" that Jews or blacks had different values from their own. They believed so because, as a result of institutionalized discrimination or ghettoization, Jews and blacks were kept at a distance and socially presented as symbols of conflicting values. But if the hostile persons could only learn that values, hostility would diminish sharply, and these outgroup members would seem preferable to members of their ingroup who disagreed about these values. If only they could meet, some of the best friends of these hostile persons would be Jews or blacks."⁷⁷

There are solutions to prevent ethnic prejudice. Social education is a good tool to prevent hostility against members of the outgroup (group being not tolerated and target of hostility). In their work Gertrude J. Selznick and Stephen Steinberg, *The Tenacity of Prejudice*, explain that "individual psychopathology plays no significant role in most people's acceptance of anti-Jewish and anti-black stereotypes"⁷⁸. According to them, those stereotypes can be prevented by proper education in humanities and social sciences. In their social experiment they proved that prejudice is one aspect of learned behavior.⁷⁹ And since it is a learned behavior it can be worked against.

"[...] in recent work on aggression in general, not only is there almost no concern with "prejudice", but psychological explanations of aggression are almost completely neglected or rejected, and aggression is explained by social modelling, by observation of the rewards and punishments of imitating the conduct of others."⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Freud, Sigmund 'Civilization, Society and Religion. Group Psychology, Civilization and Its Discontents and Other Works' Vol. 12 Penguin 1991 p. 353

⁷⁷ Langmuir, Gavin I., 'Toward a Definition of Antisemitism' University of California Press. University of California, Los Angeles. 1990 p. 323

⁷⁸ Selznick J. Gertrude; Steinberg, Stephen 'The tenacity of prejudice: anti-semitism in contemporary America' Greenwood Press, Westport, 1979

⁷⁹ Langmuir, Gavin I., 'Toward a Definition of Antisemitism' University of California Press. University of California, Los Angeles. 1990 p. 324

⁸⁰ *ibid* p. 324

As Langmuir asserts about the observations of Rockeach (psychopathological prejudice) Selznick and Steinberg (prejudice is a learned behavior)

“[...] the work of both schools represents a huge advance in systematic analysis of a wide range of attitudes toward groups, and it has posed the problems that must be overcome if there is to be further advance. Intuitively, the distinction between the psychopathologically prejudiced and the social conformists seems highly valid.”⁸¹

Gavin I. Langmuir draws attention to different categories of ethnic prejudice. According to him, there are three main types that exist. He determined them as *realistic*, *xenophobic* and *chimerical* assertions. These are all different in their character, but are labeled as prejudice. These also apply on antisemitism, giving three new, scientifically relevant categories to antisemitism research.

1. Realistic assertions: “Realistic assertions about outgroups are propositions that utilize the information available about an outgroup and are based on the same assumptions about the nature of groups and the effect of membership on individuals as those used to understand the ingroup and its reference groups and their members.”⁸²
2. Xenophobia: Xenophobic assertions’ main characteristic is that it does not make such difference among individuals belonging to the outgroup that it makes among members of the ingroup. Xenophobic assertions universalize stereotypes or characteristics about an outgroup.
3. Chimeria: Chimerical assertions differ from xenophobic assertions in that stereotypes of the outgroup in case of chimeria have never been empirically observed (Jews poisoning wells, Israeli concentration camps, Palestinian Holocaust, etc). This means that hostility against Jews based on false, discriminative facts.

Because of weaknesses of the term prejudice mentioned above, social scientists prefer to refine the term ‘ethnic prejudice’ and use the terms xenophobia and chimeria instead. Though xenophobia and chimeria are sub-categories of ‘ethnic prejudices’ one can analyze these terms also separately, since significant qualitative differences appear between them.

⁸¹ ibid p. 325

⁸² {Langmuir 1990 #1: 328}

Each of these assertions can be described as hostility against a group. It depends on the type of hostility and prejudice of the hostile group which designation is correct: realistic assertions, xenophobia or chimeria. As Langmuir notes, it is also possible that only a couple member of a group represents one of the three kinds of hostility. That is why these are “socially significant only when they are widespread and influence social policy. For reasons that I hope will become apparent, I would reserve use of the term “antisemitism”, for socially significant chimerical hostility against Jews.”⁸³

In the next sub-chapter, there is a deeper analysis about xenophobia and chimeria.

3.4.2 Xenophobia vs. Chimeria

Jews are Christ killers – this is one of the most obvious statements of xenophobic assertions. Xenophobic assertions appear when a whole group of people are blamed or become the scapegoat for the actions committed by some individuals of the outgroup. Xenophobia regards each member of the outgroup with the same characteristics: in the case of Jews one regards them as people responsible for the death of Jesus Christ.

“Yet a group of any size such as “the Jews” cannot be tangibly experienced: for centuries no one has been able to encounter “the Jews” as a whole or all individual Jews. The concept of “the Jews” or of any large outgroup is an abstraction. And what xenophobic assertions do is to make the abstraction more real than any individual components.”⁸⁴

Xenophobic assertions are in connections with the outgroup. Members of the outgroup are seen as a threat, because some of its members participated in the action considered threatening. That is why the subject of xenophobic assertions is not the group, but the social danger it carries.⁸⁵

Xenophobia against Jews did not develop suddenly. As mentioned above, different groups have different traditions, different nations have different cultures. Jews also have their own unique characteristics which they maintained for millennia (clothing, language, traditions,

⁸³ ibid p. 328

⁸⁴ ibid p. 329

⁸⁵ ibid p. 330

etc.). And since Jews formed the minority within different societies they could not or were not allowed to assimilate, and xenophobia became more intense. Although xenophobia against Jews has been around a long time it does not differ from xenophobia against other groups. That is the reason why Langmuir points out that there is no good reason to distinguish xenophobic hostility against Jews from “that directed against other groups by giving it a special term, “antisemitism”.”⁸⁶

Chimeria shows different characteristics to xenophobia, although the two phenomena are not totally different. Langmuir proposes the usage of chimeria, because in his opinion this neologism fits most properly to describe this kind of prejudice. He writes that,

“The Greek root of “chimeria” makes it a fitting companion to “xenophobia”, but, more important, the ancient use of “chimera” to refer to a fabulous monster emphasizes the central characteristic of the phenomenon I wish to distinguish from xenophobia.”⁸⁷

As mentioned above, chimerical assertions are based on characteristics that have never been observed before, but it is necessary to note that the outgroup is victim of chimeria because of its social and cultural characteristics differentiate from those of the ingroup.

One can label, for example, the Nuremberg laws as chimerical assertion, since the laws were built on characteristics of Jews never been empirically observed before. The laws say that someone is a Jew if more than two grandparents were Jewish. If one or two grandparent were Jewish, the person was categorized as a *Mischling* (half breed). This categorization and its immutability (by converting to Christianity or marrying a German) makes the Nuremberg laws chimerical, because “the fantasy attributes a quality to the outgroup that is unobserved and unobservable. No observable conduct of individual members can prove that they do not have that quality, that they are exceptions. To the contrary, they may be all the more dangerous because their alleged menace is so well camouflaged.”⁸⁸

Iranian new antisemitism shows also that chimerical character. The regime accuses the Zionists (a couple of Jews who rule the world, and the state of Israel) with events only exist in their fantasies: the denial of the Holocaust, or that a couple thousand of Zionists rule the world by manipulating the United State’s media and bank system. The danger that Iranian

⁸⁶ ibid p. 341

⁸⁷ ibid p. 334

⁸⁸ ibid p. 336-339

antisemitic Israel policy and its propaganda carries is not less dangerous than that of the Nazis.

Social differentiation inside a society easily can lead to emergence of physical differences. Chimerical assertions can be used for forcing members of the outgroup wear different clothes, or signs on their clothes; carry special identification cards, etc.

Chimerical assertions frame two sub-categories: The stronger- and the weaker-type chimeria. The stronger type is easy to recognize, in case where members of an outgroup are described as subhuman monsters, responsible for all the bad happening. Weaker type chimeria is harder to recognize, but in *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* a very proper example is presented:

“[...] a badly damaged body was found in a society in which many people committed brutal homicide, and although no evidence whatsoever connected Jews with the crime, they were nonetheless accused. [...] But the chimerical nature of the assertion becomes obvious when such assertions are stated as a generalization: if Jews are present in the area, all brutal murders for which the killers are unknown are committed by Jews.”⁸⁹

Another difference between chimeria and xenophobia is that since xenophobic assertions are reactions to ill-understood menaces to social organization, chimerical assertions are menaces to individual psychic integration. This means that xenophobia is a socially formed phenomenon, while chimeria is individually developed. That is why xenophobic environment serves as breeding ground for chimeria.⁹⁰

One important point is in Langmuir's work, when he reveals why antisemitism is not *only* xenophobic, but chimerical *as well*. As mentioned above, it is beyond reason to call xenophobic assertions against Jews antisemitism. There is nothing unusual in hostility among different groups, cultures, nations, etc. Instead, there is something peculiar about that hostility. After the 'Final Solution' took place it became clear for all mankind that Jews are victims of an “unusual, if not unique, form of hostility for which a special term may seem in order. In addition to xenophobic hostility, Jews have been a primary target for socially significant chimerical hostility.” In such a chimerical social environment (where members of the outgroup are exploited and controlled by xenophobia and stigmatized as social menaces)

⁸⁹ ibid p. 326

⁹⁰ ibid p. 338

individuals of the outgroup become ideal targets for chimerical assertions, and easily become scapegoats.⁹¹

Finally one must be aware of practical use of socially significant xenophobia and chimeria. Since socially significant, xenophobia and chimeria are present in social and cultural scenes of everyday life (literature, art, media, politics), forums like them make menaces true and peculiarly valuable for society. Thereby, xenophobia and chimeria gets permanently and unavoidably rooted in societies and “become an influence on social policy”.⁹²

In the Islamic Republic of Iran, in which xenophobia and chimerical assertions rule social forums, media and politics, this presentation of ethnic prejudice, xenophobia and chimeria was found most relevant for the analysis of antisemitism that significantly determines Israel policy of the government of Iran.

⁹¹ ibid 341-349

⁹² ibid 349-350

3.5 Jewish State Theories and New Antisemitism

Relations between Zionism and new antisemitism are unalienable. That is why it is necessary to discuss what exactly Zionism and state of Israel is. In this sub-chapter (3.5.1) a short presentation of Jewish state-theories are discussed. What options did European Jewish communities have since the 18th-19th century? In this short historical retrospect cosmopolitanism, assimilation and finally political Zionism is discussed. These theories were searching for the fitting solution for Jewish Diaspora to live among Europeans. To represent these theories, publication from *Eva Kreisky* and *Saskia Stachowitsch* as well as Torah lectures from *Yehuda Hakohen* is analyzed.

After the creation of Israel the state got lots of critique, as well as valid and invalid, antisemitic critique. The subchapter 3.5.1 is engaged here to present legal criticism, and options open before the Jewish state. Yaakov Kop in his work, *Nation-Building, Pluralism, and Democracy in Israel*, analyses the situation. He suggests new solutions to political Zionism which got so much critique in the past few decades. Political Zionism carries racism in itself, which among other forums was declared by the United Nations on November 10th in 1975 as well (UN General Assembly Resolution 3379)⁹³. These options he suggests, in his opinion, could start a process to bring peace to the Middle East. He suggests building a Nation of Israelis and not Jews. In his opinion a plural society and communication between Palestinians and Jews are the key moment in the struggle in that part of the World.⁹⁴

Second sub-chapter, 3.5.2, is engaged to provide a test to allocate (new) antisemitism. Natan Sharansky set out the test relying on his observations on today's antisemitism. It is called the 3D test where each 'D' stands for a characteristic attitude of an anti-Semite towards Jews. *Demonization of Jews*, *Deligitimization of Israel* and *Double standards* are meant to allocate antisemitism.

⁹³ Document available at

http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/3379%28XXX%29&Lang=E&Area=RESOLUTION

⁹⁴ Kop, Yaakov "Nation-Building, Pluralism, and Democracy in Israel" *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* Winter/Spring 2003

3.5.1 Jewish State Theories, the Establishment and Critique of Israel

Let us start with early Jewish visualizations and theories about how to share a state with Europeans. This does not organically belong to the topic but is necessary to understand why European Jewry decided to be Zionism mainstream political theory of the Diaspora and why the state welcomes exclusively Jewish Israelis and acts suppressive on Israeli Palestinians in the Jewish state (e.g. Israeli government displaces Palestinians in East-Jerusalem and settling Jewish population there instead).

Enlightenment in Europe made a great influence on every nation. European Jewry also got affected by new thoughts streaming through the continent. The first significant theory of Jewish “participation” was cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism was based on the thoughts of the German philosopher, Immanuel Kant. It is an enlightened anti-Nationalistic idea. The theory is based on the universal vision that free and equal individuals decide about their destinies and according to that liberty and freedom they should take their place in the world. Citizens, or as Kant suggests cosmopolitans (WeltbürgerInnen), should step forward from irresponsibility and live a (self-)responsible life on behalf of the good of mankind. Cosmopolitanism thinks of nationalism and traditions are prejudice of the uneducated.⁹⁵ For the Jewish Diaspora in France, Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, where the thoughts of Enlightenment bloomed in the 18th and 19th centuries, cosmopolitanism seemed more than acceptable. With its ideas of nationalism and traditions it offered an opportunity for European Jewry to find their new home in European countries where they can be equal citizens. Unfortunately, later, in the 20th century, the universal ideas of cosmopolitanism disappeared next to the domination of particularistic⁹⁶ movements such as Nationalism and Patriotism.⁹⁷

Parallel to cosmopolitanism, among European Jewry another disposal or state-theory stood out. But dissimilar to cosmopolitanism, this vision dealt with a nationalistic socialization of

⁹⁵ Kreisky, Eva; Stachowitsch, Saskia ‘Jüdische Staatsperspektiven: Kosmopolitismus, Assimilationismus und Zionismus’ in Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft (ÖZP), 39. Jg. (2010) H. 4 p 442

⁹⁶ particularism: A principle of allowing each state in a nation or federation to act independently of the central authority, especially in promoting its own economic interests. The Free Dictionary available at <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/particularistic> (12.02.2013 13:23)

⁹⁷ *ibid.* p 443.

European Jewry into the transnational Diaspora.⁹⁸ This means that individual Jews, who lived for example in Germany or France, are intended to assimilate into German or French society and called themselves simply German or French. The theory is called assimilation theory and its thought- and praxis-model originates from the context of European Nation-state-building theory. The socio-political background of assimilation and emancipation was general social modernization and development of constitutionalism on which this theory was also based.⁹⁹ Relations between the state and its Jewish population and the isolation of Jewish communities reformed state-concept of Jewry. Assimilation sounded plausible and beneficial. It was also the time when reform-Jewry and Orthodox Jewry diverged. Orthodoxy did not want to assimilate because of their fear of losing their ancient religion. Today, this is also a part of the story why Orthodox Jewry so forcefully stands against Israel and Zionism.

When the un-sustainability of assimilation, such as cosmopolitanism became clear for Jewish Diaspora, Jewish- and even non-Jewish thinkers came up with the idea of establishing a Jewish state. If, because of radicalization of racial anti-Semitism in the 20th century, they could not assimilate into societies of Europe, they then should have their own state, where all of their people can call home.

Jewry realized that they cannot be a part of any society in Europe; they cannot call any country in Europe their home. As Yehuda Hakohen explains, because Jews were not considered as full-member citizens in a European society, they could not feel that the country was their home. They realized that “if an Englishman goes to a Frenchman to visit, the Englishman has the option to invite the Frenchman back”.¹⁰⁰ A 20th century Jew living in Europe could not feel like he could do that. Hakohen brings here the example of Leon Pinsker, an Odessa-born, Ukraine-Russian Jew, who after failing to assimilate into Russian society, came up with the idea (just as Herzl did) of establishing a Jewish state. This is how political Zionism set its foot in the 19th century.

⁹⁸ ibid p 443

⁹⁹ ibid p 443

¹⁰⁰ Hakohen, Yehuda “Torah Video Lecture about History of Zionism” in Machon Meir, Jerusalem 16.12.2012 (10.01.2013) available at <http://www.english.machonmeir.net/component/jmultimedia/?view=media&layout=default&id=9549&catid=278>

As mentioned above, Theodor Herzl believed the same to politically solve the “Jewish problem” Europe was facing with.¹⁰¹ For the gentile population of Europe getting rid of its Jewish population was a perfect opportunity on the one hand, on the other hand European Jewry had the opportunity to establish a state on their own. “Sadly, it took the murder of two-thirds of Europe’s Jews before the state was born.”¹⁰²

But what is political Zionism exactly? It originates from making European Jewry represent itself in European societies as a full-member citizen impossible as well as in deepening nationalism and anti-Semitism. But nationalism did affect political Zionism. As Kreisky and Stachowitsch argue, Herzl’s political Zionism was lead more by modern nationalism than by Jewish traditions. Nationalistic political Zionism and politicization of Jewry served as perfect opposition to political Antisemitism and Nationalism, and in the same time created the base of the modern, nationalistic state theory of Jewry.¹⁰³

The problem with Zionism applies when analyzing the “Jewish ethnicity”. There was not a nation emigrated when the exile from Palestine took place, it was a religion. There is no proof of in the Middle East rooted, genealogically bound group that left Palestine. It consisted from many groups of people that happened to be brought together and determined as the Jewish nation by Zionist historiography (Arabic Jews did not count in the establishment of Israel as full-value Israelis, but they played a role in economic and military functions by the establishment).¹⁰⁴

Contradictions of Zionism still exist today within Israeli society. Yaakov Kop explains in his essay, *‘Nation-Building, Pluralism, and Democracy on Israel’* that Israel needs to get over its inner conflicts. He argues that there are four main tensions in Israeli society:

- a. First tension sets the Jewishness of the Israeli state against its democratic nature.

¹⁰¹ Kreisky, Eva; Stachowitsch, Saskia “Jüdische Staatsperspektiven: Kosmopolitismus, Assimilationismus und Zionismus” in “Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft (ÖZP), 39. Jg. (2010) H. 4, 435-449“, p 444

¹⁰² Sack, Jonathan ‘A new Antisemitism?’ in Igansky, Paul; Kosmin, Barry (ed.) ‘A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st-Century Britain’ Profile Books Ltd. London 2003 p. 51

¹⁰³ Kreisky, Eva; Stachowitsch, Saskia “Jüdische Staatsperspektiven: Kosmopolitismus, Assimilationismus und Zionismus” in “Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft (ÖZP), 39. Jg. (2010) H. 4, 435-449“, p 445

¹⁰⁴ *ibid* p 445-447

- b. Tension lies between the need to build a cohesive nature and the preferences of individual groups (both ethnic and individual).
- c. Relationship between religion and state. There is a tension about what it means to be Jewish.
- d. Final tension is the increasing coincidence of ethno-cultural and socioeconomic divisions. Here belong not only Jewish-Arab relations, in which socioeconomic and cultural traditions certainly differ, but Jewish-Jewish relations as well. There is tension between Ashkenazim and Sephardim Jews, immigrants and veterans, religious and secular Jewish groups.¹⁰⁵

Kop adumbrates us to realize contradictions between Zionism and democracy. In his work one can understand why Zionism, with its basic thought to create a Jewish state solely for Jews, is in this case impossible. Zionism fails as a policy of a democratic state. A possible dénouement Kop offers consist of the solution of the tensions (mentioned above) existing in Israeli society. Expanding settlement in East Jerusalem to squeeze out Palestinians from their homes cannot be among policies of a democratic state.

Yaakov Kop in this essay, besides describing current tensions in Israel, formulates a critique of Israel too. The only, and very important, difference between Kop's criticism and that of Ahmadinejad's and his regime's is that this is not based on conspiracy theories or antisemitic fabrications of the mind. Kop based his essay on facts describing the current situation; the Iranian regime based his criticism on fantasies. In the eye of the regime the "Zionists" became the enemy of humankind for many things, for example the holocaust of Palestinians (Nakba).

Antisemitism of the Nazi regime and that of the Iranian have many similarities in nature which is discussed in the next chapter. According one theory there may even be a strong relationship between Nazism and the rise of antisemitism in Iran. But for this chapter the relevant assertion is that antisemitic (racist, xenophobic, etc) criticism of a state cannot be valid. Above a shorter but more compromising legal *or* valid critique of Israel is presented, which each and every democratic state needs. Anti-Zionism, Israel and the "Jew of the World".

¹⁰⁵ Kop, Yaakov 'Nation-Building, Pluralism, and Democracy in Israel' Georgetown Journal of International Affairs Winter/Spring 2003 p 22

Modern, Post WWII antisemitism is nearly inseparable from anti-Zionism and the Jewish state of Israel. Refusing Jews as a nation to their right for a state or to illegitimise the existence of Israel is antisemitic. In this chapter it will be precisely explained that how applying anti-Zionism can be antisemitic.

Theodor Herzl, in his classic Zionist essay from 1896 (The Jewish State), stated that the 'Jewish Question' was a matter 'to be managed through counsel with the civilized nations of the globe.' Herzl believed that Zionism could be the solution to the problem of emerging antisemitism in Europe. He conceived that antisemitic European societies would gladly help to organize the transference of European Jews to Palestine¹⁰⁶. As we know from history, the civilized nations of Western society were able to manage that transfer with the cost of lives of millions.

Even Wilhelm Marr, who was credited with coining the term antisemitism and was deeply antisemitic, had the same idea as Herzl. Between 1870s and 1880s Marr wrote about the idea of shipping the Jewish population to Palestine where then they could create their own "*Musterstaat*". Marr's antisemitic world view then grew even darker, until 1897 when he totally renounced Zionism and wrote that "the entire matter is a foul Jewish swindle, in order to divert the attention of the European peoples from the Jewish problem". Meanwhile Eugen Dühring, another anti-Zionist, held Zionism would be inefficient for Jews, "claiming that Jews would always prefer living under the most oppressive conditions among Gentiles than among their own kind, whom they would find it difficult to exploit"¹⁰⁷ According to these manifestations and according to the assumption that anti-Zionism is a total opposition to organizing a Jewish state, then in this case anti-Zionism is labeled with antisemitism.

Jonathan Freeland interrogates in his essay, '*Is anti-Zionism antisemitism?*', if the Jews are a nation or not? And what is the nature of their connection to and claim on the land of Israel? He approaches the answer of this question by simply using definitions from a dictionary. He defines Zionism as 1st 'A political movement for the establishment and support of a national homeland for Jews in Palestine, now concerned chiefly with the development of the modern

¹⁰⁶ Derek J. Penslar, Michael R. Marrus, Janice Gross Stein 'Contemporary Antisemitism. Canada and the World' University of Toronto Press Inc. Toronto 2005 p 80

¹⁰⁷ *ibid* p. 84

state of Israel' and 2nd 'A political movement for Jews to return to Palestine from the Diaspora'.¹⁰⁸ By using the 1st explanation of Zionism, Freeland writes that:

"[Zionism is] a movement for establishment and support of a national homeland for Jews in Palestine. Loosely translated, Zionism represents nothing more than a belief in the right of a Jewish state in Palestine to exist. It says nothing about the borders of that state. Nor does Zionism say anything about the nature, shape or direction of that state. A belief in Zionism clearly does not relate to, let alone require support for, whichever government happens to rule Israel at any one time. It is a simple, ideological proposition: a Zionist believes in the Jewish state's right to exist, an anti-Zionist opposes it."¹⁰⁹

The question in this case is if anti-Zionism equal antisemitism. Freeland brings up a case where Tom Paulin, an Oxford academic wrote a poem where he tried to prove that criticism of Zionism (therefore anti-Zionism) is far from loathing of Jews. Paulin was accused of Jew-hatred and this poem 'On Being Dealt the Antisemitic Card'¹¹⁰ was an approach to demonstrate that anti-Zionism can lack antisemitism (Poem can be found in Attachments [7.2])¹¹¹.

Unfortunately, the relation between antisemitism and anti-Zionism is far from settled today. The matter is problematic because Jewish citizens of Israel still can see criticism of their state as antisemitic, and an attack on themselves. There is a clear boundary between what counts as 'mere' anti-Zionism, so far it is impossible to locate accordance between anti-Zionists, who criticize Zionist policies, and those who take this critique as a personal attack on Jews. Just as Freeland, too, advocates it: "Editors and broadcasters would certainly appreciate a universally-accepted, easy-to-use rule that would tell them which is which. They would like to know what counts as anti-Zionism (acceptable) and what is antisemitism (unacceptable), so that they could

¹⁰⁸ Freeland, Jonathan 'Is Anti-Zionism antisemitism?' in Igansky, Paul; Kosmin, Barry (ed.) 'A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st-Century Britain' Profile Books Ltd. London 2003 p. 115-116

¹⁰⁹ *ibid* p. 116

¹¹⁰ Paulin, Tom 'On Being Dealt the Anti-Semitic Card' The Guardian Online, Wednesday 8 January 2003 available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2003/jan/08/internationaleducationnews.highereducation> (06.02.2013 20:36)

¹¹¹ *ibid* available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2003/jan/08/internationaleducationnews.highereducation> (06.02.2013 20:37)

air a bit of the former while never being accused of the latter.”¹¹² He uses the term (acceptable) anti-Zionism in this matter as this thesis used it the chapter above. In Freeland’s phrasing here anti-Zionism stands for acceptable criticism of Zionism, the same valid criticism that Yaakov Kop presented in his work. Following this trace anti-Zionism can be free of – *and* infected with antisemitism: It depends among which circumstances the critique emerge.

There is a third term one should be familiar with when discussing anti-Zionism: anti-Israelism. The difference between the two terms is that “anti-Zionism is opposition to a specific idea – an opposition that began among, and which has always included, Jews”¹¹³, meanwhile anti-Israelism concerns only the critique of Israel (with the premise that Israel has the right to exist as a state). Considering the latter observation of anti-Zionism, it seems inseparable from antisemitism. Additionally inappropriate anti-Zionist language can also cause antisemitic statements, which makes differentiation even harder.¹¹⁴

Derek J. Penslar, Michael R. Marrus and Janice Gross Stein in their edited book, *‘Contemporary Antisemitism; Canada and the World’*, also explain that criticism of Israel is not equal anti-Zionism.

“Criticism of Israeli Policy cannot be seen, clearly, as synonymous with anti-Zionism, let alone antisemitism. [...] Israel is deeply divided over its relationship, now and in the future, with the Palestinians, and there is no reason why Jews or others elsewhere should not be expected to weigh in, should not be expected to care about and debate these matters that have an impact on the world’s security, on the fate of lands deemed holy by all the West’s major faiths, and on an issue with significant, complex moral implications.”¹¹⁵

Jonathan Freeland, along with the difficulties appears between antisemitism and anti-Zionism, points out some observations about being anti-Zionist without being antisemitic.

“Recall for a moment the Bundists socialists and communist Jews of the pre-Holocaust period who believed Jewish redemption would come through revolution rather than return: were they antisemites? Of course not. And what about the ultra-orthodox Jews who still hold that Jewish

¹¹² Freeland, Jonathan ‘Is Anti-Zionism antisemitism?’ in Igansky, Paul; Kosmin, Barry (ed.) ‘A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st-Century Britain’ Profile Books Ltd. London 2003 p 115

¹¹³ *ibid.* p 117

¹¹⁴ *ibid.* p 117-119

¹¹⁵ Penslar, Derek J.; Marrus, Michael R.; Gross Stein, Janice ‘Contemporary Antisemitism. Canada and the World’ University of Toronto Press Inc. Toronto 2005 p 55-56

migration to Palestine represented a usurpation of God's role: it's up to the Messiah, not us, to create a Jewish state. Are these people antisemites? Again, no."¹¹⁶

The problem incurred by this observation is that those who criticize the existence of the Jewish state, without being antisemitic, are all Jewish. So, the question presents itself, if it is possible to be an anti-Zionist, without being Jewish?

Apparently it is possible. In the case where one criticizes Israel's policy about the 'Jewish state is an ethnic construct'. In that case one "will always privilege one group of citizens over another. Its institutions, traditions and national symbols will only ever include one section of the population – roughly 80 per cent on current figures – and pointedly exclude the others. Just as if an Ireland formally designated a Catholic state would exclude and discriminate against Protestants and others, so a 'Jewish state' necessarily makes second-class citizens of its non-Jews." In that case anti-Zionism cannot be labeled as antisemitic.¹¹⁷

If moved towards the fact that Israel, indeed, has the right to exist, the essay of Melanie Phillips, 'Christian Theology and the New Antisemitism', point out more correspondence between anti-Zionism and antisemitism. Phillips' understands under new antisemitism that since Israel is the Jewish nation-state then Israel represents Jewish evil. This means that, unlike in traditional antisemitism where Jews as individuals were responsible for everything evil, new antisemitism is projected on the level of states and Israel became the state of evil and is being systematically dehumanized and demonized. Phillips' brings up two very good examples on new antisemitism.

- "Israel's attempt to defend itself and stop the terror is represented as a desire for vengeance or punishment – tapping into the ancient prejudice that Jews are motivated by doctrine of 'an eye for an eye' – or sheer malice against the Palestinians."¹¹⁸
- "In the Guardian, former Archbishop Desmond Tutu, having compared Israel to South Africa under apartheid (despite the fact that Arabs are members of the Knesset and Israel's Supreme Court), claimed that people were scared to say the Jewish lobby in the United States was very powerful. 'So what?' he asked. 'The apartheid government was

¹¹⁶ Freeland, Jonathan 'Is Anti-Zionism antisemitism?' in Igansky, Paul; Kosmin, Barry (ed.) 'A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st-Century Britain' Profile Books Ltd. London 2003 p 123

¹¹⁷ *ibid* p 126

¹¹⁸ Phillips, Melanie 'Christian theology and the new antisemitism' in Igansky, Paul; Kosmin, Barry (ed.) 'A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st-Century Britain' Profile Books Ltd. London 2003 p 194

very powerful, but today it no longer exists. Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, Pinochet, Milosevic, and Idi Amin were all powerful, but in the end they bit the dust.”¹¹⁹

The case of anti-Zionism in the context of Arab-Israeli conflict is different from other cases: It is antisemitic. Yehoshafat Harkabi, an Israeli scholar, wrote that Arab anti-Semitism is the outcome of political circumstances, not a cause of the conflict but a product of it. In his paper he argues that Holocaust denial “is not to be understood as something that developed as part of anti-Zionist rhetoric within the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict, but rather as a specific expression of anti-Semitic thinking.”¹²⁰

In Matthias Küntzel’s explanation of antisemitic anti-Zionism the Iranian leader’s, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, words serve as proof: He claims that two thousand Zionists rule the world and in the last sixty years the blackmailed all western governments; ruling their media, finance and culture; Zionists are responsible for the destruction of the Golden Mosque in Iraq, etc. But, as Küntzel points out, “he invests the word “Zionist” with exactly the same sense as that with which Hitler once invested the word “Jew”: namely, that of being the incarnation of all evil.”¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Tutu, Desmond ‘Apartheid in the Holy Land’, Guardian, 29 April 2002 in Phillips, Melanie ‘Christian theology and the new antisemitism’ in Igansky, Paul; Kosmin, Barry (ed.) ‘A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st-Century Britain’ Profile Books Ltd. London 2003 p 196

¹²⁰ Goetz Nordbruch: ‘The Socio-Historical Background of Holocaust Denial in Arab Countries. Reactions to Roger Garaudy’s ‘The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics’.’ The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem 2001 p 14

¹²¹ Küntzel, Matthias ‘Unholy Hatreds: Holocaust Denial and Antisemitism in Iran’ Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, 2007 p 12-13

3.5.2 3D Test of Antisemitism

This chapter is dedicated for Natan Sharansky's observations and research about how one is able to recognize antisemitism. Sharansky in his work locates those characteristics which reveal the antisemitic nature of a subject. In our time the so called 'new antisemitism' is more wide-spread. Whereas classical anti-Semitism is aimed at Jewish individuals (and as a race) or the Jewish religion, "new anti-Semitism" is targeting the Jewish state, Israel. That is the reason why it is dealt with in this chapter (3.5) and the ones before it. Antisemitic Anti-Zionism frames Muslim antisemitism today, which is why I mean to deal with new antisemitism and the 3D test after discussing antisemitism, Zionism, and anti-Zionism.

Unlike classical antisemitism or anti-Judaism, new antisemitism is more subtle and a new unique challenge. "Whereas classical anti-Semitism is aimed at the Jewish people or the Jewish religion, "new anti-Semitism" is aimed at the Jewish state."¹²² The complexity and difficulty of locating new antisemitism is that it can lurk behind the criticism of Israel.

In fact, over the past year, whenever we have criticized particularly virulent anti-Israel statements as being rooted in anti-Semitism, the response has invariably been that we are trying to stifle legitimate criticism of Israel by deliberately labeling it anti-Semitism.¹²³

Sharansky equate (new) antisemitism as evil in his article. According to him evil can be only defeated if it can be recognized. His idea to destroy this evil is to draw clear moral lines, rules, to recognize it first. But if the borders are not clearly marked the differentiation between legal criticism of Israel and new antisemitism logically gets harder. That is what makes the fight against antisemitism difficult.¹²⁴

So the question seems valid, "if not all criticism is valid, how then do we define the boundary line?"¹²⁵

¹²² Sharansky, Natan '3D Test of Anti-Semitism: Demonization, Double Standards, Delegitimization' Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, Foreword of Jewish Political Studies Review 16:3-4 (Fall 2004) available at <http://jcpa.org/phas/phas-sharansky-f04.htm>

¹²³ Sharansky, Natan 'Antisemitism in 3-D. Differentiating legitimate criticism of Israel from the so-called new anti-Semitism' Hagalil.com Online News Magazine, 05.03.2004 available at <http://www.hagalil.com/antisemitismus/europa/sharansky-1.htm>

¹²⁴ ibid

¹²⁵ ibid

Natan Sharansky worked out a way to be able to separate antisemitism from criticism of Israel. This method called the 3D test which can help “distinguish legitimate criticism of Israel from anti-Semitism.”¹²⁶ His 3D test applies the criteria that identified classical anti-Semitism to the modern variety.¹²⁷

“I propose the following test for differentiating legitimate criticism of Israel from anti-Semitism. The 3D test, as I call it, is not a new one. It merely applies to the new anti-Semitism the same criteria that for centuries identified the different dimensions of classical anti-Semitism.”¹²⁸

According to Sharansky one can detect antisemitism by recognizing the following ‘Ds’: *Demonization, Deligitimization and Double standards.*

- Demonization occurs if it comes to blame Jews for all evil on earth or that Jews are the embodiment of evil. Today demonizing Israel is a form of new antisemitism: for example equation between Nazi Germany and Israel can only be considered antisemitic and no valid criticism of Israel.

“The demonization of Israel, or vilification of Israeli leaders, sometimes through comparisons with Nazi leaders, and through the use of Nazi symbols to caricature them, indicates an anti-Semitic bias rather than a valid criticism of policy concerning a controversial issue”¹²⁹

- Double standards. “From discriminatory laws many nations enacted against Jews to the tendency to judge their behavior by a different yardstick, this differential treatment of Jews was always a clear sign of antisemitism. Similarly, today we must ask whether criticism of Israel is being applied selectively.”¹³⁰ This happens if someone blames Israel (and Israel only) with for example human right abuses, meanwhile other states’ human rights abuse stay disregarded.

¹²⁶ Sharansky, Natan ‘3D Test of Anti-Semitism: Demonization, Double Standards, Delegitimization’ Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, Foreword of Jewish Political Studies Review 16:3-4 (Fall 2004) available at <http://jcpa.org/phas/phas-sharansky-f04.htm>

¹²⁷ Jonas, George ‘Hating Israel, each for their own reasons (NATIONAL POST COMMENT)’ The United Jerusalem Foundation 11.03.2012 available at <http://www.unitedjerusalem.org/index2.asp?id=1623953>

¹²⁸ Sharansky, Natan ‘Antisemitism in 3-D. Differentiating legitimate criticism of Israel from the so-called new anti-Semitism’ Hagalil.com Online News Magazine, 05.03.2004 available at <http://www.hagalil.com/antisemitismus/europa/sharansky-1.htm>

¹²⁹ Sharansky, Natan “Antisemitism in 3-D” The Jewish Daily Forward 21.01.2005 available at <http://forward.com/articles/4184/antisemitism-in--d/>

¹³⁰ ibid

“Double standards are applied so that Israel is damned for its behaviour while silence is maintained over countries doing far worse.”¹³¹

- Deligitimization is “when Israel's fundamental right to exist is denied - alone among all peoples in the world - this too is anti-Semitism.”¹³² While criticism of Israeli policies may not be antisemitic, denial of the state's right to exist is always antisemitic. Everybody has the right to live in their homeland, so as the Jewish people.

“In the past, anti-Semites tried to deny the legitimacy of the Jewish religion, the Jewish people, or both. Today, they are trying to deny the legitimacy of the Jewish state, presenting it, among other things, as the last vestige of colonialism.”¹³³

If we are following the instructions named above, according to Sharansky, and apply the 3-D test to ask whether Israel is being demonized, delegitimized or subjected to a double standard, antisemitism will be easily recognizable. The 3-D test offers a simple and accurate reality-check.¹³⁴

Sharansky's test to locate and recognize antisemitism is known to many social scientists researching antisemitism. And as every theory has critic, the 3D test has one as well. George Jonas agrees in some points to Sharansky but with some additions. He describes the 3D test as a parlour game for those who find themselves at sea when trying to tell critics for antisemites. He describes the test as unreliable and he explains his suspicion as:

“20th century anti-Semites were often highly literate. Few among them believed in blood libel or the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. This didn't prevent them, though, from supporting exclusionary laws or even the “Final Solution” of the Nazis. Demonization was a feature of feudal Europe — or, for that matter, of the Middle East today — rather than of the belief system of nations participating in the Holocaust. [...]

¹³¹ Phillips, Melanie ‘Christian theology and the new antisemitism’ in Igansky, Paul; Kosmin, Barry (ed.) ‘A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st-Century Britain’ Profile Books Ltd. London 2003 p. 194

¹³² Sharansky, Natan ‘3D Test of Anti-Semitism: Demonization, Double Standards, Delegitimization’ Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, Foreword of Jewish Political Studies Review 16:3-4 (Fall 2004) available at <http://jcpa.org/phas/phas-sharansky-f04.htm>

¹³³ Sharansky, Natan ‘Antisemitism in 3-D. Differentiating legitimate criticism of Israel from the so-called new anti-Semitism’ Hagalil.com Online News Magazine, 05.03.2004 available at <http://www.hagalil.com/antisemitismus/europa/sharansky-1.htm>

¹³⁴ Sharansky, Natan “Antisemitism in 3-D” The Jewish Daily Forward 21.01.2005 available at <http://forward.com/articles/4184/antisemitism-in--d/>

Delegitimizing the Jewish state is a similarly unreliable test. I myself know half a dozen people who think that Israel is the last vestige of European colonialism. They're ludicrously wrong — but they aren't anti-Semites.”¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Jonas, George 'Hating Israel, each for their own reasons (NATIONAL POST COMMENT)' The United Jerusalem Foundation 11.03.2012 available at <http://www.unitedjerusalem.org/index2.asp?id=1623953>

4 Case Study: New Antisemitism and Ideology Critique of Iranian Israel Policy

4.1 Characteristics of Arab-Muslim Antisemitism

Before presenting research results and the special case of Iranian new antisemitism, characteristics of Arab-Muslim antisemitism is needed to be explained. Necessity to deal with Arab-Muslim antisemitism in general helps us to see uniqueness of the Iranian case.

The Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC) in its 2008 paper about contemporary Arab-Muslim anti-Semitism gives a general description of it. The following assignment stresses out these main characteristics based on the study issued in 2008.

- Arab-Muslim (new) antisemitism is directed against Israel as a Jewish-Zionist state and therefore an enemy of the Muslim world
- Delegitimization of Zionism and Israel, such as dehumanizing Jewish people is main characteristic in Arab-Muslim antisemitism.¹³⁶
- Antisemitic manifestations in the Muslim world are basically influenced by events taking place in the Middle East.
- Antisemitism, anti-Americanism and anti-Western sentiment in general link together (Since the United States has a great influence in the Middle East this point connects with the statement above).
- Holocaust denial, or minimalization, is a very important characteristic of Muslim antisemitism. Unlike in Western-type antisemitism, minimizing the Holocaust in Arab-Muslim antisemitism is in a reciprocal relation to Western neo-Nazi antisemitism. The understanding of the Holocaust in Muslim countries is understood as: the determinative phenomenon is the Holocaust has never happened (exactly not in such masses as the Zionist regime stresses) in Europe and the real Holocaust is actually

¹³⁶ This thought appearing in this study is actually based on Natan Sharansky's test of identifying antisemitism, the 3D test of antisemitism

carried out by the Zionist regime against the Palestinians suggesting a parallel between methods of Nazi Germany and Israel.

- Violence and terrorism is generally justified by antisemitism and hatred of Israel and Jews.
- Islamization of antisemitism:
 - “[...] increase in the manifestation of anti-Semitic and anti-Jewish sentiments with Islamic roots. The main increase came after Khomeini’s Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979”¹³⁷
 - “The radical Islamic movements deliberately use Islamic terms to demonize Israel, employing Qur’an verses and Islamic traditions familiar to the Arab and Muslim audience.”¹³⁸
 - There is a lack of distinction between legitimate criticism of the policies of Israel and the Zionist movement; and antisemitic incitement against the Jewish people. The terms Israel, Zionist and Jewish are interchangeable.¹³⁹
- Establishment of antisemitism is regularly used by Middle East regimes including those of religious orientation (Iran) and those who signed peace treaties with Israel (Egypt, Jordan). The situation can be described in those countries with the facts that the media is a subject to government control and censorship, and it reflects government policies.¹⁴⁰

Generally, there was no antisemitism in traditional Muslim communities in the classic European understanding of anti-Semitism. Jews were a minority living under Muslim rule and as long as poll taxes were paid and Muslim laws were kept their property was secured by the supreme Muslim power and religious traditions were allowed to practice. Yes, Jews were discriminated against and in certain cases they were persecuted, but they were just as discriminated against as other non-Muslim minorities under Muslim rule.¹⁴¹

European anti-Semitism set foot in the Muslim World at the beginning of the 20th century when political Zionism chose Palestine the new Homeland of Jewry. The Zionist-Arab conflict and rise of the Third Reich sped up the spread of antisemitic ideology in the Muslim world

¹³⁷ Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC) ‘Contemporary Arab-Muslim anti-Semitism, its Significance and Implications (Updated to March 2008)’ April 17th 2008 p. 10

¹³⁸ ibid p. 11

¹³⁹ ibid p. 12

¹⁴⁰ ibid p. 4-15

¹⁴¹ ibid p. 9

and Arab-Muslim nationalist movements built it into their ideology. With escalation of radical Islam in the past 30 years, Arab-Muslim antisemitism shaped its own character and became more Islamic. A very good example of this is the statements of the Iranian president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.¹⁴²

“For the struggle to be effective, there must be an international task force with the ability to take action, leading the struggle against Arab-Muslim anti-Semitic incitement as part of a general campaign against anti-Semitism, with political, media and legal tools.”¹⁴³

4.2 New Antisemitism in Iran

According to Schmuel Bar, Iran is in many ways an enigma and a state of conflicting ideas. The revolutionary regime is based on dogmatic religious principles. The regime is authoritarian with massive suppression of human rights, but in the same time it has the most dynamic civil society in the Muslim world. Iran maintains intimate relations with countries struggling in bloody battles against their own Islamic radicals, meanwhile its declared mission is to spread Islam and support Islamic movements all over the globe.¹⁴⁴

Iranian identity is based on two dominant world views: Shiite particularism and Iranian (or Persian) nationalism. Nationalism reflects from the self-image of Iranians. Their traditional thinking of the ancient civilization, that gave the world cultural treasures before Islam attended, is very essential. Besides, according to Bar “it suffers from a sense of strategic disadvantage, victimization, isolation, and historic injustice.” These two components result in conspiracy theories and thoughts that Iran is alone against the world, which only tries to exploit it and deprive it of its rights.¹⁴⁵

Matthias Künzler in his essay on Iranian antisemitism’s connection to Nazi antisemitism explains how antisemitic conspiracy theories could appear in Iran, a Shiite Muslim Nation, where antisemitism as it is has no tradition at all.

¹⁴² ibid p. 9

¹⁴³ ibid p. 6

¹⁴⁴ Bar, Shmuel ‘Iranian Defense Doctrine and Decision Making’ The Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy Institute for Policy and Strategy 2004 p i.

¹⁴⁵ ibid p i.

And still, many Iranians claim that antisemitism still does not exist in Iran. They refer on the fact that Iran is the home of the largest Jewish community in the Muslim world. This assumption is true, however, many other aspects of antisemitism is presented by the Iranian regime that have little to do with the Jewish minority in Iran.

“Mahmoud Ahmadinejad does not attack “the Jews,” but rather “the Zionists.” At the same time, no other regime in the world is as antisemitic as that of the Mullahs in Tehran.”¹⁴⁶

Before the 1979 revolution in Iran, the regime had good relations with Israel, and saw bad relations with other Arab countries. Therefore the appearance of Antisemitism and hatred of the abstract Jew on governmental level is difficult to explain. Such as a “global Jewish power” or other characteristics, therefore, must be hallmarks of European antisemitism. Küntzel dedicates his research to find out “when and how this kind of modern antisemitism, this hatred of the “abstract Jew,” was transplanted to Iran.”¹⁴⁷ In the following points it becomes clear how good economical and political relationship between Iran and Germany at the beginning of the 20th century lead also to ideological approximation and sympathy (in this relation Germany made an influence on Iran, of course).

- Since the beginning of the twentieth century, Germany and Persia have made a great team:
 - Politically, the two countries shared common enemies from World War I onwards, although Iran was officially neutral in both world wars.
 - They were battling the same adversaries: the Russians and British (and later the Americans and Zionists or Jews.)
 - Germans became immensely popular in their role of technicians and engineers working in Iran.
 - By the beginning of World War II, bilateral cooperation between Iran and Germany had become extremely strong.
- Besides economical relations, export and import goods, European antisemitic ideology also set foot in Iran via a Berlin based short-wave radio transmitter which

¹⁴⁶ Küntzel, Matthias ‘Iranian Antisemitism: Stepchild of German National Socialism’ The Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs IV:1, January 2010 available at <http://www.matthiaskuentzel.de/contents/iranian-antisemitism-stepchild-of-german-national-socialism> (23.01.2013)

¹⁴⁷ ibid

broadcasted in Farsi to reach Iranian illiterate masses. The short-wave station was called *Radio Zeesen* and was the most popular in the country.

The following citations show how important the station in Iran was:

- British ambassador to Tehran Reader Bullard wrote in 1940: Their aim was not to inform, but to incite antisemitism and to boast of German successes. They were targeted at a mass audience rather than intellectuals.¹⁴⁸
- After the occupation of Iran by Soviet and British troops in August 1941, Radio Zeesen became all the more important. Some sheikhs even deemed Adolf Hitler to be the Shi'ite Messiah, the "Twelfth Imam".¹⁴⁹
- Nazi propaganda even customized antisemitic ideology in the area, since Shiite traditions lack the race idea. They brought the religious motif into their propaganda. Quranic passages and quotes from antisemitic European literature (*Mein Kampf*) were applied to hypnotize the population. Awakening religious anti-Judaism (by using references from Muhammad and the Quran) was the first step to imply antisemitism.
 - sura 5, verse 82: "Truly you will find that the most implacable of men in their enmity to the faithful are the Jews and the pagans"¹⁵⁰
 - the final sentence of chapter 2 of *Mein Kampf*: "In resisting the Jew, I do the work of the Lord."¹⁵¹
- During World War II, as the United States joined the war against Germany, a new aspect was mixed into Radio Zeesen's antisemitic broadcast which can be observed until today on Iranian anti-Americanism and antisemitism.
 - Radio Zeesen emphasized that "the Jewish power policy in the Middle East is being implemented by the Americans."¹⁵²
- Significance of Radio Zeesen's antisemitism can be seen decades after the end of the war. Khomeini's and Ahmadinejad's antisemitism repeat the rhetoric of Radio Zeesen's verbatim and the propaganda changed the perception of the Jewish danger in two respects:
 - Firstly, Radio Zeesen radicalized the hatred of Jews by fusing early Islamic Jew-hatred with the myth of the Jewish world conspiracy. In 1963, twenty years later, these Nazi seeds bore fruit when Khomeini enriched his anti-Shah campaign with anti-Jewish slogans.

¹⁴⁸ ibid

¹⁴⁹ ibid

¹⁵⁰ ibid

¹⁵¹ ibid

¹⁵² ibid

- The second way in which radio propaganda changed the perception of the “Jewish danger” was that Radio Zeesen propagated the kind of genocidal anti- Zionism which is prevalent today.¹⁵³

Küntzel’s research presents why Nazism and present Iranian antisemitic Israel policy show similarities. But Iranian antisemitism has other characteristics that are gentile to Nazi antisemitism. Iranian Regime’s Holocaust denial is a serious tool in the hands of the regime to legitimize their struggle with Israel.

The Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC) in their 2008 report on Contemporary Arab-Muslim anti-Semitism expansively analyses and presents contemporary Iranian antisemitism.

“The study examines contemporary anti-Semitism in the Arab-Muslim world, its roots, its characteristics and the strategic dangers inherent in it for the Jewish people in general and the State of Israel in particular. Classic Christian European anti-Semitism made its way into the Arab world [...]Its spread accelerated during the 1930s after the Nazi rise to power in Germany, and particularly after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. It includes elements of classic European anti-Semitism combined with Islamic motifs, and has become more prominent in the past three decades, following the escalation of radical Islam”¹⁵⁴

The study lays a special focus on Iran which between 2004 and 2008 became the center of Middle Eastern antisemitism. The researchers pay significant attention on Holocaust denial in Iran by using the accepted Jewish context on the Holocaust and applying it on a Palestinian context, portraying Israel as copying the methods of Hitler’s Third Reich and the Palestinians as victims.¹⁵⁵

In recent years Iran successfully turned its antisemitic policies into a strategic weapon against Israel. Antisemitic policies support a policy of genocide. One other important component links to this policy: the making of non-conventional weapons. Although Iran intractably denies it, the international community rightfully fears the possibility.

¹⁵³ ibid

¹⁵⁴ Contemporary Arab-Muslim anti-Semitism, its Significance and Implications (Updated to March 2008) published by Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC) on April 17, 2008 p. 4

¹⁵⁵ ibid p. 7

Iranian antisemitism is rooted in Khomeini's Islamic Revolution in 1979 as well as in Shiite religious law. Both describes Jews as infidels and unclean. According to Shiite clerics Jews cannot be defined as a nation, but only a religion which is why they are not worthy to establish a state of their own. Thus they claim that there is no place for a Jewish state, and certainly not in Palestine which belongs to the Muslims. The very existence of Israel in Palestine and its rule over Jerusalem is a gross violation of Muslim legal rights.¹⁵⁶

Denying or minimalizing the Holocaust is one, if not the most important aspect in analyzing Iranian antisemitic policies. Holocaust denial is the most important weapon in the hand of the regime to delegitimize and demonize Israel. In the following sub-chapter the Iranian "institution" of Holocaust denial is presented.

4.2.1 Denying or minimalizing the Holocaust

The Iranian regime adopted a policy of Holocaust denial (or minimalization) under president Ahmadinejad. Alongside with other antisemitic sentiments, the regime with this policy calls for the destruction of Israel while ignoring world protest. Destruction of Israel and Holocaust denial frames the two main components of the regimes policy of antisemitism and antisemitic campaign.¹⁵⁷

Holocaust denial or minimization is a tool in the hand of the regime to justify the premise that with the malarkey of the Holocaust, European Jewry just wanted to justify the occupation of Palestine and the establishment of the Zionist state. Mentioning the Holocaust is also a method of Zionists to control the world. Although Iranian regime does not deny that Jewish lives were taken in WWII, it debates the numbers and says that it was significantly less.

"To that end Iranian media give wide coverage to Holocaust deniers all over the world and to those who cast doubts on its dimensions, making Holocaust denial one of the main themes in the regime's anti-Semitic policies."¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ ibid p. 19

¹⁵⁷ ibid p. 20

¹⁵⁸ ibid p. 20

Holocaust denial and the call for the destruction of the Zionist regime is a well-planned strategy in Iran's hands. It does not stem from a cultural hatred for Jews as individuals but rather a political strategy contra Israel. Iran tries to benefit from its antisemitic policies. The regimes wants to increase its influence among Palestinians as champion of their cause; with usage of Holocaust denial Iran wants to promote its hegemony in the whole Muslim world; and wants to delegitimize the Zionist movement and Israel.¹⁵⁹

The following five statements manifested by Ahmadinejad between 2005 and 2008 serve as adequate description to understand and recognize Holocaust denial in Iran.

- a. "the real Holocaust is happening in Palestine, but the international organizations do not react to it at all" (Iranian TV Channel 1, March 3, 2008).
- b. the Great Powers had created "a dirty black germ" called the Zionist regime to provoke the Middle East countries. The audience interrupted his speech with cries of "Death to America" and "Death to Israel" (Khabar TV, February 20, 2008)
- c. "after theSecond World War [the Jews] concocted a scenario called the 'pogrom against the Jews.' Throughout Europe and the West an anti-Jewish movement was fabricated... They created the myth that the Jews of Europe had been innocent and treated unjustly..."
- d. "it is perfectly clear that a group of racist Zionists are the problem facing the modern world today. They came from centers of world power and [global] communications, and they exploit [their power] only to expose the world to continued suffering, poverty and hatred to strengthen their control [of the world]
- e. "some European countries stubbornly claim that during the Second World War Hitler cremated millions of Jews and sent them to concentration camps...We do not accept that claim..." [in the same speech he later added "if [the Europeans] are honest, they have to give some of their territory in Europe, such as Germany, Austria or other countries, to the Zionists, so that [the Zionists] will be able to establish their county in Europe. You [the European countries] offer part of Europe and we will support you."¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ ibid p. 21-22

¹⁶⁰ figure a.-e. ibid. p. 23-24

Holocaust denial became such an important segment of Iranian antisemitism and Israel policy that the regime made a significant effort to legitimize that thought. In 2006, the regime organized and hosted the “International Conference to Review the Global Vision of the Holocaust”. The conference was held in Teheran and its main objective was to internationalize the false claim that the Holocaust has never happened or rather its dimensions were minor. 67 delegates from all over the world attended. Among others Robert Faurisson from France, David Duke (ex-Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan) from the United States, and also a delegation of six ultra-Orthodox Jews who were members of the Neturei Karta (an anti-Zionist Jewish sect) from Britain, USA and Austria. The sect was used by Ahmadinejad to prove that there are Jews among his allies, and although they do not deny the Holocaust, they criticize the existence of the Zionist state.

At the conference the participants agreed to establish an institution for Holocaust studies with the obvious goal to prove that the Holocaust never happened and it is only a Zionist malarkey. The secretary general of the institution became Muhammad Ali Ramin.

“The Iranian media reported that the institute’s head office would be in Tehran, although for symbolic value Muhammad Ali Ramin was planning to move it to Berlin, “as soon as things are ready” (Islamic Republic News Agency, December 14, 2006).”¹⁶¹

Before the conference, in 2006, the regime also organized an international cartoon competition in the topic of the Holocaust. The contest was organized through *www.holocartoons.com* which homepage still operates and publishes antisemitic cartoon and movies for children (in Farsi and in English). This abuse of the Holocaust and the misleading attempt to educate children about the Holocaust is very dangerous for the growing generation.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ ibid p. 26

¹⁶² <http://www.holocartoons.com/> (24.01.2013 18:17)

Considering the huge number of participants, the regime is planning a second contest. According to the article published by the online newspaper “Before It’s News”¹⁶³ a next contest is going to be held in Teheran in the House of Cartoons.

“Iran’s House of Cartoon plans to hold another international contest on the theme of Holocaust denial in near future. The 2nd International Holocaust Cartoons Contest is being organized in protest against French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo’s plan to publish a comic book on life of Prophet Muhammad.”¹⁶⁴

Other than the conference and the cartoon contest, the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC) also submitted some TV references shown in Iranian state television between 2006 and 2007. The following assignment presents Holocaust denial in Iranian state TV.

- Zionism was based on the idea of Jewish racial superiority and on the Jews’ desire to control world resources. (Muhammad Mahdi Amir Kamali, “specialist in Middle East affairs” on June 7th 2007)¹⁶⁵
- On March 9, 2006, Iranian Channel 2 TV broadcast a program surveying the anti-Semitic cartoon contest.¹⁶⁶
- [A TV program] accused the Jews of fostering a myth about the Holocaust, invented by the Jewish-controlled media and motion picture industry. According to the program, the Jews exploit the world, especially the European countries, for their own needs, by creating guilt feelings. (“Documentary” on Iranian TV Channel 4 on October 20 2006)¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ ‘Iran’s House of Cartoon organizing Another contest on theme of Holocaust denial.’ Wednesday, January 2, 2013 7:52 available at <http://beforeitsnews.com/opinion-conservative/2013/01/irans-house-of-cartoon-organizing-another-contest-on-theme-of-holocaust-denial-2551214.html> (24.01.2013 18:32)

¹⁶⁴ ibid

¹⁶⁵ Contemporary Arab-Muslim anti-Semitism, its Significance and Implications (Updated to March 2008) published by Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC) on April 17, 2008 p. 30

¹⁶⁶ <http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/1067.htm> (12.01.2013 16:54)

¹⁶⁷ Contemporary Arab-Muslim anti-Semitism, its Significance and Implications (Updated to March 2008) published by Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC) on April 17, 2008 p. 31-32

4.3 Expert Interview with Matthias Küntzel

4.3.1 “Guideline Questions”

1. According to David Hirsh (“Anti-Zionism and Anti-Semitism: Cosmopolitan Reflections”) anti-Zionism is a form of anti-Semitism because it denies the right of the Jewish people to self-definition, while it recognizes the right of other peoples and ethnic and religious groups. ***Is Anti-Zionism, which is common in both the Arab and Western worlds, antisemitic?***
2. Criticism of Zionism is not always antisemitic, but you wrote in your article “Iranian Antisemitism: Stepchild of German National Socialism” that Ahmedinejad uses the word “Zionist” the same way as Hitler used “the Jew”. ***Where is the border, if there is any, between anti-Zionism and antisemitism? How far can one go with criticism of Israel, without being antisemitic?***
3. About Iranian antisemitism: Antisemitism is unknown to Shia Muslim traditions. ***What kind of archival evidence did you find to prove that the “hatred of the abstract Jew” in Iran origins from the Third Reich?***
4. German broadcasting in Iran. ***What were the main reasons for Radio Zeesen’s success in Iran? Could the German antisemitic broadcasting “hypnotize” much of the population?***
5. Erwin Ettel, the German ambassador in Teheran made some steps to “antisemitize” Iranian population. ***How did he – if he succeeded – reach his goal? How could he turn Iranian people, such as Khomeini or Ahmadinejad, whose religion disapproves hatred of Jews (such as any other human being), into antisemitic and hostile against them?***
6. Anti-American sentiment was one important issue of Radio Zeesen’s broadcasting. ***Anti-Americanism is always meant to be antisemitic? If not then where is the border-line between antisemitism and anti-Americanism?***
7. Mein Kampf was probably well known or even available in Iran during WWII. ***Is it possible that the words and exaggerated enthusiasm against the Zionist regime is lead by Hitler’s antisemitism?***

8. Iran is the only regime that is openly antisemitic since the Third Reich. ***How exactly can one allocate it? What are the exact facts in policies of Iran that make the regime and not the population antisemitic?***

These questions were used in the interview that was conducted and successfully transcribed. Afterwards the categories mentioned in chapter 2.2 were defined and data was sorted out from the transcription.

4.3.2 Evaluation and Analysis

4.3.2.1 Category 1: Antisemitism, Anti-Judaism and anti-Zionism (coherences):

These are terms that are very closely related. All of the three terms are relating to Jews in different ways. The oldest of the three terms is anti-Judaism which is Christian hostility against the Jewish religion: Judaism. It is a different phenomenon from antisemitism.

“We cannot ignore the difference which exists between anti-Semitism, based on theories contrary to the constant teaching of the Church on the unity of the human race and on the equal dignity of all races and peoples, and the long-standing sentiments of mistrust and hostility that we call anti-Judaism, of which, unfortunately, Christians also have been guilty.”¹⁶⁸

As Küntzel puts it

“[...] it is important to define words correctly, I make a difference between anti-Semitism and anti-Judaism. Anti-Judaism is what we have in the Christian history and faith and also in the Shia and Muslim faith... so we have a lot of anti-Judaism. [...] In the case of Anti-Judaism as a Jew you are able to survive by converting to other faith. In the case of Anti-Semitism, it is not possible because it includes much more than just faith. [...] Anti-Semitic issue is much more politicized, much more radicalized.” (*Matthias Küntzel (Interview) p. 3*)

So anti-Zionism and antisemitism are different phenomena. Today, after the creation of Israel and the Holocaust, anti-Zionism is very often connected to antisemitism. In Küntzel’s approach anti-Zionism is merely void antisemitism.

¹⁶⁸ Valois, M. Helen ‘We Remember: A Reflection on the ‘Shoah’ Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, Origins no. 4 March 26, 1998 p. 1-2

"[...] anti-Zionism. What does it mean? And the answer means that you don't want to give Jews as the only people in the world no state. [...] It is antisemitism. [...] there is of course every country and every democratic country needs criticism Israel as well, so there is a big difference between criticism which is trying to change the method of government and the policies of state over kind of criticism which denies Israel as the only country in the world, for example, the right of self-defense." (*Matthias Küntzel (Interview) p. 1-2*)

In response to the question of Iran and its policies to destroy Israel and so liberate the world, Küntzel's opinion on anti-Zionism and antisemitism confirms the former coherence between antisemitism and anti-Zionism.

"[...] believe in the myth that Jews are responsible for all evil in the world, for the wars, for troubles all over the world, so if you want to realize a better world than you have to get rid of the Jews and in this case you have to get rid of the state of Israel." (*Matthias Küntzel (Interview) p. 2*)

4.3.2.2 Category 2: Antisemitism's relations to Anti-Americanism

There is a link between anti-Semitism, anti-Americanism and anti-Western sentiment in general. Al-Qaeda and other several Islamic groups claim that the struggle between Islam, Judaism and Christianity is an integral part of the ancient, multidimensional struggle between the Islam world and the "Western World". The Iranian regime – after the Islamic Revolution in 1979 – sees its struggle in Israel and the Jewish people as a part of its strategy against the United States and the "West".¹⁶⁹ Küntzel also shares this basic opinion, but he also shared in the interview that anti-Americanism has other, not necessarily antisemitic forms as well.

"[...] anti-Americanism is more than just antisemitism and there are forms of anti-Americanism which does not need to be antisemitic. At the same time anti-Americanism is one of the main breeding grounds for antisemitism." (*Matthias Küntzel (Interview) p. 4-5*)

He also says it is important to make a difference between the two terms and one should not consider one as the synonym for the other. The connection between them in case of

¹⁶⁹ Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC) April 17, 2008 Contemporary Arab-Muslim anti-Semitism, its Significance and Implications (Updated to March 2008) April 17th 2008 p 5

antisemitism is clear, diagnosable and “appreciable”, but in other cases anti-Americanism exists without antisemitism – in the USA for example.¹⁷⁰

“[...] in the USA, there is not so much breeding ground for antisemitism as in Europe. So it makes a difference if you have anti-Americanism in the United States or if you have anti-Americanism in Germany or in Europe.” (*Matthias Küntzel (Interview) p. 5*)

4.3.2.3 Category 3: Nazi- and Iranian-type Antisemitism: Similarities and Differences

In the essence of this thesis stands the concrete situation of antisemitism in Iran. Within the interview the connections, similarities and differences between Nazi- and Iranian-type antisemitism was discussed in the first place. Iran has a very special judgment in the international level and among “Western-type” countries.

“The Iranian regime under president Ahmadinejad adopted a policy of active, public anti-Semitism, including Holocaust denial (or minimization) alongside a call to destroy the State of Israel. The Iranian aim in denying or minimizing the Holocaust is to undermine the guilt feelings of Europe and the United States which led to the founding of the State of Israel.”¹⁷¹

According to the quote Iran is the only state today which adopted antisemitism since Hitler’s Third Reich. As discussed with Küntzel, there are many similarities in Iranian antisemitism to the Nazi-type, *but* there are many differences as well. It seems that Iran “learned” about antisemitism from the Germans but did not adapt everything from them; they even evolved in their own way. But unlike in the 1930’s and 40’s Germany the Iranian population cannot by all means be called antisemitic.¹⁷²

Summing up the interview the following similarities and differences were pointed out by the interviewee.

¹⁷⁰ Küntzel, Matthias (find interview in Attachments) p. 5 “*I think it is still necessary to use both terms. And not as a synonym, but as two different expressions of hatred, or of prejudice, and which are seen very often that they are connected. But there is no rule that they must be connected.*”

¹⁷¹ Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC) April 17, 2008 Contemporary Arab-Muslim anti-Semitism, its Significance and Implications (Updated to March 2008) April 17th 2008 p. 14

¹⁷² Küntzel, Matthias (find interview in Attachments) “[...] *the population is not necessarily as antisemitic as the leadership. This is the main difference between the Third Reich and Iran.*” p. 7

4.3.2.3.1 Similarities

First the similarities between Nazi ideology and Iranian antisemitic policies will be presented. The first observation mentioned by Küntzel is that according to the Iranian regime and Ahmadinejad the world will become liberated after the destruction of Israel. This way of thinking about destroying the state of Israel as the collectivity of Jewish people is analogous to Nazi ideology. By murdering Jews one can rescue and liberate the world and live free. This Nazi-type of thinking is archetypal in speeches of Ahmadinejad and Hitler.¹⁷³ As Dr. Küntzel described – after Saul Friedlaender's theory¹⁷⁴ – making Jews responsible for evil and bad happenings in the world is called “redemptive anti-Semitism”.

“[...] rescue the world if you kill Jews. This is well known among researchers on Anti-Semitism, for example Friedlaender called redemptive anti-Semitism. You would believe in the myth that Jews are responsible for all evil in the world, for the wars, for troubles all over the world, so if you want to realize a better world than you have to get rid of the Jews and in this case you have to get rid of the state of Israel.” (*Matthias Küntzel (Interview) p. 2*)

Ahmadinejad's way of dealing with history and using utopian metaphors such as connecting destruction and liberation, specifically liberation through destruction, is a very dangerous kind of antisemitic and anti-American thinking in the Iranian regime. There is a Nazi-type of anti-Americanism presented by the government.¹⁷⁵

Speeches from Hitler and Iranian superiors also show similarities between the past regime in Germany and the present regime in Iran. Khamenei, supreme leader of Iran, in his speeches refers to the state of Israel – the Jewish collectivity – as Hitler referred to Jews at the time. Both use medical terms to express hostility and disgust against Jews and both in an antisemitic way.

¹⁷³ *ibid* p. 2 “[...] rescue the world if you kill Jews. This is well known among researchers on Anti-Semitism, for example Friedlaender called redemptive anti-Semitism. You would believe in the myth that Jews are responsible for all evil in the world, for the wars, for troubles all over the world, so if you want to realize a better world than you have to get rid of the Jews and in this case you have to get rid of the state of Israel.”

¹⁷⁴ Friedlaender, Saul ‘Redemptive Anti-Semitism’ Chapter 3 in ‘Nazi Germany and the Jews’, Vol. 1 – ‘The Years of Persecution 1933-1939’ New York 1997 p. 73-112

¹⁷⁵ *ibid* p. 2-3; 5 “[...] this is [a] very dangerous way of dealing with history and this utopian thinking and so this connection of destruction and liberation, this is one of the Hallmarks of Ahmedinejad and what makes this kind of anti-Semitism very dangerous. [...] [In the Middle East] is more the Nazi type of anti-Americanism.”

"[...] question in the case of Hitler and also indicates of the Iranian Leadership this metaphor is used in order to kill people. So you have to kill the cancer you have to kill Israel, because it is spreading the poison. When Khomenei in Iran talks about cancer he meant the destruction of Israel. Israel is the cancer in the Arab world so she has to be eradicated." **(Matthias Küntzel (Interview) p. 6)**

A third similarity to the Third Reich refers to the Jews of Iran and the discrimination they are facing with. Their position in Iran at present is quite similar to the Jews of Germany before 1938-39. Jews of Iran live free but they have to face much discrimination in finding jobs, go to study, practice their religion, etc. As Küntzel pointed out the situation is similar to the 1930's Germany.

"[Jews in Iran] can't become judges, they can't become masters of schools, and they don't have respect for their Shabbat. So there were many, many discriminations. [...] But you know Jews in Germany have also been accepted until 1938 so..." **(Matthias Küntzel (Interview) p. 8)**

4.3.2.3.2 Differences

But there are not only similarities between Iran and Nazi Germany in accordance to antisemitism. The two regimes may both be antisemitic but they could not evolve it in the same way. Similarities appear but it is more like a "Father-Stepchild" relation between the regimes.¹⁷⁶ The two state view the Jewish question differently. Nazi ideology drafted a blood theory which was not adopted by the Iranian regime.¹⁷⁷

The main difference between the Nazis and the Islamic Republic of Iran is the society. In Nazi Germany the population was as antisemitic as the government. According to Küntzel this level of antisemitism is not represented among the people of Iran.

"[...] indications we got suggest that the population is not necessarily as antisemitic as the leadership. This is the main difference between the Third Reich and Iran. There is antagonism between the big part of the population and the regime. And we didn't have antagonism between

¹⁷⁶ Küntzel, Matthias 'Iranian Antisemitism: Stepchild of German National Socialism' The Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs IV:1, January 2010 available at <http://www.matthiaskuentzel.de/contents/iranian-antisemitism-stepchild-of-german-national-socialism> (23.01.2013)

¹⁷⁷ Küntzel, Matthias (find interview in Attachments) p. 8 "There is no talk in Iran about the whole blood theory of the Nazis; it is not bought by the Iranians."

the German population and leadership during the 1930ies. And that means that in many ways, ordinary people in Iran think the opposite what the regime is saying is the truth.” (**Matthias Küntzel (Interview) p. 7)**)

As a confirmation of these indications, Küntzel also attracted attention on the 1979 demonstrations against the antisemitic, anti-Zionist slogans of Khomeini during his campaign. Ruhollah Khomeini had undertaken an openly antisemitic, anti-Zionist campaign during the revolution in 1979, but the demonstrations against the antisemitic nature of his campaign showed that the population is far less antisemitic than the regime.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ ibid p 7-8 “[...] there were some slogans during the demonstrations around ‘79 when the regime wanted to attack Israel and there was resistance by the demonstrators against those slogans.”

4.4 Qualitative Content Analysis: Google Alert Research Results

This chapter examines how the use of antisemitic propaganda published in different media on the internet (online news, blogs, videos, studies, cartoons) in the period of one month from 12.12.2012-12.01.2013 reflects Iranian new antisemitism. The objective is to identify and examine how particular signifiers in those media elements are used to communicate an antisemitic message. Over the one-month period defined above, the mechanical and automatic retrieval method, Google Alerts captured documents published internationally on the internet each day. The research supports claims that new antisemitism has spread into the consciousness of mainstream policies of the Iranian regime. The research suggests that criticism of Israel via internet-media can cross the line from legitimate criticism to established antisemitic manifestations.¹⁷⁹

In the one month period analyzed, along with many other news and contents with antisemitic messages, there were two events of great significance related to this thesis. The two topics, however, connect to each other, but both show exactly how Iranian antisemitic propaganda works. Annunciations published in Iranian media, mainly the state related television channel Press TV, travel the world within hours and are reported in many languages all around the globe.

¹⁷⁹ Cartoons and the new anti-Semitism: a thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Design at Massey University, College of Creative Arts, Wellington, New Zealand 2012 available at <http://muir.massey.ac.nz/handle/10179/3257> (18.10.2012 10:34)

4.4.1 The Sandy Hook Massacre

The first event within the one-month period on which the Iranian antisemitic press was reacting on was the massacre of Sandy Hook Elementary School, in Newtown, Connecticut. A gunman (Adam Lanza, identified by a law enforcement official) killed 26 people, 20 of them children ages 5 to 10, in a shooting on December 14th, 2012, and then killed himself.¹⁸⁰

Press TV, which broadcasts in English, reported on the event that the massacre was “Israeli conspiracy”¹⁸¹. Many western online news agencies dealt with what Press TV had reported: The Washington Post Online, YNetNews.com, Tablet Magazine online, WND online, etc. between the period 18th-21st December 2012.

The Washington Post’s online edition reports on 18th December 2012 that “Iran’s state-run news network blames ‘Israeli death squads’ for Sandy Hook Shooting”. According to the article the Israeli death squad was sent to punish Barack Obama for not better supporting Israel.

“The outlandish theory is not very clear, but it appears to argue that the attack would have been retribution for Obama’s diplomacy during Israel’s recent clashes with Gaza [...] The story’s evidence largely relies on an interview with an Arizona one-time gubernatorial candidate named Mike Harris who publicly associates with neo-Nazi groups, a series of fatuous questions.”¹⁸²

Other online news papers reported in the same tone and mentioned the same names and events. WND World wrote that

“The horrific massacre at a Connecticut elementary school last week was a “revenge killing in the United States sponsored by Israel” in response to international support for the Palestinians at the United Nations last month, an American journalist told Iranian Press TV on Tuesday.”¹⁸³

Referring to Mike Harris, the one-time Arizona candidate, whose statements were then featured as the headline of the video published on YouTube and on Press TV’s homepage.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2012/12/14/nyregion/The-shooting-at-the-Sandy-Hook-Elementary.html> (14.01.2013 13:24)

¹⁸¹ <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4321777,00.html> (14.01.2013 13:24)

¹⁸² <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2012/12/18/irans-state-run-news-network-blames-israeli-death-squads-for-sandy-hook-shooting/> (14.01.2013 13:24)

¹⁸³ http://www.wnd.com/2012/12/iran-newtown-shooting-pinned-on-israeli-death-squad/?cat_orig=world (14.01.2013 13:24)

¹⁸⁴ *ibid*

Two days after this article was published an extensive article reported about the same issue and about what Mike Harris said in the report on Press TV.¹⁸⁵ In that article classical antisemitic statements can be read:

- Their response was to stage a terror attack, targeting American in the most hideous and brutal way possible, in fact, an Israeli 'signature attack,' one that butchers children, one reminiscent of the attacks that killed so many children in Gaza?
- This is exactly what Israel did in Norway; the political party that voted sanctions against Israel was retaliated against by a 'lone gunman' who killed 77 children
- This is what Israel always does, they go after the children. It is what they do in Gaza every day. It is what was done in Norway. It is what happened at Sandy Hook.¹⁸⁶

The articles published about the interview on Press TV reveal the antisemitic nature of Iranian Israel policies and propaganda to legitimize inhumanity of the Jewish state and its destruction. Conspiracy theories invented by the Iranian regime are constantly published in Iranian news channels trying to prove their right in the fight against Zionists.

4.4.2 The Chuck Hagel case

In the one-month period of analysis there was a second topic of greater significance part of which had already shown up relating to the Sandy Hook massacre. Press TV reported on the events that Israel organized the terror attack to kill children because the state was dissatisfied with U.S. support of Israel. One part of dissatisfaction was framed by Barack Obama planning to assign former Senator Chuck Hagel as Defense Secretary. The assignment for Hagel was not yet for sure at the time the report appeared on Iranian TV, but was also geared with the massacre.

Chuck Hagel's nomination and assignment generated general welcoming in Iran. According to Iran the former senator is anti-Israeli which he proved many times in his public manifestations (at least the Iranian regime considers so). Between the period 7th-9th January 2013, as Chuck Hagel's assignment became official, many articles, blogs, etc. dealt with Obama's decision and the reactions from the Iranian regime.

¹⁸⁵ <http://www.wnd.com/2012/12/iran-blames-sandy-hook-on-israel/> (14.01.2013 13:24)

¹⁸⁶ ibid

According to the blog of “Rick Moran” on American Thinker, Hagel’s commitment to Israel is questionable. He writes on his blog that

- [Hagel] was the first Republican senator to publicly criticize the war in Iraq, calling it the worst foreign policy blunder since the Vietnam War, and he has consistently opposed any plan to launch military strike against Iran
- [...] in 2007, he was criticized by the National Jewish Democratic Council which said the senator "has a lot of questions to answer about his commitment to Israel."¹⁸⁷

These reasons prove why the regime welcomes Obama’s decision to assign Hagel as Defense Secretary.

CBS News online edition writes on January 8th, 2013 “Hagel nomination cheers Iran, and worries Israel”.¹⁸⁸ Iran sees this nomination as an opportunity to improve relations between the two countries. Hagel was nominated Monday (7th January 2013) and faces tough confirmation hearings. Critics have said he is hostile toward Israel and soft on Iran. Israeli politicians said their solicitude about the assignment. Reuven Rivlin, speaker of the Israeli parliament (Likud Party) said that “Because of his statements in the past, and his stance toward Israel, we are worried”.¹⁸⁹

So the nomination of Hagel produced opposing emotions from Iran and Israel. Teheran, somehow, hopes for more support from the USA while Israel worries about losing its position with the superpower in the struggle in the Middle East.

The Jerusalem Post¹⁹⁰ and The Washington Post¹⁹¹ also report the same concerns from the Israeli side (and cheers from the Iranian) as CBS News. Responding to articles concerning his issues, Hagel gave an interview for defending his stand. The Daily Caller’s article about the interview presents Hagel’s position on his foreign policy. According to what was discussed in the interview Hagel will try to defend Israel’s position to not become isolated in the Middle East area. About his position to Iran he stressed that he also suggested the UN’s sanctions in

¹⁸⁷ http://www.americanthinker.com/blog/2013/01/iranian_government_overjoyed_at_anti-israeli_hagel_choice_for_defense.html (14.01.2013 13:24)

¹⁸⁸ http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-202_162-57562677/hagel-nomination-cheers-iran-worries-israel/

¹⁸⁹ *ibid* (14.01.2013 13:24)

¹⁹⁰ <http://www.jpost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=298791> (14.01.2013 13:24)

¹⁹¹ <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2013/01/07/on-israel-iran-and-spending-chuck-hagel-looks-a-lot-like-robert-gates/> (14.01.2013 13:24)

Iran, and said many times that Iran is state sponsor of terrorism, trying to respond on international concern (from Israel) and welcome (from Iran).¹⁹²

Although the growing attention on Chuck Hagel' assignment as Defense Secretary and head of the Pentagon did not directly generate antisemitic reactions from the Iranian regime, it is possible that Teheran in the future will use Hagel to legitimize its antisemitic propaganda if the relationship between the USA and Israel weakens.

¹⁹² <http://dailycaller.com/2013/01/07/chuck-hagel-defends-his-record-on-israel-iran/> (14.01.2013 13:24)

5 Conclusion

The goal of this thesis was to present an ideology critique of the Iranian regime's Israel policy, specifically an analysis and critique of the regimes antisemitic Israel policy. Certainly, one can criticize the Islamic Republic of Iran for its nuclear program or its human rights violations, etc. Although one can bring the nuclear program and human rights violations in relation to new antisemitism and Israel, this thesis aimed to present, research and understand other aspects of Iranian new antisemitism and hatred towards Israel.

As framed in the research paper, antisemitism is far from a new phenomenon in human relations and to reach our aim to understand the current trend of antisemitic Israel policies we had to analyze previous "types" of antisemitism as well: anti-Judaism, racial anti-Semitism. By sharing the thoughts of Jonathan Sacks, this paper went after his visualization about antisemitism. In my opinion, since there is a relation between old- and new antisemitism, it is necessary to research previous types of antisemitism for complete understanding of the present one. Therefore this thesis is so engaged with analysis of former types of the same hatred.

Besides chronological analysis of the mutations of antisemitism, an extensive analysis of mental constitution of an antisemite is given in this study. As observed in my research, psychological approach given by Gavin I. Langmuir fit for each type of antisemitism, independent from era, place or religion. The alternatives given in his book (xenophobic, chimerical assertions, etc.) are significantly helpful in understanding differences and relations among various ethnic prejudices.

The third, most significant, part of theoretical analysis was engaged with present day matters. Firstly, we were engaged with different Jewish state-theories and the establishment of Israel. Cosmopolitanism and assimilation theories were discussed and explained why they were doomed in the time of nationalism, and how Zionism as a nationalistic political movement succeeded among other state-theories and how the Jewish state was born.

Zionism and the establishment of the Jewish state then became the central motif in post-WWII antisemitism. Hence a comprehensive analysis of Zionism and anti-Zionism for further research was crucial for understanding present-day new antisemitism. New antisemitism

was born with the establishment of the Jewish state. Many scholars state that antisemitism has mutated into a new form in the post-WWII era which rejects Israel and Zionism. This new form of antisemitism is often disguised with demonization of Israel, denial of the Holocaust and is therefore antisemitic. Smith points out that “new anti-Semitism is a combination of traditional mediaeval Christian clichés of hatred against Jews with new anti-Semitic arguments and anti-Israel feelings” and observes, along with many scholars, a global war against Jews and Israel and believes that Israel became the Jew of the world.¹⁹³

With the establishment of Israel a new type of antisemitism mutated from its older form and raised antisemitism to the international level. Antisemitism did not (only) function among individuals anymore. Israel became the ‘Jew of the world’, the Jew among states. According to this thought antisemitic anti-Zionism, delegitimization and the will of destruction of Israel became characteristic of new antisemitism.

There are of course defects existing around Zionism. Many antisemitic critique can be listed contra Zionism, e.g. that observation that Palestine was not empty at the time Israel was created makes anti-Zionists right about moral defects of Zionism. Of course Jewish people also have their right for self-determination, such as the Scottish or Catalan or Kurds, but one must not forget that in Scotland, Cataluña and Kurdistan the population is already there; Palestine was a different case.

But this is what is so called valid and acceptable criticism of Zionism, or acceptable anti-Zionism. There is not the case of Iranian policies toward Israel. The regime adopted a massive antisemitic anti-Zionism, which became characteristic of Muslim countries in recent decades. This is what this research aimed to present and understand; invalid criticism of Israel is a very dangerous matter on the international level. In recent months the relation between Israel and Iran has become worse and worse, which threatens the Middle East with a new conflict.

In this paper, for better understanding current Iranian antisemitism, an interview with Matthias Küntzel was conducted. Through this interview I got to know a subjective opinion of one expert on the topic. It was really helpful for extending my research further and to get

¹⁹³ Smith Steven W “Cartoons and the new anti-Semitism” Master Thesis at Massey University College of Creative Arts, Wellington, New Zealand 2012 p. 137

other, significant motifs into this research. On the whole, I can state that the research method, expert interview, was absolutely successful for my research, but is not sustainable for further research.

Unlike the other qualitative method of the study: Google Alerts was employed as a method to capture contents (therefore a useful method for content analysis) published internationally on the Internet. Google Alerts is an online search and notification application, which allows a user to receive customized alerts of the latest relevant Google search engine results, therefore as long as there is internet, sustainability of data-gathering is infinite. In the one month period analyzed for the research, there has been more than enough relevant information to study. With the extension of the interval of the period studied and the multiplication of categories and keywords in accordance to the languages spoken by the researcher, data one can daily get raises exponential. Therefore I, personally, find the data gathering engine from Google Alerts highly efficient and absolutely relevant for further research in this topic.

Summarizing the results, we could squarely determine that the Iranian regime Israel policy is unacceptable and invalid. Both research methods proved that Iranian anti-Zionist policy-making ideology is deeply antisemitic. During the research countless articles, blogs, TV reports, interviews and cartoons were found as proof of this matter. By proving the Iranian regime's antisemitic anti-Zionism, to set out an ideology critique is obvious. Antisemitism is not a new phenomenon, but is as dangerous as it was at the time of the pagan persecutions in ancient Greece. In case of settling down the situation the Iranian regime must find a non-antisemitic policy to handle its relations with Israel. Although the situation in the Middle East does not depend on Iran's antisemitism, it causes more damage regarding the dénouement of the present tensions in the area than it benefits all the participants.

6 Bibliography

6.1 Books, Studies, Articles

- Bar, Shmuel 'Iranian Defense Doctrine and Decision Making' The Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy Institute for Policy and Strategy 2004
- Bassam Tibi 'Die Verschwörung. Das Trauma arabischer Politik' München, 2nd Edition 1994
- Diekmann, Andreas 'Methoden der Sozialforschung. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften', 1st edition , 2006
- Ernaut, Gill 'What is Qualitative Research?' article available at
- Freud, Sigmund 'Civilization, Society and Religion. Group Psychology, Civilization and Its Discontents and Other Works' Vol. 12 Penguin 1991
- Friedlaender, Saul 'Redemptive Anti-Semitism' Chapter 3 in 'Nazi Germany and the Jews', Vol. 1 – 'The Years of Persecution 1933-1939' New York 1997
- Gager, John G. 'The Origins of Anti-Semitism. Attitudes Toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity' Oxford University Press, New York 1985
- Goetz, Nordbruch: 'The Socio-Historical Background of Holocaust Denial in Arab Countries. Reactions to Roger Garaudy's 'The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics'.' The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem 2001
- Grunow, Dieter in Fuchs, Werner (et. al) 'Lexicon zur Soziologie', LIT Verlag 2000
- Hilberg, Raul 'The Destruction of the European Jews' 3rd Edition Yale university Press 2003
- Igansky, Paul; Kosmin, Barry (ed.) 'A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st-Century Britain' Profile Books Ltd. London 2003
- Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC) 'Contemporary Arab-Muslim anti-Semitism, its Significance and Implications (Updated to March 2008)' April 17th 2008

- Kop, Yaakov "Nation-Building, Pluralism, and Democracy in Israel" Georgetown Journal of International Affairs Winter/Spring 2003
- Kreisky, Eva; Stachowitsch, Saskia 'Jüdische Staatsperspektiven: Kosmopolitismus, Assimilationismus und Zionismus' in Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft (ÖZP), 39. Jg. (2010) H. 4
- Küntzel, Matthias 'Iranian Antisemitism: Stepchild of German National Socialism' The Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs IV:1, January 2010
- Küntzel, Matthias 'Unholy Hatreds: Holocaust Denial and Antisemitism in Iran' Vidal Sasson International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, 2007
- Lamnek, Siegfried 'Qualitative Sozialforschung' Belz, 4th edition, Weinheim 2005
- Langmuir, Gavin I., 'Toward a Definition of Antisemitism' University of California Press. University of California, Los Angeles. 1990
- Mayring, Philipp 'Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Grundlagen und Techniken' Weinheim: Beltz, 2001, 8. Auflage
- Murphy, Elizabeth; Dingwall, Robert: 'The Ethics of Ethnography' in Atkinson, Paul (et. al.): 'Handbook of Ethnography', Sage Publications, London, 2001
- Opdenakker, Raymond 'Advantages and Disadvantages of Four Interview Techniques in Qualitative Research' FQS Forum: Qualitative Social Research. Sozialforschung Volume 7, No. 4, Article 11 – September 2006
- P Woods 'Qualitative Research', Faculty of Education, University of Plymouth, 2006 available at
- Penslar, Derek J.; Marrus, Michael R.; Gross Stein, Janice 'Contemporary Antisemitism. Canada and the World' University of Toronto Press Inc. Toronto 2005
- Rubin, Herbert J.; Rubin, Irene S. 'Qualitative interviewing. The art of hearing data' Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California 2005
- Schnell, Rainer (et. al.) 'Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung' 5th edition, R. Oldenbourg Verlag München
- Selznick J. Gertrude; Steinberg, Stephen 'The tenacity of prejudice: anti-semitism in contemporary America' Greenwood Press, Westport, 1979
- Sharansky, Natan '3D Test of Anti-Semitism: Demonization, Double Standards, Delegitimization' Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, Foreword of Jewish Political

Studies Review 16:3-4 (Fall 2004) available at <http://icpa.org/phas/phas-sharansky-f04.htm>

- Sharansky, Natan 'Antisemitism in 3-D. Differentiating legitimate criticism of Israel from the so-called new anti-Semitism' Hagalil.com Online News Magazine, 05.03.2004 available at <http://www.hagalil.com/antisemitismus/europa/sharansky-1.htm>
- Smith, Steven W. 'Cartoons and the new anti-Semitism: a thesis presented in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Design at Massey University', College of Creative Arts, Wellington, New Zealand 2012
- The Noble Qur'an available at <http://quran.com>
- Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights available at
- Valois, M. Helen 'We Remember: A Reflection on the 'Shoah'' Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, Origins no. 4 March 26, 1998

6.2 Internet Links

- Hakohen, Yehuda “Torah Video Lecture about History of Zionism” in Machon Meir, Jerusalem 16.12.2012 (10.01.2013) available at
<http://www.english.machonmeir.net/component/jmultimedia/?view=media&layout=default&id=9549&catid=278>
- <http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/material/pub/AS/AS-WorkingDefinition-draft.pdf>
- <http://holocartoons.com/main.php>
- <http://www.alhewar.com/ISLAMDECL.html>
- http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-202_162-57562677/hagel-nomination-cheers-iran-worries-israel/
- <http://www.contentanalysis.org/>
- <http://www.edu.plymouth.ac.uk/resined/qualitative%20methods%202/qualrshm.htm>
- <http://www.gslis.utexas.edu/~palmquis/courses/content.html>
- <http://www.hagalil.com/antisemitismus/europa/sharansky-1.htm>
- <http://www.holocartoons.com/>
- <http://www.ipost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=298791>
- <http://www.matthiaskuentzel.de>
- <http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/1067.htm>
- <http://www.qsrinternational.com/what-is-qualitative-research.aspx>
- <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/156684.pdf>
- <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml>
- http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/3379%28XXX%29&Lang=E&Area=RESOLUTION
- <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4321777,00.html>
- Jonas, George ‘Hating Israel, each for their own reasons (NATIONAL POST COMMENT)’ The United Jerusalem Foundation 11.03.2012 available at
<http://www.unitedjerusalem.org/index2.asp?id=1623953>

- Paulin, Tom 'On Being Dealt the Anti-Semitic Card' The Guardian Online, Wednesday 8 January 2003 available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2003/jan/08/internationaleducationnews.highereducation>
- Sharansky, Natan "Antisemitism in 3-D" The Jewish Daily Forward 21.01.2005 available at <http://forward.com/articles/4184/antisemitism-in--d/>
- <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/particularistic>
- http://www.wnd.com/2012/12/iran-newtown-shooting-pinned-on-israeli-death-squad/?cat_orig=world
- <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2012/12/14/nyregion/The-shooting-at-the-Sandy-Hook-Elementary.html>
- <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2012/12/18/irans-state-run-news-network-blames-israeli-death-squads-for-sandy-hook-shooting/>
- <http://beforeitsnews.com/opinion-conservative/2013/01/irans-house-of-cartoon-organizing-another-contest-on-theme-of-holocaust-denial-2551214.html>
- http://www.americanthinker.com/blog/2013/01/iranian_government_overjoyed_at_anti-israeli_hagel_choice_for_defense.html
- <http://dailycaller.com/2013/01/07/chuck-hagel-defends-his-record-on-israel-iran/>
- <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2013/01/07/on-israel-iran-and-spending-chuck-hagel-looks-a-lot-like-robert-gates/>

7 Attachments

7.1 US Department of State Working Definition of Antisemitism based on the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia



“Anti-Semitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of anti-Semitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.”

*WORKING DEFINITION of ANTI-SEMITISM
by the European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia*

**CONTEMPORARY EXAMPLES
OF ANTI-SEMITISM**

- Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews (often in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion).
- Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as a collective—especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.
- Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, the state of Israel, or even for acts committed by non-Jews.
- Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.
- Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interest of their own nations.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

68010



WHAT IS ANTI-SEMITISM RELATIVE TO ISRAEL?

EXAMPLES of the ways in which anti-Semitism manifests itself with regard to the state of Israel, taking into account the overall context could include:

DEMONIZE ISRAEL:

- Using the symbols and images associated with classic anti-Semitism to characterize Israel or Israelis
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis
- Blaming Israel for all inter-religious or political tensions

DOUBLE STANDARD FOR ISRAEL:

- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation
- Multilateral organizations focusing on Israel only for peace or human rights investigations

DELEGITIMIZE ISRAEL:

- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, and denying Israel the right to exist

However, criticism of Israel similar to that levelled against any other country cannot be regarded as anti-Semitic.

7.2 Tom Paulin: On Being Dealt the Anti-Semitic Card

The first answer is Beckett's
in another context - to "Mr Beckett
they say that you are English?"
he answered "au contraire"
- he didn't say "I am not dot dot"
which plays their game
- in this case the ones who play the a-s
card -
of death threats hate mail talking tough
the usual cynical Goebbels stuff
so I say the same
and say that peace it must be talked
re Palestine and re Iraq
- Israel has got the bomb
but that's not why
no one in their right mind
says Israel should be swept into the sea
- historic guilt
is and must be always with us
- it knows the railway line to Auschwitz
went unbombed
it counts the refugees turned back
and sees that Nacht und Nebel track
they called the Himmelfahrt
the long unthinkable - must be always
thought -
- go back

see England and Ireland
force the Jews out
watch the Crusaders
those mailclad terrorist invaders
making rivers of blood
in Palestine
(not Virgil via Enoch Powell)
recall the Dreyfus case
anti-semites packed
in Austria-Hungary and Poland
Croatia the Ukraine
- the list is endless
it turns one's bowels
and must be made in every generation
as we count the sinister 15+ per cent
of Le Pen French
- but they hate black people Arabs
and constantly attack them
the Battle of Algiers they're still fighting
they want the guillotine brought back
in a culture built on comme il faut
and quite unwilling
to admit its faults
- so taste the deep uneasy darkness
in our Enlightenment
savants and philosophes going down the
rungs

of that tight unsteady Aufklärung
 back into that bony stinking ragshop
 whence they sprung
 (we mustn't though be mastered by De
 Maistre
 who in his manner sees what's wrong)
 as Berlin - Isaiah - shows
 who dying called
 for fairness to all those
 - those Palestinians
 he never named them
 who suffered Nakba
 (catastrophe in 48)
 and still suffer it
 - the refugees it's now their turn
 to have that human right - return
 sold at Oslo down the river
 by Arafat that double-ditherer
 - artless arkless Arafat
 but all this guilt
 - guilt that stings
 is now fitted to a programme
 - Christian fundamentalist
 born again into that Zion
 we all are touched by
 - are spitted on
 (when Israel went out of Egypt
 the House of Jacob from a people
 of strange language - the hills
 saw this and leapt
 they leapt like lambs
 - I harken to it

to that liberation text
 Milton set in Greek and English verse
 before it got twisted)
 the programme though
 of saying Israel's critics
 are tout court anti-semitic
 is designed daily by some schmuck
 to make you shut the fuck up
 - so keep your head down
 in the sands
 or police the Index
 of what can and cannot be said
 and don't utter a word
 or a single sound
 and if you do you won't be heard
 authors take sides on Spain
 Beckett answered Auden's question
 with ¡Up the Republic!
 and went on to fight the Occupation
 - no talk of Beckett's Croix de Guerre
 only cricket scores and mouldy Wisdens
 authors take sides on Palestine
 where was that piece?
 where do we stand?
 on a career path
 where darlings pass from job to job
 ignoring who's been robbed
 ignoring what the British did
 decades back in Palestine
 we must create
 who was it in the 20s said
 another little Ulster*

now watch those darlings as they glide
over shifting sands
lost in the dark
or bowing their heads
below those guilt-inducing wands
waved like flags
above the Shankill Road
so the Palestinians they're forgotten
- robbed dying wrecked
the victims of the victims
out on a severed a dying limb
waiting for the next Nakba
when they'll be pushed out into Jordan
- this is Sharon's plan
soon as Bush and Blair they hit Iraq
- now as the reed sea bends
- collusive sensitive in two minds
granting the settlers squatters' rights -
it parts to let yet more soldiers through

7.3 Interview Transcription

TRANSCRIPT

Expert Interview (via Skype) with Dr. Matthias Küntzel

RJ: Robert Jacsó, Interviewer (A)

MK: Matthias Küntzel, Interviewee (**B**)

Q: *Question, sent via Skype (cannot be heard in the interview)*

Q1: *Dr. David Hirsh, “Anti-Zionism and Anti-Semitism: Cosmopolitan Reflections”: Is anti-Zionism, which is common in both the Arab and Western worlds, also anti-Semitism? It is a form of anti-Semitism because it denies the right of the Jewish people to self definition, while it recognizes the right of other peoples and ethnic and religious groups?*

B: My answer is of course, Anti-Zionism today is mainly connected to Anti-Semitism. It has been always connected to Anti-Semitism in some cases, for example the Nazis in the 20s already wrote books about anti-Zionism which were of course antisemitic books. There had been a kind of anti-Semitic anti-Zionism all the time next to another kind of anti-Zionism which was religiously founded or, you know, founded by revolutionary movements, which were not antisemitic. But today, after the creation of Israel, after the Holocaust, anti-Zionism is very often connected to anti-Semitism. It is a rule that you really cannot disassociate anti-Zionism from anti-Semitism, because you have to ask what it means anti-Zionism. What does it mean? And the answer means that you don't want to give Jews as the only people in the world no state. And this, after all these experiences were persecutions and everything. And so, there is no assassinate. It is antisemitism. Your question is correct because it denies the rights of Jewish people, not only to self definition, but also to self-independence and

especially to self-defense. And this is big difference between history and present time after the founding of Israel. In the past Jews had always been in the what you call Diaspora and so they had to assimilate in the way they were not free, and now you have free Jews in Israel who are able to make their own decisions, who are able to defend themselves against anti-Semites, so there is a big difference and to unpack this kind of development into the formal states of affairs after the Holocaust. It is something which I would say it is a mark by Antisemitism yes.

A: So the most important thing, you say is the self-defense that they got with Zionism and the foundation of the state of Israel.

B: yes, yes

A. Ok, thank you. Can I ask you the second question which is similar I think.

Q2: Criticism of Zionism is not always antisemitic, but you wrote in your article “Iranian Antisemitism: Stepchild of German National Socialism” that Ahmedinejad uses the word “Zionist” the same way as Hitler used “Jew”. Where is the border, if there is any, between anti-Zionism and antisemitism? How far can one go with criticism of Israel, without being antisemitic?

B: Ok, well, I am sure you thought about the Sharansky definition of the 3Ds. And this is a kind of Hallmarks which you can use you know on the level of everyday, “Alltagsgebrauch”. So the 3Ds the double standard, and the deformations and so on... ahm... you know, those differentiations. They are very important I think and also very important that the European monitor agency has developed kind of working definition for Anti-Semitism which also includes the criticism of Israel which is not anti-Semitic and on the other hand anti-criticism but is clearly poisoned by antisemitic mindsets. So is there is of course every country and every democratic country needs criticism Israel as well, so there is a big difference between

criticism which is trying to change the method of government and the policies of state over kind of criticism which denies Israel as the only country in the world, for example, the right of self defense, so these are completely different things. And the other question was Ahmedinejad well ahm this is nothing to do with Anti-Zionism in the sense of criticizing Israel because he is always talking about World Zionism which is also a term which people find in the Hamas and the world Zionism is really the same world as [...] it is really... ahm... the conspiracy thinking, is inherent to this expression so this very clear form of Antisemitism and if you study Ahmadinejad's speech which he gave in front of United Nations you very clearly see that he is talking about world Zionism as an hidden, ugly, dangerous, force which dictates Western governments how to behave and so and so on. This is very clear that this is much more anti-Semitic and in the historical sense than the new anti-Semitic way of anti-Zionism often you left in Europe for example.

A: So the speeches of Ahmedinejad cannot be seen as the criticism of Israel, it can only be seen as a conspiracy theory?

B: Yes, and more than that you know he always repeated the idea that Israel has to be destroyed and after that the world will be liberated; people will be liberated after the destruction of Israel. You find this in many quotes by Ahmedinejad. And this kind of thinking that you think you can rescue the world if you kill Jews. This is well known among researchers on Anti-Semitism, for example Friedlander called redemptive anti-Semitism. You would believe in the myth that Jews are responsible for all evil in the world, for the wars, for troubles all over the world, so if you want to realize a better world than you have to get rid of the Jews and in this case you have to get rid of the state of Israel. Then the world from today to tomorrow will be a better place for all people, and this the main thinking of the Nazis, they also had this kind of utopia. They wanted to create a kind of German peace and then, you know, of course the best for humanity, but the only thing which they had to finish before getting this utopian new life is to get rid of all Jews. So this is very dangerous way of dealing with history and this utopian thinking and so this connection of destruction and

liberation, this is one of the Hallmarks of Ahmedinejad and what makes this kind of anti-Semitism very dangerous.

Q: About Iranian antisemitism: Antisemitism is unknown to Shia Muslim traditions. What kind of archival evidence did you find to prove that the “hatred of the abstract Jew” in Iran origins from the Third Reich?

B: Well, I don't know, it is important to define words correctly, I make a difference between anti-Semitism and Anti-Judaism and Anti-Judaism is what we have in the Christian history and faith and also in the Shia and Muslim faith so we have a lot of anti-Judaism.

A: Is it a type of anti-Semitism, Anti-Judaism?

B: It is two different types. It is very easy to define the border. In the case of Anti-Judaism as a Jew you are able to survive by converting to other faith. In the case of Anti-Semitism, it is not possible because it includes much more than just faith. It was not possible for Jews in Germany who tried to convert to save their lives for example, so the anti-Semitic issue is much more politicized, much more radicalized, is of course in Europe, Nazi Germany based its anti-Semitism of course on Christian prejudice against Jews and radicalized it and in the same way Radio Zeesen radicalized the prejudice against Jews in Islam [...]

Q: German broadcasting in Iran. What were the main reasons for Radio Zeesen’s success in Iran? Could the German antisemitic broadcasting “hypnotize” much of the population? Erwin Ettel, the German ambassador in Teheran made some steps to “antisemitize” Iranian population. How did he reach his goal? How could he turn Iranian people, whose religion disapproves hatred of Jews, into antisemitic and hostile against those?

B: So... ehm... and it's very clear that... ehm... broadcast is a tool which convinces also the illiterate masses while written stuff is not accessible to them so the radio was of course counting to people without reading knowledge. And the German case was very special because the British broadcast tried the same kind of factual reporting so. Objectivity was one of the main interests of BBC. So, even when they started the very first broadcast in Arabic language they recorded that the day before in Arab would hang by the British in Palestine. [Laughs] Yes, that was of course not good use for the Arab words but the British said well this is the fact we have to report objectively and so we report also this. Nazi Germany did quite another course it was sheer propaganda it was. They didn't use the same language that they used for German when they are talking in Arabic language or in Farsi language. It was much more populist. So there were indications why the people like to live in we it is hard to say we have no figures how much you know what percentage of the population really changed for example... ehm... the mind on Jews. And I would like to get much more evidence much more material to analyze and we don't have this material.

A: I understand.

B: And so we, I wouldn't say Ettel was successful in antisemitizing Iranian population because it is too, you know, because of the reasons I just mentioned. You understand what I mean?

A: Yes I do.

B: It is exaggeration to claim that he was able to antisemitize the Iranian population. Its exaggeration and we don't have proof that he really succeeded.

A: Ok, but antisemitism is an existing phenomena in Iran in a stronger way than before in the Second World War?

B: Yes and no. Yes... ehm... because for the first time... ehm... Iranians have been confronted with European antisemitism. So the idea that Jews might rule the world, the idea that Americans are fighting for Jewish interests, because also America is ruled by Jews, all these kind of ideas came in this country during the Second World War. At the same time it was important that Allied Powers ruled in Iran after 1941. So... ehm... there were even Jewish kids so called Teheranian kids who survived the Second World War because of the new

situation in Iran. So it is much more complicated. And when Reza shah the old ruler of Iran was replaced by his son Mohammed shah in 1941 this was of course a change against the, you know, the friendship with Germany. Germans were thrown out in 1941 from the country and I explained in my little article why afterwards it was even more important for Germany to have radio season and the Farsi broadcast because the Germans thought they would conquer Iran in '42 and '43. In order to challenge the British there and they wanted to prepare the ground for the invasion of Iran by the radio broadcast. And they also formed a resistance movement against British, a movement dedicated to welcome the Germans in the country in 43 or 42. So... ehm... this was a plan but it was very antagonistic during the Second World War so we have forces who wanted to save the Jews and we forces who wanted to kill the Jews, in the same country.

A: Yeah, ok. It is clear. Thank you!

B: Ok good.

[...]

Q: Anti-American antisemitism was one important part of Radio Zeesen's. "Occidentosis" mainly is a work against Americanism, Westernism and Modernism. Anti-Americanism is always meant to be antisemitic? Is there hidden or actual antisemitism among Jalal's words in Occidentosis? If not then where is the border-line between antisemitism and anti-Americanism?

A: This is about anti-Americanism and antisemitism it is like antisemitism and anti-Zionism kind of question...

B: Yes. Well I cannot talk about Jalal because I don't know his book... ehm... ehm... well, you know it is always quite similar... ehm... anti-Americanism is... ehm... more than just antisemitism and there are forms of anti-Americanism which does not need to be antisemitic. At the same time... ehm... anti-Americanism is one of the main breeding grounds for antisemitism.

A: Yes that's exactly what I was trying to get out of this question that if one is anti-American then he is necessarily antisemitic as well or can I be anti-American without being antisemitic. Because of these whole conspiracy-theories that are around and... This is a question. The essence of this question is can one be anti-American without being antisemitic because the two phenomena is just too close to each other in my opinion and

B: Very close. They are very close both are based on conspiracy theories mainly and conspiracy theories and the oldest of it is antisemitism or anti-Judaism. And so it is very close related... ehm... but I well this is my perspective that I want to be as clear as possible with words. So I think it is still necessary to use both terms. And not as a synonym, but as two different expressions of hatred, or of prejudice, and which are seen very often that they are connected. But there is no rule that they must be connected.

A: I get it; I get it what you meant.

B: So we; it is possible also in America you know you have a lot of anti-Americanism in America in the United States and... ehm... the situation in the USA, there is not so much breeding ground for antisemitism as in Europe. So it makes a difference if you have anti-Americanism in the United States or if you have anti-Americanism in Germany or in Europe. And if you have it in Germany and Europe it is much more often poisoned by antisemitism

A: And how about the Middle East. Is it more like European type of anti-Americanism?

B: Well this is more the Nazi type of anti-Americanism.

A: Ok

B: The situation in the Middle East is worse than in Europe.

A: Ok, yeah, that's what I wanted to know

Q: *Mein Kampf* was probably well known or even available in Iran during WWII. *Occidentosis* was published in Farsi in 1978, one year before the Revolution. But the style and the language it is written shows many similarities to Hitler's book. Jalal talk about Western culture like Hitler wrote about the Jews: *Infestation of a society, Tuberculosis,*

sickness, etc. Is this possible that these words and exaggerated enthusiasm against something is lead by hidden antisemitism?

A: It is kind of also like about the book which you are not familiar with but you are probably familiar with the other one I mentioned its more popular so to say in a bad way

B: Oh really?

A: Yes it is exactly if you open the book in the first parts he starts with occidentosis like tuberculosis. He mentions like these medical terms and sicknesses to describe one phenomena and I found this similarity and I just wanted to ask about it that can this be meant antisemitic or is it just a freedom of expression so to say.

B: Did you read the Farsi version of the book.

A: No I don't understand Farsi. I read the English version from '84, the 1st translation.

B: It was not meant for the Persian audience.

A: Ehm... I don't know I read the preface and it's translated from Farsi to English by an English professor and...

B: So it was for the western audience not for the Farsi speaking people they don't speak English. So they can't read it in Iran. So... ehm... If there was a similarity with Mein Kampf then the translator and the publisher in the western world wanted to make this kind of similarity.

A: So I wanted to make sure I have to find someone that speaks Farsi and I have to get the book in Farsi and make him translate it.

B: Eh... Or do you think that... ehm... so you are referring to the style in language, right?

A: Yes, so to say

B: So maybe you are right that the English translation might be evidence enough to see the similarity. Well I can't say anything about this because I know Mein Kampf but I don't know

the other book because and... ehm... I would say... ehm... that the... ehm... the use of medical metaphors you know what I mean...

A: Yes

B: Ehm... were not solely a Nazi thing, but during those years the 20's, 30's, 40's... ehm... natural science was very much used you know Social-Darwinism and all those tendencies... ehm... was much more used to describe societal issues. [...]

A: So they are just referring?

B: I would be a bit careful to make this connection to Hitler. But I am not sure. I had to read it in order to give an accurate answer.

A: Ok, so it can be that it is like. He is like describing this as a living phenomena like society lives, so it is just a metaphor?

B: Yes... ehm... and well the question in the case of Hitler and also indicates of the Iranian Leadership this metaphor is used in order to kill people. So you have to kill the cancer you have to kill Israel, because it is spreading the poison. The context is very important so I don't know if Jalal is putting the metaphor in the same context. When Khomenei in Iran talks about cancer he meant the destruction of Israel. Israel is the cancer in the Arab world so she has to be eradicated. And so I don't know if Jalal is talking the same way about the sickness in western societies that he wants to destroy the reason of sickness which means he wants to ... a group of people. I don't know

A: He writes about that to... ehm... to like put this sickness out of the country. He is not trying to destroy people or anything he just wants to get rid of the sickness.

B: So it is... ehm... it is more moderate version of Hitler.

A: Yes, so he is not talking about killing or anything like this.

B: Ok

A: But I have the book here, I can just read the first couple of sentences quick and you can hear what he meant...

B: Not at the time

A: Ok... ehm... I can give you one more question quick and we can quickly talk about it?

B: Yepp!

A: Here

Q: Iran is the only regime that is openly antisemitic since the Third Reich. How exactly can one allocate it? What are the exact facts in policies of Iran that make the regime and not the population antisemitic?

B: What does allocate mean?

A: It is like... ehm... to know where it is. To know which position it has... What I meant is like what are these policies in the regime also are there any institution of it, like the Holocaust Denier's Conference, is there an institutions or actually in the Iranian constitution is there some institutions that are actually antisemitic?

B: Well, we have only indications... ehm... We are not able to do objective opinion polls in Iran. But the indications we got suggest that... ehm... the population is not necessarily as antisemitic as the leadership... ehm... because this is the main difference between the Third Reich and Iran, there is an antagonism between the big part of the population and the regime. And we didn't have an antagonism between the German population and leadership during the 30's. And that means that in many ways... ehm... ehm... ordinary people in Iran think the opposite what the regime is saying is the truth, you know what I mean.

A: Yes, they have no faith in the regime

B: Yes they have no trust in the regime so they would say: well, if they blame only Israel... ehm... this is the proof that Israel is not to blame. And there were some slogans during the demonstrations around '79 when the regime wanted to attack Israel and there was resistance by the demonstrators against those slogans. We have a huge, we have many witnesses to the Israeli party they are very successful and there are other indications like

this. So it is necessary to make distinctions between institutions and rule techniques on the one hand and the population on the other hand also one of the big differences between Iran and the Arab world because the Arab world is the other way around. Mubarak was not as antisemitic as the population. There you know antisemitism is much more grounded among the ordinary masses of people than Iran.

A: And what about Chavez for example he is also openly anti-Semite, but the regime of his is not called antisemitic the way that Iranian does.

B: Ehm... Yes, Venezuela, I don't I have not enough knowledge to talk about Venezuela. I don't know about the media there I don't know nothing. So, but even Chavez is much more careful than Ahmedinejad. And Chavez tries to use anti-Imperialistic images which are of course antisemitic but not as openly as Ahmedinejad. So... ehm... I would be interested to learn more about Chavez. I think he for example "Israel as the only factor... After Israel is destroyed the humanity liberated" I don't know if he would say this. Ahmedinejad has. So... ehm... I don't know it is very clear that if you compare the Third Reich and Iran the main difference is about the regime.

A: Yeah, ok... so. But it is still true that the biggest Jewish minority of the Arabic world is in Iran at present?

B: Yes, that's true

A: Is this minority equally treated or they are much discriminated.

B: They are discriminated in many ways. There is even the website of the Jewish community; you will find this in my book. And they... ehm... It is terrible, terrible of course they can't complain. It's impossible. They are under suppression, well everyone is under suppression in Iran. But there is also a kind of religious suppression they can't get special conditions. They can't become judges they can't become masters of schools... ehm... they don't have respect for their Shabbat. So there were many, many discriminations. They are held in a semi-status. And as long as they accept the propaganda of the regime that Israel is the worst evil in the world and they repeat it all the time [...]. They are always repeating it. As long as they repeat it they are accepted... ehm... But you know Jews in Germany have also been accepted until 1938 so...

A: Yes. Are they... ehm... Is it only a religious suppression or racial as well? Because the government thinks of an anti-Zionist conspiracy that endangers the world, not Jewish individuals.

B: Yes... ehm... Well this is a good question but very difficult to answer... ehm... ehm... I would say that even in the 'saying' of Khomeini, Khomeini, he wrote a book about states, spoke about the states and this is very antisemitic he is connecting the evil of the Jews of the time of Mohammed to the time of today. And I would say this is a connoted by kind of racism. They are treated as community very special behavior which can't change over centuries. So this is one of the hallmarks of a racist thinking, right? So it's in a way it is mixed but not in the same way as Nazi Germany with the racial question and the Holocaust. There is no talk in Iran about ... the whole blood theory of the Nazis... ehm... it is not bought by the Iranians. But on the other hand, we have a new tendency in Iran which is very nationalistic which accepts pro-Nazi homepages, we have the homepage "hitler.ir"... ehm... So this kind of thinking may be expanding right now. But we, again, we don't have assured figures.

A: Yeah ok, understand... ok, thank you very much. It was very helpful.

B: No problem. Thank you

7.4 Relevant Google Alerts (Alphabetical Order)

<http://beforeitsnews.com/opinion-conservative/2013/01/irans-house-of-cartoon-organizing-another-contest-on-theme-of-holocaust-denial-2551214.html>

<http://dailycaller.com/2013/01/07/chuck-hagel-defends-his-record-on-israel-iran/>

<http://en.trend.az/regions/iran/2100316.html>

<http://english.farsnews.com/newstext.php?nn=9107127361>

http://english.pravda.ru/hotspots/conflicts/25-12-2012/123293-israel_iran_media_ban-0/

<http://mondoweiss.net/2012/12/shlomo-sand-on-zionism-post-zionism-and-the-two-state-solution.html>

http://ndpr.nd.edu/news/36335-parting-ways-jewishness-and-the-critique-of-zionism/?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+PhilosophicalReviews%2FNews+%28Notre+Dame+Philosophical+Reviews%29

<http://occupiedpalestine.wordpress.com/2012/12/09/daily-reminder-we-fight-zionism-not-judaism-for-who-does-not-understand-the-difference-%E2%86%92/>

<http://presstv.com/detail/2012/12/29/280740/patriot-missiles-aim-to-protect-israel/>

<http://theredplebeian.wordpress.com/2012/12/11/zionism-and-the-art-of-changing-the-subject/>

<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/12/201212249122912381.html>

http://www.americanthinker.com/blog/2013/01/iranian_government_overjoyed_at_anti-israeli_hagel_choice_for_defense.html

http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-202_162-57562677/hagel-nomination-cheers-iran-worries-israel/

<http://www.ejpress.org/article/news/64340>

<http://www.english.machonmeir.net/component/jmultimedia/?view=media&layout=default&id=9549&catid=278>

<http://www.english.machonmeir.net/component/jmultimedia/?view=media&layout=default&id=9579&catid=278>

<http://www.eurojewcong.org/ejc-news/8728-european-jewish-congress-president-condemns-iranian-holocaust-denial-cartoon-festival-.html>

<http://www.haaretz.com/news/middle-east/hagel-to-defense-officials-all-options-are-on-the-table-on-iran.premium-1.492984?block=true>

<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/israel-iran-quarrel-on-obamas-pentagon-pick.aspx?pageID=238&nID=38645&NewsCatID=359>

<http://www.israelnationalnews.com/Articles/Article.aspx/12672#.UO3paazX-cY>

<http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/163831#.UO3p3KzX-cY>

<http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/163928#.UO3teqzX-cY>

<http://www.jpost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=298791>

<http://www.leftfootforward.org/2012/12/iran-mahmoud-ahmadinejad-nuclear-weapons-israel/>

<http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/international/09-Jan-2013/iran-hopes-hagel-confirmation-will-bring-us-policy-changes>

<http://www.news24.com/World/News/Hagel-to-rein-in-Israel-on-Iran-strike-20130109>

<http://www.presstv.com/detail/2012/12/16/278329/israel-seeks-revenge-with-settlements/>

<http://www.presstv.com/detail/2013/01/05/281944/zionism-nothing-to-do-with-judaism/>

<http://www.presstv.ir/detail/2012/12/16/278320/us-seeks-removal-of-antizionist-fronts/>

<http://www.presstv.ir/detail/2012/12/31/280998/west-under-israeli-influence-on-syria/>

<http://www.presstv.ir/detail/2013/01/06/282019/missiles-in-turkey-protect-israel-iran/>

<http://www.presstv.ir/usdetail/280761.html>

<http://www.smh.com.au/it-pro/security-it/iran-blames-us-and-israel-for-spree-of-cyber-attacks-20121226-2bwa1.html>

<http://www.tabletmag.com/scroll/119595/iran-blames-israel-for-newtown-shooting>

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2012/12/18/irans-state-run-news-network-blames-israeli-death-squads-for-sandy-hook-shooting/>

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2013/01/07/on-israel-iran-and-spending-chuck-hagel-looks-a-lot-like-robert-gates/>

http://www.weeklystandard.com/blogs/iranian-state-press-praises-likely-obama-defense-nominee-anti-israel_689884.html

<http://www.wnd.com/2012/12/iran-blames-sandy-hook-on-israel/>

http://www.wnd.com/2012/12/iran-newtown-shooting-pinned-on-israeli-death-squad/?cat_orig=world

<http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4321777,00.html>

<http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4330761,00.html>

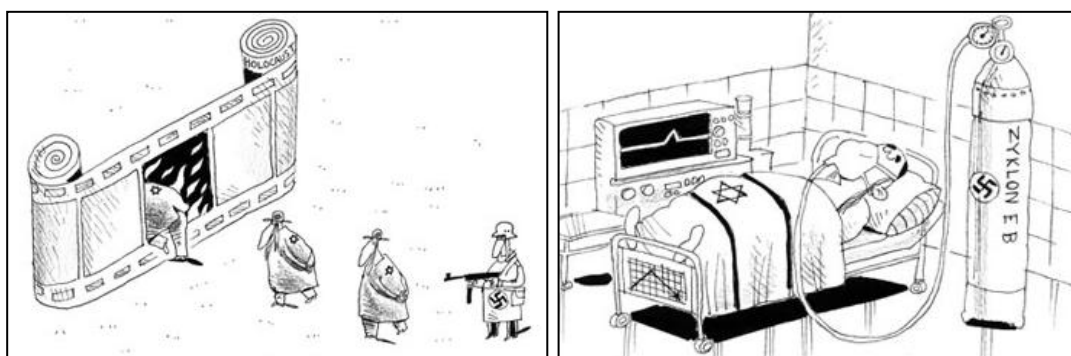
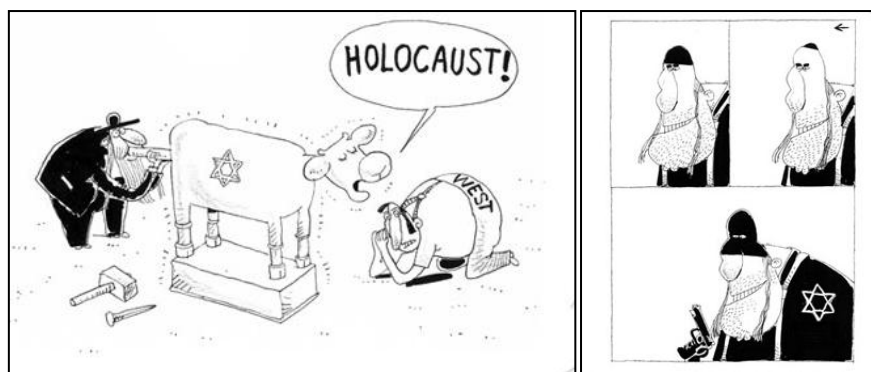
<http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4330818,00.html>

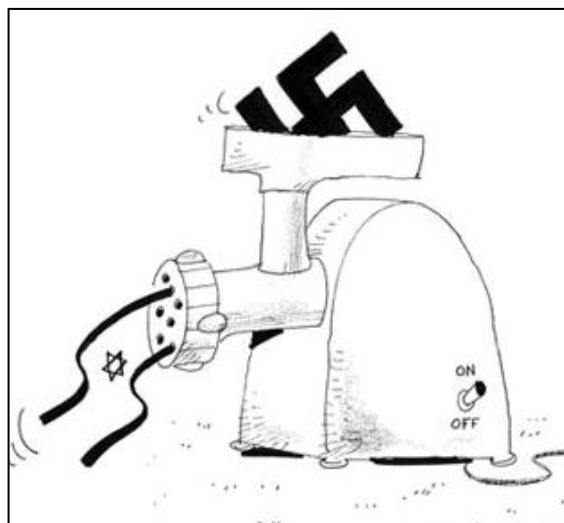
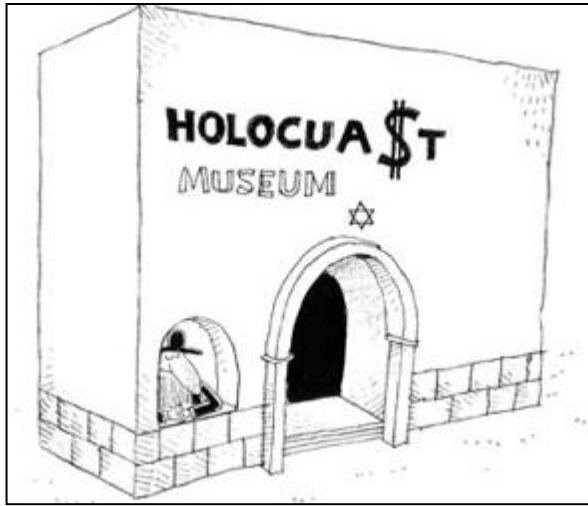
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AEFuYzcFj_0

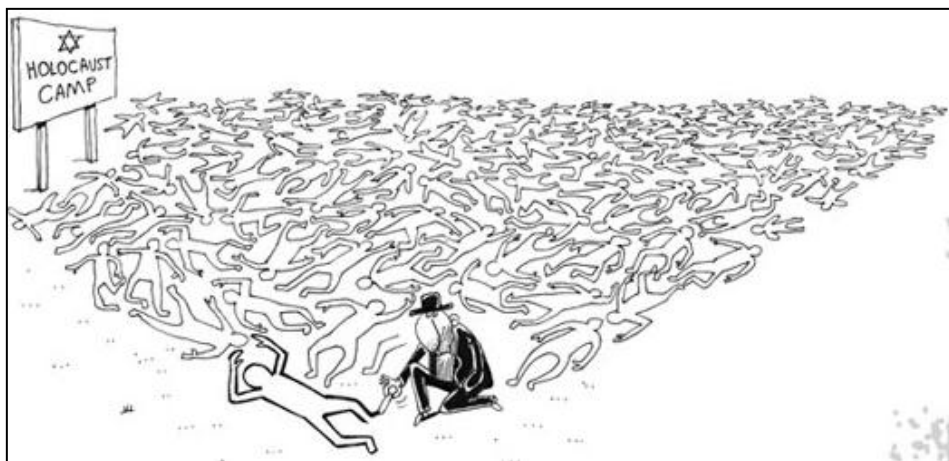
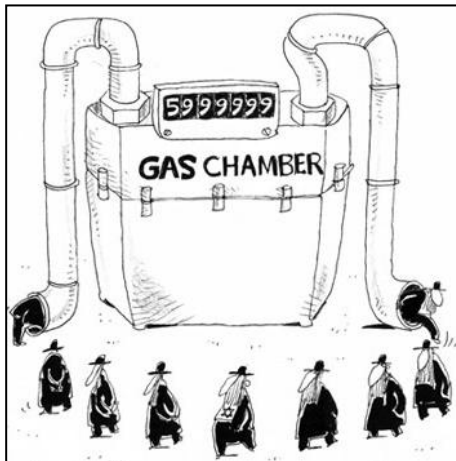
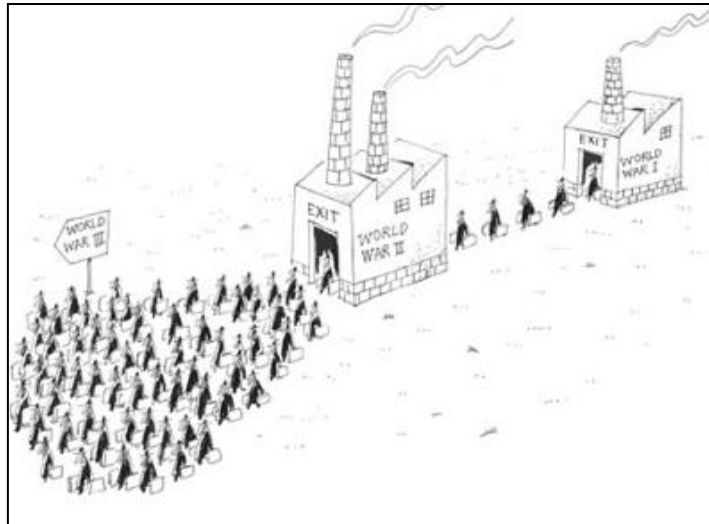
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VzKXywUSr6I>

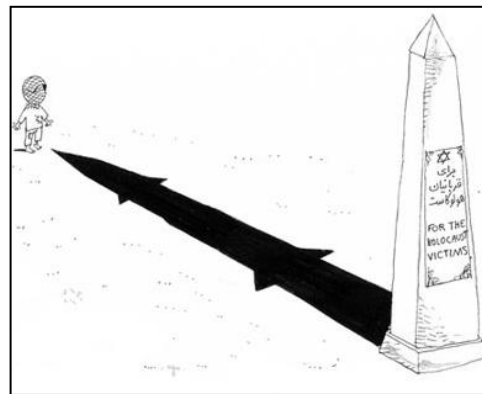
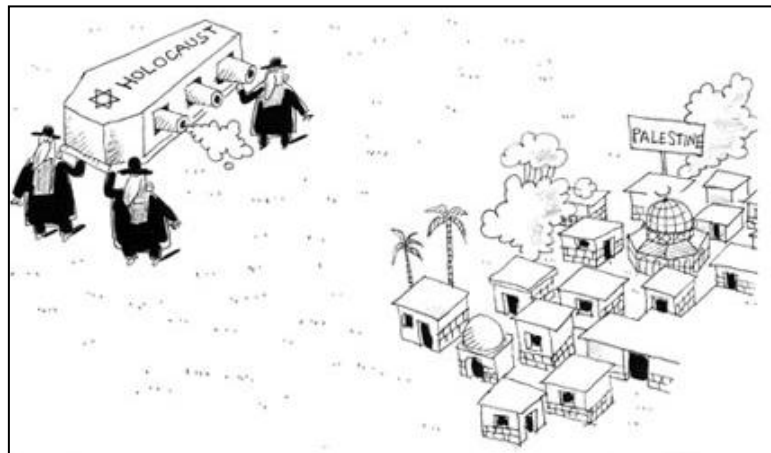
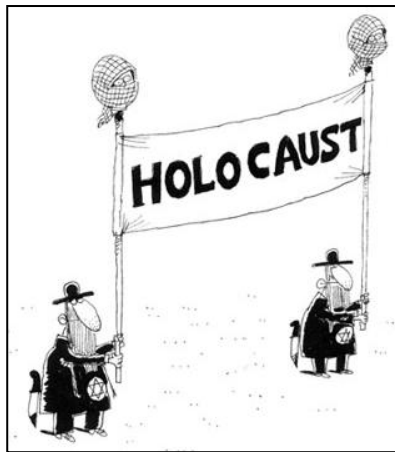
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yr5UX0m2AZ8>

7.5 Cartoons with antisemitic content (www.holocartoons.com)









Ich versichere, die vorliegende Arbeit eigenständig verfasst zu haben und entsprechend der Richtlinien redlichen wissenschaftlichen Arbeitens der Universität Wien sorgfältig überprüft zu haben.

Ich habe keine anderen als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel verwendet und mich auch sonst keiner unerlaubten Hilfe bedient. Alles nicht von mir eigenständig Verfasste ist als solches gekennzeichnet und im Quellenverzeichnis abgeführt.

Diese Diplomarbeit wurde noch keiner anderen Prüfungsbehörde - weder im Inland noch im Ausland - vorgelegt.

Diese Arbeit stimmt mit der vom Begutachter beurteilten Arbeit überein.

Acknowledgements

Without the help of a number of people, I would never have been able to write this thesis. First of all, I wish to express my deep gratitude to my supervisor, who helped me to clarify the topic of this master thesis and assisted me with her wisdom in social sciences.

I also want to thank Maha Kasem, Hala Kassem, Christine Kasem and Sándor Garabuczi, who kindly offered to proofread this paper and provided valuable corrections. I am also grateful for everyone who frequently assisted and advised me with their computing expertise.

Last but not least, I express my honest thanks to my dear family who have always pushed me to pursue further education and my friends who supported me in every imaginable way and who were always ready to listen to my concerns.

Abstract

Die vorliegende Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit dem Antisemitismus in der Islamischen Republik Iran, genauer der neuen Art des Antisemitismus, den „New Antisemitism“.

Seit der Gründung Israels im Jahr 1948 wuchs der Konflikt um das „Heilige Land“ gemeinsam mit dem Anti-Zionismus und dem (neuen) Antisemitismus, wobei die Vorgangsweise des Irans sich seit dem Ende des 2. Weltkrieges beispiellos offen zeigt, weshalb diese umso ernster genommen werden muss.

In der Begriffsklärung wird Antisemitismus, wie der „neue Antisemitismus“ mit dem Fokus auf Antizionismus und Israelkritik mit spezieller Berücksichtigung der Ausprägung der politischen Linie des Irans, dadurch sollen Unterscheidung zwischen „berechtigter“ und „unberechtigter“ Kritik getroffen werden. Anhand von Beispielen berechtigter Kritik am israelischen Staat soll klargelegt werden, warum die iranische Vorgangsweise als bedenklich eingestuft werden sollte.

Der empirische Teil der Arbeit besteht aus zwei Teilen: der qualitativen Inhaltsanalyse und des Experteninterviews.

Wesentliche staatliche Deklarationen, Aussagen, aber auch staatliche geförderte antisemitische Ausstellungen dienen als Beweis, dass der neue Antisemitismus weiterhin besteht und auf dem Nährboden des Regimes gedeiht.

Forschungsmaterial, das über Google Alerts gefunden wurde, bildet die aktuelle Lage der Israelpolitik im Iran ab.

Das Experteninterview zeigte die subjektive Einschätzung eines Experten und lieferte zahlreiche neue Informationen zum Forschungsfeld und stellt einen wesentlichen Teil der empirischen Forschung dar.

Abstract (English)

This thesis is meant to present and research antisemitism in the Islamic Republic of Iran. More precisely, a more modern, more specific form of anti-Semitism: “New anti-Semitism” Since Israel was established in the ‘heart’ of the Land of Islam in 1948, conflict on the Holy Land grew together with anti-Zionism and (new) antisemitism.

It is said that Iran’s antisemitic policy making process against Israel (as the collective Jew) is unprecedented since World War II. That is why it must be taken very seriously. In the conceptual (theoretical) part of this thesis a comprehensive analysis of antisemitism, such as new antisemitism with focus on anti-Zionism and criticism of Israel is studied, with a special respect on characteristics of Iranian antisemitic Israel policy. In this part it is necessary to locate what can be determined as ‘acceptable’ or ‘unacceptable’ criticism of Israel. With presenting examples on what counts as acceptable (non-antisemitic) critique of the Jewish state, it becomes clear in this thesis, why Iranian policy-making methods cannot be acceptable.

The empirical research consists of two parts: Qualitative Content Analysis and Expert Interview.

By content analysis significant declarations, statements, government-sponsored antisemitic exhibitions are provided to serve as proof of new antisemitism existing and blossoming in the grounds of the regime. Analyzing research material found by using Google Alerts, this thesis presents the current reality in Israel policy of Iran.

The interview offered a subjective opinion of the expert and provided me with plenty of new information about the research field and became a very significant part of empirical research.

LEBENS LAUF

PERSÖNLICHE DATEN

Name: Róbert Jacsó
jacsorobi@gmail.com

AUSBILDUNG

03/2009 - Politikwissenschaft, Masterstudium
Universität Wien

Studienschwerpunkte: Internationale Politik, Ost-Europa Studien

09/2004 – 06/2008 Internationale Beziehungen, Bachelorstudium
Kodolányi János Hochschule, Székesfehérvár, Ungarn

Studienschwerpunkte: Außen – und Sicherheitspolitik, Politik Ungarns,
Europäische Union

PRAKTIKA

07/2007 Verteidigungsministerium, Budapest, Ungarn

07/2006 Büro des Ministerpräsidenten, Budapest, Ungarn

07/2005 Gulf-Technika GmbH, Intern. Handelsunternehmen
Budapest, Ungarn

BERUFLICHE TÄTIGKEITEN

09/2009 - Schiedsrichter, DSG Wien

07/2009 - Div. Promotion (Alphabetisch)
*Coca Cola (Weihnachtstour 2011, Nova Rock 2012, Frequency 2012), Citroen, DocLX,
Donauinselfest, H & M, Lucky Strike, McDonalds, Mövenpick, Schöller*

12/2008 – 02/2009 Accounts Payable (IBM Hungary, Budapest)

BESONDERE KENNTNISSE UND INTERESSEN

EDV:	Microsoft Office, Internet, SAP
Sprachen:	Ungarisch (Muttersprache) Deutsch, Englisch (Fließend) Türkisch, Spanisch (Basiskenntnisse)
Interessen:	Sport, Reisen, Lesen, Musik, Freunde

Wien, 2013.06.03.