

Preserving American Jewish History

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Box 11, Folder 6, Antisemitism in the 1970s, 1973.

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24 August 1973

Rabbi Marc Tenenbaum, American Jewish Cormittee, 165 East 56th Street, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022, U.S.A.

Dear Rabbi Tenenbaum,

In the absence of Dr. S.J. Roth, I enclose a <u>first draft</u> of the memorandum on antisemitism, to be submitted to the Catholic Group on behalf of the International Jewish Committee for Religious Consultations.

This memorandum has been prepared by the Institute and is being sent to you at the request of Dr. G.M. Riegner for your comments.

There are two short chapters on the New Left and Negro Antisemitism still to follow, but we did not want to hold up matters and this is why we are sending this first part. It is, of course, realised that it is still in a rather rough state, and needs elaboration in some places, but we would like to benefit from your comments, which we hope to receive at an early stage.

Looking forward to hearing from you,

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Elizabeth E. Eppler

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ANTISEMITISM IN THE 1970s.

INTRODUCTION.

Antisemitism, "the oldest and most comprehensive of modern neuroses"⁽¹⁾ has assumed, in the 1970s, new forms and new ways of expression.

Before World War II, and indeed during much of Jewish Diaspora history, one could discern the following main categories of anti-Jewish attitudes which were at the same time the roots of prejudice and the manifestations of discrimination:

- 1) Ethnically atavistic hostility to a group considered alien (i.e. an exaggerated symptom of xenophobia), accentuated by economic rivalry.
- 2) Racial antisemitism (which is basically an ideological refinement as well as an extreme variation of type 1).
- 3) Religiously motivated anti-Judaism (primarily by Christians, based on the accusation of deicide and theory of the resulting curse on the Jewish people, but also by Muslims based on the Koranic invective against "Jewish infidels").

Each of these variations found it necessary to vest the Jew with sinister characteristics and ascribe to him pernicious attitudes and influences and international conspiratorial aspirations, thus creating a veritable demonopathy in the minds of gentiles.

Nazism has pushed this old type of antisemitism to its logical "final solution" and thereby discredited it. The new Jew in the State of Israel has destroyed previous adverse stereotypes about him: his rootlessness, parasitism, exploitation of host-societies, destructiveness, weakness, cowardice, etc. These two facts⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ James Parkes, Antisemitism, n.e., London, 1963, p. ix.

⁽²⁾ It is impossible to assess the role of these two historical events separately since they have been so proximate in time.

have largely diminished the force of traditional antisemitism. But in their place - though not necessarily of equal strength - new forms have emerged, neither ethnic-racialist nor religious but political in character. This new antisemitism manifests itself in the form of:

- 4) Communist "anti-Zionism";
- 5) Arab anti-Jewish attitudes;
- 6) New Left attitudes;
- 7) Black antisemitism.

The first three, and lately to a lesser extent the fourth, appear to be linked to Israel's position in the Middle East crisis. Anti-Israel attitudes or anti-Zionism <u>per se</u> are not regarded (by the authors of this paper) as necessarily antisemitic.⁽³⁾ But as Professor Bernard Lewis has written so appositely "anti-Zionism has come to have a wider range and relevance often quite unconnected with the Middle East and its problems. [Traditional antisemitism has] been duly succeeded by an anti-Zionism in which politics takes the place previously occupied by religion and then race. The change is one of expression and emphasis, rather than substance, since all these elements have been and still are present.^{π (4)} This paper attempts to define the antisemitic elements in this anti-Israelism or anti-Zionism and differentiate them from legitimate (if often erroneous) arguments in a political debate on the past, present and future of the Middle East.

(4) B. Lewis, Islam in History, London, 1973, p.152.

⁽³⁾ It is possible to argue that since a Jewish State has historically proved to be the only safeguard of Jewish security and survival, anti-Zionism, i.e. the denial of the right of Jews to their own State, is depriving Jews of the only effective guarantee of their existence and is therefore, per definitionem anti-Jewish in its effect, even if not in intention. But this line will not be pursued in this paper.

(1) ETHNIC-RACIALIST ANTISEMITISM.

Right-wing antisemitism like this, primarily subsided after the Holocaust and the emergence of the State of Israel. General post-war progress (at least in principle) in the recognition of the need to respect human rights, has also contributed to its diminution. Other historical factors, however, have also helped to divert the brunt of xenophobia and racialism from the Jew: the advance of the coloured people in some countries and their immigration into others, making them a new and more important target of fanatic right-wing racialism while mere xenophobic prejudices are largely absorbed by the new phenomenon of millions of <u>Gastarbeiters</u> (foreign workers).

The change in the strength of right-wing antisemitism can best be demonstrated by the fact that before World War II hardly a country existed in which there were no anti-Jewish discriminatory laws or official practices, or in which such discrimination was not the open policy of the Government, or at least one important political party or movement; today, parties and movements even suspected of antisemitism deny that this is part of their political philosophy.

a) Organisations.

The neo-Nazi "National Democratic Party" (NFD) of von Thadden in Germany is an illustrative example of this development: it looked like a real menace in the 1969 elections, obtaining 1,422,000 votes (4.3% of the votes cast), but faded out by November 1972, mustering only 207,000 votes (0.6%). Many other neo-Nazi movements are also more an irritant than a danger; the one exception is in Italy, where the neo-Fascist "Movimentc Sociale Italiano" (MSI) has 25 seats in the Chamber of Deputies and 13 in the Senate, and of which <u>The Times</u> (London) ⁽⁵⁾ wrote in an editorial:

(5) 11 November 1972.

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"... The extreme Right's chances of terrorizing Italy into an authoritarian form of government are taken more and more seriously by moderate observers, who have noted with alarm the increasing numbers of senior officials in the police, the magistrature and the civil service who make no secret of their right-wing views".

The menace looked so serious that the Italian parliament suspended the immunity of the MSI leader, Georgio Almirante, thus enabling him to be prosecuted under the <u>Legge Scelba</u> of 1952 introduced by the then Minister of Interior Scelba against Fascist successor organisations.

The MSI also deny charges of antisemitism, but their extremist extra-parliamentary wings and youth groups, like the "Ordine Nuovo", the "Lotta di Popolo" (People's Struggle) and the "Associazione Studentesca diAvanguardia Nazionale Giovane Italia" (Students Front)⁽⁶⁾ display antisemitism openly. Some antisemitic incidents and many antisemitic publications can be linked with the MSI or its satellite groups.

In France, groups like the <u>Ordre Nouveau</u> and <u>Oeuvre Francaise</u> carry on open antisemitic propaganda.⁽⁷⁾ The French Minister of the Interior found it necessary to ban <u>Ordre Nouveau</u> on 27 June 1973.⁽⁸⁾

(8) Le Monde, 28 June 1973.

⁽⁶⁾ The latter is reported to have 10,000 members. (<u>Neue Zurcher Zeitung</u>, 11 May 1973.) See also the study by Prof. Alfonso di Nola, Professor of Religious History at Sienna University (reported by J. Dresner in Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland, 7.7.72).

 ⁽⁷⁾ For details see PATTERNS OF PREJUDICE (Published by the Institute of Jewish Affairs) V.4, No.2, 1970, pp.23-24 and V.5, No.1, 1971, pp.17 ff. V.6, No.6, 1972, pp.20-21, 30.

In the USA old-type antisemitism survives in bodies like Gerald L.K.Smith's "Christian Crusade", the "National States Rights Party", the "American Nazi Party", the "North Alabama Citizen Council", or in journals like the <u>Councilor</u>, <u>The Cross and the Flag</u>, <u>The Thunderbolt</u>, <u>American Opinion</u>, <u>The American Mercury</u>, <u>Christian Crusade</u>. Antisemitic elements infiltrated the right-wing John Birch Society and then were expelled for the embarrassment they caused.^(8a)

b) Publications.

Much more important than the antisemitic organisations are anti-Jewish publications which continually pollute the socio-political atmosphere with their hate-propaganda. Some of these publications are just new editions of antisemitic "classics". The infamous <u>Protocols of the</u> <u>Learned Elders of Zion</u>, for instance, has been re-published in one form or another in the following countries during the last ten years.

Algeria:	Extracts published in <u>Algerie Actualite.</u> 1970. ⁽⁹⁾
Argentina:	"Los Protocolos de los Sabios de Sion y la Subversion Mundial" by Arnelio Sallian (np), 1972.(10)
Australia:	Annotated edition The International Jew by Eric Butler, Tidal Publications, Sydney, 1967. (11)
Belgiur :	Serialised in Europe Reelle since 1967. ⁽¹²⁾
Brazil:	Published by Mestre Jou, Rio de Janeiro, 1964, and although banned by Government, was sold in bookshops.
	Extracts in Arab Clarion, April 1965. (13)

- (9) J.T.A., 8.4.1970.
- (10) PATTERNS OF PREJUDICE, 1972, No.3, p.25.
- (11) <u>ibid</u>. 1971, No.5, p.16.
- (12) ibid. 1967, No.4, p.19 and 1969, No.2, p.26.
- (13) <u>Arab Anti-Jewish Activities in Latin America</u> by Natan Lerner, (not for publication), Buenos Aires, April 1965. Archives of the World Jewish Congress.

⁽⁸a) S.M.Lipsett & Earl Raab <u>The Politics of Unreason</u> (Right-wing extremism in America, 1790-1970), London, 1971.

- Distributed to schoolchildren (reported by M.Lebesque Bulgaria: of <u>Canard Enchaine</u> during a lecture in Brussels, 1964) (14) Serialised in an Ottawa weekly, 1964. (15) Canada: Published in 1964 (2nd ed.) (16) Chile: Published by Institute for the Study of Zionism, Cairo, 1965 (16a) Egypt: Published in 1968 (17) France: (18)Serialised in the Xanthi paper Xanthiotikos Typos Greece: Serialised in Athens Quarterly Fourth of August. (19) Serialised in daily paper Imparcial. (20) Guatemala: Two new editions published by "AR" with an introduction Italy: by Pino Rauti and Giovanni Ventura, in 1972. (21) Lebanon: 200,000 copies in French and 100,000 in English, were printed by the Islamic Institute, Beirut, 1968. (22) Published in 1965 (23) Mexico: Published (in Arabic) in 1967 (24) Morocco: Published by Mishbahul Islam Farqui, Karachi, 1967. (25) Pakistan: De Luxe edition published by "NOS", 1964. (26) Spain: Pocket edition advertised in <u>?Que Pasa?</u>, Madrid, 1972. Switzerland: Douglas Reed's version titled: Der grosse Plan der Anonymen. Tr. and pub. by Dr. James Schwarzenbach, Director of Thomas Verl. Zurich, 1962
- (14) <u>Resistance</u>, March 1969
- (15) Canadian Jewish Chronicle, 14.8.1964
- (16) W.J.C. op.cit.
- (16a) PATTERNS OF PREJUDICE, 1967, No.3, p.6.
- (17) <u>Resistance</u>, July 1968
- (18) <u>Jewish Chronicle</u>, 30.10.1970
- (19) <u>Zionist Record</u> 24.3.1972
- (20) <u>Jerusalem Post</u>, 28.10.1966
- (21) PATTERNS OF PREJUDICE, 1972, No.6, p.15.
- (22) J.T.A. 10.9.1968
- (23) W.J.C. op. cit.
- (24) Jewish Chronicle, 24.11.1967
- (25) PATTERNS OF PREJUDICE, 1968, No.6, p.27
- (26) Jewish Chronicle News Service, 5.8.1965
- (27) PATTERNS OF PREJUDICE, 1969, No.4, p.24

U.S.A.: Syrian Embassy distributed French version in Washington D.C. (28)

> Arab translations distributed in various Arab countries. (29)

- 1. Yamin, al-Khuri Antun, <u>Mu'amarat al-Yahudiyya</u> <u>'Ala al Shu'ub au Madabit al-Jalsat al-Sirriyya</u> <u>li-Hukama Isra'il</u> (The Conspiracy of Judaism against the Nations, or the Protocols of the Secret Meetings of the Elders of Israel) 288 p. No date, probably second half of twenties. Translated from the French version of "La Vioille France."
- 2. Zurayk, Frederick, <u>Ahdaf al Sahvuniyya</u> (The Goals of Zionism) printed by Jamiyyat al-Tamaddun al-Islami (described by Mrs. Silvia Haim).
- 3. al-Tunisi, Muhammad Khalifa, <u>al-Khatr al-Yahudi</u>, <u>Brutukulat Hukama Sahuun</u> (The Jewish Danger, the Protocols of the Elders of Zion). Translated from Briton's English edition. First Edition, Dar al-Kitab al'Arabi, Cairo 1951, 180 pp. A long introduction. Second edition as the first. Third edition, Dar al'Uruba, Cairo 1961, 249 pp. An Introduction by 'Abbas Mahmud al'Aqqad, his article from the newspaper "al-Asas" of 23.11.51. The translator's introduction dated 16.3.61 was enlarged. Fourth edition, Dar al-Kitabal'Arabi Beirut, undated, 233 pp. including Introductions as in the third edition. The Lebanese newspaper <u>al-Anwar</u> of March 8, 1970 placed this book as first in the list of nonfiction best-sellers. It seems that it refers to a new edition or new reprint.
- <u>al-Sahvunivva Safira, Muqarrat al-Yahud</u> (Zionism Unveiled, the Resolutions of the Jews"), Introduction dated August 1951 signed by al-Fuqi, Ahmad Hamid, Cairo, 232 pp. Yamin's version.
- 5. <u>Brutukul Hukama Sahyun</u> (The Protocol of the Elders of Zion), Kutub Siyasiyya, No.5, Cairo 13.4.57, 119 p.
- Nasim, Mahir, <u>al-Shuyu 'ivya wa-al Sahyunivya</u> ("Communism and Zionism"), al-Maktaba al-Dawliyya, No.l, Dar al-Ma'arif, Cairo 1959, 191 p. Text like that of Kutab Siyasiyya.
- (28) J.T.A., 13 June 1957.
- (29) Though some are older than ten years, they are mostly still available,
 Y. Harkabi, <u>Arab Attitudes to Israel</u>, Jerusalem, 1971, p.518.

- Abu al-Rus, Iliya, <u>al-Yahudivya al-Alamivya wa-harbuha al-Mustmirr 'ala al-Masihiyya</u>, Beirut, 1964, pp. 191-273 includes Tunisi's version.
- Nuwaihid 'Ajjaj, Brutukulat Hukama'Sahy (Protocols of Elders of Zion). Two Volumes, No.1, 309 pp; No.2, 303 pp. Beirut 1967. Translated from the Briton's Marsden version. Nuwaihid was Director of the Arabic department of the broadcasting station in Jerusalem 1940-1944.
- 9. Shauqi 'abd al-Nasir (President Nasser's brother), <u>Brutukulat Hukamma' Sahyun wa-ta'alim al-Talmud</u> ("Protocols of the Elders of Zion and the Precepts of the Talmud"), al-Tiba'a al-Thaniyya, no date (but as <u>al-Naha</u>rof 9.5.68 announced the publication of this book it seems that the date is 1968), 232 pp.

Similarly Hitler's <u>Mein Kampf</u> has been republished in eleven countries during the last ten years.

Many new antisemitic books appear, particularly in Italy, where a notorious racialist publishing house "AR" (the name stands for Aryan) in Venice, recently produced books by the late German Nazi authority on race: Hans F. K. Gunther, Humanitas (1970) and Religiosita Indoeuropea, 181 pp; Julius Evola, La Dottrina Aria di Lotta et Vittoria ("The Aryan Doctrine of Struggle and Victory"), 35 pp; Henri Coston, L'Alta Finanza e le Rivoluzioni (High Finance and Revolutions"), 1971, 125 pp; Henry Ford, L'Ebreo Internazionale ("The International Jew"), 1971, 327 pp; Count Gobineau, Saggio sull'Ineguaglianza delle Razze Umane ("Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races"); Israele secondo le Sacre Scritture ("Israel according to Scripture"), 3rd ed. January 1970, translated from the English. "The word 'Israel' (it says on p.9) is reducing the Church to silence today" .; F.C. Sakran, A chi appartiene Gerusalemme? ("To whom does Jerusalem belong?"), 2nd ed. 1969. "Jesus was opposed to the restoration of Jewish secular rule" (p.19); Lo spirito della violenza alla base del movimento sionista ("The spirit of violence at the base of the Zionist movement"), 1969. Il nemico dell'uomo ("The Enemy of Man"), by various authors, 31 pp. - "Enemy of man" is how the battle songs of the

Palestine terrorists refer to Israel. Maurice Bardeche (and others), <u>L'Aggressione Sionista</u>, 1970, 130 pp. - The notorious French antisemite refers to the "Two irreconcilable races confronting each other - the merchant and the warrior", etc.⁽³⁰⁾

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In Germany, a number of periodicals are of a neo-Nazi, antisemitic or certainly racialist character, like

Deutsche National Zeitung, München, edited by Dr. Gerhard Frey. (An average of 112,000 copies weekly)

Deutsche Wochenzeitung, Hannover, edited by Waldemar Schlitz. (About 20,000 copies weekly)

Deutscher Studenten Anzeiger, Coburg. (About 30,000 copies quarterly)

<u>Nation Europa</u>, Coburg, edited, until his death in the autumn of 1971, by Arthur Ehrhardt, since then by Peter Dehoust. (About 7,500 copies monthly)

MUT (National European Magazine), Asendorf. Editor Bernhard C. Wintzer. (Monthly)

c) Antisemitic manifestations.

Antisemitic incidents, usually provoked by right-wing extremists, are reported regularly. Italy has, in this respect, been a danger-spot in recent years.⁽³¹⁾ In Orleans in France, a rumour that Jewish businessmen engage in white slave trade created a dangerous situation in May 1969, of which it could be written:

"The Orleans case may be regarded as an accident. It is an accident, but a revealing one. It may be a residue of the past, but only if one also recognises that the germ itself is a residue. For our part, we conceive modern developing society not as a society that still contains archaic remnants but as a society that creates new archaisms; not as one that replaces the myth by rationalism but which creates new myths and new irrationalities, not as a society that decisively surmounts problems and crises of mankind, but one which creates new problems and new crises. The affair of Orleans is not a sequel or an outgrowth of the Middle Ages in the modern world, it is an aspect of the new Middle Ages." (32)

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⁽³⁰⁾ PATTERNS OF PREJUDICE, Vol.6, No.6, Nov-December 1972, pp.14-16.
(31) Giovanni Caprile, CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES ON JEWS & JUDAISM, No.29, April 1973,
(32) Edgar Morin, La Rumeur d'Orleans, Paris, 1969, p.108. pp. 13-15.

d) <u>Camouflaged antisemitism.</u>

The most frequent techniques of right-wing antisemites today, once their old slogans have been discredited, is mentioning the Jew indirectly and attacking him euphemistically by denouncing "International Money Power" and "the dictatorship of High Finance". Examples of this attitude were seen in the chauvinistic opposition to Britain's entry into the European Economic Community. An old right-winger, A.K.Chesterton, complained that nationalist governments are being made "overt instruments of the Money Power as a prelude to being phased out". To be sure his readers understood the allusions, he added that "with Rothschild planning Gwernmental policies at home and Warburg directing our entry into the Common Market, we have no excuse for failing to recognise our master. A Indeed, it should be all too obvious that the E.E.C. is one vast cattle-pen wherein the Gentiles are being herded for supervision, regimentation and exploitation". The master will be "Rothschild's Pompidou". (33)

e) Whitewashing the past.

Another new tack of the old antisemites is to whitewash the past. They neutralise Hitler's crimes by citing his enemies' "bombing terror" (Dresden, Hiroshima), then indirectly, cast doubt on the Nazi crimes themselves. For example, they impugn the number of Jews murdered, query whether Hitler intended to annihilate the Jews, or, even go to war, and resurrect propaganda on which Nazidom could appear as a "bulwark against Bolshevism". They hope that by demolishing the charges, bit by bit, or at least by diminishing the crimes, they will gradually produce an image of Hitler very different from that universally accepted and so, gradually, create the impression that the Jews only got what they deserved.

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Those who consciously re-write history, the neo-Nazis all over the world, pursue this line, especially in Germany where their vested interest is most immediate. Here, many of their artificially concocted books white-washing Hitler have gained acceptance among so-called Conservative politicians and authors of textbooks.

(2) RELIGIOUS ANTISEMITISM.

Religiously motivate? Christian antisemitism has largely been checked as a result of a new approach by the Churches to Jewry and Judaism, particularly by the Catholic Church since the Second Vatican Council. To encourage the spread of a new spirit efforts were made to remove offensive parts of the liturgy, revise the textbooks and develop a theology that would no longer see the Jews merely as objects for conversion.

But there have remained diehards who persist in holding the Jews responsible for the crucifizion and in effect condone the age-old religious persecution.

For an example of such views one need only refer to "Judaisme et Christianisme: <u>Dossier patriotique</u>" by Mme. D. Judant, Paris 1970. It states that "the word Jew refers to a religion which, for the past 20 centuries, has not ceased to be an affront to Christianity ... There is an undeniable opposition between Jew and Christian ... The Church might fight antisemitism. But, as so often in her history, the reaction appears to be going too far."

(a) These diehards are reluctant to do away with objectionable memorials for Christian victims of alleged Jewish "ritual murder" or to reform passion plays like that of Oberammergau which deviate from "their primary purpose [is] to stimulate religious fervor, [and] when they are carelessly written or produced, [they] may become a source of antisemitic reactions.⁽³⁴⁾

⁽³⁴⁾ US Catholic Bishops Committee for Ecumenical and Inter-religious Affairs, in the US magazine <u>Catholic Mind</u>, 5 March 1966.

(b) Another area in which the new Christian attitude towards Jewry is making slow progress is the expunging of sources of anti-Jewish bias from Catholic and Protestant textbooks. This is evidenced, for instance, by Sister Anne Moore's study published in <u>The Tower</u>, quarterly magazine of the Catholic "National Catechetical Centre" in 1971 in London. The study, which listed many objectionable passages in textbooks, was introduced by this editorial comment:

> "The attitudes which most Catholics adopt towards the Jews are largely based upon what they have picked up about the Jews in biblical times. Sr. Anne Moore, of the Centre for Biblical and Jewish Studies in London has, therefore, done a valuable service in pointing out the distortions of the truth frequently found in textbooks used by our pupils; after reading her article teachers will undoubtedly be more careful in the way they speak of our ancestors in the faith. But the ancient Jews are not the only ones to be considered. We need to study modern Judaism, e.g. Jewish life in England, the growing importance of Israel, the uses of the synagogue, the messianic hope, customs and practices in both synagogue and home."

(c) Distortions survive in the Oriental liturgies too. They have not altered the Good Friday prayer for the Jews as did the Roman Church. Dr. Charlotte L. Klein states that "for the last forty-two years, the Orthodox Church in the West has published an English periodical, <u>Sobernost</u>, which, during all this long time, did not carry one single article about this Church's attitude towards the Jews". Their <u>Byzantine Daily Worship</u>, the prayerbook of those Oriental (Milkite) Christians in communion with Rome, contains a quotation in the midst of the solemn reading of the Beatitudes, as follows: "The swarm of the Jews, those murderers of God, lawless nation, cried in wrath to Pilate, and said: 'Crucify Christ, the Righteous'."⁽³⁵⁾

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⁽³⁵⁾ Christian Attitudes on Jews and Judaism, No.28, February 1973, pp. 13-14.

(d) A disturbing feature is the occasional use, or misuse, of Christian auspices for openly anti-Israel manifestations like the "Christian Arab-Students' Congress", held in the Lebanon in July 1969, which openly demanded "abolishing the state structures of Israel"; (36) or the "World Conference of Christians for Palestine", organised by the Catholic weekly Temoignage Chretien in Beirut in 1970 and in The first Congress declared that "the Canterbury in 1972. Zionist state, like any politico-religious system, whether based on a living faith or not, is opposed to the dignity of man." (37) while the Canterbury Conference practically exonerated Arab terrorists by saying that the struggle of the Palestinians "assumes various forms ... revolutionary violence of a people responds to a violence of a colonialist The bloody episodes in this struggle assume the state. emotions of international opinion. They ought to impress upon the Christians of the West that throughout the world a true peace can only be established on justice, on respect for the rights of man and the oppressed and exploited peoples, especially the right of the Palestinian people." (38)

(3) <u>COMMUNIST "ANTI-ZIONISM"</u>

By a recent Soviet definition, Zionism is "one of the most extreme and dangerous forms of fascism", ⁽³⁹⁾ as racist as Hitlerism and, as such, a criminal doctrine which is a threat to all "freedom-loving peoples".

- (36) Ibid. No.10, February 1970, pp. 17/18.
- (37) Ibid. No.12, June 1970, p.1.
- (38) <u>Ibid</u>. No.26, October 1972, p.12.
- (39) "The Social Face of Zionism", Pravda, 6 January 1972

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-According to this version, Zionism, the ideology of the Jewish capitalists, proclaims the superiority of the Jewish race above all others and aims at world domination from a powerful military and economic base in Israel. The Zionists actively collaborated with Nazi Germany during World War II, receiving arms from it to fight the British in Palestine and delivering Jews to torture by the Nazis, glad that rampaging antisemitism would increase the flow of immigrants to Palestine. The following quotations are typical: "It is not only the logic of the reasonings of Zionists which make one think that they regarded antisemitism as a blessing. The Zionist leaders themselves declared frankly that antisemitism was useful, by which they stretched out their hands to antisemites in an alliance which has not once broken throughout the whole, history of the existence of the Zionist international corporation, "(40) ... from 1942 Wiesenthal, (41) now claiming the role of 'chastiser of Nazi criminals', himself had secret links with Hitlerite Intelligence ... Wiesenthal obtained his biggest advertisement with the help of Zionist propaganda organs by the capture of the Nazi executioner Eichmann. But afterwards it turned out that the hunt for these Nazis was by no means to be explained by the desire for vengeance, but by the wish of the leaders of world Zionism to destroy the chief witness of their dealings with the Gestapo during. the Second World War. (42) Since Germany's defeat the Zionists have been the spearhead of American Imperialism throughout the world - in the Middle East, in Africa, and in attempts to subvert the peoples of Communist countries, as in Poland and ---- Czechoslovakia, especially in 1968, and now in Soviet Russia itself. Often, it seems, they are not the tool of imperialism, but its inspiring force The above sketch is a condensation of innumerable press articles, pamphlets, (40) Yu. Ivanov "The Dogma of the 'Chosen People' and its Zionist Commentators", Nauka i religiya, Moscow, No.10, 1968. (41) Simon Wiesenthal is Head of the Vienna Documentation Centre and has been active in tracing Nazi war criminals. (42) A. Kurov, "The Dirty Work of Sinon Wiesenthal", Literaturnava gazeta, Moscow, 29 March 1972,

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books and whole novels which flow from Soviet publishing houses every year.⁽⁴³⁾ The level of historical accuracy and immoderacy of language varies little, whether the article is in a pamphlet intended for mass agitational work, or included in the Party's main theoretical and political journals. In addition, this view of Zionism is broadcast constantly to the Third World countries. The message is simple: Zionism is a major enemy of humanity and must be bitterly opposed.

The propaganda often distinguishes between Jews and Israelis as opposed to Zionists:

"... Zionism should not be identified with the state of Israel as such, or with Jews generally. It is the Zionists who wish to give the impression that the 'Jew' and 'Zionist' are synonymous concepts. That is to their advantage. They would like nothing better than for people to classify all Jews as Zionists. For, Zionism being manifestly reactionary, that creates the soil for antisemitic feeling the Zionists seek to foster." (44)

The Zionists, identified as the Jewish bourgeoisie, strive to inculcate Jews with the notion that a separate Jewish nation and culture exist, that the interests of all Jews are identical, and that, consequently, the class strugglc is irrelevant to the Jewish question. In these terms, anti-Zionism is no different from anti-nationalism in general.

There are, however, three major elements of the propaganda which blur the attempted distinction between Jews and Zionists, therefore, encouraging outright antisemitism.

(a) Judaism as a racist religion.

Judaism, like any other religion, is attacked as reactionary, and exploitative in nature. But Judaism is singled out for special attack, and portrayed, without redeeming features, as a religion preaching Jewish superiority and hatred for non-Jews.

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⁽⁴³⁾ See chapter on "Antisemitism in Soviet Russia" and other parts in L.Kochan: "The Jews in Soviet Russia Since 1917", published for IJA by OUP, London, 1970 and W. Korey: "The Soviet Cage. Antisemitism in Russia", Viking Press, New York, 1973.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Vladimir Katin, "Zionism's Grimes", New Times, Moscow, No.20, May 1971.

Misquotations from Jewish religious writings such as the Talmud, Torah and Shulkhan Arukh are used to "support" these statements. The classic Soviet portrayal of Judaism was given by a Ukrainian, Trofim Kichko, in his "Judaism without Embellishment", published in 1963 by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev. (45) The book combined absurd fabrications about the teachings of Judaism with such blatantly racist cartoons that even a number of Western Communist Parties denounced it. Although the book was eventually withdrawn, it seems to have become the basic source for other writers. Kichko, himself, achieved further notoriety a few years later as the author of anti-Judaic articles and pamphlets; in 1968 he published another book reitering the thesis of "Judaism without Embellishment":

"Having proclaimed through the Torah and the Talmud the superiority of the Jews over all peoples, not only from the moral but also from the physical point of view ... the ideologists of Judaism, through the 'Holy Writing', teach the observant Jews to hate the (46) people of another faith and even to destroy them."

Another publicist, Yevgeni Yevseyev, discusses Judaism in the

following terms:

"Judaism, if we are speaking about its role in isolating Jews, is a spiritual form of the Jewish ghetto. It safeguards in each community the power of the existing ruling clique over their co-religionists, and also the international solidarity of the representatives of the ruling circles of the communities. (47)

The publication of similar views in <u>L'URSS</u>, the official information bulletin of the Soviet Embassy in Paris, caused a scandal recently.

(46) "Judaism and Zionism", Kiev, "Znannya", 1968, p.59.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ See the chapter by Moshe Decter in Ronald I. Rubin, ed., <u>The Unredeemed</u>: <u>Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union</u>, Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1968.

^{(47) &}quot;Zionism - Ideology and Politics", Moscow, Moskovsky rabochy, 1971, p.38. Judaism as a "spiritual ghetto" is a recurring phrase in such writings.

An article by M. Zandenberg, which appeared in the 22 September 1972 issue, under the title "The School of Obscurantism", stated:

"In Israeli schools, the greater part of the school curriculum is devoted to the study of the Holy Scriptures which 'teach the feelings of the national conscience' - during 24 hours of the day. With what subject do these books deal? What kind of moral values do the schools of the Zionist State impart to the young generation?

According to the essential concept of these 'text-books', particularly of the book 'Shulkhan Arukh', the world belongs to the believers in the Almighty Tahve, through whom they can wear the mask they assume. The property of the non-Jews belongs to them only temporarily, until it is turned over to the hands of the 'chosen people'. When the latter will outnumber the other peoples, 'God will deliver them to the Jews to be slaughtered to a man'.

These are the concrete rules governing the relations between the Jews and the gentiles who are scornfully called 'goya', 'akums' or 'Nazareans'. The 'akums' are not to be considered human beings' (Orah-Hayim, 14, 32, 33, 39, 55, 193): 'It is strictly forbidden for a Jew to save from death an 'akum' with whom he is living at peace.' 'It is forbidden to cure an 'akum' even in return for money, but it is permissible to try out the effects of a medicine upon him' (Yoreh Dea, 158). 'When a Jew witnesses the last moments of an 'akum', he must exult in joy' (Yoreh Dea, 319, 5).

To conceed something to an 'akum' or to give anything to him, is sacrilege. It is better to throw a piece of meat to a dog than give it to a 'goya' (Hoshen-Mishpat). However, it is permissible to give alms to poor 'akums' and to visit their sick so that they may think that the Jews are their good friends. (Yoreh Dea, 151, 12).

Such religious prescriptions, that may be quoted without end, constitute the 'moral' code of the Zionist society. The Israeli authorities have set up a special Department for the diffusion and propagation of the Torah, Talmud and other Zionist ideological material on a nation-wide scale. It is from this 'cultural and moral' basis that the 'authentic Zionist' takes his concept of the world. He must learn all these precepts from childhood and quote them by heart during the ceremony of his Bar-Mitzvah (confirmation), so as to prove his 'ideological maturity'.

These abject and detestable rules, hate towards other peoples, have been implanted from birth in the whole generation of Israelis, who are commanded to 'slaughter the goyas under the vault of heaven' (Orah-Hayim 690, 16). Jewish laws form part of the regulations of the Israeli army and their infringement is punished by disciplinary measures. They are the very essence of the policy of the Zionist State." The International League against Antisemitism (LICA), based in Paris, lodged a complaint against Robert Legagneux, manager of the Information Bulletin for "incitement to racial discrimination, hatred or violence". Testimony given during the trial, held at the end of March 1973, demonstrated that parts of the article were direct quotations from the Tearist antisemitic forgery "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion", with the word "Jew" in the original replaced by "Zionist". On 24 April 1973 the manager was found guilty and fined a total of 3,000 francs (see report in e.g. International Herald Tribune, 26 April 1973).

(b) Judaism and Zionism are identified.

In the anti-Zionist propaganda Judaism, as shown by the last quotation, is described as providing the ideological foundations of Zionism; links between the Jewish religion and political Zionism are constantly stressed. It follows that any Jew who practises his religion immediately becomes suspect as a potential or actual Zionist, as another author of many anti-Zionist articles, Yuri Ivanov, suggests:

"The 'utterly false and essentially reactionary concept of a Jewish nation' is used by the Zionists 'to establish ideological and political control over citizens of diverse countries ... as long as they are of Jewish origin." (48)

The following passages, chosen from a mound of material, may illustrate the point:

(i) "Judaism and Zionism educate the Jews in a spirit of contempt and even of hatred for other people ... What was there that had so much attraction for the Zionists in the Torah and the Talmud - tendentiously compiled by the prophets - and in the ideology of Judaism? First and foremost - the chauvinist idea of 'God-chosenness of the Jewish people', the idea of Messianism and of ruling over the peoples of the world ... While the West German neo-Nazis talk about the superiority of the Aryan race, the Israeli Zionists

(48) "Beware, Zionism!", Moscow, Politizdat, 1969, p. 42.

relentlessly preach the 'God-chosenness' of the Jewish people." (Trofim Kichko, <u>Judaism and Zionism</u>, Kiev, Znannya, 1968.)

(ii) "... The Jewish religion, which is permeated through and through by chauvinist and racist preaching, is exceptionally suitable for the aims of the imperialist and expansionist policies of the big Jewish capital ...

> The Zionists also could not help realizing the value of the fact, very important for them, that Judaism has created powerful levers of ideological and material pressure on the masses. The ramified Church machine ... was, in essence, a ready-made form of control over the Jewish communities. By subjugating this apparatus, the Zionism would obtain a direct channel of connection with the Jewish communities of various countries ...

In their turn, the leaders of the Jewish religion could not help realizing how important it was for them to approach Zionism ... The Zionist propaganda, which preached class peace among Jews and their unity in accordance with racial characteristics, consolidated the social isolation of the Jewish workers and allowed the Jewish top clique and the Rabbis to maintain their control over their co-religionists."("The Sinister Alliance" a novel by VI. Semeniak, Minsk, 1972).

- (iii) "The school in Israel is not separated from the Church. What is more, the dogmas of Judaism are one of the main disciplines, if not the sole one: they take up a third of the total school time - 1,500 hours! More time is given to the study of 'sacred books' than to all the mathematical subjects put together. The curriculum in schools and higher educational institutions is imbued with religious chauvinism and militarism. The scriptures and the writings of old and contemporary ideologists of Zionism are used to inculcate the 'superman' ideology The Israeli younger upon school children and students. generation are brought up to believe in brute force and racial and national supremacy, and to hate and despise Their minds are systematically poisoned with the Arabs. anti-communism and anti-Sovietism." ("Israel, Land of Chauvinism and Racism", International Affairs, Moscow, August 1971).
 - (iv) "Had Zionism and Judaism been as far removed from each other as Heaven is from Earth, if they had nothing in common, there would have been no need for us to differentiate between them. The fact is, however, that Zionism and Judaism have essential characteristics in common and an identity of outlook. This has made possible the complete inter-relation between the Zionist and Judaic ideology. It is (?militant) Jewish chauvinism and racialism which brings them together and unites them.

... The Zionists ... made chauvinism and racialism, borrowed from Judaism, the foundations of their ideology and policy, they took over pseudo-theories about the racial exclusiveness and the God-chosen nature of the Jews; they made use of the misanthropic Talmudic morality ... Thus it is clear to all that Zionists, even those who have discarded religious superstition and become atheists are interested in the existence of the Judaic religion and in fostering religious survivals. From their point of view Judaism provides fertile soil for militant Zionism ... Zionists of the USA, Israel and other Western countries aim at subverting and weaken-For this reason they would like to ing our system. establish within our society their underground ideological centres. In this dirty business they count on the synagogue. Subversive Zionist agents are trying by all sorts of methods to revive religious feelings and foster the survivals of nationalism, to bring back what has long disappeared from Soviet reality - Judaic racialism and chauvinism. such superstition is not very far removed from Zionism. Such efforts never bring them success. In our country there do not exist [the necessary] social and economic conditions. The propagation of any misanthropic idea is justly considered a crime." (A radio talk entitled "Zionism and Judaism", given by Vladimir Begun in Belorussian on 20 March, 1973, as monitored by the BBC).

This clear identification of Judaism with Zionism explains the ferocity of the attacks on the Jewish religion <u>per se</u> as an expression of national exclusiveness and a stimulus to Jewish national feelings.

(c) The Antisemitic Myth of World Conspiracy.

It is clear that the word Zionism subsumes Judaism in general. Meanwhile, Zionism is constantly portrayed as the main enemy of the peoples of the world. Titles such as "Zionism and the Swastika" (<u>New Times</u>, Moscow, No.25, June 1971), "Zionists Undermine World Peace and Security" (<u>International Affairs</u>, Moscow, July 1971) indicate the danger Zionism is asserted to represent. "The Zionists stubbornly strive to make all Jews, regardless of their citizenship and of their party loyalties, partners in the Israeli aggression and in the dirty actions of the Jewish big bourgeoisie and of international imperialism, which are aimed at the camp of peace and socialism ... Similar stratagems were resorted to by the Nazis in order to form their 'fifth columns' ..."(49)

The propaganda assumes that all Jews must be working together, so that the above statements and others, such as Yevseyev's assertion in his "Zionism : Ideology and Politics" that "80 per cent of all American financial institutions, international information agencies which are used by the newspapers and magazines of the world, belong to Jews" have the sinister implication of a coordinated Jewish conspiracy, aimed at world domination. Any Jew or anyone of Jewish extraction is seen not as an individual, but as an element in a co-ordinated Zionist scheme. For example, an article in Bielarus, October 1971, sees Henry Kissinger, "a Bavarian Jew", as the Zionist power behind the White House: everything he does is "done under the banner" of the "sixpointed Star of David". Turkmenskaya iskra, 20 May 1970, even claimed that the "Jews" (not even the Zionists) had infiltrated the Vatican in the person of Augustino Cardinal Bea, who allegedly had converted to Roman Catholicism to promote Jewish interests.

(d) The Antisemitic Slogan of International Finance.

Just as the old antisemitic bogey of "world conspiracy" is revived under the new description "Zionism", the slogan of Jewish international finance is also identified with the Zionist movement. An article by L. Korneyev in <u>International Affairs</u> (Soviet Englishlanguage monthly), November 1972, entitled "Zionism and War Monopolies" explained how it is that Zionism can pose such an enormous threat to the world.

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"International Zionism is more than just a reactionary racist-nationalistic ideology of the Jewish big bourgeoisie. It is also part of the imperialist monopolies banks, trusts, corporations and companies whose owners are bound together by business, blocd and national ties, by the common ideology of Zionism".

The author expounds on this theme, naming the financiers and industrialists in the US and Western Europe (Rockefeller and Rothschild are familiar names on the list), who form a "group of war monopolies, linked in one way or another with Zionism", and concludes:

"These are only the main monopolies that directly render financial aid and support to the Zionist organisations in the West and to Israel. Their representatives regularly participate in the 'conferences of millionaires' who support Israel financially and economically. The profits from the sale of arms to the Tel Aviv expansionists, however, greatly exceed the war monopolies' widely publicised donations for Israel's 'defence'. They fleece American taxpayers and the rank-and-file members of Jewish and Zionist organisations all over the world and the Israeli working people. With the aid of the Zionist lobby and the press that they control, the monopolies exert strong pressure on the governments of their countries, enhancing the aggressiveness of modern imperialism and jeopardising the vital interests of all nations and peace on our planet."

The passages below illustrate the two main interlocking prongs of the conspiracy theory: the power of international finance, and subversion of the socialist bloc.

"People like Rothschild in Europe and Morgenthau in America ... are not single individuals and not dozens. In the countries of the world there are hundreds and thousands of them. They own a large share of the world gold reserves. The main banks and factories, works and trading firms belong to them ... possessing controlling shares, many of them are actual masters of the trade and industrial, railway, shipping, aviation, credit, insurance and other joint-stock companies dominant in the economy of countries. Through them and only through them do we have a real chance of decisively influencing from here the government policy of different countries, of directing it along the channel necessary to us, of forming world public opinion in our favour ..."

(The above is a speech by the Zionist villain of Yuri Kolesnikov's novel, "The Promised Land", serialized in the September and October 1972 issues of a literary magazine Oktyabr.)

- "Through a system of participation in and frequently through a monopolistic possession of the enterprise, bank or corporation, representatives of the big Jewish bourgeoisie, part of the monopolistic circles of a number of capitalist states, have got into their hands powerful levers of influence." (V. Bolshakov, "Who Pays the Zionists?", <u>Pravda</u>, 4 December 1971).
- "For modern international Zionism and its American detachment along with Israel's rulers constitute its main force - is a ramified network of organizations and political agents of big Jewish bourgeoisie that is closely inter-twined with the monopoly circles of the United States and other imperialist Powers. This network has branches in many countries. Dozens of Zionist and pro-Zionist organizations have been set up in the United States in recent years and have devoted themselves entirely to anti-Soviet activities. Although many of them appear under the aegis of Jewish organizations officially not linked with Zionism, actually they are set up on a Zionist basis and on the customary pretext of "protecting Soviet Jews"." (Moscow radio broadcast in English, 6 March 1973, quoting Alexsandr Kislov in "USA -Economy, Policy, Ideology".)
- "Economically Zionism is based today on many of the foremost Western financial and industrial monopolies, clans of bankers, industrialists and merchants who compete among themselves but are united in class loyalty to the cosmopolitan Zionist syndicate. The cosmopolitan character of its economic base predetermines the fact that Zionism itself is an international phenomenon. Its hirelings operate in various parts of the globe. They are clad both in the uniform of Israel's robber army, and in the blue-and-white of the Jewish Defence League stormtroopers, and in the hoods and robes of the They can also be found in the guise of Ku Klux Klan. trumpeters of 'socialism with a human face', of 'renewers' and 'amplifiers' of Marxism-Leninism," (Ye. Yevseyev. "Zionism's Feedbag", New Times, Moscow, No.51, Dec. 1971)

(e) Zionism the new "Scapegoat"

Since Zionism is regarded as an omnipresent and omnipotent force of evil in the world, it is, like "the Jew" before, a convenient, scapegoat for anything that goes wrong, both inside and outside the country. A vivid example of its use as scapegoat is the "explanation" of Czechoslovakia's attempt at liberalisation in 1968, as a takeover by Zionist agents: "The Zionists tried to seize leading posts in all the mass media of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic so as to conduct frontic propaganda against the socialist system in Czechoslovakia, against the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, the CFSU, and the Communist Parties of the fraternal socialist countries. At the same time Zionist elements helped the imperialist intelligence agencies gather espionage On May 30, 1968, a certain A.Bramberg information. arrived in Czechoslovakia with documents of a staff member of the United States Information Agency and at the Alcron Hotel in Prague met with Arnosht Lustig who has now settled in Israel as a 'writer'. It was about him that Ladislav Novomesky spoke sarcastically at the May (1968) conference of Slovak writers. He described the verbiage of Lustig and his 'Czech' colleagues over the television as openly 'pro-Israel and pro-Zionist', and indicated that they acted not as writers, but as 'approved experts on the Israeli question' ...

Numerous Zionist organizations took part in the subversive activities against the socialist system in Czechoslovakia, from the World Zionist Organization and the World Jewish Congress to the 'world congress of Jewish journalists' ...

During preparations for the counter-revolutionary coup in the Czechoslovak Republic, Zionist agents conducted energetic propaganda for the resumption of diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Israel. Goldstlicker, Sik and Kriegel played no mean role in When at the request of many thousands the campaign. of Czechoslovak Communists, including members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the troops of five Warsaw Treaty countries rendered internationalist assistance to the fraternal Czechoslovak people in the struggle against the counterrevolution, the Zionist underground went over to illegal methods of struggle. Rabid Zionists, including 'consultants', Israeli citizens, worked at many secret radio stations that operated in those days on Czechoslovakia's territory and spread slanders against socialism ... " (V. Bolshalkov, "Anti-Sovietism - a Zionist Profession", Pravda, 18, 19 February 1971)

(4) ARAB "ANTISEMITISM"

Arab antisemitism may sound a misnomer; Arabs who are themselves Semites could not be "antisemites". That it is, nevertheless, the case, shows that the term "antisemitism" expresses hatred of or hostility towards the Jews alone, and not towards what is termed the 'Semite race'.

(a) <u>Socio-political roots</u>

Dr. Y. Harkabi of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, one of Israel's foremost experts on the Arabs, devotes a whole chapter of his book <u>Arab Attitudes to Israel</u>⁽⁵⁰⁾ to antisemitism in the Arab countries and comes to the following conclusion:

"When the authorities fomented antisemitism in Europe it was part of their internal policies and strategies, or, at most, a means of subversion abroad, as it was used by Hitler. Arab antisemitism, however, is a part of the Arab countries' struggle against Israel and their strategy in foreign policy: its main stress is on the Jews as a political organism. It is rooted in external political mctives." (p.298)

Harkabi also finds that "Antisemitism among the Arabs is vigorous and aggressive".

"It is so ardent that it overcomes even the restraints created by the memory of the Nazi holocaust. Their motivation is so strong that they are not inhibited even by the example of the moral, human and national havoc that antisemitism wrought in Germany." (p.300)

Harkabi also deals with the problem of Arab antisemitism in another book, ⁽⁵¹⁾ in which he stresses the political nature of antisemitism in the Arab countries. This can be seen from the following extract:

"I do not argue that Arab antisemitism has social or religious roots; its origins are mainly political. Nevertheless, it is not an accidental growth in the Arab stand against Israel. The need to substantiate the evil of Israel as a state that deserves a death verdict, produced an inclination to present its evil as profound."

In the same book, Harkabi points out that "the amount of antisemitic literature published in the Arab world has had no parallel in modern history since the demise of Nazi Germany." The notorious forgery by the Czarist secret police <u>Protocols of the Elders of Zion</u> has been published by the UAR Ministry of Orientation in its series of Political Books in 1957, while in 1962 the UAR Government published a book <u>Human</u> <u>Sacrifices in the Talmud</u>, accusing Jews of ritual killing of gentile

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Published 1971 by the Israel Universities Press.

^{(51) &}lt;u>Time Bomb in the Middle East</u> (New York Friendship Press, 1969)

children. A facsimile edition of Hitler's book <u>Mein Kampf</u> appeared in Lebanon in 1963, while an Arab newspaper, the <u>Jerusalem Times</u>, on 24 April 1961, carried a letter to Eichmann pledging to avenge his death and to follow his example in destroying the remaining Jewry. Extracts from the 'Protocols' are also found in textbooks for schools and in the indoctrination literature for the armed forces.⁽⁵²⁾

Professor Bernard Lewis, the distinguished Arabist scholar of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, in his latest book⁽⁵³⁾ expresses the view that Arab antisemitism is not rooted in the Islamic religion. Referring particularly to the hostile attitude exhibited by Arab countries towards their Jewish minorities, he says:

"The spread of antisemitism in the Arab lands in modern times has been due to three main causes. The first, chronologically, is European influence. A few Arabic translations of antisemitic tracts were published as early as the 19th century. Others followed, including the 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion', which first appeared in Arabic in Cairo in about 1927. There are now more versions and editions in Arabic than in any other language. There are also numerous other works translated, adapted, and even original, dealing with the iniquities of the Jews through the millennia and the universal Jewish conspiracy against menkind, and including the old charges of blood-lust, ritual murder and the like, as well as the standard modern myths of power and money. There are even writings which defend and justify the Nazi persecution of the Jews. Some contemporary Arab comment on the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem is significant in this respect.

From 1933 onwards the spread of anti-Jewish propaganda among the Arabs was no longer left to chance or to private enterprise. Nazi Germany made a truly immense effort in the Arab countries, and won many converts. This work was continued by Nazi emigres after the war. In a sense, the final destruction of the Jewish communities in Arab countries was a long-term result of the Nazi effort.

(52) See also above in Chapter on Right-wing antisemitism.

(53) <u>Islam in History</u>, "Ideas, Men and Events in the Middle East" (published Alcove Press, 1973)

The second factor is the Palestine question. As we have seen, Arab hostility to Israel has in its origins nothing to do with antisemitism as such. But Israel is Jewish, and there are Jewish minorities in Arab countries. In a time of crisis, the ready-made themes, imagery and vocabulary of anti-Jewish abuse that were offered to the Arabs proved too tempting to resist ... The reaction against Zionism and the response to European antisemitism both had their effect. But what finally sealed the fate of the Arab Jews was the third, and in many ways the most important, factor - the general worsening of the position of minorities, both ethnic and religious, in the Middle East. In a time of violent change, the old tolerance has gone, the new equality has proved a fraud. All are insecure, some are persecuted - and the Jews, as so often, suffer in acute and accelerated form the ills of the society of which they are a part."

(b) <u>Religious roots</u>

Yet the religious influence upon Arab antisemitism cannot be entirely At the Fourth Conference of the Academy of Islamic Research, dismissed. held in Cairo in the autumn of 1968, the following papers were read: (54)

- (i) "The Jews are the Enemies of Human Life as is Evident from their Holy Book" by Kamal Ahmad Own, Vice-Principal of the Tanta Institute.
- (ii) "The Attitude of the Jews Towards Islam and Muslims in the Early Days of Islam" in which the author, Moh. Taha Yahia, says, i.a.: "I have come to the decisive conclusion that wordly avarice, obstinate contention and cruelty are deeply ingrained in the innermost being of the Jews who try to achieve their individual and social ambitions by fair means or foul."
- (iii) "Jewish Role in Aggression on the Islamic Base of Medina" by Dr. Abdel Aziz Kamil, UAR Minister of Religious Endowments, and of Al-Azhar University.
- (iv) "The Jews in the Quran" by Prof. Abdul Sattar El Sayed, Mufti of Turos, Syria, who found that "Jewish history has almost been an interconnected series of acts of sedition and intrigue in any land or community where they happened to live."

In fact all the papers published in this booklet abound with antisemitic statements allegedly based upon Muslim doctrine. Several call for Jihad, the Holy War against Israel, thus giving theological grounds for political action.

(54) "Arab Theologians on Jews and Israel" (Editions de l'Avenir, Geneva, 1971)