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Ever since the beginnings of right-wing extremism, antisemitism has been one of the dominant ideological foundations that has permeated every aspect of the movement and its thought. George L. Mosse once pointed out: “Just as the right and its nationalism transformed its own myths into concrete symbols, so the enemy was not left abstract; he was embodied in Jews and parliamentarians.”¹ While for most sectors of society, antisemitism became unacceptable after the Second World War and the revelations of the Holocaust, recent events have shown that antisemitism, often disguised as anti-Zionism or criticism of Israel has now begun to appear at all levels of society. It is the Jewish State which now embodies “the enemy” of humanity. For current right-wing extremists, antisemitism has taken on even greater importance. And, in what appears to be a strange union, antisemitism today sometimes forms a bridge that unites left and right in what Saul Friedlander has called “the...magical logic of the marriage of opposites...of themes from the radical right and radical left.”² The birth of the State of Israel brought Jews into the public sphere of the Western world as equal actors. This gave antisemites a new focus. Now Jews are not only pulling strings behind the scenes, but they are playing starring roles on the world stage. A further layer of hate based on this switch has been added to ancient stereotypes. After centuries of secret manipulation, the Jew has come out of the closet, as it were, and has begun to influence, or even control, the world. Thus, the hatred of the antisemite for the Jew has perhaps even more force than ever before. This was anticipated in the last political testament of Adolf Hitler, when he wrote:

Centuries will pass away but...the hatred against those finally responsible...international Jewry and its helpers will grow.... I have also made it quite plain that, if the nations of Europe are again to be regarded as mere shares to be bought and sold by these international conspirators in money and finance, then that race,

To Abraham J. Kremer, on his 90th birthday.

*This is a much revised and expanded version of the article “Antisemitismus und Holocaust-Leugnung: Permanente Elemente des globalen Rechts-extremismus,” that originally appeared in *Globalisierter Rechts-extremismus? Die extremistische Rechte in der Ara der Globalisierung*, edited by Thomas Greven and Thomas Grumke (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2006). I am grateful for their permission to use it here and to Robert S. Wistrich for his editorial work on the text.

¹ George L. Mosse, “Community in Nationalism, Fascism and the Radical Right,” in idem, *Confronting the Nation* (Hanover: Brandeis University Press, 1993), 44–45.

² Saul Friedländer, *Reflections of Nazism: An Essay on Kitsch and Death* (New York, Harper and Row, 1984), 131.

Jewry, which is the real criminal of this murderous struggle, will be saddled with the responsibility.³

Antisemitism, always a constant on the radical Right, was thus commanded by one of its iconic figures to avenge itself against the perceived “Jewish victory” at the end of the Second World War. Consequently the far Right continued to embrace the older, traditional forms of antisemitism, while looking for new paths and methods to reach a wider audience and overcome the stigma associated with mass murder. This is a pattern Robert Chazan described a few years ago when he wrote: “every new stage in the evolution of anti-Jewish thinking is marked by a dialectical interplay between a prior legacy of negative stereotypes and the realities of a new social context.”⁴

Right-wing extremism appears in a variety of forms, but invariably relies on antisemitism as both the common thread and underlying explanation of all world problems. These varieties can include traditional neo-Nazi groups, skinheads, Holocaust denial groups, or religious extremists. Neo-Nazism, a term which encompasses a variety of meanings, continues to be an international presence. In the United States, there currently is a period of flux within the movement, as long-time leaders like Dr. William Pierce of the National Alliance and Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations have died, and some of their possible successors like Matt Hale of the World Church of the Creator have been sentenced to long prison terms. This has left a vacuum that figures like David Duke are attempting to fill. Duke, whose group EURO (European-American Unity and Rights Organization) is one of the many that claim an international presence, has devoted much energy to positioning himself to fill the movement’s leadership gap. This included spending time in Russia and the Ukraine, where he established himself sufficiently to be listed as a faculty member at a Ukrainian university.⁵

Duke also managed to bring together a number of prominent U.S. neo-Nazis, who met under his auspices in New Orleans in May 2004. There they signed a document called the *New Orleans Protocol*, promising cooperation amongst the leadership and various factions of the movement. Along with the pledges came an aggressive and extensive assertion of antisemitism, which led one observer to write that:

During the meeting, Duke singled out Jews as the source of the world’s problems... Most of conference participants’ ire was directed at what they consider to be a worldwide Jewish conspiracy to destroy the white race through immigration and miscegenation.⁶

³ <http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/documents/poltest.htm>

⁴ Robert Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, 135.

⁵ <http://www.whitecivilrights.com/flyers/Dr55.pdf>

⁶ <http://www.splcenter.org/center/splcreport/article.jsp?aid=83>

The fear of miscegenation, or “race mixing,” has long been part of European Nazi and American racist groups. However, the *New Orleans Protocol* particularly emphasized the Jewish role in deliberately encouraging miscegenation to weaken the white race. In other words, miscegenation was viewed not only as bad in itself, but as a weapon of the international Jewish conspiracy. According to Duke, this conspiracy is the underlying premise of Judaism, evidenced by the fact that, in Duke’s opinion “organized Jewry has pursued a successful agenda that has amassed incredible power in modern times.”⁷ This explanation serves to explain Duke’s world-view and his motivation. In his own words, he is compelled to “address what Henry Ford called the ‘world’s foremost problem, a problem now critical to our people’s survival and freedom.’”⁸ Duke explains that his “awakening” refers to the discovery he made as a young man, of “the shared roots of both Communism and Zionism.”⁹ Having made this discovery, he went on to investigate Judaism more thoroughly, and came to the conclusion that what he calls “Jewish Supremacism” is at the root of all the major problems that we now face.¹⁰ Thus, for example, 9/11 was caused by Israeli actions (“Israel and its control over American foreign policy was the primary reason for this terrorism against America”).¹¹ Globalization is also a Jewish scheme that needs to be opposed:

For the last few decades of my life I have earnestly tried to inform people that those who are the true forces behind globalism are in actuality, racial supremacists. But, they are not the so-called racial supremacists the media talks about. They are not European, African or Asian supremacists, they are Jewish supremacists.¹²

And, of course, no mention of the Jewish conspiracy to control the world would be complete without a reference to the classic text of antisemitic propaganda, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. While the *Protocols* remain a staple of antisemitic conspiracy theorists, it is certainly no surprise to find that Duke has given them a new, updated look.¹³ His book, *My Awakening*, which alleges a Jewish plot to take over the world, is described by one sympathetic critic as “eclipsing” the *Protocols* themselves.¹⁴

⁷ David Duke, “Preface,” *Jewish Supremacism* at <http://www.davidduke.com/index.php?p=129>

⁸ David Duke, *My Awakening*, Chapter 15, at <http://www.davidduke.com>

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ David Duke, *One Year Later: The Real Causes of the 9/11 Attack*, at <http://www.davidduke.com>

¹² David Duke, *The Lies of Globalism*, at <http://www.davidduke.com>

¹³ On the history and present uses of the *Protocols*, along with a critical analysis and refutation of its text, see Steven L. Jacobs and Mark Weitzman, *Dismantling the Big Lie: The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (New York: Ktav, 2003);

¹⁴ The citation is taken from a review entitled “Jewish Supremacism: A Powerful Expose of International Zionism” attributed to Edgar Johnston, Ph.D., found online at various sites, including <http://www.adelaideinstitute.org/USA/019.htm> This is the website of the Adelaide Institute, Australia’s most notorious Holocaust denial group. Johnston attributed this statement to “prominent Jewish leaders in Russia,” whom he did not identify.

Duke has also embraced other themes that can help him to popularize the movement, and shore up his leadership claims. For example, he has joined those who use ecological concerns to broaden the reach of the movement. For these theorists, there is no contradiction between ecology and neo-Nazism¹⁵. In fact, ecological concerns are a direct outgrowth of their National Socialist philosophies. In Duke's writings we find this spelled out directly:

I do, though, have an abiding love for our White race and the civilization and values that it created. I want my children and all my descendants to live in a free and healthy society, not a Third World hovel. I want to preserve the unique character and beauty of my people the same way that, as an ecology-minded individual, I desire the preservation of the Blue Whale or the great African Elephant.”¹⁶

For Duke, it is the Jews who are the enemies of ecology. Motivated by greed, they will do anything, including exploiting nature, to turn a profit. Duke asks “do we really want the Third world to be made into economic colonies for the New World Order and the new globalism? What will this do to them, to their own cultures, to the well being of the world's ecology?” And all this is to benefit “the true forces behind globalism (who) are in actuality, racial supremacists.”¹⁷

I have used Duke's writings to sketch out some of the newer themes that have become part of the current far-right discourse. These motifs, such as the emergence of anti-globalization or ecology were often seen as part of the left or liberal agenda. They have been reworked to fit into right wing extremist discourse, retooled by giving them an antisemitic cast. But these adaptations are by no means limited to ideologues like David Duke.

The basic idea was already expressed earlier by deeper and more original neo-Nazi thinkers, such as the late William Pierce in the United States, or Horst Mahler in Germany. Pierce had actually articulated such a view as far back as 1976, when he said that

There are, in fact, several issues on which we are closer to what would ordinarily be considered the left-wing or liberal position than we are to the conservative or right-wing position. One of these issues is the ecology issue: the protection of our natural environment, the elimination of pollution, and the protection of wildlife. And there are also other issues in which we are closer to the liberals than to the conservatives, although I doubt that we agree with them completely on any issue; just as we seldom, if ever, agree completely with the right-wing on any issue.¹⁸

¹⁵ David Duke, “America is at the crossroads,” 23 Oct. 2004, <http://www.davidduke.com/index.php?p=22>

¹⁶ David Duke, “The Lies of Globalism,” 23 Oct. 2004, <http://www.davidduke.com/index.php?p=11>

¹⁷ “Syria/Iran: Duke, Other Anti-Semites, Propagandize in Middle East,” *Intelligence Report* (Spring 2006), <http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?aid=620>

¹⁸ William Pierce, “Our Cause,” <http://www.nationalvanguard.org/story.php?id=3482>

Thus, nearly three decades before Duke proposed a similar perspective; we can find a clear statement of this theme, which can be traced back to the beginnings of modern antisemitism. Robert S. Wistrich has pointed out that “Marxism and racial anti-Semitism...had a point of contact which went back to the Young Hegelian philosophy of the 1840s.”¹⁹ Pierce was attempting to find in both right and left the same diabolical causality which invokes “the Jewish assault on all our values and institutions.”²⁰ Later in life Pierce was also using anti-globalization as a theme. In a broadcast of 5 September 1998, Pierce began by saying that “Every few months for the past several years I have used this program to warn against the policy of economic globalization.” Only a few months after that Pierce explicitly charged Jews with being the prime movers of globalization, when he wrote that “the process of globalization (is) being promoted by the Jews and their allies, whether international capitalists or deranged liberals.”²¹ The neo-Nazi extremist, Horst Mahler, also began his career on the far left as a lawyer connected with the Red Army Faction, more popularly known as the Baader-Meinhof Group, in West Germany. Trained as a lawyer, Mahler defended Andreas Baader in the early 1970s, and then was jailed for participating in a violent shootout. While in prison, Mahler had an epiphany and turned to the right, eventually ending up in the 1990s with the neo-Nazi NPD. Mahler left that party to join Deutsches Kolleg, which considers itself as the theoretical arm of those who hope to reconstitute a Fourth Reich. Mahler’s thought contains a typically fascistic mix of left and right. For example, like both Pierce and Duke he is virulently against globalization. Mahler viewed the September 11 attacks as the first shot in a war against globalization.²²

Writing ten days after the events of 9/11, Mahler said that

Globalism, already powerfully damaged by the runaway world economic crisis, will sink down upon itself, like the towers of Manhattan, under a thousand dagger strikes from Islamic fundamentalists. This collapse will finally also be the signal to the [various] peoples in the metropolises to revolt.²³

According to Mahler, 9/11 meant that “Now—for the first time—a military beating has been inflicted on American ground, upon the war of extermination of the Globalists against national cultures.”²⁴ Even before 9/11, Mahler made it clear that he saw Jews as being inextricably linked to globalization. In an article dated from March 2001, he wrote

¹⁹ Robert S. Wistrich, *Socialism and the Jews* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1982), 53.

²⁰ William Pierce, “Our Cause,” <http://www.nationalvanguard.org/story.php?id=3482>

²¹ William Pierce, “Nationalism vs. the New World Order,” in *Free Speech* (May 1998); <http://www.natvan.com/free-speech/fs985c.html>

²² Jessica Stern, “The Protean Enemy,” *Foreign Affairs* (July-Aug. 2003)

²³ <http://www.alphalink.com.au/~radnat/mahler/partfour.html>

²⁴ Mahler, “Independence day—2001,” 12 Sept. 2001, <http://www.alphalink.com.au/~radnat/mahler/partthree.html>

We have to find this prospect unpleasant, especially since this power hides itself behind the smoke-screen of fine-sounding words like “enlightenment,” “tolerance,” “emancipation,” “Modernism,” “human rights,” “free trade,” and “Globalism,” and attacks and destroys nations and peoples from its place of concealment.

Mahler later made it clear that the power referred to was “the Jews” by writing that in “the present World situation, Globalism, [should be linked to] the objective existence of the Jewish Question.”²⁵

In an interview posted on the Internet, Mahler further claimed that “there is no American war against terrorism, (but instead) we are witnessing a worldwide campaign of terror, a proxy war conducted by the USA on behalf of the Jews.” He explained that:

What is generally meant by “Democracy” is actually Jewish rule, which Jewish plutocrats exercise through their control of global finance, the monetary system and the media.... I do know that the nations are going to liberate themselves from the Jewish yoke.”

and even resorted to traditional Christian antisemitism by quoting John 8:44—“For ye have the devil as father, and ye wish to carry out your father’s desire.”²⁶

A recent analysis of Mahler’s ideology concluded:

Mahler condemned the U.S. as being responsible for this world order because of its “limitless craving for enrichment and power,” which showed no consideration for the fundamentals of life of nations and destroyed economies and cultures. His anti-Americanism became intertwined with antisemitism when he targeted the American East Coast as “that web of power, money and the military.” Mahler equated “imperialists” with “globalists,” claiming that they governed the US which then bled other nations dry. The financial power of the American East Coast was connected, Mahler said, to the so-called cult of Jahwe, which he defined as “the cult of world power of the chosen people.” Thus, the linkage was complete: solidarity with the Islamist attacks on the US, the struggle against imperialistic US power, or more precisely against Jewish financial control of the East Coast, and the fight against “globalization” and the Jews.²⁷

The identification of New York (and other major Western metropolises) with Jews was a staple of Nazi propaganda, but it also drew upon earlier socialist thinkers such as Karl Marx and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon.²⁸

²⁵ Mahler, “Final Solution of the Jewish Question: Discovery of God instead of Jewish Hatred,” <http://www.alphalink.com.au/~radnat/mahler/parttwo.html> An excellent summary of antisemitism in the anti-globalization movement is in Mark Strauss, “Antiglobalism’s Jewish Problem,” in *Foreign Policy* (Nov.-Dec. 2003), reprinted in Ron Rosenbaum, *Those Who Forget the Past: The Question of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Random House, 2004), 271–85.

²⁶ <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php?p=1781479#post1781479>

²⁷ <http://www.tau.ac.il/Anti-Semitism/asw2002-3/hentges.htm>

²⁸ Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism* (New York: Penguin, 2004), 28.

In espousing this mixture of themes Mahler was also repeating an earlier pattern in German history and applying it to today's globalized world. Robert S. Wistrich has already described how "In the...1870s this racist (antisemitic) ideology had a certain appeal to those social strata who felt threatened by rapid industrialization, urbanization and the infiltration of modern capitalist values."²⁹

These new forms of antisemitism, particularly as expressed in anti-American feeling, have taken a significant turn in the attempt by right-wing extremists to reach out to the Islamic world. Radical Islam is viewed as the only force capable of challenging the United States and the Western concepts of liberal democracy, racial or religious equality. The principle of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" applies, as does the vicious antisemitism espoused by Horst Mahler:

What is generally meant by "Democracy" is actually Jewish rule, which Jewish plutocrats exercise through their control of global finance, the monetary system and the media.... I do know that the nations are going to liberate themselves from the Jewish yoke.

Indeed this "liberation" has currently taken the shape of the Islamist war on the West. Again, in Mahler's words:

[T]he "September Lie," the gruesome fairy tale about Osama bin Laden's unprovoked attack on the USA, is now being challenged worldwide.... From the unmistakable victory of Washington's opponent has emerged the worldwide realization that the Jewish media monopoly represents a mortal danger for all mankind."³⁰

Mahler makes clear that the common enemy of Islamists and right-wing extremists is Israel and also the United States (along with the West), which is its tool. Yves Patrick Pallade has recently pointed out the practical application of this trend in Germany. He notes that "the Deutsche Academie, a right-wing extremist discussion group with links to the NPD, called on its comrades to participate in the anti-Israel demonstrations of the peace movement left-wing anti-imperialists, Arab associations and Turkish extremist groups...recommended that they put aside their opposition to the 'Antifa' (left and extremist left groups that identify themselves as anti-Fascist) and the 'multi-cult' (multiculturalism rejected by the Nazis and give priority to their common anti-imperialist concern since 'Islamism is not our enemy.'³¹ This new alliance may still be utopian for most right-wing extremists, but nevertheless such attempts have been initiated, based to a large extent on mutually shared antisemitism. For example, David Duke, in a recent commentary posted on his website said that:

²⁹ Wistrich, *Jews and Socialism*, 54.

³⁰ http://www.stormfront.org/archive/t-194896Horst_Mahler_on_the_Jews.html

³¹ Yves Patrick Pallade, "Antisemitism and Right-Wing Extremism in Germany: New Discourses," *Israel Journal for Foreign Affairs*, 2:1 (2008): 66–67.

the Jewish supremacist globalists seek to destroy the identity and heritage of all peoples while erecting a supra-national state of Jewish supremacy not only over the people of Palestine but over the entire planet.³²

Duke has in recent years carried his message to places like Iran and Bahrain, where in 2002 he delivered lectures claiming that Israel was behind the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York, and that the attacks were planned as a pretext to push the U.S. government into war with the Arab world. Duke's message was picked up by various Arab media sources, which helped it reach a wider audience including the Saudi Arabian *Arab News*, which featured a report about Duke's talks in May 2002. The website Tanzeem e-islami eagerly reproduced Duke's analysis of 9/11, entitled "The Real Evil Spirit," which blamed "the Jewish Lobby and media power...for alienat[ing] the entire Arab world" and provoking the 9/11 attacks.³³

Another right-wing extremist who developed similar links is the Swiss-born financier Achmed Huber (originally Albert Friedrich Armand Huber). Huber differs from Duke in that he formally converted to Islam in 1962 in Egypt, after studying Islam in Europe with the extremist Muslim Brotherhood. Huber's neo-Nazi links began very early. In a 1965 interview he spoke of the influence of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini, on his outlook. Husseini collaborated with the Nazis, met with Hitler, recruited and even organized an SS division of Bosnian Muslim volunteers. Huber at this time also spoke positively of another Nazi, Johann von Leers, who had converted to Islam, taking the name of Omar Amin. Von Leers was a fanatical antisemite in the Third Reich who became a leading figure in Gamel Abdel Nasser's propaganda machine.³⁴ Huber was also associated with another shadowy figure, the Swiss lawyer François Genoud who consistently tried to bridge the Nazi-Islamist spectrum. Before his suicide in 1996, Genoud worked with the terrorist Palestinian Radical Front for the Liberation of Palestine. At the same time, he held the legal rights to the writings of Hitler, Martin Bormann, and Goebbels. He was also behind the legal defense of the notorious Nazi war criminal, Klaus Barbie.³⁵ Huber also had connections to Horst Mahler and spoke at NPD conventions in 2000 and 2001. At the same time, his active participation in Islamist activity included being one of the five members of the managing committee of Al Taqwa (Fear of God) Management, a Swiss-based financial institution believed by the United States and European governments to be supporting bin Laden by laundering money and providing other forms of assistance. In November 2001, Huber was listed by the

³² David Duke, "Syria's Assad speaks of Jewish media attack on identity of people," 8 June 2005 at <http://www.davidduke.com/index.php?p=302>

³³ [http://www.tanzeem.org/resources/articles/articles/david duke-the real evil spirit.htm](http://www.tanzeem.org/resources/articles/articles/david%20duke-the%20real%20evil%20spirit.htm)

³⁴ On von Leers see Robert Wistrich, *Who's Who in Nazi Germany* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982); Gregory Paul Wegner, *Anti-Semitism and Schooling under the Third Reich* (New York: Routledge Falmer Press, 2002) examines the impact of von Leers' propaganda on the German educational system during the Nazi era.

³⁵ On Genoud, see David Lee Preston, "Hitler's Swiss Connection," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 Jan. 1997.

U.S. government as number 56 among 62 organizations and individuals suspected of involvement in terrorist activities, and thus was barred from entering the United States.³⁶ These tendencies have begun to filter down to the street level. In its May 2006 edition, the NPD journal *Deutsche Stimme* which is generally opposed to foreigners published an interview with the head of the local Muslim community. The interview presented an explanation of Islam, rather than an inflammatory attack on Jews or the United States, but it showed that the German extreme Right was ready to give a sympathetic hearing to Islam.³⁷

The career of David Myatt represents yet another version of this extreme right-wing and Islamist axis. Myatt was a longtime member of notorious British neo-Nazi groups. Indeed he was even described by an English newspaper as the “ideological heavyweight” of Combat 18, closely identified with National Socialism.³⁸ His 1997 pamphlet, *A Practical Guide to Aryan Revolution* was said to have inspired David Copeland, convicted for a series of bombings in London in 1999. A year earlier, Myatt had converted to Islam, but still continued to write neo-Nazi material that can be found on websites such as the Aryan Nations and White Revolution. Myatt, who took the Moslem name of Abdul-Aziz Ibn Myatt, continued to be a prolific writer after his conversion. As one website devoted to his work puts it “Many of these articles praise and defend Osama bin Laden, and praise and justify suicide attacks (or “martyrdom operations” as he and others call them) in Palestine, Afghanistan, and elsewhere. Myatt—using his Muslim persona—also defended the September 11 attacks and the bombings in Bali. Indeed, “Abdul Aziz” Myatt wrote one of the most detailed defenses in the English language of martyrdom operations, entitled *Are Martyrdom Operations Lawful According to Quran and Sunnah?*³⁹ Myatt has also made a point of trying to amplify the connection between Islam and National Socialism. For example, a posting in his name to the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations website contains “The National-Socialist Guide to Understanding Islam” which is introduced as an attempt to find a “genuine and worthwhile co-operation between Muslims and peoples, such as National-Socialists, who accept a non-Muslim way of life and who are also fighting the dishonor which is Zionism.”⁴⁰ Elsewhere, Myatt speaks openly of the proposed alliance between radical Islamists and neo-Nazis. His article “Why Islam is our Ally” ends with the following conclusion:

But many, many Muslims, and some National-Socialists, have seen through the lies, the propaganda of the Zionists—for we know what is going on, in this world, and

³⁶ http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/november01/moneylist_11-7.html

³⁷ <http://www.deutsche-stimme.de/Ausgaben2006/Sites/05-06-Gespraech.html>

My thanks to Thomas Grumke for this reference.

³⁸ *The Observer*, 9 Feb. 2003, <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/review/story/0,6903,891761,00.html>

³⁹ J. R. Wright, “David Myatt Biographical Information: The Life and Times of David Myatt,” <http://www.geocities.com/davidmyatt/biog.html> According to Wright, this article was even used by Hamas as a justification of some of its own terrorist activities.

⁴⁰ <http://www.agentofchaos.invisionzone.com/lofiversion/index.php/t696.html>

why. Muslims have and are gathering together to try and do something practical about it by taking up arms. Surely, now it is the turn of National-Socialists, who can and who should join with or aid those warriors of Islam who are fighting, in a practical way, the Zionists, who are fighting the lackeys of the Zionists, and who are fighting those governments who are doing the dirty work for their Zionist masters.⁴¹

While questions have been raised about the sincerity of Myatt's conversion, or whether he still is a Muslim, there can be no question that the underlying link for Myatt, as for others, was the *hatred of Jews* shared by both the extreme right wing/neo-Nazi movement and radical Islam. Myatt is also another extremist who uses "Nature" to justify Nazi ideology in Darwinian terms, writing that "In essence, Aryan National-Socialism is working in harmony with Nature to produce further evolutionary change."⁴²

While it is difficult to measure Myatt's influence in the movement, his exposure has steadily grown. Originally limited essentially to a British audience, he has received wider exposure in recent times through his conversion, after which he traveled and spoke in some Arab countries. In the West, his writings, once considered too esoteric and intellectual, can be found on popular neo-Nazi websites such as Stormfront, Aryan Nations, White Revolution, and others. His views also reflect the movement's growing interest in creating a link with radical Islam, based on the common ideology of antisemitism. One example is the Aryan Nations, a group that achieved a certain echo in the United States in the 1980s and has since fallen on hard times—having lost their compound and suffered the death of their leader, Richard Butler. The front page of their website used to feature greetings in Arabic, along with quotes—among others—from Obergruppenführer Gottlob Berger in 1942: "...a link is created between Islam and National-Socialism on an open, honest basis. It will be directed in terms of blood and race from the North, and in the ideological-spiritual sphere from the East." Another quote comes from Palestinian Arab leader Haj Amin al-Husseini, speaking on Berlin radio in 1944: "Arabs! Rise as one and fight for your sacred rights. Kill the Jews wherever you find them. This pleases God, history, and religion. This saves your honor." Currently their "About Us" page states "We admire the Islamic Jihad with a jealousy...they enforce the rules of Islam without question and without hesitation, they have become examples of righteousness... our intention is to show the Islamic world exactly how acts of Righteous Indignation should be done..."⁴³

This recent emphasis on rebuilding a Nazi-Islamic alliance is still perceived as new and questionable by some of the more traditional members of the Aryan Nations.⁴⁴

⁴¹ David Myatt, "Why Islam is our Ally," http://nexion3.tripod.com/islam_ally.html

⁴² David Myatt, "The Philosophical Foundations of Aryan Religion," http://www.stormfront.org/archive/t-98628The_Philosophical_Foundations_of_Aryan_Religion.html

⁴³ <http://www.aryannationsrevival.org/OurPurpose.htm>

⁴⁴ <http://www.aryan-nations.org/> Another dissenting voice is that of veteran Alaskan neo-Nazi David Pringle, who has spoken out against David Duke's Middle Eastern outreach. Pringle was

On the other hand, those in favor of this link can invoke the respect and cooperation that Adolf Hitler and others in the Third Reich had for Islam. Clearly, in a fractured movement, some Aryan Nations leaders see potential benefits in being identified with Islamist extremists. This contrasts vividly with William Pierce's insistence after 9/11 on dissociating himself from those white supremacists (including his own followers) who admired the "testicular fortitude" of the Muslim hijackers.⁴⁵

However, there is one area where Arabs and the neo-Nazis have met on common ground, namely in Holocaust denial, which has encouraged the integration of Arab antisemitism and anti-Zionism into the antisemitic and right wing extremist program. The annual conferences of the Institute for Historical Review—the center of the Holocaust Denial movement in the United States—have begun to include speakers and topics that reflect an Arab perspective. The 2002 conference program included "Arab scholar Said Arikat (who) will shed new light on the background to the dramatically unfolding events in the Middle East."⁴⁶ David Irving's conferences have also featured speakers on current Middle Eastern topics from the "Arab" standpoint.⁴⁷ The website of Ahmed Rami, Radio Islam, is also notorious for the intermixing of classical antisemitism, Holocaust denial, and strident anti-Zionism in a Muslim perspective. Rami, a veteran agitator who fled Morocco and who served a prison sentence for hate speech in Sweden, has an Arabic section on his website and has been featured on Al-Jazeera, the Arab news network.⁴⁸

The first real attempt to bring together prominent leaders of Holocaust denial, neo-Nazism, and Arab anti-Zionism was a non-event, although one whose proposed agenda was noteworthy. A conference scheduled for the spring of 2001 was organized by Jürgen Graf who fled Switzerland to avoid a prison sentence for hate speech and had ended up in Iran. There he found a welcoming atmosphere and support, as the Iranians officially embraced Holocaust denial.⁴⁹ The proposed

quoted as claiming that Duke ran the risk of becoming known as another "Hanoi Jane," referring to the controversial visit of Jane Fonda to Hanoi during the Vietnam War; <http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?aid=620>

⁴⁵ See the report from the Southern Poverty Law Center, where it is reported that "leader William Pierce recently upbraided Roper for a private comment he made—wishing that his members had 'half as much testicular fortitude' as the Sept. 11 hijackers.... Pierce called Roper's praise for the mass murderers 'ill-advised private comments.'" <http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?aid=125>

⁴⁶ <http://www.ihr.org/conference/14thconf/speakers.html>

⁴⁷ <http://www.fpp.co.uk/cinc/2004/program.html>

⁴⁸ <http://rami.tv/>

⁴⁹ According to the Institute of Historical Review's own website "Iran's official radio voice to the world, IRIB, has in recent years expressed support for Holocaust revisionism by broadcasting sympathetic interviews with leading revisionist scholars and activists. Several interviews with IHR Director Mark Weber have been aired on the English-language service, and similar interviews have been broadcast with Ernst Zündel in German and with Ahmed Rami in Arabic. IRIB short-wave radio reaches millions in the Middle East, Europe and Asia." <http://www.ihr.org/conference/beirutconf/background.html>

conference (originally planned to be held in Beirut) featured a roster of international neo-Nazis and Holocaust deniers including William Pierce, Horst Mahler, Roger Garaudy, and Robert Faurisson along with Arab Holocaust deniers and “representatives of Hezbollah and other radical Muslim groups.”⁵⁰ After a great deal of international condemnation, the conference was finally cancelled by the Lebanese government, although a watered down version was held later in Jordan without most of the major figures who had been scheduled to appear in Beirut.⁵¹ However, Iran has persisted in strenuous efforts to become an international center for Holocaust denial. In December 2005, Iran’s president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad touched off an international outcry when he labeled the Holocaust “a myth.”⁵² Ahmadinejad was not finished, however, and called for an international conference on the topic to be held in January 2006. He even sent an individual invitation to British Prime Minister Tony Blair who had severely criticized Ahmedinejad’s earlier statement.⁵³ The conference did eventually take place, but on a much lower level, involving the roster of familiar names from Western Holocaust denial circles along with the Iranian participants.⁵⁴ Other speakers were there from a range of Western countries that included Canada, Portugal, France, Russia, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Sweden, Belgium, Denmark, Greece and Mexico, as well as Japan and India. Arab and Moslem representatives who spoke, excluding the large Iranian contingent, came from Syria, Jordan, Morocco, Indonesia, Bahrain and Malaysia.⁵⁵

Along with those speakers, who might have been expected, was the unexpected and shocking presence of a group of highly visible ultra-Orthodox Jews from the anti-Zionist Neturei Karta (Guardians of the Wall) sect. With roots deep in European Jewish history, it was hard to imagine them denying the Holocaust that had decimated their ancestors. Indeed, they did not. In his opening remarks, Rabbi Yisroel D. Weiss stated explicitly that “it is clear that just as my grandparents were killed in Auschwitz, they were from Hungary, there were millions of Jews from Poland, from all over Europe who were killed. That they were killed and nobody is absolving the Nazis for what they did to the Jews in no way whatsoever,” and in his speech on day two he was equally explicit, saying that “I mean somebody has to be, I

⁵⁰ Peter Finn, “Unlikely Allies Bound by a Common Hatred: Neo-Nazis Find They Share Views of Militant Muslim Groups on U.S., Israel,” *Washington Post Foreign Service*, 29 Apr. 2002.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4529198.stm

⁵³ www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,2144,1876164,00.html

⁵⁴ While veteran Holocaust deniers like Robert Faurisson and Horst Mahler were in touch with the Iranians before the conference (see “European Holocaust Deniers Involved in Iranian Holocaust Conference Plans,” 27 Feb. 2006, at <http://www.tau.ac.il/Anti-Semitism/updates.htm>), Australians Frederick Toben and Richard Krege, both of the Adelaide Institute, were perhaps the most vociferous Western publicists of the conference. Their report can be found at the Adelaide Institute’s website <http://www.adelaideinstitute.org/Iran/conference1.htm>

⁵⁵ The complete program, including some of the talks, can be found at Frederick Toben’s Adelaide Institute website: http://www.adelaideinstitute.org/2006December/contents_program.htm

think, either very very embittered or a person who doesn't want to open his mind to study, to say that the Jewish people weren't exterminated." However, for Weiss and the Neturei Karta it was clear who was ultimately responsible for this crime. According to them it was the Zionists who "were involved in inciting" the Holocaust.⁵⁶ Neturei Karta are not newcomers in their friendship with the current rulers of Iran. In June of 2000, in the wake of the arrest and incarceration of 13 Iranian Jews on charges of espionage for Israel, they sent a delegation of 4 members to visit the Iranian Jewish community. This delegation traveled with the permission of the Iranian authorities and met with Iran government officials and media during their visit. The trip did not meet with universal approval. Upon their return, *Yated Ne'eman*, the most important non- (even anti-) Zionist ultra-Orthodox newspaper, published a stinging rebuke of the trip.⁵⁷ Neturei Karta were forced to respond, and in their response made their agenda clear: "There is no room in this the true agenda of the Jew, for endless violent struggles with Palestinians, for shrill demands for reparations from all European lands...the Iranian trip was something better than Torah Jews hitching their wagons to the failed Zionist enterprise."⁵⁸ Everything, from the Holocaust to the current Mid-East crisis, was the fault of the Zionists. In his study *Messianism, Zionism and Jewish Religious Radicalism*, Aviezer Ravitzky points out that this claim is not new. He notes that "As early as 1940, the Neturei Karta published a proclamation putting responsibility for the Nazi persecution of Jews on Zionism."⁵⁹ This radical rejection of Zionism, not just politically but even metaphysically, provides the glue that binds the radical Islamist and the radical Jew together. Both see Zionism as not only responsible for current political crises, but also as the underlying evil that has caused the corruption of the world; in other words it is almost as if Zionism has replaced Adam's sin as being responsible for all the worlds evil. Neturei Karta, although small in number (estimated at about 5,000 members worldwide), are highly visible. Dressed in the stereotypical garb of ultra-Orthodox Jews, they offer a walking photo opportunity and are media savvy. They have essentially read out of Judaism those who differ, but this exclusionary discourse also limits the group's internal Jewish impact. Israeli scholar Menachem Friedman, who has written extensively on haredi (ultra-Orthodox) Judaism, describes their religiosity "as the religiosity of an elite," one which defines itself in contrast to the

⁵⁶ <http://www.nkusa.org/activities/Speeches/2006Iran-WeissOpen.cfm> The second day's speech can be found at <http://www.nkusa.org/activities/Speeches/2006Iran-WeissSpeech.cfm>

⁵⁷ *Yated Ne'eman*, Sivan 20 5760 (corresponding to June 23, 2000)

⁵⁸ The response was published as *Ingrained Prejudice: A response to the Yated Ne'eman Attack on the Mission to Iran* (Monsey, N.Y.: Otzar Hu'Emunah Publishing (A Division of Neturei Karta), Aug. 2000).

⁵⁹ Aviezer Ravitzky, *Messianism, Zionism and Jewish Religious Radicalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 251 n. 98. Ravitzky in his appendix, "Impact of the Three Oaths on Jewish History," pp. 211–34, gives an excellent summation of the basis of this radical anti-Zionism. The three oaths, based on a Talmudic passage (*BT Ketubot* 111a) are that Jews swear not to go up in multitudes (understood as referring to the land of Israel), not to rebel against gentile authority and that the gentiles not be overly oppressive of the Jews.

established religious (and even more so from the non-religious) elements of the Jewish community.⁶⁰ In the words of Yerachmiel Domb, one of the major leaders of Neturei Karta after the founding of Israel,

The heresy of Zionism is greater than any that preceded it...Zionism denies everything...the entire idea of election...of exile...and of redemption...the Zionist heresy...consists in a basic opposition to the entire system of faith, to all principles of our holy Torah on the theoretical [level], leading to desecration of the Torah as well.”⁶¹

Thus the Neturei Karta did not see their journey to Teheran as an act that endangered Jews or Judaism (at least their conception of it); rather, it was a holy act, a religiously inspired act, that was aimed at saving and preserving Judaism. Of course for the Iranians and the Western Holocaust deniers, none of that was important, any more than the Neturei Karta affirmation of the Nazi murders of millions of Jews during World War II. What was important was the highly visual, impression made by having these caricatures of religious Jews participating in, and even blessing the conference and its convener, President Ahmadinejad as did Rabbi Yisroel Weiss.⁶²

A few years ago, Meir Litwak analyzed the Iranian case and its special attitudes toward the Holocaust, and drew some valuable conclusions.⁶³ He points out that Iranian Holocaust denial “adopts the discourse and arguments of Western neo-Nazis and anti-Semites in order to grant it pseudo-scientific value.”⁶⁴ He goes on to add that the validity of using Western sources, despite Iran’s general estrangement from Western intellectual discourse, is justified by the “objectivity” of these sources on Israel and the Middle East. In other words, the fact that these Western sources are “anti-Zionist” or antisemitic is all that is needed to *justify* their use in Iranian Holocaust denial discourse, while dismissing all other evidence as merely propaganda. Western negationist sources are exploited and wrapped in a pseudo-scholarly veneer, in order to give denial greater reach and authority. This also demonstrates the intensive effort made to appeal to an international audience. Iran’s goal of exporting Holocaust denial can be seen not only from the conferences that it has supported, but is also evident from the fact that a great deal of its Holocaust

⁶⁰ Menachem Friedman, “Haredim Confront the Modern City,” in *Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, vol. 2, ed. by Peter Y. Medding (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1986), 75.

⁶¹ Yerachmiel Domb, *Judaism and Zionism, El Nisayon* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem 1972), 4–5, 10–11; in translation in *The Jewish Political Tradition*, vol. 1, ed. by Michael Walzer, Menachem Lorberbaum, Noam J. Zohar, and Yair Lorberbaum (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 481–83.

⁶² “I should start of course, by thanking the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Honourable President Achmadinejad, and all the people involved here; the Foreign Ministry and others who have put together this conference, allowing the talks of the Holocaust to come about. So I really thank them and God should give them all, strength and courage that they should be able to do God’s will” at <http://www.nkusa.org/activities/Speeches/2006Iran-WeissSpeech.cfm>

⁶³ Meir Litwak, “The Islamic Republic of Iran and the Holocaust: Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism,” *Journal of Israeli History* 25, no. 1 (Mar. 2006): 267–84.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 280.

denial propaganda has been found in the state-owned Iranian English-language media. But Iran has even gone further in becoming a center of Holocaust denial. As witnessed by the words of President Ahmadinejad, the campaign moved Holocaust denial from the murky fringes of extremism where it generally exists in the West to the very center of state policy.

Over the last decade and a half, through various state political and media venues, the regime in Tehran has hosted or encouraged a whole roster of Western Holocaust deniers, including some who have found refuge in Iran after being convicted of hate speech violations in the West.⁶⁵ Moreover, not only is Holocaust denial at the heart of Iranian power, it is unchallenged—even if on one occasion a leader of Iran’s tiny Jewish community did react to President Ahmadinejad’s notorious statements.⁶⁶ Where Holocaust denial in the West can be met with every form of opposition, from academic to political and legal, in Iran it is the only perspective offered by the State and its subservient media. The Iranian deniers seek to demolish the Holocaust as a means of undermining Western support for Israel—claiming that both the West and the Islamic world are victims of a massive Jewish plot reminiscent of the infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.⁶⁷ Litwak wonders whether as younger Iranians grow restless about the government’s official message, they might not grow out of Holocaust denial as one of the themes discredited by bankrupt conspiracy theories.⁶⁸ The radicalization evident in ascendant Islamism and in the growing influence of Iran serves to create the context for the Iranian emphasis on Holocaust denial. Thus, even as the Western world, especially through the United Nations, institutionalizes Holocaust education and commemoration (establishing January 27 as an annual day of commemoration of Holocaust victims and creating within the UN itself an office of Holocaust education, as well as condemning Holocaust denial), Iran and the Arab world, especially its most radical elements, have felt compelled to respond by diminishing the Holocaust or by outright denial.

A recent representative article on an Arabic language website while accepting the reality of the Holocaust, insisted that it was used to justify racist Zionist concepts and to generate a Zionist point of view throughout the world. And, it continued “This dangerous development has peaked with the UN resolution (against Holocaust

⁶⁵ The list of visitors, according to Litwak, “Islamic Republic,” 277–80, includes Roger Garaudy who, after his 1998 conviction in France met with President Khatami, Supreme Leader Khamene’i, and Ahmed Rami, who had a special session of the Parliament held in his honor in 1990; Jürgen Graf and Wolfgang Frohlich were two European deniers who found asylum in Iran; and, as noted above, Iranian state radio interviewed Mark Weber (in English), Ernst Zündel (in German), and Ahmed Rami (in Arabic).

⁶⁶ See, for example, “Iran: Jewish Leader Criticizes President For Holocaust Denial,” Radio Free Europe, <http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2006/02/fb25e81f-bce9-4291-acdb-cf2c5c69fe92.html>

⁶⁷ For recent Iranian use of the *Protocols*, see Litwak, “Islamic Republic,” 272..

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 280–81.

denial)... In this the world has raised the Holocaust to the stature of sanctity”⁶⁹ In Iran, however as we have already identified above, denial is a major aspect of policy for Ahmadinejad and his followers. They see the Holocaust as becoming institutionalized in the international community, through the United Nations, the Stockholm Forum of 2000 that led to the International Task Force on Holocaust Education, Research and Remembrance, and the OSCE, and they feel compelled to respond.⁷⁰

It is also possible that Ahmadinejad is motivated by realpolitik in embracing Holocaust denial as a matter of policy. We can speculate that he might consider that some of the leading international institutions that he could perceive as possible threats, such as the United Nations or even the International War Crimes Tribunals, are institutions that originated in reaction to the horrors of the Holocaust. In this perspective, destroying the “founding myth” of these institutions might in essence delegitimize them, or at least weaken them so fundamentally that their threat might be lessened. Thus, the advocacy of Holocaust denial becomes for Ahmadinejad not just a matter of ideological purity, but also one of political strategy.

The Holocaust Denial movement is a good example of how globalization has affected extremism. While the movement has always attempted to see itself as *international* in scope, both technology and politics have recently taken it further in that direction. In the U.S. Holocaust denial has been centered in California for almost three decades, in particular at the Institute for Historical Review, currently located in Newport Beach, California.⁷¹ The Institute, originally founded under the influence of Willis Carto, a major force in American far Right extremism for decades, has in recent years been operating on its own, after Carto was ousted in a

⁶⁹ Zein Alabdin Alarakabi, *The Holocaust—Between Ahmadinejad and the Turkish Judge—Where is the Truth?* <http://www.al-vegagh.com/1384/841006/html/arabi.htm> (English translation by Simon Wiesenthal Center.)

⁷⁰ The Palestinian Hamas, too responded to the Stockholm Forum, which urged the international community to reject any “sympathetic understanding of Zionist arrogance and continuing blackmail...” See Meir Litvak and Esther Webman, “Perceptions of the Holocaust in Palestinian Public Discourse,” *Israel Studies* 8, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 135–36.

⁷¹ See Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust* (New York: Free Press, 1993), 50–51; also Pierre Vidal-Naquet’s *Assassins of Memory* (New York 1993), is an intriguing look at some of the discourse and cultural assertions, along with the implications of Holocaust denial, particularly in France. More recently, see Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman, *Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000). There is also a substantial literature that has grown out of the David Irving trial, such as D. D. Guttenplan, *The Holocaust on Trial* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001). Expert witnesses have published works reflecting their testimony, including Richard Evans, *Lying about Hitler* (New York: Basic Books, 2001) and Robert Jan van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the Irving Trial* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2002). Deborah Lipstadt’s account is found in *History on Trial* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), while David Irving’s version is found at his website, <http://www.fpp.co.uk/>

power struggle in 1994.⁷² The struggle for control of the IHR centered on a number of issues, but prominent amongst them was that Carto wanted to take the Institute's agenda into a more "racialist" direction, in other words, to expand into a wider range of extremist topics. On the other hand, the IHR's staff, including Director Mark Weber, wanted to keep the focus on Holocaust denial.⁷³ Without Carto's financial support, the IHR was dependent on direct mail approaches for sales and fundraising.⁷⁴ Therefore, they had to tailor their approach to a perspective that would attract the support needed for survival; and according to the IHR leadership, that theme was Holocaust denial, rather than race or politics.

Despite their insistence on the "purity" of their mission it appears that in order to widen their appeal the IHR itself has now shifted to a broader perspective. The IHR website claimed 2½ million hits in September 2005 alone, which clearly established the site as their primary form of communication.⁷⁵ In 2004, there were 18 stories featured, of which 16 dealt with the Holocaust, Jews, Nazis, or Israel. This was thoroughly consistent with their mission statement at the time, which was described as being centered on "the Holocaust issue." They also asserted that "their work calls into question aspects of the orthodox Holocaust extermination story, and highlights specific Holocaust exaggerations and falsehoods."⁷⁶

However, by November 2005 the picture was different. Of the 23 stories then posted, only 14 focused on the Holocaust and Jews. A look in August 2006 at the IHR website confirms this shift. Of the stories featured, none referred to the Holocaust. Almost all were concerned with current events, including the confrontation with Hezbollah and the war in Iraq.⁷⁷

The current negationist strategy is clearly an attempt to build on anti-war feeling, both in the United States and abroad, and to use it to attract and convince users of the site. For, if we look closely, what exactly is the message? As stated above, Jews distort reality and manipulate history for their own purposes. Thus, the distortions growing out of the way the conflicts in the Middle East are presented turn out to be just another example of Jewish conspiracy and manipulation. The title of one of the IHR articles, "The White House Cabal," confirms this—with its echoes of secret plot to seize control of the world. In a talk in New York on 16 July 2005, entitled "The

⁷² Carto has been the subject of a recent biography by George Michael, *Willis Carto and the American Far Right* (Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2008). On the split between Carto and the IHR see pp. 195–208

⁷³ See, for example, the statement by Arthur Butz, a longtime Holocaust denier "During 1992–1993 Willis Carto sought to transform the *Journal of Historical Review* into a journal with a racist political mission and editorial content." <http://www.ihr.org/other/endorsements.html> The page is a list of Holocaust denial luminaries who supported the ousting of Carto.

⁷⁴ See Ted O'Keefe, "Exit the Whistleblower: My Fall from Grace from IHR," <http://www.vho.org/GB/c/TOK/Whistleblower.html>

⁷⁵ <http://www.ihr.org/news/110305ReachingNewPeople.html>

⁷⁶ <http://www.ihr.org/main/about.shtml>

⁷⁷ <http://www.ihr.org/> visited on 3 Aug. 2006.

Challenge of Jewish-Zionist Power in an Era of Global Struggle,” IHR director Mark Weber spelled out the new focus: “no task is more urgent than breaking the stranglehold of the Jewish-Zionist grip on American political, social and cultural life.”⁷⁸ The Holocaust was mentioned several times, but was far less central than the propaganda concerning Israel and the United States. By August 2008, the IHR site showed 31 featured stories, of which only 3 were related to events connected to World War II, and one of those only tangentially. One was a video link to a YouTube video clip of the 1936 Olympics, and the other was about a current Italian politician defending part of the Fascist legacy, while the third was an article by Mark Weber entitled “*The ‘Good War’ Myth of World War II*” whose conclusion reverted back to criticism of current U.S. policy. Weber wrote “This is perhaps the most harmful legacy of America’s national mythology about World War II—the notion that worthwhile or justifiable wars are fought against countries headed by supposedly “evil” regimes. And it is this very outlook that moved President George W. Bush to refer to his “war on terrorism” as a “crusade,” and, in a major speech, to proclaim a U.S. foreign policy dedicated to “ending tyranny in the world”⁷⁹.

Also in August 2008, Weber addressed a gathering in Baltimore that was billed as a “peace conference” organized by a group calling itself *Jamaat Al-Muslimeen* (the Islamic Peoples Movement). The group’s website features pictures of Weber and former U.S Attorney General Ramsey Clark, a prominent left-wing activist and harsh critic of U.S. policy, particularly in the Middle East. *Jamaat Al-Muslimeen* describes itself as standing “for the oppressed and...against the oppressors. We believe in freeing the slaves and helping the political [*sic*] cause. Our goal is to make peace and show awareness to all. We believe occupation is a crime and occupying forces should not occupy foreign land where they have no business being in the first place. Islam is the religion of the past, present and the future.”⁸⁰ This event was noteworthy in that it succeeded in bringing together major neo-Nazis and radical left-wingers under an Islamist umbrella in the United States. Another speaker at the conference, Louisiana-based Hesham Tillawi, is a Palestinian-American who hosts a weekly cable television show called *Current Issues*. The show has featured such prominent antisemites as David Duke, Ted Pike, and Texe Marrs; Mark Weber and fellow Holocaust deniers Bradley Smith, Frederick Toben, and Willis Carto, along with figures from the left such as Noam Chomsky and anti-war activist Alison Weir, and is another example of the bridging going on between extremes.⁸¹

⁷⁸ <http://www.ihr.org/other/thechallenge.html>

⁷⁹ http://www.ihr.org/news/weber_ww2_may08.html

⁸⁰ <http://jam4peace.org/aboutus.aspx>. For more on this group and its leader, especially in relation to antisemitism, see

http://www.adl.org/main_Anti_Israel/jamaat_baltimore_conference.htm?Multi_page_sections=sHeading_2

⁸¹ <http://currentissues.tv/guests.html>

This tactical shift underlined the need to acquire more support (especially financial), as well as to widen the base and eventually penetrate as far as possible into mainstream society. To do that it appears that significant elements of the movement have decided to embrace currently popular “hot-button” themes, such as anti-globalization or anger over the war in Iraq, and to use them as their points of entry, in the hope that they will help move them away from the margins of Western society. However, in adopting these themes, the Holocaust deniers have not surrendered their beliefs. Instead, they have taken these topical issues and undergirded them with the tropes of antisemitism that have always been at the core of their belief structure. Thus, every issue eventually comes back to the Jews, their manipulations of history and society, and their malignant influence on the world. In essence, the theme of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* remains active, only the methodology has been upgraded to reflect the new age.⁸² Along with controlling stock markets, Jews supposedly control multinational corporations and the banks that service them; instead of war aimed at controlling European powers, they now are behind Western (U.S.) invasions of the Middle East.

This type of material has been made much more accessible by the increased use of the Internet. Reaching about one and a half billion people, the Internet has become the greatest propaganda tool in history, and extremists of all varieties have been quick to adapt to its use. There are currently about 8,500 extremist websites online, a jump from merely 1 in 1995.⁸³ This has led David Duke, for one, to write about “White Revolution and the Internet.”⁸⁴ Online one can find Holocaust denial, Nazi, neo-Nazi, Ku Klux Klan, skinhead, Christian Identity, Islamist and any other type of antisemitism (and any other form of bigotry as well).⁸⁵ The effect of the Internet cannot therefore be underestimated. By keeping these ideas current, by preserving every piece of antisemitism that has ever been posted, including for example articles that were long forgotten, by breaking down personal inhibitions and national boundaries; by creating the opportunity to target specific groups (i.e., women or youth), by providing a source for revenue and communications, and by increasing the technological sophistication of their approach, antisemitism and other forms of extremism have now moved into the communications mainstream.⁸⁶ This

⁸² For a more detailed look at the *Protocols* and its themes, see Jacobs and Weitzman, *Dismantling the Big Lie*.

⁸³ *Digital Terrorism and Hate* (Los Angeles: Simon Wiesenthal Center, 2006).

⁸⁴ For a more extensive look at antisemitism on the Internet, see Mark Weitzman, “The Internet is Our Sword: Aspects of Online Antisemitism,” in *Remembering for the Future: The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide* (London: Palgrave, 2001), 1; 911–25.

⁸⁵ For a short overview of many of these different groups and ideologies, see Rick Eaton and Mark Weitzman, *The New Lexicon of Hate: The Changing Tactics, Language and Symbols of America’s Extremists* (Los Angeles: Simon Wiesenthal Center, 2004).

⁸⁶ See for example Arnold Leese’s “*Jewish Ritual Murder*,” originally published in 1938, and which can now be found online on many sites, including <http://www.ety.com/HRP/booksonline/jrm/>

mainstreaming, along with the other trends outlined above, shows how, just sixty years after the Holocaust, antisemitism in its most radical form has come out of the closet and become an international reality that challenges us every day. Whether it be linked to globalization, or other current themes like ecology or the war in Iraq, the use of the latest technology (including increasingly sophisticated games and the social networking, content sharing, interconnectivity and interactivity that make up the Internet 2.0 world) increases the viral spread of antisemitism online and has contributed to increasing social acceptability of antisemitism in mainstream discourse. The spread of electronic antisemitism demonstrates once more Robert Chazan's observation mentioned earlier, that within "every new stage in the evolution of anti-Jewish thinking there is interplay between the legacy of negative stereotypes and the realities of a new social context."⁸⁷ Any response to the new manifestations of antisemitism must take into account both traditional forms of Judeophobia as well as the contemporary realities of globalization which have created a new platform for antisemitism. While antisemitism still exists in localized versions, its global impact is spread dramatically quicker and more intensively than ever before. Thus responses have to be geared toward having the same impact. Otherwise, we will be left with the sad reality that we are fighting a twenty-first century battle with twentieth century weapons, a conclusion which does not bode well for the future.

jrm_intro.htm, This tract is an example of an antisemitic publication that had essentially been forgotten (except as a historical footnote) but has found new life online.

⁸⁷ Note 4, above.