



## The significance of anti-semitism in current German right-wing extremism

Antisemitismus  
Rechtsextremismus.

Rechtsextremisten argumentieren verschwör  
haupten, ein "Weltjudentum" mit den Mach  
nach der Weltherrschaft: M  
alisierung seien Mittel zur  
Deutschland werde durch die Erinner  
stand dauerhafter Schuld und Süf  
er eigenständigen Politik gehindert.

Anteil der Menschen mit antisemit  
Deutschland seit den 50er Jahren rück  
nicht zu unterschätzen. Re  
sbesondere die Auseinandersetzungen  
Problematik der adäquaten En

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offen, sondern insinuiere  
Jahren aber haben die  
khaltung aufgegeben und  
er und aggressiv

**"What the anti-Semite desires and  
prepares is the death of the Jews"  
(Jean-Paul Sartre)**

**"Anti-Semitism cannot be justified,  
but simply despised"  
(The German Bundestag)**

Federal Office for the Protection  
of the Constitution

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in current German  
right-wing extremism

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Editor : Federal Office for the Protection  
of the Constitution  
Merianstraße 100  
50765 Cologne  
Tel.: 049 221/792-3838  
Fax: 049 221/792-1247  
E-Mail: [pressestelle@verfassungsschutz.de](mailto:pressestelle@verfassungsschutz.de)  
<http://www.verfassungsschutz.de>

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## **Survey**

Anti-Semitism is a basic element of right-wing extremist ideology.

Right-wing extremists advance conspiracy theories in their argumentation and maintain that „World Jewry“ with the United States and Israel as centres of power is striving for world domination. They argue that multi-ethnic politics and globalisation serve as means to destroy peoples and that Germany, by reminding it of the Holocaust, is being kept in a permanent state of guilt and atonement and thus prevented from pursuing independent policies.

In Germany, the number of individuals holding anti-Semitic views has been decreasing since the 50s; however, with 15 to 20 per cent it should not be underestimated. Right-wing extremists are trying in particular to take advantage of the Middle East conflicts and the difficulties of adequately remembering the National Socialist genocide in order to advance resentment against Jews. Condemnation of anti-Semitism in politics and society in Germany has so far resulted in a great part of the anti-Semitic discourse not taking place overtly, but insinuatingly and codified. In recent years, however, right-wing extremists have abandoned their tactical reserve and talk about their anti-Semitic phobias in a more offensive and aggressive way.



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## 1. Preface

Anti-Semitism is the hostility towards Jews on racist, social, political and/or religious (anti-Judaism) grounds: An anti-Semite's estimation of „the Jews – as an alleged race, nation, religious community or social group – is overall negative, which is due to a prejudice“.<sup>1</sup> Anti-Semitism is the „twin brother of European nationalism“<sup>2</sup>, an „insurrection against modern age“<sup>3</sup>. All its forms have „a conception of Jewish power in common: the power to kill God, to unleash the bubonic plague or recently, to bring about capitalism and socialism. A Manichaean way of thinking, where the Jews play the role of the children of darkness.“<sup>4</sup> Anti-Semitism, as a „rumour on the Jews“<sup>5</sup>, creates an image of the Jews including the following negative characteristics: craving for power, dangerous (sinister, false, malicious, damaging/disintegrating, conspiratorial), resentful, greedy for money (grasping).<sup>6</sup> It is the basis for the antithetical comparison of „Jewish“ and „German“ values.

Even following the defeat of National Socialism, anti-Semitism remained virulent in both German states. However, studies show that anti-Semitic attitudes have been declining „very slowly, sluggishly and discontinuously“ since 1952.<sup>7</sup> Time and again, anti-Semitism, with incidents of far-reaching importance has sporadically come into the field of vision of society, especially in the 60s with the extensive criminal proceedings against some of those responsible for the Holocaust and the debate on the limitation periods for National Socialist crimes of violence. Later on, the problem of adequately remembering the European Jews' genocide became a focal point of public debate. On different occasions and in the course of the social and cultural development of the Federal Republic of Germany, the anti-Semitic argumentation schemes changed, and especially „anti-Semitism in the wake of Auschwitz“ as a new phenomenon took shape. It differs from traditional hostility towards Jews in as much as it deals with the genocide (denying it or projecting responsibility); it is an anti-Semitism without Jews and can take the form of anti-Zionism and can hold the Jews collectively responsible for the policies of the state of Israel.<sup>8</sup>

1 Moshe Zimmermann, Eine Frage der Haltung. Der neue Antisemitenkatechismus (A Question of Posture. The Anti-Semites new Catechism), in: Süddeutsche Zeitung, 24 May 2002

2 Detlef Clausen, Nach Auschwitz. Ein Essay über die Aktualität Adornos (After Auschwitz. An Essay on Adorno's Topicality), in: Dan Diner (pub.), Zivilisationsbruch. Denken nach Auschwitz (Breach in Civilisation. Way of Thinking after Auschwitz), Frankfurt-on-Main, 1988, p. 60

3 George Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology, New York 1964, here cited from Moishe Postone, Nationalsozialismus und Antisemitismus. Ein theoretischer Versuch (National Socialism and Anti-Semitism. A Theoretical Attempt), in: Dan Diner s. above, p. 246

4 Moishe Postone, Nationalsozialismus und Antisemitismus (National Socialism and Anti-Semitism), s. above, p. 244

5 Theodor W. Adorno, Minima Moralia, Reflexionen aus dem beschädigten Leben (Reflections from the damaged life), Frankfurt-on-Main, 1951, p. 141

6 More details in Werner Bergmann/Rainer Erb, Antisemitismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Ergebnisse der empirischen Forschung von 1946-1988 (Anti-Semitism in Germany. Results of the empirical study from 1946-1988), Opladen, 1991, p. 114 ff.

7 Werner Bergmann/Rainer Erb, Wie antisemitisch sind die Deutschen? Meinungsumfragen 1945-1994 (How anti-Semitic are the Germans? Opinion Polls 1945-1994), in: Wolfgang Benz (pub.), Antisemitismus in Deutschland. Zur Aktualität eines Vorurteils (Anti-Semitism in Germany. On the Topicality of a Prejudice), Munich, 1995, p. 62

8 Werner Bergmann, Antisemitismus in Deutschland, in: Wilfried Schubarth/Richard Stöss (pub.), Rechtsextremismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Eine Bilanz (Right-wing extremism in Germany. A balance), Opladen, 2000, p. 131

In the following, the results of sociological research on the anti-Semitic potential will be presented and it will be examined what – religious, social, political, cultural, racist, secondary and anti-Zionist – forms of anti-Semitism are used in the right-wing extremists' argumentation schemes. Finally, current and future focal points of anti-Semitic agitation will be listed.

## 2. Examination of the anti-Semitic potential within the population

In the Federal Republic of Germany, several measures have been taken to counter anti-Semitism, among them not least the legal instruments for its prosecution and punishment. Politics and the media largely agree in condemning anti-Semitic statements. Due to the constitution's anti-totalitarian orientation, anti-Semites overtly expressing their opinion are threatened to be boycotted in politics and society. In recent years, scientists have been satisfied to find that the „extent of the anti anti-Semitic consensus“ has increased<sup>9</sup> and that anti-Semitism has been playing „a clearly less significant role than xenophobic attitudes and actions.“<sup>10</sup>

In Germany, there still exists a great number of individuals supporting anti-Semitic views, which, however, is not exceptional in Europe. According to various empirical studies, 15 – 20 % of the population are concerned; the so far last and most current study carried out in 1998 (Forsa Study) established that one in five Germans has a potential anti-Semitic attitude.<sup>11</sup>

Two basic changes in the anti-Semitic potential having occurred in the past decade should be emphasised:

- In the 90s, anti-Semitic attitudes definitely increased in Eastern Germany.

Two studies pursued following reunification had shown that anti-Semitism was significantly less spread in Eastern Germany as compared to the West (4 - 6 % as compared to 12 - 16 %). This result, which was confirmed by opinion polls until 1996, now does not seem to apply to young people in Eastern Germany any longer. Besides in the Forsa Study, this was established when specifically comparing the Federal States of Brandenburg and North Rhine-Westphalia: In North Rhine-Westphalia, a hard core of 2,5 % of the youths consistently maintain anti-Jewish attitudes as compared to 9,7 % of those polled in Brandenburg.<sup>12</sup>

9 Werner Bergmann, Antisemitismus in öffentlichen Konflikten 1949-1994 (Anti-Semitism in public conflicts 1949-1994), in: Wolfgang Benz, s. above, p. 87

10 Werner Bergmann, Antisemitismus in Deutschland, s. above, p. 146

11 Forsa Study on Anti-Semitism in Germany, Berlin, 1998, Alphons Silbermann's result in 1982 was 20 %. Anti-Semitism researcher Werner Bergmann talks of a hard core of 5 %; and 10 to 20 % show clear signs of anti-Semitism, as he further puts it (Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 18 April 2002).

12 Rudolf Welskopf, Ronald Freytag, Dietmar Sturzbecher, Antisemitismus unter Jugendlichen in Ost und West (Anti-Semitism among youths in East and West), in: Wolfgang Benz (pub.), Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung 9 (Year-book for Studies on Anti-Semitism no. 9), Frankfurt, 2000, p. 35 ff., and Werner Bergmann, Antisemitismus in Deutschland, s. above, p. 140 ff.

- Anti-Semitism continues to be primarily spread among older individuals, but in the meantime in certain parts of youths as well. It has not gained in significance, as social scientists Werner Bergmann and Rainer Erb put it, „but within a sub-population, which is the youth, especially with not well educated, manually working and rightist males, it has been increasingly spread and radicalised.“<sup>13</sup>

### 3. Anti-Semitism as a genuine element of right-wing extremist ideology

Anti-Semitism is a basic element of the right-wing extremist ideology and is perceptible – overtly, insinuatingly or veiled (as anti-Zionism) – in almost any of its manifestations. Racial-national, but above all political and social-economic anti-Semitism as important variants of National Socialist anti-Semitism<sup>14</sup> are still to be found in current right-wing extremism to different extents. The Jew becomes an adversary, because his entire existence is an indication of a „society of free and equal people, but not of a national community.“<sup>15</sup> Right-wing extremists advance conspiracy theories in their argumentation and regard Jews resp. „World Jewry“ as a mighty and obscure power in the background. Concrete fields of politics are given a pseudo-theoretical basis: Everything is alleged to be influenced by Jews, foreign rule as well as the antagonist concepts of capitalism and communism („Bolshevist-plutocratic World Jewry“), and if no Jews are to be found, their „vassals“ are made responsible, because a „power being Jewish in race and ideology“ is concerned<sup>16</sup>, as they put it. Right-wing extremists imagine seeing machinations of „World Jewry“ anywhere.

Jews are said to be the „anti-nation“ (MAHLER, OBERLERCHER), the suppliers of key words, the wire-pullers and beneficiaries of modern age. The anti-Semitic bogey, however, does not attack Jewry „alone“: Anti-Semites regard Western values as a „Jewish principle“, they are the antipodes of an „Americanised world which at the same time is a Judaised world“. <sup>17</sup> Their attack is directed at the principle of democracy and human rights in general and the bases of the free democratic basic order in particular. The Anti-Semites' objective is a different state and social order:

*„The practical criticism of Judaism is the national and social revolution of the Germans. In order to bring about this revolution, the question of power has to be asked – but in the right way!“<sup>18</sup>*

13 Werner Bergmann/Rainer Erb, Wie antisemitisch sind die Deutschen? Meinungsumfragen 1945-1994, in: Wolfgang Benz (pub.), Antisemitismus in Deutschland. Zur Aktualität eines Vorurteils, s. above, p. 61

14 S. Written application of the German Bundestag to ban the NPD, p. 122

15 Max Horkheimer, Notizen 1950 bis 1969 und Dämmerung, Notizen in Deutschland (Notes 1950-1969 and Dawning. Notes in Germany), Frankfurt/M., 1974, p. 101

16 Reinhold OBERLERCHER, Der Untergang des judäo-amerikanischen Imperiums (Decline of the Judaeo-American Empire), in Sleipnir no. 36

17 Horst MAHLER, Letter to Michel Friedman (2000), as well published in Horst MAHLER, Guten Tag, Herr Friedman ... With reference to Christ, Marx and German philosophers, the intellectual Horst MAHLER invites leading Jews to take up an initial critical dialogue, Malmö (Sweden), o. J. (2002)

18 Horst MAHLER, the NPD's comment during the proceedings to examine the issue of a ban of the party before the Federal Constitutional Court on 20 April 2001, p. 386

For some years now, it has been observed that – following a phase marked by restraint on tactical grounds – right-wing extremists have intensified their anti-Semitic agitation and expressed it more aggressively.<sup>19</sup> Right-wing extremists argue that „a new time is about to come, where more and more people will object to the rule of the Jewish people.“<sup>20</sup>

The number of anti-Semitic criminal offences and acts of violence corresponds to the overall development in right-wing extremist motivated criminal offences and acts of violence. On an average, the share of anti-Semitic criminal offences in the number of right-wing extremist motivated criminal offences has been just below 10 % (to be precise: 9,98 %) since 1991. In 2001, anti-Semitic criminal offences had a significantly higher share of almost 14 % (to be precise: 13,98 %, which is 1.406 offences). Only in 1994 and 1995 was this share higher (17,2 % and 14,6 %).

Since 1993, an average of 15 anti-Semitic acts of violence per year have been committed. In 2002, the number amounted to 28 (as compared to 18 in the previous year). Since 1998, the annual number of anti-Semitic acts of violence has been above the average number of the past ten years (see Annex 1).

Since 1993, 43 incidents of disturbance of the peace of the deceased and other forms of desecration of Jewish cemeteries and memorial sites have been registered per year. In 2002, the number was 40 (as compared to 31 in the previous year, see Annex 2).

### 3.1 Overt anti-Semitism

Some right-wing extremist movements overtly advocate their anti-Semitic attitudes despite society's and politics' disapproval.

Neo-Nazis adopt the anti-Semitic views of those whose ideologies have served them as a model. Thus, their deceased leader Michael Kuehnen<sup>21</sup>, explicitly resorting to the NSDAP's (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*/National Socialist German Workers' Party) programme, called for „combating the Jewish-materialist spirit in us and around us as a precondition for the recovery of the people's community“.

For former RAF terrorist Horst MAHLER, whose inconstant political biography is marked by anti-Semitism as a constant ideological factor, „overcoming Jahwe, the Jews' God“, is a „vocation of the Germans in terms of the history of human thought“.<sup>22</sup>

The „national Marxist“ Dr. Reinhold OBERLERCHER, cooperating with MAHLER in the group of intellectuals, „Deutsches Kolleg“ (German College), with the formulation of „the anti-nation's capitalist world shepherd-

19 See e. g. Annual Report of the Hamburg State Office for the Protection of the Constitution, 2000, p. 20

20 NIT Mecklenburg, 9 December 1998

21 Michael Kuehnen, Politisches Lexikon der Neuen Front (The New Front's Political Dictionary), here cited from NS-Kampfruf, no. 137, May-August 2001

22 Horst MAHLER, Letter to Michel Friedman (2000), s. above

ship (*in German: Welthirtschaft*)<sup>23</sup>, combines three anti-Semitic stereotypes at a time: Jewish world domination, a Jewish economic system and Jews as the opponents of the peoples.

The neo-Nazi NIT-Blitz<sup>24</sup> has praised the NPD (*Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands/National Democratic Party of Germany*) for its „offensive strategy“ as regards the reproach of anti-Semitism in the course of the proceedings to examine the issue of banning the party. There, the NPD’s legal representative, Horst MAHLER, pretends to want to explore the „nature of hatred towards Jews“, and with the thesis of anti-Semitism „emerging from the influence of the Jewish spirit on the Germanic people’s spirit“ he once again serves the anti-Semitic cliché that the Jews themselves are responsible for anti-Semitism.<sup>25</sup> In connection with the NPD’s aggressive orientation, its chairman Udo VOIGT directed a threat to German Jews:

*(...)“imagine the media-controlled indignation, if these days we designated Berlin’s Jews, who obviously want to deprive us of our basic rights, as ‘subhuman creatures’.  
(...) Mind you: This is not Israel but Germany, and we will never allow you to treat us the way the Palestinians are being treated in Israel!”<sup>26</sup>*

Right-wing extremists regard themselves as victims and argue from an allegedly defensive position: They fight a „system infiltrated by Jews“<sup>27</sup> and want to prevent Germany from being „judaised“<sup>28</sup>.

The right-wing extremist skinhead scene openly continues the National Socialists’ annihilation policy. Some examples:

- „Cunning, greedy and mean. (...) Cunning, greedy and mean, that can only be a Jew. (...) the Jew always profits from lies, atonement and fraud. ... The Jew wearing the Star of David must go to hell.“<sup>29</sup>
- „That Michel Friedman. (...) Thousands lose their lives in wars and earthquakes, but that Michel Friedman is still alive.“<sup>30</sup>
- „Auschwitz, Dachau, Buchenwald, there we’ll liquidate the Jews again“.<sup>31</sup>

23 Reinhold OBERLERCHER, Geleitwort – viele deutsche Bausteine sind nötig (Preface – Many German components are needed), in: Jürgen SCHWAB, Deutsche Bausteine. Grundlagen nationaler Politik (German Components. Bases of National Politics), Stuttgart, 1999, p. 9

24 NIT-Blitz, 23 April 2001

25 Horst MAHLER, the NPD’s comment during the proceedings to examine the issue of a ban of the party before the Federal Constitutional Court on 20 April 2001, p. 105

26 Udo VOIGT on the occasion of a demonstration on 1 December 2001 in Berlin

27 As former NPD functionary Michael PRAXENTHALER put it at a general meeting of the NPD district association Rosenheim on 3 January 1999.

28 Manfred ROEDER at a meeting in Eisenach on 18 June 2000

29 WAW, Cunning, greedy and mean, on the CD Nur vom Feinsten – Der zweite Streich (Only the cream – The second blow), 2000. On 30 December 2000, the CD has been put on the index by the BPJS (Bundesprüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Schriften/Federal Review Board for Publications Harmful to Young People).

30 Landser, This Michel Friedman, on the CD Ran an den Feind (Let’s go get ‘em), 2000. On 31 March 2002 the CD has been put on the index by the BPJS.

31 Power & Honour, The Eternal Jew, on the CD Nigger out, 1997. On 25 September 1997, the CD has been put on the index by the BPJS.

- Come here, old Jewish pig, I'll hit you in the teeth./You are the last scum to be hanged at the next tree. At the poplar tree you are shining real good, you stinking Jewish blood./We don't worry about washing, because Jews were born as soap.<sup>32</sup>

### 3.2 Allusive and insinuating anti-Semitism

Other right-wing extremists are trying to conceal their anti-Semitic attitudes behind allusions. They speculate that like-minded comrades understand their intention, but at the same time that they can deny it in public. From their point of view, state and society are shaped by philo-Semitism and Jews enjoy a privileged position; they talk of an „imaginary anti-Semitism“ and hypocritically ask, „Is it a matter of principle that Jews may not be criticised?“<sup>33</sup> Using this construct, they try to oust representatives of Jewry and all Jews from public life and to keep them out of the way: Franz SCHÖNHUBER<sup>34</sup> reproaches Jewish functionaries with being „intolerably over-represented“ in the media; this very „excessive philo-Semitism“ is the breeding ground for a „despicable anti-Semitism“, as he continues. In the NPD's publication „Zündstoff“<sup>35</sup> „a permanent spiritual bowing to the representatives of Jewry“ is described as the „central taboo in this country“.

The resentment towards Jews mentioned here is also to be found in the debate on the former deputy chairman of the FDP (*Freie Demokratische Partei*/Liberal Democratic Party), Jürgen Möllemann, and his protégé, Jamal Karsli. Right-wing extremists feel confirmed by Karsli's anti-Semitic stereotype of a „Zionist lobby“ controlling the media world-wide. In Möllemann's confrontation with the Central Council of Jews in Germany, traditional clichés of the Jews' omnipotence are repeated.<sup>36</sup> It is alleged that free thinking and acting will only be possible when „the Central Council of Jews' influence and power“ have been broken.<sup>37</sup>



32 Power & Honour, Are you Hungry?, s. above.

33 Nationalzeitung, no. 13, 23 March 2001

34 Nation & Europa, nos. 7 and 8, July-August 1996

35 Zündstoff. Deutsche Stimme für Berlin und Brandenburg (Explosive. German Voice for Berlin and Brandenburg), no. 1/98

36 S. e. g. Nationalzeitung, no. 23, 31 May 2002 and Deutsche Stimme, no. 6, June 2002

37 NPD press release of 6 June 2002

Meticulously „searching“ for allegedly influential Jews forms part of insinuating anti-Semitism. Psychological studies show „that anti-Semites are very interested, though in a negative way, in identifying Jews in private and public life and rather tend to ‘recognise’ individuals as being ‘Jewish’“. <sup>38</sup> In this context, in particular the publications of the DVU’s (*Deutsche Volksunion* / German People’s Union) chairman, Dr. Gerhard FREY <sup>39</sup>, and individual issues of the NPD’s newspaper „*Deutsche Stimme*“ <sup>40</sup> have to be mentioned.

#### 4. Current anti-Semitic patterns of argumentation

In the right-wing extremist discourse, the „Jew“ being connected with conspiracy theories is used as an object of manifold obsessions. In this context, different and partly overlapping political fields become the central points of agitation. Anti-Semites e. g.:

- propagate the „World Jewry’s“ alleged domination of international politics and financial capital („high finance“, „international financial Jewry“, Hitler) –currently referring to the United States’ global policies, globalisation and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and
- maintain that the „Jews“ particularly attack the German people, which is subjugated by a complex of atonement and is under a rule which is foreign to its nature.

MAHLER <sup>41</sup> summarises the two poles:

*„The Jewish organisations on the East Coast and Israel form an international network which holds world power. And to put it objectively, it is all about the destruction of the German people.“*

##### 4.1 Influence of „World Jewry“ on international politics

Using conspiracy theories, anti-Semites imagine that „World Jewry“ is on its way to seize world power. In their imagination, Jews are „part of an unbelievably mighty and incredible international conspiracy“, as scientist Moishe Postone <sup>42</sup> puts it. Since the forged „Protocols of the Wise Men of

38 Werner Bergmann/Rainer Erb, Antisemitismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Ergebnisse der empirischen Forschung von 1946-1989, s. above, p. 114

39 Especially the Nationalzeitung, but publications like „Wer ist wer im Judentum?“ (Who is who in Jewry?) as well.

40 Issue no. 11/2001 is cited as an example: At a protest directed against a right-wing extremist event „the chairman of the local Israeli cultural community was present“, the German Book Industry’s Peace Prize was „typically awarded to a Jew (...) who in his work as an author had not attained attention with pro-German remarks“. In the „Frankfurt School“ there were „Jewish intellectuals“ and besides, there is the „Jewish philosopher Karl Popper“. Furthermore there is a contribution on the topic, „Racial issue as a clue to world history“. Therein, the Jew Salscia Landmann analyses the character of her people ignoring all taboos.“

41 Kennzeichen D, ZDF, 6 December 2000

42 Moishe Postone, Nationalsozialismus und Antisemitismus. Ein theoretischer Versuch. s. above, p. 244

Zion“<sup>43</sup> at the latest, social struggle and especially international conflicts have been interpreted accordingly by right-wing extremists. This is due to a remarkable loss of sense of realism on the one hand and to the provision of ideological resources, which can be complemented at will, on the other hand. Social scientists Werner Bergmann and Rainer Erb support the thesis that in the Federal Republic of Germany, resentment against Jewish influence is primarily aroused by the conception of Jewry acting on an international level, its influence at present being more effective in other states than in Germany itself.<sup>44</sup>

In right-wing extremist discourse, anti-Semitism and anti-Americanism are closely intertwined and often used synonymously („Judaeo-American empire“, OBERLERCHER). Right-wing extremists speak of „World Jewry“ and its omnipotent centre, the „American East Coast“.<sup>45</sup> There are, however, other reasons, why the United States are regarded as the antipode of their political conception: The United States as a nation, successfully opposing ethnic attribution, are defamed by right-wing extremists as a „structure without history“, its core being composed of „displaced (anomic) individuals from Western Europe“. The „inmates“ of the United States are not a people, as they continue, but an „accumulation of individuals“.<sup>46</sup> The „NS-Kampfruf“<sup>47</sup> puts it as follows:

*„The Americans are the most detestable people on earth because their politicians make common cause with the Israelis.“*

In this connection, the anti-Semitic protagonists adhere to the tradition of their historic models, sometimes even using their terminology. Thus, the *Waffen-SS*’ fight has been interpreted by JN (*Junge Nationaldemokraten* / Young National Democrats) chairman Sascha ROSSMUELLER as a fight against „Jewish plutocracy“, a threat emanating from America.<sup>48</sup> MAHLER<sup>49</sup>, referring to a „declaration of war of World Jewry“ on 24 March 1933<sup>50</sup>, says:

*„By means of a fascinating piggyback system, certain Jewish circles via the United States of America rose to become the dominating world power at that time already.“*

43 „The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion“ were written by the czarist secret police, which forged a document of Maurice Joly („Dialogue aux Enfers entre Montesquieu et Machiavel“, Brussels 1864) and in 1903 published it in the Russian magazine „Snamja“ with the title „Programme for the Jews’ conquest of the world“. These documents are said to be secret protocols of meetings of the World Alliance of Masons and Wise Men of Zion. With this text, the delusive idea of a world conspiracy between Jews and masons was „perfected“. (S. Ernst Piper, *Die jüdische Weltverschwörung* (The Jewish World Conspiracy), in: Julius H. Schoeps, Joachim Schlör (pub.), *Antisemitismus, Vorurteile und Mythen* (Anti-Semitism, Prejudice and Myths), München, Zürich, 1995, p. 130)

44 Werner Bergmann/Rainer Erb, *Antisemitismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Ergebnisse der empirischen Forschung von 1946-1989*, s. above, p. 116 f.

45 See e. g. *Nationalzeitung*, no. 27, 29 June 2001. There, the „US Jews’ predominant role“ is mentioned. At the same time, it is rejected, that there is something anti-Semitic about the term „American East Coast“, as „denounced by interested circles“.

46 Reinhold OBERLERCHER, *Der Untergang des judäo-amerikanischen Imperiums*, in: *Sleipnir*, no. 36

47 NS-Kampfruf. Publication of the National Socialist German Workers Party’s Foreign and Development Organisation (NSDAP/AO), no. 138, September-December 2001

48 Sascha ROSSMUELLER, Speech at the 4th European Congress of the „Young National Democrats“ in Fürth on 18 October 1997

49 Franz SCHÖNHUBER/Horst MAHLER, *Schluß mit deutschem Selbsthaß. Plädoyer für ein anderes Deutschland* (Put an end to German self-hatred. Pleading for another Germany), Berg am Starnberger See, 2000, p. 180

50 The claim that „World Jewry“ declared war on Hitler’s Germany is a basic element of anti-Semitic agitation. In most cases, it is ‘substantiated’ with an article in the London newspaper *Daily Express* of 24 March 1933. This article deals with business people having called upon boycotting German goods because of the anti-Semitic riots in Germany. (More details in Informationsdienst gegen Rechtsextremismus, Lexikon, [www.idgr.de/lexikon](http://www.idgr.de/lexikon))

#### 4.1.1 Destruction of peoples and globalisation

Right-wing extremists define globalisation as an American conspiratorial project with the financial capital dominated by Jews pulling the strings. International organisations (as e.g. the United Nations) and the universal application of human rights as a demonstration of multi-ethnic orientation are classified as a policy inspired by the Americans and Jews, which is aimed at destroying peoples. A strictly ethnically defined „right of the peoples to self-determination“ serves as a means to counter that. It is a matter of course that according to this ideology, the Jewish people’s aggression is held responsible for the Middle East conflict.

The right-wing extremists’ ethnically based policy is diametrically opposed to a policy based on universal human rights and the primacy of the equality of individuals. In the right-wing extremists’ way of thinking, the „Jews“ are a synonym for the dissolution of „ethnic purity“ and the loss of ethnic and national identity; in their opinion, the Jews offensively destroy peoples:

*„Though with no roots themselves, they rose above their shortcomings and defects by ridiculing other peoples’ rootage.“<sup>51</sup>*

In this context, anti-Semitism also forms **part of a general xenophobic attitude**.

In a flyer published by the „*Freundeskreis Freiheit für Deutschland*“ (FFD/Circle of Friends Freedom for Germany)<sup>52</sup> banned in 1993, the Jews are stigmatised as the ‘wire-pullers’ of a multi-ethnic policy: The „infiltration with foreigners“ is said to be one of the most important „pillars of the strategy of the chosen few aimed at eliminating the Aryan existence“.

The „*Deutsche Stimme*“<sup>53</sup> reads as follows:

*„What the two American liberals Morgenthau and Kaufman, both national comrades of Ignatz Bubis, planned to realise in Germany after its defeat at the end of World War II, i. e. the liquidation of the German nation by means of (...) mass infiltration of foreigners from other ethnic regions aimed at ‘intermingling the race’ of the remaining German people with other races, these days, in the era of ‘human rights’, is being successfully realised by ‘more humane’ means by those interested.“*

51 Hans-Dietrich SANDER, Die Auflösung der Dinge. Zur geschichtlichen Lage des Judentums in den Metamorphosen der Moderne. (Disintegration of things. On the historic situation of Jewry in the transformation periods of modernity.) 1988, p. 171

52 Flyer, no. 65 (1992)

53 Deutsche Stimme, no. 1, January 1999

MAHLER<sup>54</sup> identifies „those interested“ who propagate a „multi-cultural society“, in order to „make nations and peoples mentally defenceless against a policy of destabilisation by means of multi-ethnicity and cultural parceling out“: According to him, it is the Central Council of Jews in Germany, jealously seeing to it that „political measures against multi-ethnicity in our home country cannot take effect“.

The neo-Naziist „*National Journal*“<sup>55</sup> maintains that the „leading Jewry“ has organised the „policy of multi-cultural dissolution all over Europe and especially in Germany.“



In the Federal Republic of Germany, this xenophobic orientation is currently evident in right-wing extremist **agitation against the admission of Jews from Eastern Europe**. Right-wing extremists are developing a threat scenario using highly exaggerated figures. When using the term „Eastern Jews“, right-wing extremists, in particular in the party press, are reverting to a term used in anti-Semitic publications in the first half of the 20th century, where „two terms with a negative connotation and a definitely anti-Semitic association“ were combined: „The East and the Jew – both terms signalling demarcation, displacement and exclusion.“ Right-wing extremists are reverting to this meaning and the stereotypic anti-Semitic image of the Eastern Jew as being the „‘lazy’, ‘work-shy’ and ‘unproductive’ Jew“.<sup>56</sup>

The „*Nationalzeitung*“<sup>57</sup> says that already now there are conflicts between „Eastern Jews“ and „‘German’ Jews“, similar to those in the Weimar Republic.<sup>58</sup> Using a threat imagery often to be found when migration issues are concerned, the „*Nationalzeitung*“<sup>59</sup> further reads: When „the gates were opened for Jews (!), .... they came running, individually and in vast multitudes.“

The „*Deutsche Stimme*“<sup>60</sup> talks of „millions of Russian Jews“ allowed to immigrate in unlimited numbers. It further claims that in case of an economic crisis, the proletariat, growing with this „unlimited over-foreignisation“, would „attack the unsuspecting host people“.

54 Horst MAHLER, the NPD's comment during the proceedings to examine the issue of a ban of the party before the Federal Constitutional Court on 20 April 2001, p. 14 and 34

55 National Journal, Die Kampfgemeinschaft für die Wiederherstellung der Menschenrechte in Deutschland und gegen antideutsche Politik (The fighting community for the re-establishment of human rights in Germany and against anti-German politics), no. 61 and 62, 2002

56 More details in Ludger Heid, Der Ostjude (The Eastern Jew), in Julius H. Schoeps, Joachim Schlör (pub.), Antisemitismus, Vorurteile und Mythen, München / Zürich, 1995, p. 241-251

57 Nationalzeitung, no. 25, 15 June 2001

58 Apparently, German Jews do not exist for the newspaper.

59 Nationalzeitung, no. 3, 11 January 2002

60 Deutsche Stimme, nos. 9-10, September-October 1998

As the NPD's newspaper „*Deutsche Zukunft*“<sup>61</sup> puts it, the „unlimited immigration of Jews from the East“ „is increasingly worrying the German population which has good reason to fear that a new anti-Semitism might develop in our country, the more so as the immigrating Jews, hundreds of thousands of whom have already come (...) to an unbearable extent will contribute to the German public social funds being exhausted. For all that, after the War, our country was free of Jews and consequently we had no anti-Semitic problem. That's what we are creating ourselves now with no need (...)“.

The right-wing extremists' **anti-globalisation** discourse is based on their ethnic and nationalist ideology.

The tendency can be seen on the front page of the neo-Nazi publication „*Der Fahnenträger*“<sup>62</sup>: It shows a photograph of a demonstration with a banner reading „Against the Zionist 'One-World' Terror“. The editorial reads as follows: „We will never put up with being deprived of our faith by 'US/Israeli One-World terrorists' „ (in German: Usraelisch)

Neo-Nazi Dieter KERN recognises the „Zionist oligarchy's interests „ behind this 'One-World idiocy'.<sup>63</sup>



In the anti-capitalist phraseology of the German right-wing extremists' national-revolutionary wing reference to National Socialist attitudes is evident. The NSDAP, in its party platform, had defined a distinction between „consumptive“ and „productive“ capital and called for „breaking interest serfdom“. In „*Mein Kampf*“ (*My Fight*), Adolf Hitler described the Jews as the „sovereigns of the American Union's stock exchange forces“. Even these days, the „Jewish-American financial capital“, i.e. the „consumptive“ capital, is the focal point of right-wing extremists' criticism of capitalism, which does, however, not mean that capitalism is disapproved of in principle. The background of this anti-Semitic construct is commented by scientist Dan Diner as follows:

*„The 'consumptive' capital, identified with circulation, is ascribed to the Jews, whereas the 'productive' capital is the incarnation of supposedly pure production and racially is equated with Aryanism“.*<sup>64</sup>

61 *Deutsche Zukunft*, no. 7, 7 July 1997

62 *Der Fahnenträger*. Circular letter for nationalists, no. 5

63 *Mitteldeutsche Jugend Zeitung*, no. 1

64 Dan Diner, *Aporie der Vernunft. Horkheimers Überlegungen zu Antisemitismus und Massenvernichtung (Aporia of reason. Horkheimer's reflections on anti-Semitism and mass annihilation)*, in: Dan Diner, s. above, p. 49

Thus, the NPD differentiates between „consumptive“ and „productive“ capital<sup>65</sup>, and the party chairman Udo VOIGT<sup>66</sup> calls for „overcoming the capitalist interest economy“.

In addition, MAHLER<sup>67</sup> supports the term of „Jewish plutocracy“ created by National Socialists and maintains that

*„...the dollar empire’s center of power – some years ago euphemistically being termed ‘globalism’ – is the United States’ banking system controlled by Jews“.*

Furthermore, he calls for a debate on the „Jewish bank capital’s role in waging and controlling the World Wars“.

Yet, who else, if not the Jews, could be responsible? After all, the „anti-nation’s vital element“, as OBERLERCHER<sup>68</sup> puts it, consists in unleashing conflict between the nations „striving for their racial homogeneity“:

*„The struggle against the peoples, inspired by the anti-nation, is led by a coalition of imperialist states against the real peoples using changing designations like human rights, United Nations or NATO“.*

65 Deutsche Stimme, no. 8, August 1998

66 Speech of VOIGT in Leipzig on 1 May 1998, here cited from DS-Extra, no. 5, 5 May 1998

67 Horst MAHLER, Letter directed to Daniel Goldhagen, here cited from Horst MAHLER, the NPD’s comment during the proceedings to examine the issue of a ban of the party before the Federal Constitutional Court on 20 April 2001, p. 352 and 355

68 Reinhold OBERLERCHER, Geleitwort – viele Bausteine sind nötig, in Jürgen SCHWAB, s. above, p. 9

### 4.1.2 Islamist terrorism, Israel and the United States of America (anti-Zionism)

When evaluating the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington on 11 September 2001 and the conflict situation in the Middle East, right-wing extremists revert to argumentation schemes already used during the Iraq war in 1991. Apparent anti-Americanism, hostility towards Israel and siding with Arabs and Palestinians demonstrate the correspondence of right-wing extremist and national-Arab/Islamist positions rooted in hostility towards the Jews, going back to a tradition of the era of National Socialism.<sup>69</sup>

#### 4.1.2.1 The attacks in the USA on 11 September 2001

Right-wing extremists have – at times more clearly than other people – recognised the anti-Semitic element of the attacks of 11 September 2001<sup>70</sup>, after all, „Jews and crusaders“ are being threatened by the terrorist activities of an Usama bin Ladin.

MAHLER describes the terrorist attacks as a „war of liberation“, using the remarkable title of „Independence day live“<sup>71</sup>.

They marked the „end of the secular Jahwe cult, of mammonism“ and are „really effective and therefore justified“, as he further puts it.

OBERLERCHER, on behalf of the *Deutsches Kolleg*<sup>72</sup> describes the terrorist attacks as an overdue general attack of the Islamic Middle Ages on Judaeo-American civilisation. According to him, „destroying the United States of America including their global Jewish power apparatus as well as the expiry of the Jewish state“ and the „end of Western values“ form part of the „general process of anti-capitalist world revolution“.

The *Deutsche Volkunion's* (DVU) chairman, Dr. Gerhard FREY<sup>73</sup>, maintains that the terrorist attacks were not directed against the Western world, but were rather the „desperate act of Arabs, who, sacrificing their own lives, protested against Bush's key role in the Palestinians' annihilation“.



69 One of the Nazis' closest allies in the Middle East was the Great Mufti of Jerusalem, Amin el-Husseini, one of the PLO chairman Yassir Arafat's uncles. In this context, the fact that Arab states protected German war criminals from criminal prosecution has to be mentioned, too.

70 In the novel „The Turner Diaries“ of the American racist William PIERCE there are remarkable similarities to the course of events: The airplane of a suicide attacker crashes into the Pentagon, and the author rejoices at the destruction of New York, the „Jewish centre of world capitalism dominated and contaminated by Jews“. (A German version of the novel is published on Internet.)

71 Deutsche Stimme, no. 9, September 2001, special edition

72 Reinhold OBERLERCHER, Der Untergang des judäo-amerikanischen Imperiums, in: Sleipnir, no. 36

73 Nationalzeitung, no. 51, 14 December 2001

For the neo-Nazi „Aktionsbüro Norddeutschland“<sup>74</sup> (Action Bureau North Germany) the World Trade Center is the „symbol of worldwide exploitation and globalisation“. Whoever supports the USA, „takes sides with international capital, multi-culture and globalisation and against the freedom of the peoples“.

The neo-Nazi „NS-Kampfruf“<sup>75</sup> talks of an attack on the „symbol of Jewish world power“. It continues that further attacks can only be prevented if Israel is „forgotten“:

*„But Jewish concerns must always be superior to the lives of the Aryan peoples.“*

After all, the American racist group „Aryan Action“, in a contribution published on Internet, unequivocally demands:<sup>76</sup>

*„Either you fight al-Qa’ida with the Jews, or you fight the Jews with us and al-Qa’ida.“*

#### 4.1.2.2 Israel and anti-Zionism

Anti-Zionism defined as hostility towards Israel is a basic element of various forms of extremism (Islamism, right-wing extremism – and - however not universal - left-wing extremism). Where anti-Zionism uses traditional anti-Semitic clichés, it is a new form of anti-Semitism in disguise.

„Criticism of the Jewish state provides an acceptable opportunity of disseminating anti-Semitic prejudice largely unhindered and overtly (...) That is why the constantly invoked parallel between the genocide of the Jews and the Palestinians’ fate has become a basic part of the right-wing extremists’ strategy of comparison and belittlement.“<sup>77</sup>

The policy pursued by Israel and its approval on an international level is evaluated by anti-Semites using the argumentation schemes of modern anti-Semitism: e. g. the traditional anti-Jewish cliché of the Jews’ worldwide power is used as regards the United States’ support and the alleged prohibition to criticise Israel.<sup>78</sup>

The right-wing extremists’ current evaluation of the situation in the Middle East generally reveals an anti-Semitic connotation. The policy pursued by the present Israeli government, which is not undisputed in the German public, only provides material, but there is no casual relation. For years on end, right-wing extremist publications have been speaking of a „genocide of the Palestinian people“<sup>79</sup>, as e. g. the neo-Nazi publication „Der Fahnen-

74 Press release of 12 September 2001

75 NS-Kampfruf, Militant publication of the Nationalist German Workers’ Party – Foreign and Development Organisation, no. 138, September-December 2001

76 Here cited from Berliner Zeitung, 29 October 2001

77 Juliane Wetzel, Antisemitismus als Element rechtsextremer Ideologie und Propaganda (Anti-Semitism as an element of right-wing extremist ideology and propaganda), in: Wolfgang Benz, Antisemitismus in Deutschland, s. above, p. 104

78 See Werner Bergmann/Rainer Erb, Antisemitismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Ergebnisse der empirischen Forschung von 1946-1989, s. above, p. 29

79 Deutsche Stimme, no. 8, August 1998

*träger*<sup>80</sup>, which reads: „The murder of the Palestinian people is continuing“. The „genocide of the Palestinian people“ started as early as with the „massacre of Deir Jassin“ more than 50 years ago.<sup>81</sup> It continues:

*„Since the state of Israel was founded, its history has been shaped by terror and crimes against humanity and international law (...). There is an increasing danger that in the near future German soldiers, too, will be assigned to the Middle East under a foreign command in order to protect Israel’s unjustified frontiers“.*<sup>82</sup>

The „*Nationalzeitung*“<sup>83</sup> talks of „Israel’s annihilation war“ and asks: „Will the Palestinians be exterminated?“ Another issue<sup>84</sup> reads as follows: „Sharon – the new ruler of the world? Who is the real terrorist?“

SCHÖNHUBER argues that America and Israel are preparing „for the final struggle in order to achieve world domination“.<sup>85</sup> The neo-Nazi and former terrorist ROEDER shares his view: The „terrorist state of Israel“ and the United States „are the two real rogue states which grant no other people a right of existence if it bars their interests’ way.“<sup>86</sup>

An NPD newspaper has established a parallel between the German and the Palestinian „fate“:

*„We Germans share a similar fate with the Palestinian people: The Palestinians were deprived of their territory and became strangers in their own country. (...) this brave small people deserves our recognition and respect. Therefore we sympathise with the victims and declare our solidarity with the fighting peoples of Palestine, Syria and Lebanon!“*<sup>87</sup>

That this alleged parallel does not necessarily have to result in common activities in Germany, is demonstrated by a statement of the right-wing extremist terrorist Kay DIESNER:

*„I declare my solidarity with the Palestinians, fighting there in their homeland Palestine for their survival, and with the other Arabs, too, fighting the ZOGs<sup>88</sup> in the ‘Middle East’ and struggling for their freedom. (...) However, I reject any cooperation with the camel drivers here in Europe, eagerly participating in the destruction of Europe.“*<sup>89</sup>

80 Der Fahnenträger, no. 5 (2001)

81 Deutsche Stimme, s. above

82 Unabhängige Nachrichten, August 2001

83 Nationalzeitung, no. 17, 19 April 2002

84 Nationalzeitung, no. 18, 26 April 2002

85 Nationalzeitung, no. 7, 8 February 2002

86 Deutsche Bürgerinitiative, no. 8/2001. Similarly already in 1991: ROEDER warned of „American-Jewish world dominion, which is the Judaeo-Anglo-Americans’ primary objective“ (Deutsche Bürgerinitiative, no 2/1991).

87 Sachsen Stimme, October 1996

88 ZOG = Zionist Occupied Government

89 Ostara, no. 10/2001. In a similar form, but even more strictly, cooperation with Islamists is rejected in the Skinhead publication Der Förderturm, no. 4/2002.

When questioned about the PLO, the neo-Nazi Siegfried BOR-CHART states without hesitation:

*„My enemy’s enemy is my friend!“<sup>90</sup>*

In right-wing extremism, the Middle East conflict is not regarded as a marginal issue; on the contrary, it is attributed great, not least symbolic importance.

Repeatedly, Palestinian banners were shown at right-wing extremist demonstrations, and the participants in the demonstrations wore the ‘*kaffiyeh*’ (Palestinian-style headscarves).<sup>91</sup> An incident at an NPD demonstration in Nordhausen on 8 December 2001 is of significance, too: Though the demonstration’s motto was „Farewell German Mark“, the participants a.o. shouted the slogan „Jews out – out of Palestine“ and thus established a rationally unfounded connection.

The Skinhead band „*Landser*“<sup>92</sup> (low-ranking German soldier of WW II) agitates against Israel:

*„Comrades, comrades, this is your order:/ let’s go get ‘em! Throw bombs on Israel./We deploy the chosen champion to wage the last decisive strike/we sit in judgement; their fighting strength will break. That will be our proudest day.“*

Right-wing anti-Zionism primarily serves the purpose of exculpating National Socialist politics: With its excessive reproaches heaped on Israel it contributes to the discourse on the Germans’ exoneration. This is almost emblematically demonstrated in an issue of the „*Nationalzeitung*“.<sup>93</sup> On the newspaper’s left side an article entitled „Israel – 800 times convicted by the United Nations“, filling three columns, is printed, and the right side shows photographs of German „politicians of guilt and atonement“ and of the Israeli terrorist Baruch Goldstein. It is suggested to the reader that Israel is moving beyond the range of the international community and pursuing a terrorist policy towards its neighbour countries, whereas German politicians are indulging in unsubstantiated and undignified apologetic rituals towards Israel.

In right-wing extremist publications, the victims of the National Socialists’ annihilation policy are made culprits. The neo-Nazi „*Nachrichten der HNG*“ say<sup>94</sup>:

*„And the same institution calling Germany to account for the Holocaust will be able to call Israel to account as well.“*

<sup>90</sup> Zentralorgan, no. 11/2001, February 2001

<sup>91</sup> E. g. at a demonstration against the war in Afghanistan in Dresden on 7 October 2001

<sup>92</sup> Landser, Ran an den Feind (Let’s go get ‘em), s. foot-note no. 30

<sup>93</sup> Nationalzeitung, no. 20, 10 May 2002

<sup>94</sup> Nachrichten der HNG Hilfsorganisation für nationale politische Gefangene und deren Angehörige (News of the Relief Organisation for National Political Prisoners and their Families), no. 253, Ostermond/April 2002

For right-wing extremists, who are relatively isolated in Germany, it is also of importance to refer to like-minded individuals abroad, i. e. to imagine a quasi worldwide front against a new world order.<sup>95</sup> They feel strengthened in their anti-Semitic basic attitudes by Islamists: In both ideologies, the Holocaust is denied or seen in relative terms and „World Jewry“ is fought against. Besides, they agree in rejecting the universal application of human rights, in criticising globalisation and in advocating anti-Americanism. Closer cooperation between right-wing extremists and Islamists in Germany is prevented by both sides claiming absoluteness and the right-wing extremists' xenophobic orientation. The positions are summed up by IT Bündnis Rechts<sup>96</sup> (*IT Alliance of the Right*) as follows:

*„The national opposition is not blind at all and condemns both radical Zionism of Sharon's government directed against Palestine and our home country's increasing Islamisation and over-foreignisation.“*

Nevertheless, cooperation is called upon by right-wing extremists of different tendencies: MAHLER<sup>97</sup> talks of a „common front of Germans and Palestinians“; the Muslim states could „be our natural allies when struggling against the Israeli-American claim to world domination“, as FREY<sup>98</sup> puts it, and finally, the national revolutionist Robert STEUCKERS<sup>99</sup> advocates cooperation with „Arab-Muslim allies“. In this context, it should also be mentioned that the „Junge Freiheit“ (Young Freedom) has repeatedly afforded representatives of the terrorist Palestinian-Lebanese resistance the opportunity to set forth their view of the Middle-East conflict.<sup>100</sup>

Various appearances of Swiss Islamist Ahmed HUBER at right-wing extremist meetings (e. g. at the JN European congress 2000 as a speaker on the topic „Islam and the New Right“) and the scheduled conference on „Revisionism and Zionism“ in Beirut in March 2001, eventually prohibited by the Lebanese government, are examples for this cooperation. The conference, organised by the revisionist organisations „Institute for Historical Review“ (IHR) and „Vérité et Justice“<sup>101</sup> – to be attended by Horst MAHLER<sup>102</sup> from Germany – was i.a. meant to contribute to international understanding among anti-Jewish forces. In the Arab world, historic-revisionist theses are circulated on a large scale, however, emphasis seems to shift from predominantly denying the Holocaust to asserting its instrumentalisation.<sup>103</sup>

95 The revisionist newspaper National-Journal (no. 55, 2001) welcomed Syrian president Assad on its front page as follows: „The most prominent Holocaust revisionist's state visit in Berlin“.

96 IT Bündnis Rechts, 16 April 2002

97 Kennzeichen D, ZDF, 6 December 2000

98 Nationalzeitung, no. 16 (2001)

99 Junge Freiheit, 4/96

100 S. e. g. the interview of Abdel Aziz Rantisi (34, 2001, co-founder of Hamas und spokesman of Hamas' political wing in the Gaza Strip) and the reprint of an interview of Hassan Nasrallah (38/1995, secretary-general of the Lebanese Hizb Allah).

101 Its chairman is Jürgen GRAF. In Switzerland, he was sentenced to 15 months in prison because of denying the Holocaust; and he fled to Iran, where he was welcomed as a „fighter against Zionism“ by those forces opposed to reforms. (S. Die Tageszeitung, 26 March 2001)

102 The title of his planned speech, published on Internet, significantly is „Final solution of the Jewish issue“.

103 Die Welt, 18 May 2001: The newspaper reads as follows: In the Arab world, Roger Garaudy's book entitled „The Mythical Foundations of Israeli Policy“, banned in France and in Switzerland, is a bestseller. However, the number of individuals overtly denying the Holocaust, is declining. Only in Iraq do they still determine at least the official conception of history.

## 4.2 The democratic state and the debate on the German past (revisionism)

In democratic society, there is no consensus on adequately remembering the genocide of the European Jews. The debate, including aspects of „disposing of the past“ (*Entsorgung der Vergangenheit*) (Jürgen Habermas) is joined by right-wing extremists propagating „secondary anti-Semitism“<sup>104</sup>: It is an anti-Semitism existing not despite but because of Auschwitz (Dan Diner), taking recourse to modern anti-Semitic stereotypes (irreconcilability, revengefulness, greed for money, deceitfulness, aspiration for power and others), but primarily aimed at denigrating remembrance; the Jews are regarded as troublemakers and eternal persecutors, who because of constantly reminding the Germans of the NS crimes (and because of their very existence?) are a hindrance to a „normal“ political identity of the German people: „If such views prevail, it is just one step to once again antithetically comparing ‘Jews’ and ‘Germans’ and thus reviving the traditional schemes of thinking.“<sup>105</sup> „Reconciliation is prevented“ because the Jews have „not developed close ties“ with the country they live in, it is alleged. The Jews themselves are said to create anti-Semitism when behaving like this:



*„Michel Friedman cultivates the disastrous difference between Jews and Germans. In doing so, Friedman objectively promotes anti-Semitism which has brought so much misery upon the Jews and upon Germany (!).“<sup>106</sup>*

Social scientists have found out that the attitude towards Jews is closely connected with working on the National Socialist German past<sup>107</sup> and that these days anti-Jewish thinking could get its dynamic just there<sup>108</sup>. Several findings show what this dynamic might result from: According to an empirical study, 63 % of the Germans agree that „the discussion on the persecution of the Jews“ should be terminated.<sup>109</sup> Besides, nationalism advocated by many Germans is characterised as „not being sovereign“: Nationalists regard themselves as having fallen victim to external interference, criticism and allocation of blame from abroad and financial exploitation.<sup>110</sup> Even if this cannot be entirely paralleled with anti-Semitic attitudes, it may not be ignored that these are starting points for right-wing extremist agitation.

104 „Secondary anti-Semitism“ is also referred to as „aggressively countering remembrance“ (Lars Rensmann) and as „countering responsibility“ (Rudolf Welskopf and others).

105 Christhard Hoffmann, Das Judentum als Antithese. Zur Tradition eines kulturellen Wertungsmusters (Jewry as an antithesis. On the tradition of a cultural system of judgement), in: Wolfgang Benz, Antisemitismus in Deutschland, s. above, p. 45 f.

106 Frieden 2000. Nachrichten für die Deutschland-Bewegung, no. 2/2000, 16 February 2000

107 S. Werner Bergmann, Antisemitismus in Deutschland, no. 2/2000, p.139

108 Christhard Hoffmann, s. above, p. 45

109 Forsa Study, s. Die Woche, 24 December 1998

110 Werner Bergmann/Rainer Erb, s. above, p. 218 with reference to an Emnid Study of 1989

Right-wing extremists argue that reminding the Germans of the genocide of the European Jews is aimed at weakening Germany and making it willing to accept a political order foreign to its nature. The beneficiaries are the powers which exploit this attack on the central power in Europe for their own ends: the United States of America and the Jews. Relieving German history of its criminal character (*Entkriminalisierung*) is the „prerequisite for developing a natural national confidence.“<sup>111</sup> Revisionism, generally having an anti-Semitic connotation and being a „central connecting link of the entire scene“<sup>112</sup> serves this purpose. Its falsification of history is used in right-wing extremist agitation against remembering the genocide and paying compensation to the victims. Right-wing extremists' statements on the „German guilt complex“ are „a cover for provoking anti-Semitic resentment“.<sup>113</sup> Anti-Semites act as „offenders against a taboo“, thereby overcoming the alleged prohibition of thinking and defending the freedom of opinion against a repressive state.

The denying form of revisionism attempts to disavow the obvious genocide of the European Jews, whereas relativising revisionism<sup>114</sup> by drawing inadmissible comparisons is aimed at belittling NS crimes and doing away with the fact that they are unprecedented in history.

The attempt to gain sovereignty as concerns interpreting National Socialist history, is not directed to the past, but on the contrary forms the basis for the current political capacity to act. After all, the Basic Law's anti-totalitarian impetus and an anti-totalitarian basic consensus in society (in particular in the media, too) have prepared the ground for marginalising right-wing extremism. Revisionism and secondary anti-Semitism are trying to overcome this protection of democracy. They are being used to rehabilitate nationalist policies (without National Socialism and Hitler) and to disparage the Federal Republic of Germany's fundamental principles.

The NPD's theorist Jürgen SCHWAB<sup>115</sup> emphasises the central importance:

*„The pivot of this strategy, aimed at preventing new German self-confidence and the Germans' national identification, is the historic event which the Jews call 'Holocaust'“.*

Right-wing extremists feel confirmed by the evaluations of individual intellectuals, who are, however, quoted in a one-sided and undifferentiated way. In 1998, they positively received a speech of the author Martin Walser,

111 Deutschlandrat (German Council). A short-term association of right-wing extremist and national-conservative intellectuals, a. o. SCHÖNHUBER, MOHLER, HEPP, Diwald, Willms

112 Juliane Wetzel, s. above, p. 102

113 Application of the German Bundestag to ban NPD, p. 128

114 There, positive reference to National Socialism usually is more infrequent and at times lacks completely. While historic reality is not recognised, a small group of leading National Socialists is held responsible for the NS crimes, which are at times even presented as measures of self-defence. World War II is regarded as unavoidable and especially the attack on the Soviet Union is evaluated as a preventive war.

115 Jürgen SCHWAB, s. above, p. 58

who spoke about the instrumentalisation of the Holocaust („moral club“) and who described the planned Holocaust memorial as „monumentalising disgrace“. NIT-Mecklenburg<sup>116</sup> commented the conflict between the then president of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, Ignatz Bubis, and Walser as follows:

*„The days of re-education were followed by many years of silence. But now, a new age has come with an increasing number of individuals opposing this domination of the Jewish people. And this is not anti-Semitism, but life as a German with his head up and not – as it used to be for years – as a crawling people, doing anything to make Mr Bubis feel cheerful. For now, Mr Bubis, a new German nation will arise.“*

With satisfaction, NIT Schleswig-Holstein<sup>117</sup>, noted a change in public reaction as compared to the „historians’ conflict“ of 1986:

*„Unlike ten years ago, when revisionists in particular attacked the Holocaust, these days a lot of young people are completely indifferent towards the Holocaust. That is exactly what is getting on Bubis’ and other left-wing liberals’ nerves. The generation of guilt and atonement is leaving the scene.“<sup>118</sup>*

#### 4.2.1 Enduring sin and atonement as means of power

Right-wing extremists argue that the enforced never-ending atonement as part of a continuing foreign rule has been preventing the German people from pursuing its interests.

The „Auschwitz complex“ has become the „Germans’ original sin“, as anti-Semite Wolfgang FRENZ puts it.<sup>119</sup> It is the „depot of Jewish hatred and thus a terrible weapon of the Jews to be used against Germany.“ MAHLER<sup>120</sup>, using the typical anti-Semitic terminology, describes „illusion of collective guilt“ and „inheritable guilt“ as „characteristic features of Jewish thinking“ and further points out that if the Germans do not manage to free themselves from it, they will not be able to regain their „selfhood“.

116 NIT-Mecklenburg, 9 December 1998

117 NIT-Schleswig-Holstein, 2 December 1998

118 Contributions to the conflict in: Nation & Europa, nos. 11-12, November-December 1998 and no. 1, January 1999 („Walser without end: The taboo begins to rock.“)

119 Wolfgang FRENZ, Der Verlust der Väterlichkeit oder das Jahrhundert der Juden (The Loss of Paternalism or the Century of the Jews), Solingen, 1998, p. 17

120 Horst MAHLER, the NPD’s comment during the proceedings to examine the issue of a ban of the party before the Federal Constitutional Court on 20 April 2001

Using this pseudo-theoretical basis, representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany are being reproached with „obviously being more obliged to foreign interests“ than to their own people.<sup>121</sup>

MAHLER<sup>122</sup> talks of a „dictate of the Central Council of Jews in Germany“ which the „cartel of parties“ does not venture to object. In arguing like that, MAHLER reverts to the NPD’s known argumentation schemes. Former NPD chairman DECKERT referred to the then president of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, Ignatz Bubis, as the „new (Jewish-allied) high commissioner of and over Germany“.<sup>123</sup> The „*Deutsche Stimme*“<sup>124</sup> wrote: „Just as the Mafia controls Italian politics, we are controlled by the mosaic syndicate from Frankfurt“. Currently, the NPD is arguing<sup>125</sup>:

*„The gentlemen controlling the Central Council of Jews are at the same time controlling German politics“.*

#### **4.2.2 Compensation payments, the Finkelstein debate and the Holocaust memorial**

For decades – and currently in particular with regard to compensation payments for NS forced labourers and the planned central Holocaust memorial in Berlin – right-wing extremists have been using the same anti-Semitic clichés when joining the debate on remembering NS crimes: Whoever critically comments the German past, incites new anti-Semitism, the German people is being exploited by the Jews who as a result are responsible for anti-Semitism themselves, so they argue.

Some texts of the party „*Die Republikaner*“ (The Republicans) are an example of how traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes are combined with „secondary“ anti-Semitism. Besides, they show the levels of anti-Semitic discourse: insinuating, codified, overt, manifest. The anti-Semite who believes to be in possession of a somehow secret knowledge about an international Jewish conspiracy uses them all to confirm his construct, even if he, after all, appreciates when there is „plain“ talk, as in the last example, when the „culprits“ are named and when the „offender against the taboo“ is not willing „to crawl“:

A press release<sup>126</sup> reads as follows: Whoever wants to reduce „Germany to Auschwitz“, is preparing the way for a new anti-Semitism. (This is a very poor argument, it is true, because it would be difficult to find somebody really willing to initiate it, but for anti-Semites it is sufficient as a starting point for a delusive threat to positive German identity.) In another text, the

121 E. g. in *Nationalzeitung*, no. 12, 16 March 2001 on Federal President Rau. A photo significantly shows Rau wearing a 'kippa'.

122 Horst MAHLER, NPD’s comment during the proceedings to examine the issue of a ban of the party before the Federal Constitutional Court on 20 April 2001

123 *Deutsche Stimme*, no. 9, September 1994

124 *Deutsche Stimme*, nos. 6-7, June-July 1994

125 NPD’s executive committee, 30 May 2002, in: [www.npdverbotsprozess.de](http://www.npdverbotsprozess.de)

126 REP-Land Association Hesse, press release, 4 August 1999

party's chairman SCHLIERER<sup>127</sup>, seeking those „responsible“ - not cited in the press release – insinuatively confirms the typical anti-Semitic prejudice (revengefulness, the Jews have to blame themselves): „Despite their obvious repentance and their efforts to make up for the wrong „ the Germans „will not be forgiven to all eternity“: Whoever exaggerates in such a way, „intently“ provokes anti-Semitic reactions. Others within the party even go beyond such allusions: In a document of principle they overtly use anti-Semitic arguments and add another anti-Jewish stereotype (greed for money)<sup>128</sup>: As „German patriots“ they reserve the right to „oppose Jewish defamation and Jewish patronage. An end must be put to the Jews indoctrinating the Germans with feelings of guilt in order to exploit them financially.“ Finally, in another text, the „culprits“ are directly named, and in an antithetical comparison of „German“ and „Jewish“ characteristics, the National Socialist incriminated anti-Semitic stereotype of „productive“ and „consumptive“ capital is used, too.<sup>129</sup> It reads as follows: „Bubis and his associates“ are multi-millionaires:

*„It is a matter of fact that they have not earned the money by the work of their hands and by being honest. They have acquired their riches only by fraud and falsehood and by exploiting mankind. Our grandchildren will have to 'bleed' for it for ever, though they had nothing to do with the Nazis' dictatorship and World War II.“*

In their campaign directed against remembering the wrong and against compensation payments to NS victims, right-wing extremists also take recourse to Norman G. Finkelstein's book *„Die Holocaust-Industrie“* (The Holocaust Industry).<sup>130</sup>

With him being an American-Jewish intellectual and son of Holocaust survivors, right-wing extremists hope to have found a reliable witness of their anti-Semitic prejudice.<sup>131</sup> Finkelstein maintains that the Holocaust is ideologically presented and that it is an „indispensable weapon“ of Israel and the American Jews. He continues that compensation payments are misused by the Jewish organisations for their own ends and that the money is not directly passed on to the victims. Furthermore, he maintains that the organisations have manipulatively pushed up the number of victims.<sup>132</sup>



127 SCHLIERER in press release no 56/98 of the REP Party Headquarters in Germany, 18 August 1998

128 Die Republikaner, Principles 01/96, ViSDP: Die Republikaner, Land Association Thuringia

129 Mitteldeutscher Kurier, 2/98

130 Norman G. Finkelstein, Die Holocaust-Industrie. Wie das Leiden der Juden ausgebeutet wird. (The Holocaust Industry, Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Sufferings.) Munich, 2000

131 Salomon Korn is right in criticising that in public neither Norman Finkelstein's reputation nor his scientific uprightness had been of interest, but above all his role as a „Jewish crown witness“ against Jewish organisations. In: Salomon Korn, Tabubruch mit Zuschauer. Norman Finkelstein und sein Publikum (Breaking the Taboo with Spectators. Norman Finkelstein and his Audience), in: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 22 August 2000

132 In a statement of 10 July 2000 hardly realised in public, the „Claims Conference“ refuted every single point of Finkelstein's central accusations. S. Salomon Korn, s. above. Korn mentions Finkelstein's negligent attitude towards figures and facts.

Although Finkelstein is far from denying the Holocaust, in his book he undoubtedly promotes anti-Semitic resentment (e.g. that of the Jew's greed for money and being manipulative).<sup>133</sup> Unsurprisingly, the book was euphorically welcomed in the right-wing extremist scene. Some examples:

*„This book is a blow against lousy journalism“ and everybody advocating truth and justice must have it. “<sup>134</sup>*

*„Norman Finkelstein's book will probably result in breaking some taboos of thinking and speaking in the Federal Republic of Germany, too. It has already affected the 'singularity of German guilt'. Probably, in Germany only a brave Jew like Finkelstein could dare to make the Holocaust a topic in connection with financial interests. Presumably, any German would already have had to answer to a judge. “<sup>135</sup>*

The scene made use of Finkelstein's tour of Germany to read from his book in order „to comment on the subject“ (OBERLERCHER): On 7 February 2001 in Berlin, three right-wing extremists disturbed a reading by Finkelstein shouting „free, social and national“.

For some time now, the planned Holocaust memorial in Berlin has been in the centre of anti-Semitic right-wing extremist agitation. Prior to the German Federal Parliament's decision (1999), right-wing extremists had already initiated the collection of signatures against the memorial. *NIT Rheinland* formulated<sup>136</sup>: „Instead of further memorials we are calling for payable accommodation and jobs.“ ROEDER called for active resistance: He said he would be the first to tear down the planned Holocaust memorial in Berlin with a hand pick.<sup>137</sup>

In an „open letter“ addressed to the American political scientist Daniel Goldhagen, MAHLER wrote<sup>138</sup>:

*„In world history, the Jewish people (...) has given the most impressive evidence of its genocidal tradition. And it does not feel ashamed. What reasons do you – and your people – want to give for your demand on us Germans to feel ashamed? So, what is the use of the mark of infamy in the centre of the capital of the German Reich?“*

133 E. g. Dina Porat, Leader of the Center for Anti-Semitism Research at the University of Tel Aviv, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 9 May 2001

134 *Nationalzeitung*, no. 25, 15 June 2001

135 *Deutsche Stimme*, no. 3, March 2001

136 *NIT Rheinland*, 4 March 1997

137 So ROEDER at the NPD congress „Organised will means power“ in Passau on 7 February 1998.

138 MAHLER, Letter addressed to Daniel Goldhagen, here cited from Horst MAHLER, the NPD's comment during the proceedings to examine the issue of a ban of the party before the Federal Constitutional Court on 20 April 2001, p. 254 and 368

And:

*„Tell your people that the German people does not want the ‘Holocaust memorial’ and that it will not tolerate it for long.“*

On 29 January 2000, a „Citizens’ Initiative against the Holocaust Memorial’ organised a demonstration with the motto „Together for a New Germany“ in order to protest against the erection of the Holocaust memorial in the centre of Berlin. Some 600 participants marched through the *Brandenburger Tor*. Subsequently, Udo VOIGT and neo-Nazi Christian WORCH addressed the demonstrators.

In the course of a demonstration „Solidarity with Austria“ on 12 March 2000, an intermediary manifestation took place at the planned Holocaust memorial, too.

## 5. Anti-Semitic forms of agitation

Anti-Semitism has an overt, insinuating or latent and at times an even militant and violent structure. It becomes evident in the common political platforms, in publications, flyers, etc. The threat letters addressed to Jewish citizens and representatives and the desecration of Jewish cemeteries seem to be a specifically aggressive form. Jewish facilities in the Federal Republic of Germany have to be particularly protected by the police.

Jewish citizens and institutions receive lots of letters with anti-Semitic contents. An anonymous letter of 3 December 2001 to the Jewish Community in Regensburg may serve as an example:

*„Jews are harmful bugs!“ Germans: Fend off the Jewish vermin!“*

According to the „*Jüdische Allgemeine*“<sup>139</sup> the attacks have never been so numerous and so harsh; since the recent escalation in the Middle East the number of slanderous letters addressed to Jewish communities and their representatives has considerably increased.

Depending on the intensity of the public anti-Semitism debate, an increasing number of these letters is sent with names given overtly. As for their contents, Jews are marginalised, they are called upon to leave the country and they are threatened. In anti-Antifa publications, too, they are specifically emphasised as targets.<sup>140</sup>

Jews in the Federal Republic of Germany are being increasingly threatened by anti-Semitic agitation of right-wing extremist parties which can incite militant anti-Semites to act as the executors of the „people’s will“. In 1993, the party *Die Republikaner* organised an intensive anti-Semitically connoted campaign directed against the president of the Central Council of Jews

<sup>139</sup> *Jüdische Allgemeine*, no. 9/02, 25 April 2002

<sup>140</sup> See e. g. „Der Wehrwolf“, December 1999

in Germany, and in 2001 against the renaming of a bridge „*Ignatz-Bubis-Brücke*“ in Frankfurt. Influenced by MAHLER, the NPD appeals to the antithetical comparison of „German“ and „Jewish“ characteristics. On the occasion of the communal elections in Berlin, the party primarily agitated against the planned Holocaust memorial. The DVU, in its *Nationalzeitung*, has been spreading anti-Semitic „ideas“ for decades.

Anti-Semitism is propagated in parts of the esoteric scene, too (e. g. in Jan van HELSING's books).

In the right-wing extremist Skinhead scene, eliminatory anti-Semitism is nothing out of the ordinary: „Anti-Semitic slogans of manslaughter are popular in the scene and are massively spread with Skinhead music and propaganda publications.“<sup>141</sup> In computer games, violence against Jews is propagated, too, as e.g. in „*SA-Mann*“ (Storm Trooper) and „*Die Säuberung*“ (Ethnic Cleansing).<sup>142</sup>

Anti-Semitically motivated serious offences are committed, too: The arson attack on the synagogue in Lübeck (1994) and several attacks on the tomb of former president of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, Heinz Galinski (1998), illustrate this just like the explosive attack on the entrance of the Jewish cemetery in Berlin-Charlottenburg on 16 March 2002. In this connection, the activities of a „*Nationale Bewegung*“ (National Movement) in the Potsdam area have also to be mentioned. On 8 January 2001, it mounted an arson attack against the hall of mourning of the Jewish cemetery in Potsdam. The letter, claiming responsibility, reads as follows:

*„Today, we are setting a sign against the German people's body being sucked out by the parasitic RAPACITY characteristic of the Jews. Let's fight Jewry. Let's fight all its material and personal sources!!!“*

Referring to the National Socialist Pogrom Night of November 1938, the „*Nationale Bewegung*“ writes:

*„We will not allow the Jewish race to grow stronger again in Germany, and we will fight it with all means. Do you really think that a newly erected Jewish place of worship in the Federal State's capital Potsdam would have a permanent character? Don't even dare to lay the foundation stone for such a building; we will fight it with all our hate and in the end destroy it.“*

141 Der Tagesspiegel, 29 July 2000

142 Both games can be opened on the NSDAP/AO's homepage on Internet. In „*SA-Mann*“ Jews are eliminated, in „*Ethnic Cleansing*“ symbols showing the Star of David („Jews with a hooked nose, coloured people and gypsies“) are beaten up.

## 6. Evaluation and prognosis

Anti-Semitic stereotypes are a decisive element of the anti-rational construct based on conspiracy theories, characterising right-wing extremism.

The anti-Semitic discourse with all its essential characteristics is based on the paranoia of the „eternal Jew“: „World Jewry“ controls financial markets and the press, has wars waged and maintains vassal governments; in a domineering and revengeful manner it exploits the German people. Jews call for a special role, granting them political and economic power. They imagine Israel's defence policy to be the renaissance of the National Socialist machinery of annihilation.

In the past decades, the anti-Semites' share in the population has slightly decreased; however, individual statements being anti-Semitically connoted meet with high approval. Owing to their condemnation in politics and society, anti-Semites have been compelled to „communicate latently“ (Bergmann), which means that in most cases, anti-Semitic opinions are not expressed overtly but only in a private, non-public area.

Due to radical changes in society and international conflicts right-wing extremists, using anti-Semitic stereotypes, might be able to attract more attention than it has been the case so far and at times may even hope to meet with approval. **Two lines of discussion**, where right-wing extremists are increasingly agitating anti-Semitically, are **of special importance**:

- Sociological research of anti-Semitism has established that the downward tendency of the population's anti-Semitic resentment in the past decades has among others resulted from the approval of Israel's existence and its policy (especially after 1967). Current **conflicts in the Middle East** have caused a change of this attitude.

Right-wing extremists' criticism of Israel is only at a first glance directed against the Sharon government's policies; it is rather a matter of principle and is rooted in anti-Semitism often only poorly disguised as anti-Zionism. If it is not based on eliminatory anti-Semitism, it is probably motivated by „secondary anti-Semitism“, shaping the German domestic debate, and makes a contribution to the discourse on exoneration, culminating in the reproach of an Israeli „extermination policy“.

Those interested insinuate or maintain that criticism of Israel is „forbidden“ or is condemned as being anti-Semitic from the start. This is disproved both by critical reporting of the daily press and the democratic parties' individual statements on current Israeli policies and by the way Germany votes in the United Nations.

However, criticism of the Israeli government must neither ignore the specific relationship between Germany and Israel, which dates back to the „breach of civilisation“ (Diner), nor Israel’s right of existence – in particular with regard to the German state’s internal condition and its anti-totalitarian orientation.

The United States, too, are attacked as a power dominated by Jews or at least as supporters of Israel. In right-wing extremist discourse, anti-Americanism and anti-Semitism are at times used synonymously: The „American East Coast“ is representative of Jewish world domination and globalisation is defamed as a strategy used by American-Jewish financial capital to subjugate peoples. Anti-Semitic connoted disparagement of Israel and the United States is a means of propaganda of the „West’s enemies“.

- **The genocide of the European Jews and the problem of adequately remembering it** are a second important field where the image of the anti-Semitic enemy is used. Empirical studies pursued since 1952 have shown that there is both considerable reserve and resistance on the side of the population against compensation payments to NS victims and broad consent for the demand to put an end to the debate on „coming to terms with the past“. (As early as 1950, Adorno noted: „Meanwhile, already reminding of Auschwitz passes as boring resentment.“) The various federal governments resisted such a mentality – at times in an even very anti-populist way. Social scientists think it possible that in the very context of overcoming the National Socialist German past anti-Semitic thinking could develop its dynamics. „Secondary anti-Semitism“, using anti-Semitic stereotypes, tries to make the Jews the eternal persecutors. It is maintained that Germany is prevented from developing a „normal“ national identity. Using the reproach that repression and „terror of the mind“ („*Junge Freiheit*“) have been preventing a debate on the German past, which is unrestricted by taboos, right-wing extremists are trying to abolish values in politics and society and to clear the way for a new evaluation of nationalist politics. In doing so, they are combining anti-Semitism with their alleged struggle for freedom of opinion and against repression exercised by the state.

Though all relevant right-wing extremist parties and groupings are using anti-Semitic stereotypes and though anti-Jewish emotions have always existed, so far none of the organisations has made anti-Semitism a central point of its propaganda. Recently, however, anti-Semitic stereotypes are being

increasingly used. Presumptive offenders against taboos could (involuntarily) terminate „latent communication“.

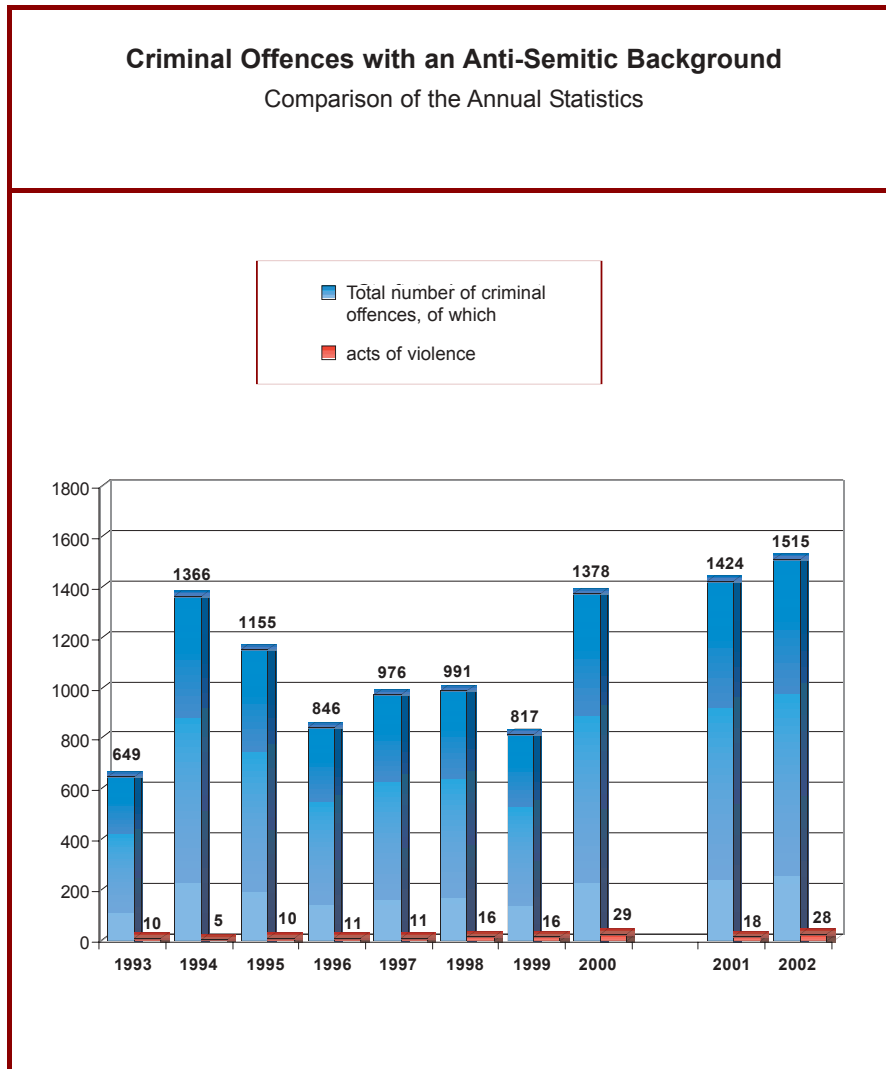
The situation in the Federal Republic of Germany is marked by:

- a constant decrease in the population's anti-Semitic attitudes since the 50s
- and at the same time an increase in activities of individuals with anti-Semitic attitudes.

Representatives of Jewish organisations and editors of opinion-forming newspapers, however, are reporting about a flood of overtly anti-Semitic letters. As early as 2000, Paul Spiegel perceived anti-Semitism „in a dis-inhibiting manner hardly conceivable“. In the past years, Jewish institutions have repeatedly been attacked and an increasing number of threat letters has been addressed to Jews, in which anti-Semites, under their complete names, have stood up for their convictions. The number of criminal acts and acts of violence has increased in recent years; eliminatory anti-Semitism is an essential part of the Skinhead scene. Right-wing extremists have extended their anti-Semitic agitation and intensified its substance; for this purpose, they have been making use of Internet, too. In a more offensive way than in recent years, anti-Jewish clichés are being used. With Horst MAHLER the aggressively fighting NPD has appointed a lawyer to represent the party in court proceedings, who concentrates anti-Semitic resentment in the antithetical comparison of „German“ and „Jewish“ values. This, too, is a contribution to clarification:

The Anti-Semite aims at the Jews, and in doing so includes the democrats with their „Jewish basic convictions“.

## Annex 1

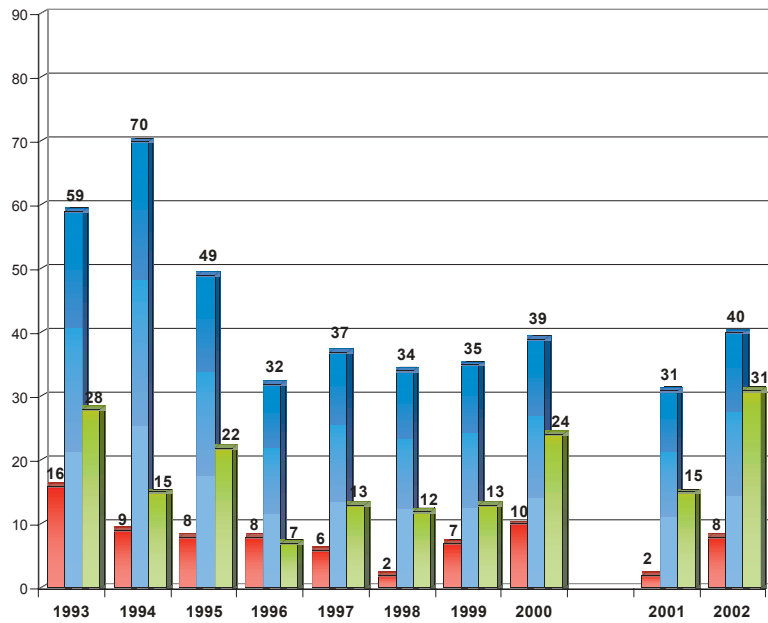
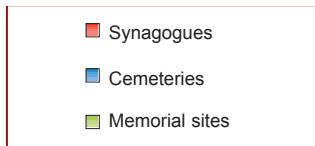


As of 1994, the figures are based on data provided by the Bundeskriminalamt (BKA - Federal Criminal Police Office). On 10 May 2001, the Permanent Conference of the Ministers and Senators of the Interior of the Federal States adopted the **new system defining 'politically motivated delinquency'** designed to effectively combat politically motivated and above all extremist criminal offences in a manner coordinated by the federal states. This decision of the Conference of the Ministers of the Interior has a drastic effect on the statistics of relevant offences. Due to the changed criteria of registration, the new defining system precludes a **comparison with the figures of the years prior to 2001**.

**Annex 2**

**Desecration of Jewish Cemeteries, Synagogues and Memorial Sites**

Comparison of the Annual Statistics



The figures are based on data provided by BfV.  
Where the figures differ from previous statistics, the new data are based on more current information.