



**LUND**  
UNIVERSITY  
Department of Political Science

STV 004  
HT 06  
Tutor: Bo Petersson

# Online anti-Semitism

A comparison between neo-Nazi and Islamist websites

Martin Telinius

# Abstract

I have chosen to compare and analyse anti-Semitism on two Islamist and two neo-Nazi websites. The websites belong to Radio Islam, The Muslim Brotherhood, The National Socialist Movement and The National Socialist Front. I have used the theories of William Brustein and Walter Laqueur, which claim that the perception of the Jew and Judaism has remained more or less the same for two thousands years. However, certain new forms of anti-Semitism have emerged in modern time such as Holocaust denial, some forms of anti-Zionism and the opinion that Israel is a racist and apartheid state. In my thesis I have found that the neo-Nazis and the Islamists generally have a very negative perspective of Jews. Holocaust denial, the perception of Jews as conspiring in nature to gain power and or wealth as well as a negative view on Israel are things that unite the four groups in their online anti-Semitism.

**Keywords:** anti-Semitism, Holocaust denial, neo-Nazis, Islamists, the Internet

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# 1 Introduction

Anti-Semitism is an issue that is very much alive today although World War Two and the defeat of Nazi Germany and Hitler happened more than sixty years ago. In his political testament Hitler said that it may take 1000 years before anti-Semitism will return to Europe.<sup>1</sup> Hitler was wrong. It didn't take 1000 years. It took less than sixty.

It is said that anti-Semitism has not really changed after 1945. This is true, but only to a certain extent. Traditional accusations against Jews have remained the same in the post World War Two world, with a few exceptions<sup>2</sup>. Anti-Semitism has today also taken the new form of Holocaust denial and some scholars argue that anti-Zionism is used as cover for anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism is also expressed in different ways. Today it is mostly found on the Internet, but it is also expressed in books, newspapers and on the radio. This does not naturally mean that it cannot be found elsewhere. There are for example popular TV shows in Egypt and in other Muslim countries that are based on *the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.<sup>3</sup> Online anti-Semitism is not a new phenomenon, but in the field of political science it is. Since the Internet is a rather new technology compared to books, newspapers, radio and TV, I have chosen to investigate it since few studies have been made about Internet hate. No one, has to my knowledge, written about it from a comparative perspective and this has been an incentive for me. I have checked this with both scholars and Non Governmental Organisations (NGO) in Europe and in the US, but I have found no such study.

In addition to this, it is also interesting why anti-Semitism has survived after 1945, when no one thought it would be possible for that hate to rise again and that one of its main forums today is the Internet. After the fall of Nazi Germany the term "Never Again" has been heard many times, but today one can clearly say that although the second Holocaust has not yet taken place, anti-Semitism is on the rise virtually and literally.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ever Again*. Moria Films. 2006.

<sup>2</sup> Laqueur, W. 2006: 135.

<sup>3</sup> <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=ia&ID=IA10902>

## 2 Aim of the thesis

The aim of this thesis is to investigate, compare and analyse online anti-Semitism and specifically how it is portrayed on two neo-Nazi and two Islamist websites.

The key questions I intend to answer are:

- ⌘ What kind of anti-Semitism can be found on the websites and how can you compare them to each other?
- ⌘ How does anti-Semitism found on the neo-Nazi websites relate and compare to anti-Semitism found on the Islamist websites?

The growth of the Internet has facilitated not only the spread of information and knowledge to many parts of the world, but also the message of hate and intolerance. In 1995 only one hate site could be found on the Internet. One single site of hate and intolerance compared to today's over 5000.<sup>4</sup> It has to be noted of course that the Internet was not as large then as it is today. When speaking to people in general about this, most of them know that there are sites that promote anti-Semitism and other forms of hate, but few people know that these sites are growing in large numbers every year.

In January 2006, I applied for an internship at the Simon Wiesenthal Center in New York City and was accepted. Having spent six months at their *Taskforce against Hate department*, mainly working with online hate-groups, I have gained thorough knowledge of a virtual world few people have seen today. My time at the SWC inspired me a great deal in writing this thesis, so that more people will understand that anti-Semitism must be fought not only in ordinary life and in the mainstream press etc. but also on the Internet.

Working at the Wiesenthal Center also made me interested in why anti-Semitism is not only associated with Nazism anymore, but with other groups as well. Islamist extremist groups like al-Qaida and Hizballah have been accused of using anti-Semitic rhetoric. Islamist groups and neo-Nazis are not usually associated with each other, but just a few years ago they became closer and according to the American writer and Professor George Michael, there was

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<sup>4</sup> Statement by Abraham Cooper, Dean of the Simon Wiesenthal Center 2006.

even talk of cooperation between some of them. Who would think that the extreme right's racist and radical Christian segments could be attracted to movements such as Hamas and al-Qaida? When reading Professor Michael's book *The Enemy of my Enemy. The Alarming Convergence of Militant Islam and the Extreme Right*, I realised there must be some common ground between Islamists and neo-Nazis and I wanted to see if this was anti-Semitism. In *Världen Idag*- the Swedish newspaper's online issue, a journalist named Mats Tunehag wrote an article called "Islamism, today's Fascism?".<sup>5</sup> In the article he claimed that Nazism and Islamism have a long tradition of co-operation, especially in the field of anti-Semitism. This article inspired me even more to write this thesis.

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<sup>5</sup> <http://www.varldenidag.se/?aid=4817&sessId=Wkwr2nU8>

## 3 Methodology

Analysis of websites and its contents is part of the multimedia character of the Internet. It is a relatively new area, where there is a limited amount of literature written on the topic. Malin Svenningsson writes that websites is a new area to science but it can be reached using methods already known to political science.<sup>6</sup> To understand the complex functions of the websites it is good to use several methods known to political science. In my thesis I have however only used one method, which is the comparative method.

### 3.1 Comparative analysis model

In comparing the websites and their possible anti-Semitism I have used the book *Komparativ metod- förståelse genom jämförelse* by Thomas Denk. I am aware that this book is highly positivistic, but there are few comparative works that are not positivistic today. The author has three methods of comparative analysis and I have used one of them. *The Method of Agreement* is made up by similarities which are explained with similarities. This method was chosen since it is better to compare what different websites have in common rather than what makes them different. For example if the observations of the studied phenomena only have one of several possible circumstances in common, then it is this circumstance that affects the phenomenon.<sup>7</sup> Applied to my study, neo-Nazi sites that have Nazism in common may have other things in common with other sites that are outside their ideology. These things could be for example different kinds of anti-Semitism, general xenophobia and violent methods in seizing power.

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<sup>6</sup> Svenningsson, M. 2003: 166.

<sup>7</sup> Denk, T. 2002: 56.

## 3.2 Literature, sources and previous research

Finding literature about online anti-Semitism has been very hard and close to impossible. I therefore had to look for other options. I have consulted several standard works about anti-Semitism to see what they had written about new trends in anti-Semitism, in which I count the Internet as one of these trends. I have read and studied books by Jerome Chanes, Walter Laqueur, Göran Larsson, Marvin Perry and Frederick Schweitzer as well as Henrik Bachner. The main books I have used are by William Brustein and Walter Laqueur and they are thoroughly described in the theory chapter. I searched the database LOVISA of the University of Lund as well as GUNDA of the University of Gothenburg using the searchwords “anti-Semitism”, “contemporary anti-Semitism”, “Nazism”, “Islamism” and “Holocaust denial”. I also searched Amazon.com and Google for the above-mentioned searchwords.

In order to find specific material about my topic I have also emailed and been in touch with the Simon Wiesenthal Center in New York and in Los Angeles as well as the Anti-Defamation League in New York. Since I did an internship at the Simon Wiesenthal Center the NGO has provided me with quite a lot of information and helped me to find persons I could interview or email. They also helped me to get in touch with former European Member of Parliament, Ilka Schroeder and I interviewed her in New York in May 2006 on the topic of contemporary anti-Semitism in Europe today. Miss Schroeder also helped me to get in touch with the German journalist Mattias Kuentzel, who specializes in neo-Nazism and Islamism. In email correspondence with him he confirmed my thoughts that there exists no study on comparative online anti-Semitism to this day. He has however written a book on the topic of cooperation between Nazi Germany and Islamists in the Middle East from the 1920s to World War Two, called *Djihad und NSDAP*. This book is in German and was published autumn 2006. In addition to this I have consulted the Swedish NGO Expo as well as the Swedish Military Academy in order to find out if anyone in Sweden has written on my topic to this date. I have also been in email correspondence with the Swedish NGO, Swedish Committee against anti-Semitism and they provided me with some links to online anti-Semitism. However, none of them were of the comparative perspective. Forum for Living History as well as the Swedish scholar Henrik Bachner has also provided me with further research material and they also claimed that there exists no previous study of comparative online anti-Semitism.

### 3.2.2 Internet and criticism concerning web-based sources

Something that has been discussed since the birth of the Internet has been issues of reliability concerning web-based material and in particular websites. Since my thesis has gotten much of its prime research material from the Internet, it is important and relevant to have a discussion of the reliability of these websites. Investigating political websites is problematic, especially if they belong to the extremist side on the political scale. It is often very hard to find out who or what stands behind the website<sup>8</sup> and this has been a real issue in my research.

Websites with extremist contents also risk being closed down by Internet Service Providers (ISP) and by authorities. They also risk being hacked by individuals, organisations and states. To counter the temporality of websites I have taken a copy of the website with the Windows tool, printscreen<sup>9</sup>. I have then had access to the website, since it has been saved on my computer. I have naturally added the date and time when I used this tool and if the website was accessible later I have used the most up to date version as possible. If it is not possible to find the information when the website was last updated, I have added the date when I analysed the content of the site to the results of this thesis.

In accessing the websites I have as a researcher acted as non-participating observer or what Svenningsson calls a spy or a lurker.<sup>10</sup> In the case of Internet-based forums I have only observed and not reacted actively to what was being said and discussed.

## 3.3 Selection of Internet sites

Selecting Internet sites where possible anti-Semitism is frequent or occurring is a difficult task. I have chosen two neo-Nazi and two Islamist sites. The reason for choosing only four sites is that it is hard to compare objects in comparative theory if they are more than five.<sup>11</sup> I have chosen websites that may be seen as representable to neo-Nazism and to Islamism. I have also selected the websites because they have existed for a long time or belong to large organizations. They are therefore not a new phenomenon online. There have been allegations that some of them have had anti-Semitic content on their sites and in the case of the neo-Nazi

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<sup>8</sup> Svenningsson, M. 2003: 165.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 165.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 104-105, 178

<sup>11</sup> Denk, T. 2002: 66

sites this is true. It is however very hard to find a neo-Nazi site that is not anti-Semitic, since anti-Semitism is a crucial part in Nazi ideology. I have chosen to compare and analyse excerpts from the websites, since it is impossible to investigate entire websites as they are in studies like this one. I am aware of the problem that some parts of the websites have consequently not been compared and analysed. I have therefore chosen excerpts from the neo-Nazi and Islamist websites which can be considered anti-Semitic. A similar method was used when the Swedish scholar Henrik Bachner compared anti-Semitic propaganda on Radio Islam's broadcasts with the Hitler-era German newspapers and books. He took excerpts from the broadcasts and compared them with excerpts from newspapers such as *Der Stürmer* and books such as *Mein Kampf*. This was done in the book *Det Eviga Hatet*. I have not chosen the neo-Nazi sites because they are based in a specific country. Many other neo-Nazi organisations exist, but I had to choose two and they have existed more or less continuously for several years without having been closed down. When it comes to the two Islamist sites, they have been accused of having anti-Semitic contents, but this has not been discussed in any comparative study.

The neo-Nazi sites are from the United States and from Sweden. That choice is based on the language barrier I was confronted by. I have only studied websites in English and in Swedish. English is also the most common language used online. There are a great number of both neo-Nazi and Islamist sites online today and I have to limit myself to only look at a few. To find neo-Nazi sites I have mainly used a DVD called *Digital Terrorism and Hate 2006* by the Simon Wiesenthal Center that lists over 3000 intolerant Internet sites. I have also used *The New Lexicon of Hate* from the same organization. From these two sources I chose to look at an American site called *National Socialist Movement (NSM)*, since it is the largest neo-Nazi organization and its website is very well organized. In a telephone call to the Swedish Non Governmental organization *Expo* I found out that Sweden's largest neo-Nazi organization is the *National Socialist Front (NSF)* and I have chosen to look at their site. This has also been confirmed by the Swedish Security Service, Säpo.<sup>12</sup> It is in the same case as of the NSM, well organized and structured. I have chosen not to study the official website of the NSF, since according to Expo, this website does not show their real opinions. I have instead chosen the NSF's newsportal, which is closely connected to the organisation and generally better updated than their official website.

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<sup>12</sup> [http://www.sakerhetspolisen.se/Publikationer/sapo\\_2003.pdf](http://www.sakerhetspolisen.se/Publikationer/sapo_2003.pdf) page 35

When it came to Islamist sites it was more difficult in choosing websites to look at. Many sites are in Arabic and since I do not know that language it is difficult. Therefore, in selecting the Islamist websites, I had as in the case of the neo-Nazi websites chosen to look at sites which were in English or Swedish. I will look at one Islamist site called *Radio Islam*, which is in Swedish as well as in a great number of other languages. Radio Islam has previously been the subject of a few studies and in 1990 the founder of the site was sentenced to prison for racial incitement. That was however almost twenty years ago and very little has been heard from the founder and the website in the press since. Next to nothing has also been written about online anti-Semitism and Radio Islam, which makes my study possible. As the second Islamist site, I have chosen to look at the website of the *Muslim Brotherhood*, an international Islamist organisation based in Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood is an influential Islamist organisation and has close ties with other Islamist organisations such as Hamas.<sup>13</sup> It would be interesting to look at an American Islamist site, but the Muslim Brotherhood is an organization that may be seen as representable for the term Islamism.

### 3.4 Limitations

Working with such a broad subject as anti-Semitism, I had to limit myself to a specific part of the subject. I have not specifically discussed parts of anti-Semitism such as evolutionary, psychological and social anti-Semitism. I have mainly studied anti-Semitism from the perspective that it has always existed, but sometimes taken new forms. Social anti-Semitism was specifically hard to leave out, since it is closely connected to how ordinary people view anti-Semitism on a daily level. It could be argued that some social anti-Semitism is included in the theory and results, but I have not singled it out as social anti-Semitism.

It can also be argued for and against why I limited my approach to only neo-Nazi and Islamist anti-Semitism. As a researcher, I must limit my approach, since anti-Semitism can be found from left to right, in religious groups other than Islam and sometimes more among certain ethnic groups than amongst others.<sup>14</sup> I find the proposed link between some neo-Nazis and some extreme Muslim fundamentalists intriguing. I wanted to investigate a different aspect than what is usually associated with Islamists in particular. Islamists are in the world

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<sup>13</sup> <http://www.varldenidag.se/?aid=4817&amp;sessId=Wkwr2nU8#top>

<sup>14</sup> Chanes, J. 2004: 241-242.

post September 11 often in general associated with terrorism and not so often with anti-Semitism. Neo-Nazism on the other hand is closely associated with anti-Semitism and other forms of racism and xenophobia and not so often with terrorism.<sup>15</sup>

### 3.5 Objectivity

The writer's objectivity and previous knowledge of the subject is critical to the thesis. No one is entirely objective about any subject.<sup>16</sup> We all have an idea about what we consider right or wrong. This is the same with the terms anti-Semitism, neo-Nazism and Islamism. I consider the three -isms not accepted according to human rights and values agreed on by the UN declaration. As a researcher, I believe I should not be objective about these terms. The moral values that are consistent in the Swedish society applies to me as well and those values are in conflict with anti-Semitism, neo-Nazism, Islamism and other intolerant -isms.

My time as an intern at the Simon Wiesenthal Center has also influenced and affected me a great deal. Working at such a large Jewish organisation made me understand that it is very important to combat all forms of intolerance and hatred, not only anti-Semitism. The Center has aided me quite a lot in getting in touch with persons at universities and NGOs who know more about anti-Semitism. I would not say that my objectivity has changed after having worked at the Center, but my knowledge about neo-Nazis and Islamists have been reinforced.

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<sup>15</sup> There are some clear exceptions to this for example the Oklahoma bombing in 1995.

<sup>16</sup> Denk, T. 2002: 93.

## 4 Theory

Anti-Semitism in itself is a very large subject, which is difficult to describe since there are a great number of aspects to it. I have chosen to use the theories of anti-Semitism from the perspectives of William Brustein's *Roots of Hate. Anti-Semitism in Europe before the Holocaust* and Walter Laqueur's *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism. From Ancient Times to the Present Day*. I will also to some extent refer to the authors Marvin Perry and Frederick Schweitzer, Ayaan-Ali Hirsi, Jerome Chanes, Henrik Bachner, Göran Larsson, Mark Weitzman, Robert Wistrich and to the Professor Dina Porat to reinforce the arguments put forward by Brustein and Laqueur. William Brustein describes what he considers the roots to anti-Semitism before the Holocaust, but he argues that these roots can be found in modern anti-Semitism and outside Europe as well. He claims that the four main roots are religious, political, racial and economic. Walter Laqueur describes how anti-Semitism has changed from ancient times to today. He argues that it has taken new forms rather than really changed. Some classic anti-Semitic arguments have remained the same such as the perception of the Jew as greedy, while other new forms like Holocaust denial and letting all Jews represent the state of Israel's misdeeds have emerged. The Internet has also facilitated the spreading of anti-Semitism from neo-Nazi groups and Muslim fundamentalists to Communists and the anti-globalization movement. I will in this chapter discuss the main outlines of the new forms of anti-Semitism, which Laqueur calls modern anti-Semitism as well as the old classic arguments.

It can be argued that anti-Semitism is based on how people view a minority, the Jews. Jews have in most cases throughout history been a minority and as such been subject to various purges, accusations and discrimination. They have often been forced to live in closed areas and been restricted to certain professions. Jews stuck to their own, isolated themselves and to outsiders they might seem to have considered themselves as better than everyone else.<sup>17</sup> This caused resentment and sometimes contempt among non-Jews. They were accused of such things as being against Christianity, being economic profiteers, racially inferior and to be conspiring in nature. One could argue that anti-Semitism has not really changed and that the same hatred has survived in the same forms as it always has. This is true when it comes to

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<sup>17</sup> Laqueur, W. 2006: 3.

anti-Semitism as in the religious form. Religious anti-Semitism stems from the accusation that Jews killed Christ and refused to accept him as Messiah and that they also refused to accept Muhammad's teachings.<sup>18</sup> In Christian Europe, the opinion that Jews killed Christ helped create several stereotypes of Jews. Jews were identified as the Devil and Satan was often depicted as a Jew.<sup>19</sup> Jews were portrayed as Judas Iskariot whose love for money exceeded everything else. They were also seen as untrustworthy and as traitors, which helped pave the way for pogroms and other purges. Jews have also been accused of belonging to secret orders and sects, including the blood libel charges that Jews sacrificed Christian children to use their blood to make matzo bread during Passover.<sup>20</sup> Marvin Perry and Frederick Schweitzer claim in *Antisemitism. Myth and Hate from Antiquity to the Present* that Islamist demagogic rhetoric since September 11, 2001, has reproduced every element of Christian European anti-Semitism. Judaism is from this perspective seen as evil and requires Jews to harm non-Jews. Jews are from the same perspective bent on subverting religion and the Talmud requires them to commit ritual murder.<sup>21</sup>

Throughout the ages and into modern time Jews as a collective group have been accused of various evil deeds and practices, not only religious ones. Nationalists claimed that not only foreigners in general, but especially Jews posed a serious threat to the stability of the nation.<sup>22</sup> This can be seen today in modern racism as well, although the focus has been lifted somewhat from Jews to other groups. By the extreme right they were seen as racially inferior, which stemmed from the racial hygiene ideas of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup> It is widely known today that Nazism claims that the Aryan race is superior to all other races and especially to the Jews.<sup>24</sup> In Nazi propaganda during Hitler's time, the Jews were portrayed as the mainstays and chief beneficiaries of exploitative capitalism, internationalism and Marxism. The Nazis believed Jews were the masterminds behind a worldwide conspiracy to destroy German and Aryan racial interests.<sup>25</sup> Neo-Nazis claim that immigration and miscegenation instigated by Jews are the main threats to the survival of the white race.<sup>26</sup> Neo-Nazi groups also claim that Jews are profiting from the immigration and destruction of the white race. Typical for the neo-Nazi belief is the conspiring nature of the Jew which manifests itself in the Jewish world

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Perry, M. & Schweitzer, F. 2002: 76-77.

<sup>20</sup> Larson, G. 1995: 45.

<sup>21</sup> Perry, M. & Schweitzer, F. 2002: 263-264.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 97.

<sup>23</sup> Brustein, W. 2003: 101.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. 142.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 142.

<sup>26</sup> Weitzman, M. 2005: 2

government or ZOG, which stands for Zionist Occupational Government. Neo-Nazis and White Supremacists argue that ZOG is trying to destroy the white race just like their predecessors in the 1930s believed that the Jews threatened the German people.<sup>27</sup> Not only neo-Nazis believe that Jews have a great deal of influence in the US government and constitute a threat, but some elements of the anti-globalization movement, the extreme left and Islamists claim this as well. Some people even go as far as to say that Jews control the US government.<sup>28</sup> In the Arab and Muslim world today, the conspiratorial character of the Jew is well known according to Walter Laqueur. In that part of the world it is also believed that the Jews constitute part of a secret conspiracy to conquer and dominate the world. The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and Hitler's *Mein Kampf* are well read and are in some cases best-sellers.<sup>29</sup> The "common man" in the Muslim world is mostly fearful and suspicious of Jews according to the Muslim theologian Khalid Durán.<sup>30</sup> The perception of the Jew in the Muslim world is to some extent described by the Dutch-Somalian writer Ayaan Ali Hirsi:

"Growing up as a child in Saudi Arabia, I remember my teachers, my mom and our neighbors telling us practically on a daily basis that Jews were evil, the sworn enemies of Muslims who's only goal was to destroy Islam." "Jews were said to be responsible for the deaths of babies, epidemics like AIDS, for the cause of wars. They were greedy and would do absolutely anything to kill us Muslims. And if we ever wanted to know peace and stability we would have to destroy them before they would wipe us out."<sup>31</sup>

Jews today, just like 100 years ago, are sometimes accused of being ultra-materialist, charging excessive interest and thinking about nothing but profit. Jews have been successful socially, economically, politically and culturally, maybe somewhat too much, for such a small minority to pass unnoticed.<sup>32</sup> Accusations that Jews control the major means of production and by virtue of this power successfully manipulate both the domestic and foreign policies of states can be found in all parts of the political spectrum.<sup>33</sup> Jews have also been accused of being more loyal to Israel or to a Jewish organisation than to the state they live in.<sup>34</sup> Jews conspiring to gain world power by manipulating states, governments and the media as well as Jews

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<sup>27</sup> Weitzman, M.2005: 2.

<sup>28</sup> Laqueur, W. 2006: 186-188.

<sup>29</sup> Laqueur, W. 2006: 197.

<sup>30</sup> Perry, M. & Schweitzer, F. 2002: 264.

<sup>31</sup> Ayaan-Ali, H. 2006-12-15.

<sup>32</sup> Perry, M. & Schweitzer, F. 2002: Preface ix.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. 180.

<sup>34</sup> <http://80.179.148.196/eng/Working%20Definition%20of%20Antisemitism>

belonging to movements whose aim is to destroy the nation and its values are anti-Semitic accusations that have remained the same since ancient times.<sup>35</sup>

The emergence and rapid development of an international socialist movement and the popularization of the notorious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* caused a huge rise in political anti-Semitism in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution of 1917.<sup>36</sup> Jews and socialism were seen as the same by many people, since many of the leading socialists like Marx and Trotsky were either of Jewish origin or Jewish.<sup>37</sup> One has to note that the link between socialism and Jews is not so much a factor today due to the disappearance of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. I have included this part in the theory, because it is important to note that the accusation that the Jews are Communists may be found on some extreme right Internet sites today.

The concept of anti-Semitism changed its form after the Second World War. According to Professor Porat of Tel Aviv University, the old enemy of the allies was forgotten and the Western world was faced with Communist Russia.<sup>38</sup> Therefore the anti-Semitism of Nazi-Germany was partly forgotten, which paved the way for a new kind of anti-Semitism called Holocaust denial or Historic Revisionism. The revisionists see themselves as fighters for historical truth against the overwhelming forces of world Jewry. Denying the Holocaust is today a part of the extreme left as well as of the extreme right, but it is also part of Arab ideological propaganda against the Jews and the state of Israel. Some of the deniers mean that although the Holocaust has taken place, unscrupulous Jews have exploited it to gain international sympathy as well as to extort money from the international community.<sup>39</sup> Jews wanted sympathy for the new Jewish state and were accused of using the Holocaust as a propaganda weapon.<sup>40</sup> Similar arguments can also be seen in the extreme left. Jews, it is argued, have been talking too much and for far too long about the Holocaust as being the only tragedy of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>41</sup> Some deniers mean that even if the Holocaust had taken place, then it was all the better.<sup>42</sup> Another form of Holocaust denial is called the “relativists”. They argue that seen from a historic perspective, the murder of six million Jews during the Second World War is not unique, since millions of others also perished. They also claim that it is unclear whether the Nazis had intended all along to kill Europe’s Jews and that the number of

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<sup>35</sup> Brustein, W. 2003: 265.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. 266.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. 266-267.

<sup>38</sup> Digital Lecture, Yale University. 2005-05-04.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 184.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 200 & 6.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. Preface ix.

<sup>42</sup> Perry, M. & Schweitzer, F. 2002:

dead is uncertain.<sup>43</sup> Holocaust denial is today a central theme in the neo-Nazi movement. The denial means that a demonizing picture of the Jews is drawn up, where the Jews are being portrayed collectively as liars and deceivers.<sup>44</sup> The deniers attribute the Jews with classic anti-Semitic myths such as the Jews being evil conspirators, instigating crimes, corruption and perversion wherever they go.<sup>45</sup> Neo-Nazis also try to clear the name of Hitler and Nazism by denying the Holocaust.<sup>46</sup>

The author Jerome Chanes claims that anti-Zionism is often used as a cloak for outright anti-Semitism.<sup>47</sup> This is especially frequent in the Muslim world and among neo-Nazis and the extreme left, since it is more politically correct to criticise Zionism than Jews directly.<sup>48</sup> The term Zionist came to be used as a synonym with the Jew with the aim of clearing the evidence of the Holocaust and Nazism.<sup>49</sup> Anti-Zionism is a much debated term and has also been debated in the UN. The world organization passed resolution 3379 in 1975 which condemned Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination. It was repealed in 1991. It is still unclear whether anti-Zionism is anti-Semitism and I will not define it as such here, but rather look at it from a case to case basis.

Another negative perception of Jews is that they have become today's killers who want to exterminate the Palestinians. The top-ranking neo-Nazi Horst Mahler calls the Jews of today "ZioNazis".<sup>50</sup>

I will deliberately abstain from describing the causes to the Arab-Israeli conflict, since it is not the purpose of this thesis. I realise this may be a problem since there can be little doubt that the creation of the state of Israel increased Muslim anti-Semitism, but one has to note that anti-Semitism existed before the state of Israel. Authors such as Walter Laqueur claim that the creation of Israel in 1948 served as a trigger for this anti-Semitism.<sup>51</sup> However, comparing Israeli policy to that of the Nazis is according to the Non Governmental Organisation, The Coordination Forum Countering for anti-Semitism, clearly a case of anti-Semitism.<sup>52</sup> Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g. by claiming that the existence of the state of Israel is a racist endeavour is according to the same NGO also anti-Semitism. The

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<sup>43</sup> Laqueur, W. 2006: 138-139.

<sup>44</sup> Bachner, H. 2004: 347.

<sup>45</sup> Perry, M. & Schweitzer, F. 2002: 210.

<sup>46</sup> Laqueur, W. 2006: 125.

<sup>47</sup> Chanes, J. 2004: 252.

<sup>48</sup> <http://sicsa.huji.ac.il/Antizionism.htm>

<sup>49</sup> Laqueur, W. 2006: 164.

<sup>50</sup> Laqueur, W. 2006: 184

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. 203.

<sup>52</sup> <http://80.179.148.196/eng/Working%20Definition%20of%20Antisemitism>

NGO is an Israeli one and co-operates with several large other NGO: s like the Anti Defamation League, the Jewish Agency and the European Union Monitoring Centre for Xenophobia and Racism.

# 5 Definition of terms

## 5.1 anti-Semitism

Today the term anti-Semitism is a term that provokes many feelings even among those who are considered anti-Semites. The term in itself is a nonsense term<sup>53</sup>, coined by a German journalist Wilhem Marr in the late 1800s to establish a difference between classical Christian anti-Semitism and a modern interpretation of the term. The term “Semitism” is in itself a linguistic term since it is based on Semitic people. However, despite its non-relevance to Jews besides the linguistic relation it has become a well-established term among scholars and academics today as a sign of prejudice and hostility against Jews. The Sociologist Helene Fein defines anti-Semitism as a:

“continuing latent structure of perceptions hostile against Jews as a collective, which on the individual level is manifested as attitudes, in culture as myths, ideologies, folklore traditions and symbolism. It is also manifested in actions- social or legal discrimination, political mobilisation against the Jews and collective or state based violence, which aims or results in disassociating, expelling or destroying Jews, just because they are Jews”.<sup>54</sup>

There are a number of other definitions of anti-Semitism, but it would be impossible to list them all here. However, an important addition to the above mentioned definition must be added. The Israeli NGO, The Coordination Forum Countering for anti-Semitism, claims that comparing Israeli policy to that of the Nazis and that the state of Israel is racist is anti-Semitism as well. I will use this definition in my thesis as well as Helene Fein’s.

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<sup>53</sup> [http://intolerans.levandehistoria.se/article/article\\_docs/antisemitism\\_print.pdf](http://intolerans.levandehistoria.se/article/article_docs/antisemitism_print.pdf) page 21

<sup>54</sup> Fein, H in [http://intolerans.levandehistoria.se/article/article\\_docs/antisemitism\\_print.pdf](http://intolerans.levandehistoria.se/article/article_docs/antisemitism_print.pdf). page 22  
Translation was made by Martin Telinius, since the original text was in Swedish.

## 5.2 Neo-Nazism

Neo-Nazism is the name for a modern offshoot of Nazism. It is a radically right-wing ideology, whose main characteristics are extreme nationalism and violent xenophobia. Neo-Nazism necessarily has to be viewed in its historical context, as a continuation of traditional Nazism. Consequently, one of the neo-Nazis' most important objectives is the re-establishment of Nazism as an acceptable political ideology. This, for instance, is done by promoting the lie that the Holocaust never took place (Holocaust denial).<sup>55</sup> The neo-Nazis have also taken over many of the symbols that were used by the Nazis: the swastika, the Nazi greeting (the out-stretched right arm), pictures of Hitler, etc. The neo-Nazis' typical enemy is no longer the Jews – although they still remain a hated group – but rather foreigners and immigrants. Thus, the main purpose of neo-Nazism is to stop immigration and hereby secure the survival of the national 'race'. As a result, mainstream politicians are frequently accused of 'treason' for passing moderate immigration laws.<sup>56</sup>

## 5.3 Islamism

"Islamism and 'Islamist' are the terms now widely used to refer to radical, militantly ideological versions of Islam, as interpreted by the practitioners and in which violent actions such as terrorism, suicide bombings or revolutions are explicitly advocated, practised and justified using religious terminology. The Arabic prefix, which refers to the religion of 'Islam', is linked to the Latin suffix, indicating the politicisation of aspects of the religion. Similar mutations of words and concepts can be seen in 'communism', 'fascism', and 'socialism'. In all three cases, originally politically neutral words were thus given ideological meaning often suffused with implications for violent or revolutionary political action."<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> <http://www.holocaust-education.dk/eftertid/nynazisme.asp>

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> <http://www.civitas.org.uk/pdf/cs29.pdf>

## 5.4 Zionism

Zionism is a Jewish nationalist movement founded by Theodor Herzl in the late 1800s. Its main aim then was to create a Jewish state in Palestine, which was realized in 1948.<sup>58</sup> The goal of Zionism today is the political and spiritual renewal of the Jewish people in its ancestral homeland.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> <http://www.britannica.com/ebc/article-9383359>

<sup>59</sup> <http://www.theisraelproject.org/site/apps/nl/content2.asp?c=hsJPK0PIJpH&b=886017&ct=1181615>

# 6 Anti-Semitism on the websites

In this chapter, excerpts from the four websites, starting with the neo-Nazi sites are listed. The excerpts from the four sites are presented in the same order; conspiracy theories, Holocaust denial and finally the website's perception of Israel. These excerpts are the basis for my comparative analysis.

## 6.1 The National Socialist Movement

The National Socialist Movement is the largest and fastest growing neo-Nazi organization in the United States. It is based on the old American Nazi party founded by Lincoln Rockwell. NSM has its headquarters in Minnesota, but has regional and local chapters across the US. Its leader is Jeff Schoep. The NSM is strongly influenced by Adolf Hitler and his Nazi party and has strong ties with other neo-Nazi, white supremacist and Ku Klux Klan organizations across the US. The NSM is paramilitary in its structure and advocates weapons training for its members.<sup>60</sup>

After a first look at the NSM's website one can clearly see the use of the swastika on the site. There are many pictures of Adolf Hitler and typical Nazi symbols such as the SS runes and people in brown uniforms. There is also the clear mention of ZOG in relevance to a computer game where the aim is to kill as many Jews as possible. The website is clearly racist in regard to other ethnic groups like Hispanics and African-Americans as well.

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[http://www.adl.org/learn/ext\\_us/The\\_National\\_Socialist\\_Movement.asp?LEARN\\_Cat=Extremism&LEARN\\_SubCat=Extremism\\_in\\_America&xpicked=3&item=nsm](http://www.adl.org/learn/ext_us/The_National_Socialist_Movement.asp?LEARN_Cat=Extremism&LEARN_SubCat=Extremism_in_America&xpicked=3&item=nsm)

## 6.1.1 Conspiracy theories and the NSM

“No one wants this war [the Iraq war] except Israel, its agents, and its lobbies around the world.”<sup>61</sup>

From this excerpt one can clearly see that the NSM believe that Jews were behind the Iraq war in 2004.

“AIPAC<sup>62</sup> is instrumental in persuading the spineless politicians in Washington to put Israel’s interests before America’s interests. They’re a key reason Americans are dying and being maimed right now in Iraq!”<sup>63</sup>

This excerpt is another conspiracy theory that has a classic anti-Semitic background, namely that of the Jews lobbying for Israel against the interests of the nation they live in.

“Sure, some of the names may change, but you’ll still find an overabundance of Jews in positions of influence, or working behind the scenes in advisor roles.”<sup>64</sup>

The NSM believes that Jews are infiltrating politics is another classic anti-Semitic conspiracy theory.

“The shocking truth turned out to be that one group, the Jews, have almost total control over public opinion in America today. ---They may be owners, publishers, CEOs, editors, writers, producers, or handling the advertising dollar – but every time it will be Jews, Jews, and more Jews at the top.”<sup>65</sup>

Jews controlling the media is one of the myths that the NSM believes in.

“No essay on the Jews would be complete without a discussion on money - because in this area they are without equal. There never has been a criminal gang that has surpassed the Jewish people when it comes to using shifty behavior to obtain the almighty dollar.”<sup>66</sup>

Another classic anti-Semitic myth the NSM believes in is that Jews are greedy and that all Jews are criminals.

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<sup>61</sup> [http://www.nsm88.com/articles/bush\\_israel\\_lobbyists.html](http://www.nsm88.com/articles/bush_israel_lobbyists.html)

<sup>62</sup> AIPAC stands for American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

<sup>63</sup> <http://www.nsm88.com/articles/wolfblitzer.html>

<sup>64</sup> <http://www.nsm88.com/articles/sstein9.html>

<sup>65</sup> <http://www.nsm88.com/articles/sstein9.html>

<sup>66</sup> <http://www.nsm88.com/articles/sstein9.html>

## 6.1.2 Holocaust denial and the NSM

“Another reason Jews want to hype the number of victims is that they wanted to have the greatest causality count so they could claim supreme victimhood and reap the political rewards. Holocaust lore is essential to the precarious legitimacy of the Jewish State. Just ask the Palestinians.”<sup>67</sup>

The National Socialist Movement’s view on the Holocaust can be read from the excerpts in this chapter. In this excerpt they state that the Jews exaggerate the number of victims to gain sympathy for themselves and to get legitimacy for the state of Israel. The Jews also want to see themselves as the only victims.

“Of course what we’re asked to swallow today isn’t much better: six thousand Jews per day being turned into ash using less than 100 single-man cremation ovens; hundreds being gassed at one time in rooms the size of a telephone booth; absolutely no trace of cyanide left in the alleged gas chamber; the complete lack of any written extermination order; confessions literally stained with blood, loaded with easily provable falsehoods and contradictions; along with six million other equally bizarre tales.”<sup>68</sup>

In this excerpt the NSM claims that the Holocaust is exaggerated and that there is no evidence to prove it has happened.

“I should point out that had Hitler wanted (much less ordered) the Jews exterminated, there wouldn’t be millions of survivors. Unfortunately, this commonest of all common sense arguments rarely convinces anyone.”<sup>69</sup>

The NSM is inspired by Hitler and this excerpt of Holocaust denial could be seen as an attempt by the movement to clear Hitler’s name. The NSM claims that Hitler was innocent.

“If the holocaust goes, Jewish power gets real shaky, real quick. Yes, I think it’s fair to say that the Jews have a lot more at stake than any National Socialist who’s worried about attracting quality recruits.”<sup>70</sup>

The NSM believes that the Jews use the Holocaust as an instrument for gaining power.

## 6.1.3 The NSM’s perception of Israel

“---By guile, treachery and bloodletting, the Zionists plot to annex all of Jordan, virtually all of Syria, half of Iraq and a large part of Saudi Arabia and all of the rich cotton lands of the Nile Valley.”<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> [http://www.nsm88.com/articles/holocaust\\_fundamentalism.html](http://www.nsm88.com/articles/holocaust_fundamentalism.html)

<sup>68</sup> <http://www.nsm88.com/articles/ssstein10.html>

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> [http://www.nsm88.com/articles/israels\\_grand\\_design.html](http://www.nsm88.com/articles/israels_grand_design.html)

In this excerpt, the NSM see Israel as an imperialist state. There is also a clear reference to the Protocols of Zion. The Protocols state that Jews will expand Israel's border through deceit and treason. It is also quite clear that Zionists are meant as Jews in this excerpt.

“America supports the racist Israeli regime with millions of dollars of aid each year even though Israel's Parliament has passed a law preventing Palestinians who marry Israelis from living in Israel. Sure as Nazis we are against miscegenation. We are racist. There is no secret there. But we don't get Billion dollar grants from the government. The jews do. They are every bit as racist as we Nazis yet somehow they always come up smelling of roses and are never accused of racism because to do so would be *anti-semitic!*”<sup>72</sup>

The NSM claims Israel is a racist state.

## 6.2 The National Socialist Front

The NSF is according to Forum for Living History, Sweden's largest neo-Nazi organization and party. It has participated in two elections, but failed to gain any seats in the local parliaments. The party is inspired by the militant neo-Nazi organization VAM, White Aryan Resistance. The NSF has several regional and local chapters in Sweden. Its leadership structure is inspired by a classic Nazi structure with one leader.<sup>73</sup>

The website of the NSF is all in Swedish, so the excerpts listed below are my translations. The original texts in Swedish can be found in appendix 1. The website in itself has no clear references to Nazism such as swastikas and SS runes. It has instead references to Swedish nationalism in the form of many Swedish flags. It clearly states its disgust against the Swedish government, who they see as traitors to the Aryan race. The NSF website is evidently against Jews, but also against immigrants in general who they describe in racist terms.

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<sup>72</sup> [http://www.nsm88.com/articles/no\\_miscegenation\\_in\\_israel.html](http://www.nsm88.com/articles/no_miscegenation_in_israel.html)

<sup>73</sup> [http://vittoljud.levandehistoria.se/art\\_vitmakt/01\\_vitmakt.htm](http://vittoljud.levandehistoria.se/art_vitmakt/01_vitmakt.htm)

## 6.2.1 Conspiracy theories and the NSF

“The Jewish power over media is a universal and diverse phenomenon. The power consists of Jewish owners, editors, journalists, sponsors, producers and directors to mention a few examples. There is a more subtle Jewish power over media in the forms of the dogmas and taboos that has been created in Western societies. Examples of these include the taboo of criticising Jews.”<sup>74</sup>

The NSF believes that the Jews infiltrate the media to control society.

“Jews have a very prominent role in international crime, especially in the drug and weapons trade. They also run much of trafficking and have a large part of the international economic crime. When National Socialist Germany reclaimed power to the German people during the 1930s and put in efforts against the Jewish crime, the crime rate decreased dramatically. Even today are efforts needed against the Jewish crime to decrease crime rate.”<sup>75</sup>

In this excerpt the NSF claims that the Jews are criminals who degenerate society.

“Jews have a disproportionately large influence over the economy. In the United States, it is estimated that Jews own between 20-25% of the country’s economy, although they just constitute 2% of the population.”<sup>76</sup>

It can clearly be seen in this excerpt that the NSF believes that Jews have too much influence in the economy in general and in the United States in particular.

“American presidents from both parties have been for many years, completely engaged about Israel and its security. This reinforced politics is an expression for the Zionist-Jewish hold of US politics and culture.--- but also in young men’s lives who will be sacrificed for another country’s political aim- until the Zionist-Jewish group’s hold of US politics have finally been broken.”<sup>77</sup>

In this excerpt the NSF claims that Jews control US politics.

## 6.2.2 Holocaust denial and the NSF

One could argue that Salomon Schulman and other Jewish lobbyists gain something that the Swedish people are portrayed as anti-Semites. In this way they can be granted state grants for their alleged need of security [to their synagogues]. They can also get a penny for their other activities. They can get government campaigns with the aim of silencing critique of Israel or of Swedish Jews. They can keep their most powerful weapon: “the Holocaust”. Without that one they have no weapon, no moral defence for the terror state of Israel.”<sup>78</sup>

The NSF believes that the Jews are extorting the state of Sweden by using the Holocaust as a weapon to gain benefits.

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<sup>74</sup> <http://www.den-svenske.com/txt/EplEplpAVuQnSlmVrP.shtml>

<sup>75</sup> <http://www.den-svenske.com/txt/EpZkVZEyVVUyYmATpO.shtml>

<sup>76</sup> <http://www.den-svenske.com/txt/EpluuZVEVyRUGqLAmG.shtml>

<sup>77</sup> <http://www.den-svenske.com/txt/EEuklAuFupfEPFbaNX.shtml>

<sup>78</sup> <http://www.den-svenske.com/txt/EEukyllEAubvDnpCLn.shtml>

“The so-called “Holocaust” is very effective way today to silence all criticism against Jews and it is not strange that you start at an early age to indoctrinate children [about the Holocaust] in the way they plan to do at the “Holocaust centre” in Paris. The Centre in France will work in the same way to make the French population feel guilty towards the Jews, which will naturally affect their treatment of this people. In France one could be fined or sentenced to prison if you question the official version of the number of dead Jews during World War Two.”<sup>79</sup>

The National Socialist Front evidently believes that the Holocaust is used to indoctrinate children. It is also used as a weapon to silence criticism and to make people feel guilty towards the Jews. The NSF also put the Holocaust in quotation marks to mark that it is questionable if it has happened.

“In Sweden it is so far legal to present different opinions of the so-called Holocaust. Court rulings have on the other hand shown that it is illegal to claim that the same Holocaust is a myth used to give some people benefits.”<sup>80</sup>

In this excerpt, the NSF claims that the Holocaust is a myth used to grant the Jews benefits.

### 6.2.3 The NSF’s perception of Israel

“In a statement, Olmert said that Israel “always condemned apartheid and never claimed that apartheid would be something we could live with as humans”. How that logic concurs with Israel’s politics towards non-Jews was never explained.”<sup>81</sup>

The NSF means that Israel is a racist and apartheid state.

## 6.3 Radio Islam

Radio Islam is run by Ahmed Rami who fled to Sweden after having participated in failed coup d’etat in Morocco. He and his instigators had the aim of replacing the monarchy with an Islamic state.<sup>82</sup> Ahmed Rami was in 1990, in Sweden, sentenced to prison for racial hatred spread on his radio station with the same name as the website. The website has been in

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<sup>79</sup> <http://www.den-svenske.com/txt/EEpyVpVEAltEaoBIOj.shtml>

<sup>80</sup> <http://www.den-svenske.com/txt/EEupVkeKZEYHVnsTT.shtml>

<sup>81</sup> <http://www.den-svenske.com/txt/EpAlAVpEVydUKPYThA.shtml>

<sup>82</sup> <http://rami.tv/sv/biog.htm#26>

existence since the mid 1990s and has a variety of topics ranging from pan-Arabism to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Holocaust.

The website of Radio Islam is international in its character. Its main language is Swedish, but it is available in several languages. The excerpts below are from its English version. The website has many different topics and most of them relate to Jews, Judaism and Israel. There are no racist symbols on the site.

### 6.3.1 Conspiracy theories and Radio Islam

“The Jews have an innate determination to spread around the world and combine their efforts to slowly infiltrate and take control of all public and private organizations, village by village, city by city, state by state and continent by continent, for their own present and future benefits and aspirations.”<sup>83</sup>

Radio Islam believes that the Jews infiltrate organisations in order to control the entire world.

“They control most if not all newspapers, magazines, publishing companies and radio and television stations. Thus, they publish only whom they want, what they want and how they want, to best serve their interests. They are using television as a tool to mold and control ideological, economical and political public opinion.”<sup>84</sup>

Another conspiracy theory Radio Islam believes in is the idea of Jews controlling the media.

“As long as the "very powerful" Jewish lobby remains entrenched, there will be no end to the systematic Jewish distortion of current affairs and history, the Jewish-Zionist domination of the U.S. political system, Zionist oppression of Palestinians, the bloody conflict between Jews and non-Jews in the Middle East, and the Israeli threat to peace.”<sup>85</sup>

As can also be read from this excerpt, Radio Islam claims that the cause for Jews distorting history, controlling US politics and its oppression of the Palestinians is the powerful Jewish lobby. Israel is here also seen as a threat to peace.

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<sup>83</sup> <http://www.radioislam.org/letters/usa.htm>

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> <http://www.radioislam.org/islam/english/weber.htm>

### 6.3.2 Radio Islam and Holocaust denial

**“Professor Robert Faurisson concluded in 1980:**

*‘The alleged Hitlerite gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews form one and the same historical lie, which has permitted a gigantic political and financial swindle whose main beneficiaries are the state of Israel and international Zionism and whose main victims are the German people – but not their leaders – and the Palestinian people in their entirety.’*

**In 2006 he maintains that conclusion in full.”<sup>86</sup>**

In this excerpt Radio Islam refers to the notorious Holocaust denier Robert Faurisson in claiming the Holocaust is a giant fraud. Jews have benefited from this in the shape of international Zionism. The victims of this fraud are the German people and all Palestinians.

“One example [of Holocaust propaganda benefits] is the billions and billions of [euros] that the criminal state of Israel has extorted from Germany in the form of “damages”. The myth about the “Holocaust” is also used by the Jewish lobby in the United States to control US foreign policy in the most beneficiary way as possible for the state of Israel. The so called “Gulfwar” is a good example of this.”<sup>87</sup>

As can be read from this excerpt, Radio Islam believes Israel is a criminal state and that the Holocaust is a myth used by the Jewish lobby in the US to control US foreign policy.

### 6.3.3 Radio Islam and its perception of Israel

“Up to date more than 1 000 000 Iraqis have been *killed* as a result of the Zionist-orchestrated "Gulf War" since 1991. This is because the Jewish ideology, i.e. the Old Testament, the Torah, demands a terrible revenge - *the total annihilation* - of those who dare to oppose the plans of the Jews. After 12 years of killing sanctions the Zionists, using *shabbez goyim* of the US and British armies, moved in for the death blow against Iraq as an independent Arab state. This second aggression on Iraq waged in 2003 is a Zionist war of *domination* and *occupation*, of extending Israel’s *lebensraum*, of the fulfillment of the Jewish prophecy in the Torah of a Jewish state - "Eretz Israel" - stretching between the rivers Nile and Eufrat”<sup>88</sup>

Radio Islam claims that Israel is imperialistic in its alleged strive for a Grand-Israel. RI also labels Israel as Nazi in claiming Israel is extending its lebensraum on behalf of the Arab states. The website also claims that Jews in the shape of Zionists are using non-Jews, to do its business in Iraq.

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<sup>86</sup> <http://www.radioislam.org/faurisson/eng/victories.htm>

<sup>87</sup> <http://www.radioislam.org/islam/svenska/fildok/filer/debatt/finans.htm>

<sup>88</sup> <http://www.radioislam.org/islam/english/english.htm>

## 6.4 The Muslim Brotherhood

The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in 1928 by Hassan Al Banna in Egypt. It is an Islamist, fundamentalist organisation and is influential in many Arab countries as well as in central Asia and in Africa. The MB's leader is Mohammed Akef. Its aim is to create a state based on Islamic laws where Islam is the state religion.<sup>89</sup>

The website of the Muslim Brotherhood is all in English and is its official site. It might be in English to reach an international audience. Most of its topics are about the Muslim world and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Since the MB is an Egyptian political party as well as an Islamist organisation, there are many issues relevant to Egyptian interior politics on the website. There are often hidden messages in between the lines of some the texts on the website and some of these messages are anti-Semitic.

### 6.4.1 Conspiracy theories and the Muslim Brotherhood

"Mel Gibson is telling much truth when he said to a Los Angeles County Sheriff that **"The Jews are responsible for all the wars in the world"** during the early morning hours of July 28 near his home in Malibu, California. God bless Mel Gibson for his courage!"<sup>90</sup>

From this excerpt there can be no doubt that the MB see the Jews as conspiring in nature.

"It is widely believed that Jewish lobbies such as AIPAC controls, nearly completely, American politics and policies with regard to the Middle East, which explains America's reluctance to criticize Israeli policies and practices, which are often starkly incompatible with international law."<sup>91</sup>

The MB believes that the Jews control US politics in the Middle East through the AIPAC lobby group.

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<sup>89</sup> <http://www.dn.se/DNet/road/Classic/article/0/jsp/faktaRender.jsp?fno=0&major=1&minor=518470>

<sup>90</sup> <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Press=Show&Lang=E&ID=4872>

<sup>91</sup> <http://mbhood.com/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Press=Show&Lang=E&ID=5667>

## 6.4.2 Holocaust denial and the MB

“Mohamed Habib, Akef’s [Akef is the MB’s leader] deputy, said the issue of Holocaust requires historical documentation. He, however, described reports about the Holocaust as "exaggerated".”

---“The commonly used figure for the number of Jewish victims is six million. However, the figure was questioned by some historians and intellectuals, chiefly French author Roger Garaudy and Austrian historian David Irving.”<sup>92</sup>

The Muslim Brotherhood claims that the Holocaust is exaggerated and refers its argument to the notorious Holocaust deniers Roger Garaudy and David Irving. The last denier was in 2006 sentenced to three years in prison in Austria for Holocaust denial.

## 6.4.3 The MB’s perception of Israel

“Weren’t Germans proud of their Gestapo, SS and Wehrmacht? I bet they were. So, if Germans could stoop to the lowest level of national cannibalism, why can’t Jews? After all the “master race” is no more superior than the “chosen people.”!!”

---“Indeed, as the Nazis made a living out of killing Jews and others, many, actually too many, Israelis are also making a living and prosperous careers out of killing Palestinians, destroying their homes, stealing their land and keeping them in perpetual subjugation.”<sup>93</sup>

In this excerpt the MB equalizes Israel with the Nazis. The Jews are also labeled as profiteers in stealing Palestinian land and killing the Palestinians.

“Judeo-Nazi Army Commits Huge Massacre In Gaza

---The Nazis may have used gas chambers to kill their enemies. But the Nazis of our time, the Jews, are exterminating Palestinian children, using artillery and warplanes. The result is the same, the mentality is the same.”<sup>94</sup>

The Muslim Brotherhood claims Israel are the new Nazis in this excerpt. The MB also expresses doubt that the Nazis used gas chambers for killing Jews during the Holocaust.

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<sup>92</sup> <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Press=Show&Lang=E&ID=2511>

<sup>93</sup> <http://mbhood.com/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Press=Show&Lang=E&ID=5862>

<sup>94</sup> <http://mbhood.com/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Press=Show&Lang=E&ID=5667>



*Figure 1*

“I know it is a taboo, especially in the West, to compare Israel, let alone Jews, to the Third Reich.” “Zionists are behaving like Nazis because they are murdering innocent civilians en mass to avenge the death of a few Israeli soldiers killed by resistance fighters in Lebanon or Palestine.”<sup>95</sup>

In this excerpt the MB claims that Jews in the shape of Zionists are the new Nazis. The picture above the text is the exact copy of the one found above the text on the website. It can be interpreted that the Muslim Brotherhood in this text claims that there is a similarity between Nazism and Israel and Judaism.

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<sup>95</sup> <http://mbhood.com/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Press=Show&Lang=E&ID=4850>

## 7 Comparative analysis

All four websites have to some extent anti-Semitic contents and it is parts of this content that I have outlined in chapter six. I will in this analysis, point at what kind of anti-Semitism they have in common and how the anti-Semitism relates and compares to the groups.

One could with clear support of the texts outlined in chapter six, argue that there is one issue that the Islamist and the neo-Nazi websites have in common and that is their common view of the Jews and of Israel. The excerpts can all be interpreted as anti-Semitism in one way or another. The four groups and their websites have three kinds of anti-Semitism in common. The first is Holocaust denial, the second is the perception of the Jew as conspiring in nature to gain power, influence and/or wealth and the third is the groups' perception of Israel.

Holocaust denial is part of the new anti-Semitism, since it came into existence after World War Two, but it has certain classic elements of anti-Semitism as well. According to the theories of both Brustein and Laqueur the second perception has always existed in the field of anti-Semitism and can be described as classic anti-Semitism. Describing Israel as a racist state could be seen as part of the new anti-Semitism, which is often camouflaged in the form of anti-Zionism. The neo-Nazis are trying to prove the Holocaust did not happened to make National Socialism more acceptable and appealing to people, like it is argued by Laqueur. Examples of this can be seen from Swedish website of the NSF, when they put quotation marks around the word Holocaust to stress that they doubt that it really happened. They are also like Henrik Bachner claims, demonizing the Jews in claiming they are liars and deceiving the world for their own causes by claiming the Nazis killed six million Jews. The neo-Nazis believe that the Jews have used the Holocaust to create the state of Israel and to extort money from countries such as Germany or Switzerland for allegedly lost property during World War Two. An example of this can be read above from the NSM's website, "Holocaust lore is essential to the precarious legitimacy of the Jewish state." The neo-Nazi groups also doubt the number of killed Jews during the Holocaust, which can be seen as another aspect of the denial. This can evidently be seen in the excerpts from the NSM's website, where they claim that Jews have hyped the number of victims to reap the political rewards. These beliefs could

be seen as a classic anti-Semitic myth, that Jews cannot be trusted and do not belong in society as well as they are greedy.

The Islamists have different points of view when it comes to the Holocaust. Radio Islam denies the existence of the Holocaust completely and refers its arguments to notorious deniers such as Robert Faurisson. Just like the neo-Nazi websites, RI also calls the Holocaust a myth used by Jews to generate money for Israel as it is argued by Dina Porat. The Muslim Brotherhood clearly states that the Holocaust has happened, but believes the numbers of Jews killed are exaggerated. They also refer this argument to notorious Holocaust deniers such as David Irving and Roger Garaudy. In this aspect, they could clearly be compared to the National Socialist Front which both denies and expresses doubts about the number of killed Jews.

The Islamists motives for denying the Holocaust are to some extent different from the neo-Nazis, but the denial is the same. It could be argued that the general perception of the Jew as deceitful in the Muslim and the neo-Nazi world, as argued by Laqueur, Brustein and also Ayaan-Ali Hirsi, may influence their perception of the Holocaust. By deceiving the world for either inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust, the two Islamist websites argue just like the neo-Nazi sites that the Jews are liars, deceivers, profiteers and conspiring to gain power. This demonization of the Jews is part of the classic anti-Semitism that has always existed according to Brustein and Laqueur respectively.

It is interesting to note that the neo-Nazis and the Islamists have different opinions on why Jews are part of a world conspiracy and I believe it is important to note why they have this. According to Brustein and Laqueur, the neo-Nazis believe the Jewish conspiracy is out to destroy the white race through miscegenation and immigration. They are doing so by controlling the media and the governments of the world's states and main influential organisations. This kind of anti-Semitism was seen in Hitler's propaganda during the 1930s as well as in the racial hygiene ideas of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and is a well-known ideological part in Nazism worldwide. The neo-Nazi websites claim the Jews control everything from the media, to politics and films. The NSM claims the Jews and Israel were behind the Iraq war and the NSF believes the Jews own and control a disproportionate share of the economy in the US. The myth that Jews control the media goes far back in time as well, which Brustein and Laqueur clearly shows. The neo-Nazis also accuse the Jews and Zionists to put Israel's interests over the nation they live in. An example of this can be seen in one of the excerpts from the NSM's website when they claim that AIPAC is persuading America's politicians to

put Israel's interests before America's interests. This can also be seen as a classic anti-Semitic myth as it is argued by William Brustein.

On the other hand it can be argued that the Islamists believe, that although the Jews are controlling the media and the governments in the West and in specific the American government, they are not out to destroy the Arab race. It could be argued from the perspective of Laqueur that the Islamists believe that Jews are aiming to control and dominate the world. In trying to do so they might constitute a threat to Islam and its values and culture, mainly by influencing or controlling the American government. An example of this may be seen from the allegedly strong Jewish lobby in the US and the strong alliance between Israel and the US. This can clearly be seen in excerpts from both Radio Islam and the Muslim Brotherhood. RI claims that Jewish-Zionists control the US political system as it is argued by Walter Laqueur. The MB claims just like the NSM that AIPAC controls US politics in the Middle East. The war in Iraq and Israel's conflict with the Palestinians can also be seen as examples of how the Islamists see the Jews trying to dominate politics to achieve their own goals. These perceptions are also classic anti-Semitic myths that have existed for a long time. The difference now is that they have changed platform. Today's platform is the Internet, but the myths remain the same.

Neo-Nazi propaganda against Israel which they label as racist and criminal does not differ much from the Islamist point of view. The Islamist tends to use the term Zionist more often when referring to Jews or Israel in the Israeli-Arabic conflict. As Jerome Chanes states, anti-Zionism is sometimes used as a camouflage for outright anti-Semitism and this can in some cases be seen on the four websites. On the neo-Nazi websites, the term Zionist is also frequently used as a synonym for the Jews, such as in the cases of the neo-Nazis accusing Zionists of having a hold of US policy. The Jews and Zionists are given old anti-Semitic and negative characteristics such as being conspirators. Laqueur claims that both neo-Nazis and Islamists attribute Israel with being a terror and racist state mistreating the Palestinians as a part of the Jewish character. This can clearly be seen as in the case of the NSF claiming that Israel is an apartheid state; while the NSM claims Israel is a racist state. The NSM and Radio Islam also claim Israel wants to expand its borders to a greater Israel at the expense of the Palestinians and the other Arabs. The NSM claims that Zionists plot to expand Israel's borders using treason, guile and bloodletting, there is a clear reference to the classic anti-Semitic forgery *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Arguments like this one are confirmed by authors such as Laqueur. The Protocols claim that the Jews are plotting to take over the world using different vile methods like treason. Claiming that Jews in general and the whole of

Israel are racists and new the Nazis can be seen on both websites of Radio Islam and the Muslim Brotherhood. This can be seen as part of the new anti-Semitism, although the old anti-Semitic stereotypes that the Jews are evil can be seen in the background. Claiming Israel to be apartheid and a racist state as well as Jews being the new Nazis are forms of the new anti-Semitism as it is argued by the NGO, The Coordination Forum Countering for anti-Semitism.

## 8 Final Discussion

In this thesis my main aim has been to relate and compare online anti-Semitism found on four websites. I have analysed this anti-Semitism with the theories of Brustein and Laqueur and I would claim that I have fulfilled the aim of this thesis.

The Worldwide Web is a huge arena and it changes every day. Anti-Semitism has not changed much, the key message that Jews are different and/or evil remains the same. Certain new forms of anti-Semitism such as Holocaust denial and seeing Israel as a racist state as well as Jews being the new Nazis have emerged. However, the new forms of the same old hate share the classic anti-Semitic myths of the Jews being evil. Anti-Semitism has however changed its form in regards to the Internet. A fast growing technology like the Internet, has allowed millions of individuals to expand the net and add things of their own, not only good things but anti-Semitic creations as well. Opinions that cannot be published in books or said in TV or on the radio are now being published online instead. I believe the recent trend of hatesites growing in numbers is a worrying trend and needs to be thoroughly investigated in order for it to be halted. I believe that all anti-Semitic, xenophobic, homophobic, racist and other hate filled websites cannot be stopped completely. Most sites are located in countries where the laws are either very liberal or nonexistent in regard to Internet based hate and the sites can be moved very quickly. What you can do is try and change people's opinions and perceptions of minorities and states. I believe that more studies about this online hate and about the hate's supporters are substantial if society is going to succeed in combating anti-Semitism.

Most forms of anti-Semitism can be found on the websites I have chosen to investigate. The main difference between the four sites is how the neo-Nazi websites and Radio Islam openly displays their anti-Semitism. In the case of the Muslim Brotherhood, anti-Semitism is more hidden and can be found in between the lines and not so often on the front page. A reason for this I believe is that the MB is a large and influential Muslim organisation. It is a major political opposition party in Egypt and often in conflict with the current government of Mubarak who has imprisoned many of its members. This might be the cause for them to be more cautious in displaying their message online. The three other organisations in this study are smaller and one might claim that they are quite marginalised in society today.

There are some differences in between the groups on anti-Semitism, such as the neo-Nazi sites differing in their view on the Jews as racially inferior. The Islamists anti-Semitism is in many cases linked to the Arab-Israeli conflict, but not dependent on it. As has been argued, anti-Semitism existed before the creation of the state of Israel. One could see references to known forgeries such as The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, which is used as a fact book to prove the nature of the Jew as conspiring to gain world power. Even in newer cases of anti-Semitism such as the form of comparing Israel to the Nazis and Jews inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust for a variety of purposes, the same negative perception of the Jews is the foundation for this hate. Anti-Semitism is often camouflaged or portrayed in the form of anti-Zionism, especially when the argument is about Israel. It is easier to criticise an ideology, such as Zionism, than it is to criticise an entire people. It is however problematic and incorrect to label all forms of Israel criticism as anti-Semitism. Though as could be seen on some of the excerpts I found on the four websites, there can be little doubt that the terms Zionist and Jew are equivalent. This raises the delicate issue of when criticism of Israel becomes anti-Semitism. I believe when you deny the Jewish people their right to self-determination as well as comparing Israeli policy to that of the Nazis, as it is argued in the theory chapter, it is clearly a form of anti-Semitism. However, Israel can be criticised like any other state, but criticising Jews in general or letting all Jews represent the state of Israel is evidently the wrong way to do it.

Studies about Internet based hate are scarce in the field of political science and generally in other fields as well. My study has only included four websites and there are many more online that are not only anti-Semitic, but generally racist, homophobic etc. A broader, general study would be most necessary. It would also be interesting to study not only English based websites, but those in other languages too, especially those in Arabic in regards to the Muslim anti-Semitism.

## 9 Conclusion

Anti-Semitism is today a phenomenon not only found among the extreme right, but also among Islamists. In this thesis I have compared two neo-Nazi websites and two Islamist websites in order to investigate what kind of anti-Semitism they have in common. I have also investigated how the Islamists websites relate to the neo-Nazis' websites regarding anti-Semitism. I have intentionally chosen to look at the websites of the National Socialist Movement, the National Socialist Front, Radio Islam and the Muslim Brotherhood. I chose the websites since they are all in English or Swedish and are representable to the opinions of National Socialism and Islamism. I have used the theories of William Brustein and Walter Laqueur to analyse my results. They claim that the perception of the Jews has not changed much over the years, but rather changed shape and platform.

I have found that anti-Semitism in itself, among the four groups I have investigated, has not really changed with the exception of a few of its characters. The perception of the Jews as conspiring in nature has remained same among all four websites. They both deny the Holocaust, but have different motives for doing so and they share a negative perception of the state of Israel. The Islamists and the neo-Nazis I have investigated both believe in a giant Jewish conspiracy aimed at destroying their world. They believe Jews control the media and are also behind US foreign policy. They believe Jews are greedy, untrustworthy, lying and deceiving in nature. This can clearly be seen on all four websites. These negative characters are a constant factor throughout their opinions on the Holocaust. All four websites share a strong hatred and disapproval of the state of Israel, which they deem as racist and expansionist.

The Muslim Brotherhood is the only website which you have to look for anti-Semitism since it is not often on the front page. The organisation is a political party in Egypt and as such it has to keep a low profile in regard to outright hatred for Jews and Israel. Its anti-Semitism is often camouflaged as anti-Zionism. The other websites are openly anti-Semitic and do not hide it. The character of the Internet has allowed anyone with a computer and an uplink to publish anti-Semitic material with few repercussions. What could not be published before in books, said on the radio or on TV can now be found online. Anti-Semitism is today a global phenomenon and as such has to be fought with global means.

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## Appendix 1 NSF original texts

”Den judiska makten över media är ett universellt och mångfasetterat fenomen. Makten existerar bland annat i form av judiska ägare, redaktörer, journalister, sponsorer, producenter och regissörer. Det finns en mer subtil judisk makt över media i och med de dogmer och tabun som upprättats i de västerländska samhällena, där exempelvis kritik av judar blivit ett förbjudet område.”<sup>96</sup>

”Judar har en mycket framträdande roll inom den internationella brottsligheten, i synnerhet inom narkotika- och vapenhandeln, samt inom den ekonomiska brottsligheten och handeln med prostituerade. När det nationalsocialistiska Tyskland återtog makten till det tyska folket under 1930-talet och satte in åtgärder mot den judiska kriminaliteten minskade brottsligheten drastiskt. Även idag krävs åtgärder mot den judiska kriminaliteten för att sänka brottnivån.”<sup>97</sup>

”Judar har globalt ett oproportionerligt stort inflytande över ekonomin. I USA uppskattas judar äga mellan 20-25 procent av landets ekonomi, trots att judar endast utgör 2 procent av befolkningen.”<sup>98</sup>

”Man kan slå fast att Salomon Schulman och andra judiska lobbyister tjänar på att svenskarna utmålans som antisemiter. På så sätt kan de erhålla statliga bidrag för sitt påstådda behov av säkerhetsanordningar. De kan samtidigt få en slant för sin övriga verksamhet. De kan få statliga kampanjer som syftar till att tysta kritik av Israel eller svenska judar. De kan upprätthålla sitt starkaste vapen: ”Förintelsen”. Utan den har de inget vapen, inget moraliskt försvar för terrorstaten Israel.”<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> <http://www.den-svenske.com/txt/EplEplpAVuQnSImVrP.shtml> 2004-04-04

<sup>97</sup> <http://www.den-svenske.com/txt/EpZkVZEyVVUyYmATpO.shtml> 2003-12-28

<sup>98</sup> <http://www.den-svenske.com/txt/EpluuZVEVyRUGqLAmG.shtml> 2004-05-13

<sup>99</sup> <http://www.den-svenske.com/txt/EEukyllEAubvDnpCLn.shtml> 2006-03-18

”I många år har nu amerikanska presidenter från båda partierna varit helt engagerade i Israel och dess säkerhet. Denna befästa politik är ett uttryck för det sionist-judiska greppet om Amerikas politiska och kulturella liv.” ---utan i unga mäns liv som offras för ett annat lands politiska syften – till dess de sionist-judiskas grepp om USA:s politiska liv slutligen brutits.”<sup>100</sup>

”I ett uttalande sade Olmert att Israel "*alltid fördömde apartheid och ansåg aldrig att apartheid var någonting vi skulle kunna leva med som människor*". Hur den logiken stämmer överens med den politik Israel för mot icke-judar utvecklades emellertid aldrig.”<sup>101</sup>

”Den så kallade "Förintelsen" verkar idag på ett mycket effektivt sätt för att tysta all kritik gentemot judar och det är ingen slump att man tidigt börjar indoktrinera barn på det sätt som det planeras att göra på "förintelsecentret" i Paris. Centret i Frankrike kommer verka på samma sätt för att få Frankrikes befolkning att känna en kollektiv skuld gentemot judarna vilket självklart påverkar deras bemötande av detta folk.

I Frankrike kan man bli dömd till böter eller fängelse om man ifrågasätter den officiella versionen om antalet avlidna judar under andra världskriget.”<sup>102</sup>

”I Sverige är det än så länge lagligt att presentera avvikande uppfattningar om den så kallade Förintelsen. Domar har dock visat att det är olagligt att hävda att samma Förintelse är en myt som används för att ge somliga folkslag fördelar.”<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> <http://www.den-svenske.com/txt/EEuklAuFupfEPFbaNX.shtml> 2006-03-20

<sup>101</sup> <http://www.den-svenske.com/txt/EpAIAVpEVydUKPYThA.shtml> 2004-10-28

<sup>102</sup> <http://www.den-svenske.com/txt/EEpyVpVEAltEaoBIOj.shtml> 2005-01-23

<sup>103</sup> <http://www.den-svenske.com/txt/EEupVkeKZEWYHVnsTT.shtml> 2006-02-21