Anti-Semitism

The freedom and security of American Jews continued to be unaffected by anti-Semitism during 2003. Nevertheless, reverberations of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, controversy over international terrorism and the war in Iraq, manifestations of anti-Semitism in Europe, and early fallout from Mel Gibson's planned film, The Passion of the Christ, aroused the concern of American Jews and their organizations.

Assessing Anti-Semitism

Although there was no single measure for gauging the complex phenomenon of anti-Semitism, the annual Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents published by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) at least provided a baseline for spotting trends in the number and type of anti-Semitic manifestations. The ADL audit included reports of physical and verbal assaults, harassment, property defacement, vandalism, and other expressions of anti-Jewish sentiment. It was, however, but one of many indicators for assessing anti-Semitism since inconsistencies in reporting necessarily reduced its accuracy even in regard to the behavioral aspect of anti-Semitism, and, more fundamentally, even accurate statistics of this kind could say little about the overall security of Jews in a population of more than 250 million.

A year after the 2002 audit had shown an 11-percent drop in the number of anti-Semitic incidents from the 2001 figure, the 2003 audit reported 1,557 incidents, virtually the same as reported in 2002 (1,559). The 2002 and 2003 figures were consistent with a number of recent surveys of American opinion about Jews, which showed anti-Semitic attitudes at an all-time low.

The 2003 audit would, in fact, have shown a noticeable decline in incidents were it not for a significant rise in one category, vandalism. After reaching its lowest figure in years in 2002 with 531 acts reported, the number of vandalism incidents against Jewish synagogues, institutions, and property increased substantially to 628 in 2003, and accounted for 40 percent of the total number of reported incidents. Of particular regional concern were Northern California, which already saw a dramatic increase in 2002 (there was actually a decline in 2003), and, in Orthodox neighborhoods of Brooklyn, particularly at the beginning of the year. The audit

found a diminution in the number of anti-Semitic incidents on college campuses. One reason was undoubtedly the lowered level of violence between Palestinians and Israelis, since anger at Israel had often triggered anti-Jewish activity on campus. In addition, as ADL national director Abraham Foxman noted, "More proactive measures by campus officials and Jewish students to confront the problem head on" contributed to the decline in the number of incidents (see below, pp. 81–84).

As of 2003, 46 states and the District of Columbia had penalty-enhanced hate crime laws, but little progress had been made on passing a comprehensive law. The latest FBI report on hate crimes covered the year 2002. It reported 7,462 bias-motivated criminal incidents, as compared to 9,726 in 2001. Of the 2002 total, 3,642 were motivated by racial bias; 1,102 by ethnicity/national-origin bias; 1,244 by sexual orientation bias; 1,426 by religious bias; and 45 by bias against disabled individuals. Of the incidents motivated by religious bias, 931 (65.3 percent) were directed against Jews and Jewish institutions; these constituted 12.5 percent of the total number of reported hate crimes in 2002.

In October 2003, voters in California overwhelmingly defeated Proposition 54, the Racial Privacy Initiative, which would have banned the state from collecting racial data in all but a few instances. Opponents of the measure argued that if passed, it would make essential hate-crime reporting and tracking more difficult.

In July, Congress passed a provision, included in the State Department Authorization Act of 2003, requiring the inclusion of a section on anti-Semitism in its Annual Report on International Religious Freedom.

Extremist Groups

Right-wing extremist groups and individuals continued their activity in 2003, but their numbers were small and their impact limited. "With many of its leaders recently deceased, imprisoned, or aging," reported ADL researcher David Cantor, "the 'racist right' struggled through 2003 depleted and in disarray." Nevertheless, splinter groups operating Internet sites had access to audiences far out of proportion to their membership, and the threat of violence posed even by lone extremists persisted.

The virulently anti-Semitic, white-supremacist Creativity movement, formerly called the World Church of the Creator (WCOTC), promoted "an all-white nation and ultimately an all-white world," and rejected Christianity outright in favor of a whites-only pseudoreligion, "Creativity." WCOTC founder Ben Klassen committed suicide in 1993. Since

1996, its leader had been "Pontifex Maximux" Matt Hale. In a pivotal court decision in November 2002, the Creativity Movement lost a law-suit for copyright infringement brought against it by the Te-Ta-Ma Truth Foundation, which had successfully trademarked the name "Church of the Creator" some years earlier. A federal judge ordered the WCOTC to stop using this name, to give up its Web addresses, and to turn over all printed material bearing the name. Hale refused to comply, and when he arrived for a contempt of court hearing in January 2003, he was arrested for soliciting the judge's murder. With Hale in jail, several of his colleagues tried to resuscitate the movement both in the U.S. and abroad, but membership fell off significantly.

The National Alliance, a neo-Nazi group based in Hillsboro, West Virginia, had been led since 1974 by William Pierce, who died in July 2002. In the few years before his death, Pierce expanded National Alliance activities, membership, and contacts, making it the largest and most active neo-Nazi organization in the country. Erich Gliebe, his successor, had formerly headed the National Alliance chapter in Ohio and managed the group's white-power music company, Resistance Records. In 2003, the National Alliance participated in rallies against the war in Iraq, carrying signs that railed against Israel and Jews, and employed increasingly bold tactics to gain publicity and new members. An aggressive leafleting campaign was launched in at least 18 states, with fliers containing anti-Semitic, anti-Israel, and anti-gay messages, and exploiting local racial tensions. In the fall, the group attracted a prominent new adherent, Edward Fields, publisher of the racist and anti-Semitic journal The Truth At Last. Although public infighting and attacks on Gliebe's leadership created instability within the national organization, many of the local chapters remained as active as ever.

The Christian Identity movement promoted racism and anti-Semitism through the manipulation of religious themes. It taught that people of white European ancestry descended from the Lost Tribes of Israel, making them the "chosen people" of the Bible. According to Identity's "two seed-line" theory, only whites were descended from Adam and Eve, whereas Jews originated from a sexual union between Eve and Satan. Among the more notable Identity groups in the country were America's Promise Ministries of Sandpoint, Idaho; Dan Gayman's Schell City, Missouri, Church of Israel; Pete Peters's Scriptures for America Worldwide, in Laporte, Colorado; and Kingdom Identity Ministries, in Harrison, Arkansas. Eric Rudolph, the white supremacist who was arrested in June for four bombings, including an attack at the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta, was reportedly motivated by Identity ideology.

Aryan Nations was one of the more formidable paramilitary neo-Nazi groups. Founded in Hayden Lake, Idaho, by Richard Butler in the mid-1970s and subscribing to Identity ideology, it suffered a significant decline in membership once Butler was forced to declare bankruptcy in late 2000, and split into four factions. Butler himself still headed the Aryan Nations group in Idaho. His designated successor, Ray Redfeairn, died in October 2003, leaving a leadership vacuum. Morris Gulett led one splinter group, Church of the Sons of Yahweh, in Louisiana, and Charles Juba, based in Pennsylvania, was attempting to resurrect his faction. In November 2003, Richard Butler ran for mayor of Hayden, Idaho, and two other Aryan Nations members ran for the city council. One of them, Zachary Beck, was arrested on assault charges after allegedly punching a Mexican man. Also in November, Butler's traveling companion, Wendy Christine Iwanow, was arrested on forgery charges, and it came to light that she was a former porn star known as Bianca Trump, and had appeared in scenes of interracial sex. Despite these setbacks as well as his continuing ill health, the aging Butler continued his activities, and was revered by extremists of all types.

Formed in Dallas in the late 1980s, the white supremacist Hammerskin Nation, the most violent and best-organized neo-Nazi skinhead group in the country, was composed almost exclusively of young white males. In 2003, as in previous years, several of its members were involved in violent crimes, including harassing, beating or murdering members of minority groups. Although the Hammerskin Nation was losing members, it continued to sponsor rock concerts with "hate" themes where many popular racist bands performed. According to the ADL, the Hammerskins had an estimated 19 chapters in the U.S., and their Web site listed chapters in Canada and several European countries. Hammerfest 2003, a major white-power gathering in September, drew about 350 people—a disappointing turnout, in the view of experts on extremist groups. It was hosted by the Eastern Hammerskins in central Pennsylvania.

The Minnesota-based National Socialist Movement (NSM) believed in racial separation and minimal government intervention in the lives of citizens. Though NSM claimed rapid growth in 2003 and the addition of several new chapters, it could claim only some 100–200 members and hangers-on in 23 chapters. Virulently anti-Semitic and racist, it aimed most of its vitriol at Jews and immigrants. In August 2003, the NSM staged an anti-immigration rally at the State Legislature building in Indianapolis, Indiana, in protest of the increase in Hispanic immigration to the city. NSM organized several other rallies during the course of the year, in addition to its annual NSM Congress, held in April. Jeff Schoep,

the current NSM leader, was invited to Idaho to speak at the Aryan Nations World Congress in June. NSM also cooperated with White Revolution in organizing events during the year.

Liberty Lobby, founded in 1955 by Willis Carto, had for years been the most influential anti-Semitic propaganda organization in the U.S. Liberty Lobby had considerable impact on the extremist community through its weekly newspaper Spotlight, the monthly Barnes Review, and its national radio programs "Radio Free America" and "Editor's Roundtable." When Spotlight went bankrupt in 2001 it was succeeded by the Free Press, which, like its predecessor, advertised Holocaust denial literature and peddled conspiracy theories, including the charge that Israel and its Mossad secret service were behind the World Trade Center attacks. In 2003, Free Press frequently alleged that Israel and influential American Jews were responsible for the war in Iraq.

David Duke, the former Louisiana Ku Klux Klan leader, lived in Russia and Ukraine from 2000 to 2002, where he gave lectures and wrote articles promoting his anti-Semitic theories. In 2002, he was invited to Bahrain to lecture, and also appeared as a guest on the Qatar-based al-Jazeera Arab television station. In mid-December 2002, Duke returned to the U.S, and pleaded guilty to multiple charges resulting from his years of white-supremacist activity: mail fraud, bilking his supporters of money, and filing a false tax return. On April 15, 2003, he began serving a 15-month prison sentence.

Ku Klux Klan factions remained the most widespread type of hate group in the country. While Imperial Klans of America was widely considered the most active Klan organization, half a dozen major Klan groups and more than 40 smaller ones provided a significant Klan presence, especially in the Midwest and the South. In February, David Hull, a Klan leader, was arrested on explosives charges in connection with an alleged plot to bomb abortion clinics. And on March 17, Robert M. Shelton, longtime leader of United Klans of America, one of the largest factions, died at the age of 73.

The militia movement was perhaps the most immediately dangerous extremist organization since it encouraged turning antigovernment sentiment into action. Militias continued to cause problems in 2003, despite the decline in membership and in activity that plagued the movement since the mid-1990s. Militias were particularly active in Texas, Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, and California. The most serious incidents during the year involved the Michigan Militia. In July, Scott Allen Woodring, a member, shot and killed an officer of the Michigan State Police;

Woodring was later killed in a second confrontation. In October, another Michigan Militia member was accused of plotting to kill law-enforcement officers in retaliation for the July incident, and was arrested on weapons and drug charges. Larry Raugust, an Idaho militia leader, pleaded guilty in July to 15 bomb-making charges in connection with a plot to murder a federal judge.

Although Holocaust denial gained some public visibility during the controversy over Mel Gibson's planned movie *The Passion of the Christ*—Gibson's father doubted the facts of the Holocaust (see below, p. 75)—denial continued on its path of slow decline. The California-based Institute for Historical Review (IHR), for years the most active propagator of Holocaust denial in the United States, did little more than e-mail compilations of news stories from the mainstream media, conduct occasional radio interviews, and sell extremist and anti-Semitic literature through its affiliated Noontide Press Web site. The organization had not held a major conference since May 2000, and its *Journal of Historical Review* appeared to be defunct.

A major blow to Holocaust denial in the U.S. came in February, when former Canadian resident Ernst Zundel, a leading Holocaust denier and publisher, was deported from Tennessee on immigration violations, and spent the rest of the year in a Canadian prison while undergoing proceedings to deport him to Germany. Fearing imprisonment there for his long record of neo-Nazi utterances, Zundel filed a claim for refugee status in Canada (see below, p. 248). Meanwhile, his wife, Ingrid Rimland, worked in the U.S. to secure his release, taking out several full-page advertisements in the Washington Times to publicize his plight.

Much of the Holocaust denial activity in the U.S. in 2003 was the work of foreigners. David Irving, the maverick British historian, held his annual "Real History" conference in Cincinnati in late August, featuring a mixture of Holocaust denial, World War II conspiracy theories, and attacks on Jews and Israel—updated to blame them for the war in Iraq. In late November and December, Irving went on a speaking tour. Germar Rudolf, a 39-year-old German who fled to the U.S. after being convicted in his native country of defaming the memory of the dead, was active, especially on his Web site. He also produced a series of "Holocaust Handbooks" casting doubt on various aspects of the Holocaust, and resurrected Bradley Smith's short-lived print magazine The Revisionist, which reprinted material from foreign-language Holocaust-denial publications. But neither his books nor his magazine appeared to reach an audience outside the already committed circles of Holocaust deniers.

Collaboration between extremist right-wing organizations increased significantly in 2003. One popular tactic was for a particular group to volunteer itself as an umbrella organization and arrange multigroup extremist events; at one time a rarity, by 2003 this was a common occurrence. According to the ADL, Billy Roper, who headed White Revolution (a splinter group from the National Alliance) had emerged as the leader most able to unify the various groups for a common cause. White Revolution held events jointly with such other groups as Aryan Nations, White Aryan Resistance, the Creativity Movement, and the Ku Klux Klan.

Another relatively new feature of the racist scene was the ubiquity of the Internet; there were, quite literally, hundreds of anti-Semitic Web sites. Virtually every major U.S.-based group had developed some form of Internet presence by 2003, including white supremacists, neo-Nazis, various Christian Identity bodies, scattered remnants of the Creativity movement, Klan chapters, and groups advocating Holocaust denial, such as the Institute for Historical Review and the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust. In addition, many foreign extremist organizations utilized American servers in order to circumvent local laws prohibiting racist and anti-Semitic content. International terrorist groups—including Hamas, Hezballah, and Al Qaeda-affiliated factions—also found the Internet to be a valuable tool. Many of the extremist sites employed sophisticated technology, greeting visitors with slickly-produced videos and background music.

Intergroup Relations and Anti-Semitism

BLACKS AND JEWS

Closure, however ambiguous, was finally achieved in the case of Lemrick Nelson, Jr., accused of civil-rights violations in connection with the killing of Yankel Rosenbaum, a Hassidic Jew, during the 1991 riots in Crown Heights, Brooklyn (see AJYB 1993, p. 92; 1994, pp. 122-24). On May 28, the federal jury hearing the third Crown Heights trial convicted Nelson of violating Rosenbaum's civil rights, but found that Nelson did not "cause" the death of the victim. Had he been held responsible for Rosenbaum's death, Nelson could have received a life sentence; the maximum sentence under the jury's finding, however, was ten years. At the trial in April, Nelson's lawyer—in a dramatic turnaround—conceded that his client did stab Rosenbaum, but only because he was "caught up

in the excitement," not because of Rosenbaum's religion. The jury chose to convict Nelson of the civil-rights charge while absolving him of responsibility for the death. In a related development, Nelson's codefendant in earlier trials, Charles Price, pleaded guilty on April 12 to federal charges of inciting violence against Jews during the riots.

In September 2002, poet Amiri Baraka (formerly LeRoi Jones)—who, as a black radical in the 1960s espoused anti-Semitic views—published a lengthy poem, "Somebody Blew up America." In it he asked, "Who knew the World Trade Center was gonna get bombed/Who told 4,000 Israeli workers at the Twin Towers/To stay home that day/ Why did Sharon stay away?" Under fire from Jewish groups and others in the civil-rights community, Baraka nonetheless found some support among blacks, although many observers believed that racial solidarity rather than agreement with his views was the motivating factor. In New Jersey, where Baraka served as the state's poet laureate, there were repeated calls for Baraka to give up his position, and in October 2002 Governor James McGreevey demanded his resignation. Baraka refused to comply. Finally, in a move fueled by exasperation, the New Jersey State Legislature voted in July 2003 to eliminate the position of poet laureate, together with the \$10,000 stipend that went with it.

The virulently anti-Semitic Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI), continued his long career of anti-white, homophobic, and anti-Catholic rhetoric, in addition to his anti-Jewish expressions. Farrakhan's annual NOI Saviours' Day speech, given on February 23, included several attacks on the Jewish community, homosexuals, and Israel. Farrakhan blamed the war in Iraq on "the warmongers in [Bush's] administration, the poor Israeli Zionists" who "have literally gotten America's foreign policy to protect Israel." He also blamed Jews for promoting homosexuality, bad language, and degenerate behavior through their alleged control over movies. Throughout the year, NOI continued to sell The Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews, a book blaming Jews for slavery in the New World.

On October 16, Farrakhan devoted a large portion of his speech at the eighth annual Anniversary Holy Day of Atonement to denouncing Jews, trotting out his favorite themes ("See how they brought him into court on false charges? See how they plotted to crucify him? The Rome of yesterday is nothing to the America of today." And on Jewish businesses: "I don't like the way you leech on us"). Farrakhan capped his 2003 anti-Semitic rhetoric with a speech on November 23, "What is Islam?" in which he reiterated the theme that Jews perverted God's message. Far-

rakhan blamed the Jews "who are the masters of Hollywood" for defaming Islam and producing "the filth that is published daily feeding the minds of the American people and the people of the world filth and indecency, making it fair seeming in their eye."

Russell Simmons continued to invite Farrakhan to speak at his Hip-Hop Summits, even asking him to mediate a dispute between two rappers, Ja Rule and 50 Cent. His involvement in this conflict led to Farrakhan's appearance on MTV, interviewing Ja Rule. In this so-called mediation, Farrakhan blamed an "enemy" who, he charged, was plotting to destroy Ja Rule, 50 Cent, hip-hop, and their fans. MTV's online news site called Farrakhan a "trusted figure in the hip-hop community for his interventions in beefs and his championing of black civil rights."

Finally, Malik Shabazz, national chairman of the New Black Panther Party (NBPP), a racist and anti-Semitic black nationalist group, made anti-Jewish and racist statements at public events throughout the year. His efforts, in 2003, were focused on the Million Youth March, a rally held in Brooklyn, New York, on September 6. The event drew support from Farrakhan's Nation of Islam, Dr. Leonard Jeffries of City College, City Councilman Charles Barron, attorney Alton Maddox, and civil-rights activist Rev. Herbert Daughtry. Despite these endorsements, fewer than 1,000 people attended, leading David Pollock of the New York Jewish Community Relations Council to suggest that the NBPP was "completely irrelevant to most of black community."

HISPANICS, MUSLIMS

A departure from the normally positive relationships enjoyed by the Jewish and Hispanic communities were the activities of the Nation of Aztlan, a small California-based Latino group that distributed virulently anti-Semitic material via its Web site and e-mails. During 2003, its publication La Voz de Aztlan continued to blame Jews and Israel for every negative event that affected the Mexican community in the United States, as well as for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the war in Iraq, the gubernatorial election in California, and other matters.

News reports in April that textbooks used in American Islamic schools taught anti-Semitism—that Jews betrayed Muhammad and that Judaism entailed a belief in racial superiority, for example—did little to compromise relationships between local Jewish and Muslim and their harmonious cooperation on public-affairs matters, according to a statement by the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York.

CHRISTIANS, JEWS, AND THE PASSION

The announcement in March that director and film-star Mel Gibson was producing and directing a film, The Passion of the Christ, about the final hours of the life of Jesus, raised alarm bells in the Jewish community. Gibson was known to adhere to the ultra-conservative "Traditionalist" Catholic splinter group that rejected the reforms of the Second Vatican Council, including those that taught Catholics not to blame all Jews of Jesus's time, or Jews living today, for his crucifixion. Given the history of Passion Plays that for centuries had been the trigger for attacks on Jews for their alleged involvement in the crucifixion, Jewish groups—and also mainstream Catholic leaders who abided by the Vatican II guidelines were understandably sensitive about how Gibson's movie would portray the Jewish role. Further complicating the situation was the fact that Hutton Gibson, the filmmaker's father, was a vituperative critic of the current leadership of the Church and, as clearly indicated in a New York Sunday Times interview (Mar. 16), a vigorous supporter of bizarre conspiracy theories and Holocaust denial. While Mel Gibson did not express agreement with these views and acknowledged that the Holocaust did happen, he refused to criticize his father.

On May 2, a panel of four Catholic and two Jewish scholars organized by the ADL who had read an early version of the script issued a report that was highly critical of the film. The scholars warned that The Passion had turned the Christian Bible's multiple accounts of the last hours of Jesus into a Passion Play heavily influenced by the writings of a virulently anti-Semitic early-nineteenth-century nun. The cover letter to the report reminded Gibson that Catholics "believe that the definitive statement of the Catholic faith and the Catholic understanding of the historical (as distinct from theological) responsibility for the death of Jesus lies in our ancient Creed, which states, most simply, that Jesus 'suffered and died under Pontius Pilate,' and mentions no role at all for the Jews." The scholars asked Gibson to "rethink the film." "We believe that further significant changes will be necessary if this film is to avoid the tragic errors of past Passion Plays," the group recommended. (On the work of the panel, see Paula Fredriksen, "The Gospel According to Gibson," The New Republic, July 25.)

Publication of the report provoked Gibson to threaten a lawsuit on the ground that the script reviewed by the scholars had been obtained illegally. Despite the fact that Catholic ecumenical leadership was represented in the group of scholars that issued the critical report, the United

States Conference of Catholic Bishops, the policy-making body for American Catholics, announced in June that it had neither authorized nor reviewed the report, and would make no comment on the film until it was released.

Meanwhile, vigorous debate erupted within the Jewish community over how to address the issue. The two national organizations that saw their primary roles as fighting anti-Semitism—the ADL and the Simon Wiesenthal Center—went public with demands that Gibson meet with them to discuss concerns about the film's treatment of Jews. Diametrically opposed to such a confrontational approach were Jews politically identified with conservative positions who also, in many cases, had strong ties to the Christian right. They maintained that any Jewish attempt to force changes on Gibson's script would be perceived as a form of religious censorship. The International Fellowship of Christians and Jews, an organization devoted to promoting ties between evangelical Protestants and Jews, was especially concerned that Jewish attacks on the film might offend pro-Israel Christian fundamentalists.

Gibson refused to meet with any Jewish organization. In September, the Vatican distanced itself from the comments of two Catholic officials who had praised the film. In a letter to Rabbi Eugene Korn, the ADL's interfaith director, Cardinal William Kaspar, the Vatican's liaison to the Jewish community, said that ultimately it "may be up to the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops to take a position [on the film] and to clarify the continuing commitment of the Catholic Church to the teachings of the Second Vatican Council." Torn between conflicting liberal and traditional views, both the Vatican and the Conference of Bishops had sidestepped the issue. In December, Korn, who had coordinated much of the campaign against *The Passion*, resigned. While he offered no explanation, many believed that Korn's departure signaled the onset of a more diplomatic approach to the film on the part of American Jewry.

No resolution to problems raised by *The Passion* had been reached as the year ended. Public release was scheduled for Ash Wednesday, 2004.

A "New" Anti-Semitism?

Observers of anti-Semitism in the U.S. had long pondered the paradox that as the number of anti-Semitic incidents declined over more than two decades, Jewish perceptions of anti-Semitism rose. The Annual Survey of American Jewish Opinion, conducted by Market Facts for the American Jewish Committee, showed that 95 percent of American Jews

viewed anti-Semitism in the U.S. as a problem in 2002, with 29 percent perceiving it as a "serious" problem. In 2003, 97 percent said it was a problem, 37 percent considering the problem "serious." While a number of theories had been suggested to explain the discrepancy between these apprehensions and observable reality, the major factor, in 2003, was clearly a rising concern over anti-Israel and anti-Jewish expression elsewhere in the world. American Jews perceived any indication that such manifestations were being ignored or minimized as a threat to world Jewry as a whole, themselves emphatically included.

The month of October alone provided three examples. In a speech on October 13, Nobel literature laureate José Saramago of Portugal, a long-time critic of Israel, compared Ramallah to Auschwitz. Referring to the Israelis, he said that "living under the shadows of the Holocaust and willing to be forgiven for anything they do because of what they have suffered seems abusive." Jewish groups denounced Saramago, the ADL charging that his words "show an ignorance of the issues that suggest a bias against the Jews."

Just four days later, in an address to a meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in Putrajaya, Malaysia, that country's prime minister, Mahathir Mohamad, declared that "Jews rule the world by proxy," manipulating others to fight their battles. To the dismay of American Jews, President Bush remained silent about the speech even as leaders of other countries condemned it as anti-Semitic. It took four days before Bush finally called Mahathir's remarks "wrong and divisive."

Around the same time, American Jews reacted with dismay when the Vienna-based European Union Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia declined to release its new 105-page report on anti-Semitism, which addressed the sensitive subjects of anti-Semitism among Muslims and the link between criticism of Israel and anti-Zionism, on the one hand, and anti-Semitism on the other. The European Jewish Congress, defying the EU ban, released the report, and American Jewish organizations put it on their Web sites.

Was there indeed a "new" anti-Semitism? Several books published during the year addressed the question. ADL national director Abraham Foxman's Never Again? The Threat of the New Anti-Semitism, Gabriel Schoenfeld's The Return of Anti-Semitism, and Phyllis Chesler's The New Anti-Semitism: The Current Crisis and What We Must Do About It developed the theme that a resurgence of anti-Semitic expression in Europe since the start of Palestinian intifada in 2000 was rooted not in traditional cultural, religious, or racial hatred of Jews, but in Islamist ideology aided

and abetted by leftist and antiglobalist anger at the U.S., Israel, and Jews. For these writers, much of the criticism of Israel was thinly-veiled anti-Semitism, and the myth that Jews controlled American policy had transmuted hatred of Jews into hatred of America. A far different picture was presented by Alexander Cockburn, an intractable foe of Israel, whose collection of essays, *The Politics of Anti-Semitism*, argued that an "Israel lobby" did indeed possess inordinate power and that it used the charge of "anti-Semitism" to intimidate potential critics.

Drawing less attention were a number of sober analyses of anti-Semitism that appeared in 2003. To provide a scholarly context for addressing the "new" anti-Semitism, Stanford historian Steven Zipperstein authored a comprehensive paper, "Past Revisited: Reflections on the Study of the Holocaust and Contemporary Anti-Semitism," for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies. Mark Lilla's "The End of Politics," which appeared in The New Republic (June 23), explained current anti-Semitism and hatred of Israel as a consequence of European postnationalism, in which America and Israel were viewed as the last holdouts refusing to give up a benighted nationalism. Taking the opposite tack was Harvard historian Daniel Jonah Goldhagen who, in the Forward (May 2), averred that anti-Semitism had shifted its center of gravity to global Zionism, a "mythical entity, a destructive agent in the world." The "globalization" analysis was also used by Natan Sharansky, the former Soviet dissident and current Israeli minister for Diaspora affairs, who, in "On Hating the Jews" (Commentary, November), demonstrated the nexus between anti-Americanism, anti-Israel rhetoric, and anti-Semitism. There were also two important historical treatments of anti-Semitic episodes, Pierre Birnbaum's The Anti-Semitic Moment: A Tour of France in 1898, which traced the popular French response to the Dreyfus case, and Stalin's Last Crime: The Plot Against the Jewish Doctors, 1948-53 by Jonathan Brent and Vladimir P. Naumov, which analyzed a significant and almost catastrophic moment in Russian and Soviet anti-Semitism.

A number of conferences on the subject of resurgent anti-Semitism took place. The most significant was "Old Demons, New Debates: Anti-Semitism in the West," convened by the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York City and held May 11–14. It brought together academics, analysts, journalists, and Jewish communal professionals from the U.S., Europe, and the Middle East to explore what the organizers called the "recent rise" of anti-Semitism. The YIVO conference was noteworthy in that the presence of serious intellectual voices from many lands led

to nuanced discussion of both the similarities and the differences between "old and "new" forms of anti-Semitism. French author Alain Finkiel-kraut, for example, suggested that what was "new" about the current form of anti-Semitism was its divergence from the historical pattern: hatred of Jews now came not out of autocratic and theocratic societies, but out of democratic Europe; and, instead of being motivated by perceived Jewish "otherness," it drew its inspiration from the Palestinian intifada.

Other conferences placed less emphasis on scholarship and more on policy. The Jewish Council for Public Affairs (JCPA) held a conference in October, 2002, on "Global Antisemitism: Responses of the Jewish Community-Relations Field." It featured reports on the situation in discrete geographical areas—the Americas, the former Soviet Union, Western Europe, Central and Eastern Europe, and the Arab/Islamic world—and developed a series of action recommendations for national and local community-relations agencies that were tailored for the different regions. The American Jewish Committee, on June 23, 2003, brought together a group of professionals in the area of interreligious dialogue to assess recent developments in the relationship of religious organizations—particularly the American Catholic Church—to anti-Semitism.

Is Anti-Zionism Anti-Semitism?

The sensitive question of how to determine when anti-Israel rhetoric crosses the line and becomes anti-Semitism—never forthrightly addressed before—was placed squarely on the public agenda by New York University historian Tony Judt in an article, "Israel: The Alternative," that appeared in the New York Review of Books on October 23. Judt called for solving the Israeli-Palestinian dispute through the creation of a binational state in Israel/Palestine—in effect liquidating Zionism and the Jewish state. Judt argued that Israel had become a "belligerently intolerant, faith-driven ethno state," acting counter to the modern, democratic ideals to which Israel itself subscribed; Israel could not be both Jewish and democratic, claimed Judt. The solution: a state that guaranteed equal rights for all Jews and Arabs living between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea.

Vigorous responses to Judt appeared within days. Typifying the Jewish reaction, Leon Wieseltier, writing in *The New Republic* (Oct. 27), averred that "criticism of Israel's existence," as distinct from "criticism of Israel's policies," amounted to anti-Semitism. Questioning the legitimacy of the Zionist enterprise and of Israel itself as Judt had done, felt

Wieseltier, denied the very basis of Jewish peoplehood, and could only be construed as hostile to Jews. (*The New Republic* removed Judt's name from its masthead, where he had been listed as a contributing editor.)

The New York Review itself published a number of letters about Judt's piece in its issue of December 4. Israeli journalist Amos Elon asserted that Judt's approach was a "dead end" both conceptually and demographically since "the end result is more likely to resemble Zimbabwe than post-apartheid South Africa." Historian Omer Bartov argued that "the idea of a binational state is absurd not only in the light of recent history (Poland and Serbia, for example, are based on a view of nation and state, and are not 'anachronisms'), but also because no one wants it, neither Israeli Jews nor Palestinian Arabs." ADL national director Abraham Foxman wrote that Israel had "an identity as a Jewish state as does France's identity as a state of the French. Minorities live and flourish in all of these countries, but there is something inherently French and Israeli to these countries." Far from the "failure" seen by Judt, Foxman added, Israel "has built a modern democratic society while integrating millions of people from different backgrounds."

Some observers suggested that Judt's expression was especially pernicious in that he was not associated with the anti-Zionism of the antiglobalist academic left. Indeed, Judt's historiography of Europe embodied a centrist approach, and his call for an end to the Jewish state seemed to suggest that the argument for a binational state was being "mainstreamed" into academic respectability.

War in Iraq: A Jewish Scheme?

Students of American anti-Semitism often analyze the impact of "conflict situations"—those public controversies that tend to polarize society—with the expectation that they will trigger a rise in anti-Semitism. The record, without exception, has been that such situations do not bring an increase in either behavioral or attitudinal anti-Semitism.

The debate in 2003 over going to war in Iraq was another "conflict situation" with a potential for anti-Semitic fallout, as charges circulated about an undue and inappropriate level of Jewish involvement in the formulation of American foreign policy for the benefit of Israel. At antiwar rallies held on February 15, support for the Palestinians was clearly in evidence, although the focus was on opposition to the impending war and anti-Jewish voices were decidedly muted. Exercising caution nevertheless, the national Jewish organizations carefully avoided voicing support for

war before it began. Many of the critics of the war, it should be noted, including some of the most vociferous—such as MIT linguist Noam Chomsky—were Jews.

There was considerable speculation among the pundits about the influence of Israel and of American Jews on the White House's Iraq policy. Of particular interest was the role played by several Jewish "hawks" in the administration, such as Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz and others. Often, the word "Jew" was eschewed so as to avoid any imputation of anti-Semitism, the loaded epithet replaced by the euphemism "neoconservative." Yet another strategy to hint at a Jewish role without explicitly saying so was provided by James Atlas in the New York Times (May 4), who documented the record of "Straussians" (alleged followers of the late University of Chicago political philosopher Leo Strauss)—most of whom were Jews—in the administration. Former senator Gary Hart, speaking at Stanford University on February 10, was the first mainstream figure to suggest that certain Americans "can't separate their loyalty to their original homeland" from loyalty to America. Hart later maintained that he was not referring to any specific group.

The issue of Jewish involvement came to a head on March 3, when Rep. James Moran (D., Va.), a seven-term congressman representing a district in Washington's northern Virginia suburbs that contained many Muslims, told constituents at a town-hall meeting that the Jewish community was pushing the country into war. "If it were not for the strong support of the Jewish community for this war with Iraq, we would not be doing this," asserted Moran. On March 12, six Democratic congressmen, including some who had already endorsed Moran for reelection, sent a letter to House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D., Cal.) saying they hoped Moran would not run again. Moran, who already had a tenuous relationship with the Jewish community, issued a statement on July 13 acknowledging that "I should not have singled out the Jewish community."

Fringe groups and extremists, as expected, were vocal in their criticism of alleged Jewish involvement in fomenting war. "Israel's war" and "a war for the Jews" were common themes in the anti-Semitic media all through the year.

The Campus

During 2002, anti-Israel sentiment found expression on many college campuses in the form of pro-Palestinian rallies as well as campaigns urging universities to divest themselves of any holdings they might have in the Jewish state (see AJYB 2003, pp. 122-25). In 2003, the downturn in Israeli-Palestinian violence ensured a somewhat calmer atmosphere for Jews on the campus, but manifestations of hatred toward Israel, Zionism, and, sometimes, Jews, cropped up at several institutions. The ADL's annual Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents revealed that, after a three-year upward trend, the number of anti-Semitic acts on campus decreased in 2003: a total of 68 incidents were reported (40 of harassment and 28 of vandalism), as compared to 106 in 2002. Most of the incidents grew out of anti-Israel or anti-Zionist rallies at which some participants expressed overt anti-Jewish sentiments. But these were generally not characterized by the rough anti-Semitic invective of 2002.

"It has been an uncomfortable week to be at Yale," observed the Yale Daily News. The week in question culminated February 24, when Yale's Afro-American Cultural Center hosted poet Amiri Baraka for a reading and discussion of his poem, "Somebody Blew up America" (see above, p. 73). Baraka's appearance came in the aftermath of a nasty and protracted battle over divestment, and it ignited a war of words in the pages of the Yale Daily News, the nation's oldest student newspaper. Was criticism of Baraka's visit academic censorship, as claimed by Pamela George, director of the Afro-American Cultural Center, or was it legitimate condemnation of anti-Semitic expression, as claimed by the ADL's Abraham Foxman in a column in the paper? In the aftermath of the Baraka affair, Jewish student leaders called for reconciliation with the school's Black Student Alliance.

The invasion of Iraq evoked numerous antiwar demonstrations, many of them featuring pro-Palestinian, anti-Israel rhetoric, raising the fear that the activists' support for the Palestinians could help bring the anti-Zionist message to a wider audience. An AIPAC official observed: "The anti-Israel activists have made a strategic decision to embed themselves in the antiwar movement" so as to "engage large numbers beyond their traditional coalition." Once the fighting began, even as the security of the overwhelming majority of Jewish students and faculty across the country remained unchallenged, there were a number of troubling incidents. March and April saw three separate manifestation of anti-Semitism at the University of Florida alone, including the cry of "Death to the Jews!" chanted outside a Jewish sorority house. At Oberlin, stickers asserting that "Zionism equals racism" littered the campus. The March 18 issue of The Oak Leaf, the student newspaper of Santa Rosa Junior College (California), published an article, "Is Anti-Semitism Ever the Result of Jewish Behavior?" accusing Israel of genocide, deeply dividing the campus.

The decision by the paper's faculty advisor and the student editor to publish the piece ("The First Amendment wasn't created to protect warm and fuzzy commentary") was denounced by the college president as "poor judgment," since the article was, he said, "vicious and hateful."

Controversy of a different sort erupted at Harvard in May, when it became known that the Harvard Divinity School had accepted a \$2.5-million gift from Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahyan, president of the United Arab Emirates, to endow a chair in Islamic studies. Led by graduate student Rachel Fish, Jews on campus raised concern that the Zayed connection could bring with it an anti-Israel and anti-American bias, since the sheikh also funded the Zayed Center for Coordination and Follow-Up, an Arab cultural center that promoted Holocaust denial and conspiracy theories about alleged Jewish control over U.S. policy, and supported terrorism. Petitions were circulated calling upon Harvard to return the sheikh's money. In August, Zayed closed down his controversial center, but even so, Harvard officials announced it was putting the donation "on hold" pending further investigation. Fish commented, "We are going to keep up the pressure."

The Third Student Conference of the Palestinian Solidarity Movement was scheduled to take place at Rutgers University in New Jersey in October, provoking months of worry on the part of Jewish campus leaders. But in the end, school officials barred the event, and it was moved to Ohio State University where it was held November 7–9. Its purpose was to condemn Israel and Zionism as racist, and to advocate for divestment. The conference spurred debate within the Jewish community over whether to mount active and vocal protests, or, as proposed by the local Columbus Jewish community, maintain a low profile. As it turned out, the event passed quietly, the participants unable to achieve a consensus over the legitimacy of supporting suicide bombings and other forms of terror. Most of the Jewish organizations involved reacted by increasing their pro-Israel programming rather than formally opposing the conference. Only one Jewish activist group, Amcha—The Coalition for Jewish Concerns, took a different tack and vocally protested the proceedings. Amcha in fact charged the Columbus Jewish Federation of seeking "to keep us out, but there was hatred being spewed on campus and it needed an answer."

In addition to the decline in the number and virulence of anti-Israel campus manifestations, another important sign that such activities may have peaked was the decision by Columbia University to review the academic content of all courses relating to the Middle East, as well as the protocols for conducting demonstrations on campus. This came about as

the result of complaints from students about harassment of pro-Zionist students and the allegedly anti-Israel content of a number of courses in the Department of Middle Eastern Studies. The university administration felt it had to react to negative publicity in a major urban center, New York, which contained the largest Jewish community in the country.

Communal Responses to Anti-Semitism

Throughout the year, Jewish communal organizations publicized and took action against what they viewed at manifestations of anti-Semitism.

Debates over certain public-policy issues continued to have possible anti-Semitic implications. For example, Jewish groups suggested that a "pro-life" rally organized by anti-abortion militants in Buffalo in January to commemorate the 20th anniversary of Roe v. Wade had an anti-Semitic tinge. According to the ADL, this was not the first time that "right-to-life" groups "singled out Jews as disproportionately responsible for, even controlling, the abortion rights movement." And when People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), an animal-rights group, compared the meat industry to the Holocaust through the portrayal, on its Web site, of parallel images of death camps and chickens in coops, Jewish organizations, as well as some other animal-rights groups, denounced the campaign.

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA), in a series entitled "Funding Hate" (JTA Daily News Bulletin, October 16, 17, 22, 23) reported that the Ford Foundation (which had \$10 billion in assets and disbursed \$500 million annually) was providing money to anti-Israel and anti-Jewish causes. Specifically, several millions of dollars went to advocacy groups that participated in the UN World Conference against Racism in Durban, South Africa, in 2001, that demonized Israel (see AJYB 2002, pp. 55–111). In the wake of these revelations and the threat of legal action by the American Jewish Congress to revoke Ford's tax-exempt status, the foundation in November acknowledged the truth of the allegations and pledged to establish new funding guidelines. By year's end, the Ford Foundation had ceased giving money to at least one anti-Zionist group, the Palestinian Society for the Protection of Human Rights, which had orchestrated much of the propaganda against Israel at Durban.

Twice during the year, Jewish defense organizations took on newspapers for publishing editorial cartoons that they considered anti-Semitic. On May 30, the *Chicago Tribune* contained a cartoon on the Middle East by Dick Locher that depicted a grotesque, hook-nosed figure (presumably

Ariel Sharon), and other offensive images. It generated a storm of protest, followed by an editorial (June 8) expressing "regret" about publishing the cartoon. Then, on July 31, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* ran a cartoon by Tony Auth—a Pulitzer-Prize-winning cartoonist—depicting Arabs cordoned off into jail-like sections of a Jewish star, suggesting a comparison between Israel's security fence and a concentration camp. Barry Morrison, the ADL's Pennsylvania director, argued that by using the star, a religious symbol, Auth had crossed the line between political commentary and religious bigotry. Morrison said: "Auth has the First Amendment right to express... his views about the Middle East conflict... however, the imagery used to communicate this message is very offensive and highly sensitive." But the *Inquirer* defended the cartoon as legitimate criticism of the policies of a sovereign state.

The ADL, arguably the leading Jewish agency involved in fighting anti-Semitism, caused a stir by honoring Italian prime minister Silvio Berlusconi for his support of Israel at a dinner on September 23. This was just weeks after Berlusconi made comments that were sympathetic toward World War II dictator Benito Mussolini ("Mussolini—a benign dictator—sent people on holiday in internal exile."). Not only did the leadership of the Italian Jewish community criticize the ADL move, but so did three Nobel laureates, who, in a letter to the New York Times the day of the dinner, characterized the honoring of Berlusconi as "bad for Italy, bad for the United States, and even bad for Israel." But ADL national director Abraham Foxman defended the Berlusconi dinner, saying, "This man is the only clear voice in support and understanding of Israel [in Europe]" (see below, p. 341).

An embarrassing incident occurred at the conference of the Jewish Funders Network (the umbrella organization for Jewish family foundations in the U.S.) on November 5. Speaking before the group, financier and philanthropist George Soros—a Holocaust survivor from Hungary—charged that "the policies of the Bush administration and the Sharon administration contribute to a resurgence of anti-Semitism in Europe." For a prominent Jew to state publicly that Jews themselves were responsible for the hatred directed against them—itself a classic theme of anti-Semitic rhetoric—did not sit well with Jewish groups. ADL national director Foxman, for example, labeled Soros's comments as "absolutely obscene" and said that Soros "buys into the stereotype [of] blaming Jews for Jewish people's ills." But others noted that Soros was articulating a view that was quite common in Europe, and that in fact the ADL's own 2002 survey of anti-Semitic attitudes had noted that, "for the first time,

negative attitudes toward Israel and concern that American Jews have too much influence over U.S. Middle East policy are helping to foster anti-Semitic attitudes."

Jewish community-relations agencies continued to sponsor prejudicereduction programs, which aimed at changing attitudes and thereby behavior. Chief amongst them were the American Jewish Committee's "Hands Across the Campus" and the ADL's "World of Difference." Very little research had been conducted to evaluate whether these multimilliondollar programs in fact counteracted prejudice.

While the revelation had no current practical implications and was only of historical interest, Jewish communal leaders expressed surprise and sadness when a newly discovered 1947 diary kept by President Harry S. Truman contained anti-Jewish sentiments. Truman, whose administration recognized the State of Israel in 1948, had long been considered a friend of the Jews. But in excerpts from the diary, released in July, Truman said, "The Jews, I find, are very, very selfish. They care not how many Estonians, Latvians, Finns, Poles, Yugoslavs or Greeks get murdered or displaced as long as the Jews get special treatment." "I know anti-Semitism when I see it," commented historian Deborah Lipstadt, "and that's anti-Semitism," although others suggested that Truman's acceptance of views about Jews that were commonly held in his generation was not all that surprising, and that, in any case, what counted were his pro-Israel policies, not his private beliefs. Since President Richard Nixon's negative view of Jews was already known, there was far less surprise in October, when the release of a new batch of Nixon tapes provided further documentation of his prejudices. Yet in this case as well, Nixon's policies, most notably the resupply of Israel's forces during the Yom Kippur War of 1973, seemed to outweigh his anti-Semitic words.

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