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# Antisemitism as a Specific Phenomenon

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In January of 2009, several disturbing, aggressive, and offensive antisemitic rallies were held in the Federal Republic of Germany. German Muslims and their supporters chanted, “Death to the Jews,” “No Holocaust in Gaza,” “Boycott Israel,” and so on. Most disturbing was an incident in the city of Duisburg. Spurred on by the crowd of Muslim agitators, German police illegally entered a student apartment and confiscated two Israeli flags displayed in the windows and at the balcony. At a rally in Berlin the crowd shouted, “Death to the Jews” and “Olmert is son of a dog.” No authorities there stopped it.

Muslim extremists are looking to shoot. Jews and Israelis are the main target. As the appeal of such extremism grows, a larger question is begged: Has political Islam, protected by charges of Islamophobia leveled against its detractors, become fashionable?

Politics makes strange bedfellows, but one would expect leading antisemitism researcher centers to support Israeli Jews. It is not necessarily so.

The Center for Research on Antisemitism (ZfA) of the Technical University in Berlin is a very influential institution. The ZfA consists of two eminent professors, historian Wolfgang Benz and sociologist Werner Bergmann. The Center employs three assistants, one academic co-worker, fifty doctoral candidates, and fifteen employees working on projects. There are an additional seven fellows engaged in a project on European antisemitism (1879-1914).<sup>1</sup>

Benz is best known for key works on FRG Nazism and right-wing extremism. He has been co-editor of an encyclopedia of National Social-

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1. The Berlin center for Research on Anti-Semitism at the Technical University of Berlin was established in 1982. In the same year, the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism (SICSA) at Hebrew University in Jerusalem was established. In 1991, the Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Racism and Anti-Semitism was established at Tel Aviv University. Finally, in 2006, the Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Anti-Semitism (YIISA) was created at Yale University. I was a Felix Posen Fellow at SICSA in 2003/2004 and was among the first Post-Doctoral Researchers at YIISA since its inception in September 2008.

ism.<sup>23</sup> For instance, after the airing of television's (1979) *Holocaust*, Benz argued vehemently against equating the Jewish genocide with the Native American genocide.<sup>4</sup>

The magnitude of these key works and Benz's criticism of National Socialism and Right-wing extremism after 1945 might explain the Left's blind eye to antisemitic tendencies. Scholars have to consider criticism of Right and Left and the Muslim world. As well, they cannot forget Christian and pre-Christian (Greek-Roman) antisemitism.<sup>5</sup>

To focus exclusively on the Right is limited. Previously I have tried to avoid any downplaying of other forms of antisemitism and anti-Americanism, and nationalism. In contrast, anti-Israeli rhetoric is not neo-Nazi based, but is organized by the political Left and Muslim groups.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile, mainstream Europe is appeasing Islamic Jihad.

On December 8, 2008, the ZfA held a conference entitled "Concept of the Enemy Muslim—Concept of the Enemy Jew." The conference brochure itself was interesting in that it equated Islamophobia with antisemitism. Then there were the speakers (many of the speeches were published in

2. See Clemens Heni, "Salonfähigkeit der Neuen Rechten. 'Nationale Identität,' Antisemitismus und Antiamerikanismus in der politischen Kultur der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1970-2005: Henning Eichberg als Exempel" (Marburg: Tectum Verlag, 2007), 37, footnote 53.

3. Heni 2007, 265-266; cf. *ibid.* footnote 1100; the article by Benz is entitled: "Die Blockadebrecher: Rechtsextreme Schüler- und Jugendzeitschriften."

4. See footnote 3.

5. For an analysis of ancient antisemitism see Peter Schäfer, *Judeophobia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). Schäfer is head of the Department of Jewish Studies at Princeton University. He was the first and only scholar who received the two most prestigious awards in the humanities ("Geisteswissenschaften") in Germany and the United States of America, the German Leibniz Prize (in 1994) and the US Mellon Award (in 2007). For the purposes of my article, most important is his criticism of an essay on ancient antisemitism that was co-written by Werner Bergmann, one of the two professors at the ZfA. Schäfer wrote, for example: "In a recent article called 'Kalkül oder "Massenwahn"? Eine soziologische Interpretation der antijüdischen Unruhen in Alexandria 38 n.Chr.,' Werner Bergmann and Christhard Hoffmann have taken precisely this view against almost all the relevant scholarly literature. Over and again they insist that we are confronted in Alexandria with 'real conflicts of interest,' 'concrete political competition' . . . Anti-Semitism figures in this scenario as the effect of the 'real conflicts of interest' and not as their cause" (p. 157). For more criticism of Bergmann/Hoffmann, including their highly problematic distinction between "politics" and "culture/religion" in ancient times, see *ibid.*, 157-159.

6. See a big rally against Israel and the Jews in San Francisco on January 10, 2009. Posters at that rally read "Gaza = Auschwitz."

advance in the ZfA yearbook).<sup>7</sup> Recall the Danish cartoon controversy of 2005/2006? ZfA member Angelika Königseder described the motives of Danish cartoonists as pure “hatred,” justifying the Muslim rage that resulted in the murders of 200+ people<sup>8</sup> and torched embassies around the world for the next six months.<sup>9</sup> Jewish journalist Henryk M. Broder was then accused of being a stooge or “discourse strategist of the Right” because he is critical of extremist Islam.<sup>10</sup> Another contributor, Yasemin Shooman, argued that the Web is Islamophobic, citing mostly just one German homepage as a case in point.<sup>11</sup>

Not to be outdone, commentator Sabine Schiffer was also included. Schiffer is best known for downplaying Muslim threat while fueling anti-Israeli rhetoric, as can be seen at [anis-online.de](http://anis-online.de).<sup>12</sup> She also parallels Europe’s Muslims and Holocaust Jewry, accusing writers who disagree

7. Wolfgang Benz, ed., *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 17 (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2008).

8. See for example [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic\\_and\\_social\\_consequences\\_of\\_the\\_Jyllands-Posten\\_Muhammad\\_cartoons\\_controversy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_and_social_consequences_of_the_Jyllands-Posten_Muhammad_cartoons_controversy) (accessed September 1, 2009).

9. Angelika Königseder, “Feindbild Islam,” in *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung*, ed. Wolfgang Benz (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2008), 17-44, here 32. In German she describes those cartoons as “Hetzwerk.”

10. Peter Widmann, “Der Feind kommt aus dem Morgenland. Rechtspopulistische ‘Islamkritiker’ um den Publizisten Hans-Peter Raddatz suchen die Opfergemeinschaft mit den Juden,” in *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung*, ed. Wolfgang Benz (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2008), 45-68, here 67-68.

11. Yasemin Shooman, “Islamfeindschaft im World Wide Web,” in *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung*, ed. Wolfgang Benz (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2008), 69-96.

12. [http://www.anis-online.de/1/rooms/\\_index.htm](http://www.anis-online.de/1/rooms/_index.htm) (accessed July 17, 2009). The founder of this homepage, German-Palestinian Anis Hamadeh, spoke in the city of Erlangen in July of 2008 (<http://www.anis-online.de/1/pressearchiv/Erlangen18072008.pdf> (accessed April 30, 2009)); Schiffer was moderator. He trivialized and even denied the unprecedented crimes of the Holocaust. The German reads: “An dieser Stelle greift ein mächtiges Dogma, das besagt, dass nichts in der Geschichte des Universums so schlimm gewesen sei wie der Genozid an den Juden und nichts damit irgendwie vergleichbar sei.” In his view, the Holocaust is a “dogma”; he rejects the view that “that no other crime can be compared with the Holocaust.” The rejection of the unprecedented crimes of the Holocaust is fashionable in the Western academic world. For a Palestinian like Hamadeh, this is nothing special, of course; he takes this kind of antisemitism for granted. Again: why does an outstanding scholar like Professor Benz invite a person like Sabine Schiffer, someone who allows the denial of the Holocaust as an unprecedented crime? The fact that Schiffer is part of Anis’ homepage is even more scandalous.

with her as “demonizing” Islam.<sup>13</sup> Later in the article Schiffer indicts Broder for describing the Iranian nuclear program as motivated by preparing a “nuclear Holocaust.”

Other concerns abound. In his Conference introduction, Benz focused not on the victims of Islamic extremism, but on European Islamophobia.<sup>14</sup> He began,

Since September 11, 2001, anti-Islam resentment is fashionable on a worldwide scale. The killing of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh in November 2004 activated emotional reactions, which grew to what we now call Islamophobia.<sup>15</sup>

A further look into ZfA publications reveals a similar trend. Previously Benz had equated Germany’s 1990s “foreigners” (asylum-seeking people as well as residents) with the plight of fin de siècle nineteenth century Jews.<sup>16</sup> Downplaying Nazi antisemitic ideology per se, for example Daniel Goldhagen’s criticism of German eliminationist anti-Semitism,<sup>17</sup> Benz likens antisemitism to all “prejudices,” like the situation of Native Americans

13. [http://www.medienverantwortung.de/imv/pdf/zukunft\\_28\\_sschiffer.pdf](http://www.medienverantwortung.de/imv/pdf/zukunft_28_sschiffer.pdf) (accessed April 30, 2009).

14. At the conference the ZfA was asked about the origin of the term *Islamophobia*. The ZfA responded that the term *antisemitism* in their view is also “controversial.” What a response!

15. Wolfgang Benz, Vorwort, in *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 17 (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2008), 9-14, here 9.

16. Wolfgang Benz, “Antisemitismusforschung als Vorurteilsforschung,” in *Judenfeindschaft als Paradigma: Studien zur Vorurteilsforschung*, eds. Wolfgang Benz and Angelika Königseder (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), 15-21, here 18-19.

17. Wolfgang Benz and Werner Bergmann, “Einleitung: Antisemitismus – Vorgeschichte des Völkermordes?” in *Vorurteil und Völkermord: Entwicklungslinien des Antisemitismus*, eds. Wolfgang Benz and Werner Bergmann (Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder, 1997), 10-31, here 11. Benz and Bergmann go so far as to claim (without proof) that even the success of the NSDAP in the late Weimar Republic was no result of the antisemitism of that Nazi party, see *ibid.*, p. 13. Martin Ulmer from the University of Tübingen most recently finished his PhD in Cultural Studies, proving that antisemitic agitation was very important for the NSDAP at that time. Ulmer points out in his case study that the NSDAP clearly showed their antisemitic worldview by proclaiming at every single party event between 1930 and 1933 on their posters, “Jews are not welcome”; see Martin Ulmer, “Antisemitismus im öffentlichen Diskurs und im Alltag in Stuttgart 1871-1933. Eine Lokal- und Regionalstudie,” (PhD diss., Fakultät für Sozial- und Verhaltenswissenschaften der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, 2008), 451. See also the following chapter in Ulmer’s dissertation on antisemitic codes during the campaign for the election of the mayor of Stuttgart in the spring of 1931.

in Bolivia, or socially deprived people.<sup>18</sup> Benz himself had previously criticized equating the situation of Native Americans with the Holocaust.<sup>19</sup> The ZfA appears to consider antisemitism as a paradigm for all stigmatization, prejudice, and discrimination.<sup>20</sup>

#### HATE BY ANY OTHER NAME?

As early as 1543, Martin Luther blamed the Jews for almost every evil on earth. By 1602, the first story about “Ahasver” appeared. Ahasver is a fable of the Wandering Jew and describes a Jew who denied Jesus a place to rest. For his punishment, Ahasver was sent to walk around endlessly.

This Ahasver myth is an essential component of hatred for Jews, but many others persist. Blaming Jews for capitalism, the worship of money or “mammon,” is another one. “Mammon” became a symbol for “Jewish” power centuries ago, and since the middle of the nineteenth century, the image of Mammon has been an essential part of anti-Jewish resentments. Another myth is the blood libel, which evokes fear among non-Jews of being killed. Perhaps the most famous example is the 1840 blood libel in which Damascus Jews were accused of the blood libel and retaliated against their accusers, which resulted in several deaths.<sup>21</sup> By the early 1900s, the Russian forgery *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* had appeared. Though dismissed by courts in a number of Western nations, this myth is enjoying a resurgence at a State level throughout the Muslim world.

In the early twentieth century, it was not uncommon to know of “Antisemitenparteien”—parties dedicated to spreading Jew-hatred. As well, there had been a “Judenzählung” (counting of the Jewish soldiers) in the German army during World War One. After 1933 the situation became

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18. See Benz and Königseder, eds., 273-279, resp. 250-264.

19. See footnote 3.

20. Wolfgang Benz, “Feindbild und Vorurteil: Beiträge über Ausgrenzung und Verfolgung” (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1996), 19. Benz explicitly notes that “antisemitism” is the same as “Fremdenfeindlichkeit” (“xenophobia”), and that instead of “the Jews,” other “minorities” or “people” (“Volksgruppen”) could be singled out.

21. Clemens Heni, “Ahasver, Moloch und Mammon. Der ‘ewige Jude’ und die deutsche Spezifik in antisemitischen Bildern seit dem 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Die kulturelle Seite des Antisemitismus zwischen Aufklärung und Shoah*, eds. Andrea Hoffmann et al. (Tübingen: TVV, 2006), 51-79; see also Clemens Heni (2009), “Antisemitism and Germany: Anti-Jewish images from 1602 to 9/11,” about Ahasver (the “eternal Jew”), anti-capitalist antisemitism (“Mammon”) and blood libel (“Moloch”), at <http://clemensheni.wordpress.com/2009/06/27/ahasver-mammon-and-moloch-anti-jewish-images-1602-to-911/> (accessed August 18, 2009).

much worse. On December 13, 1934, a new law was passed precluding Jews from attaining a super Ph.D., the degree required to become a professor at university in Germany.<sup>22</sup> These exclusionary policies against German Jews are too numerous to mention here.<sup>23</sup> Today, everyone can be awarded a Ph.D. or super Ph.D. at a German university. Thus, to equate the plight of post-9/11 Muslims with that of the pre-Holocaust Jews is spurious and a denial of the concrete policies of Nazi Germany. Such a representation trivializes the events occurring in the German Empire (1871-1918), including the First World War, and the Weimar Republic.

Antisemitism is similar to and different from various forms of racism. Jew-hatred is based on significant images and ways of thinking. It is different from racism in that Jews are not always seen as being below “us” (as the Blacks have been from this racist point of view); rather, they are involved in a conspiracy to rule the world.

Antisemitism was the motif of the Holocaust. Those unprecedented crimes combined religious Jew-hatred, race-theories about “the Jew,” and modern antisemitism in all its forms, including a comprehensive worldview. This antisemitic worldview distinguishes antisemitism from racism.

German antisemitism is based on a worldview, an ideology, that considers Jews to be an evil that must be eradicated from the earth. Antisemitism has an extremely irrational dimension—it is genocidal. To equate antisemitism with racism or even to use the term *Islamophobia*, an invention of the Islamic Republic of Iran since 1979, is the dangerous and somewhat inaccurate notion that the other is less worthy. As well, Islamist ideas (or political Islam as such) advocate take-over of Europe and the West.<sup>24</sup> There have been no parallels in the Jewish history; for example, Zionism advocates for a secure Jewish homeland. It is problematic, though, to suggest that all Muslims are a threat to democracy, or that all Muslims are spreading Islamic Jihad. However, most critics of Muslim antisemitism in the form of Islamic Jihad are well aware of this.

Antisemitism is a specific topic. Important research on antisemitism concludes that racism, prejudice, and antisemitism are not equivalent (see

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22. Cf. Heni 2007, 295.

23. In the years 1933 and 1934 alone, 61 laws, many of them against Jews, passed in Nazi Germany. See Bruno Blau, *Das Ausnahmerecht für die Juden in Deutschland 1933-1945*, 3rd ed. (Düsseldorf: Verlag Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland, 1965) (first edition 1952 in New York City).

24. For evidence of this take-over of Europe fantasy cherished by Islamist Jihadists, see the movie *Obsession* (released in 2006), with Professor Robert Wistrich as scholarly advisor. This film was sent by mail to a hundred million people in the US alone; see a private discussion with Professor Wistrich in New Haven, USA, February 21, 2009.



Lévy for arguments on the irrationality of antisemitism).<sup>25</sup>

No group of people but the Jews has ever been singled out and blamed even for opposite developments, such as both capitalism and communism, and being weak-willed but powerful enough to take over the planet.

Antisemitism is a specific ideology that requires serious scholarly research. The equating of antisemitism with “Islamophobia” is wrong, and a sign of the growing of what Tel Aviv University’s Dina Porat called the “struggle of victimhood.”<sup>26</sup> It is the worst “answer” to the threat of Islamic Jihad, which is a threat first to the Jews and Israel, and second to the entire Western world.

Consider as well the following:

No single Muslim country is singled out.

There are no *Protocols of the Elders of Berlin-Kreuzberg* (a borough with many Muslims).

There is no accusation of Muslims being responsible for capitalism or the economic crisis.

There is no blood libel against the Muslims accusing them of using the blood of innocent children for religious purposes.

In contrast, the history of antisemitism demonstrates:

Jews and Israel (the “Zionists”) are singled out as a people and as a country (see UN speech of Iran on September 23, 2008, for example).

The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is being reprinted today in the entire Muslim world, including Turkey, Iran, and the Arab world.

Jews have been blamed for the economic crisis of today.

Jews are accused of the blood libel, for example on Egyptian television during Ramadan in 2007.

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25. For example, consider the uniqueness of the Holocaust as exemplified by the gas chamber and the pointlessness of killing Jews when doing so had no military value. See Bernard-Henri Lévy, *Left in Dark Times* (New York: Random House, 2008), 159.

26. Clemens Heni, “Global Forum for Combating Antisemitism,” Israelisches Aussenministerium, Jerusalem, 24.-25.2. 2008. In: *Pardes. Zeitschrift der Vereinigung für Jüdische Studien e.V.*, 183-187, here 186: “Porat betonte, dass der französische Intellektuelle Alain Finkielkraut schon vor über 20 Jahren auf die Verbindung von Antisemitismus, der Linken und Antirassismus eingegangen sei. Heute würde das u.a. im (israelischen) Post-Zionismus ein Echo erfahren. Sehr interessant und für die kommenden Jahre und Jahrzehnte wegweisend dürfte Porats These sein, es gebe bezüglich des Holocaust einen regelrechten ‘Opferwettbewerb.’ Sie macht drei Elemente dabei aus: 1.) Wer ist verantwortlich für den Holocaust? 2.) Wer ist das Opfer? 3.) Sind wirklich Juden die Opfer?”

## ZfA AND WHAT WE CAN LEARN

A center for the study of antisemitism should be aware of facts and not equate antisemitism with “Islamophobia.” Postmodern relativism is yet another way of rejecting research on antisemitism. Antisemitism is a phenomenon in and of itself and not a result of prejudice among others, or a byproduct of capitalism, socialism, Christianity, racism, slavery, or exploitation.

ZfA’s response to criticism suggests something else. The Center long ignored a Jewish journalist and accused him (a correspondent of the *Jerusalem Post* in Berlin) of producing a “torrent of hatred”<sup>27</sup> against the Center. As well, Dr. Benz misinformed a local newspaper, noting that both an Israeli ambassador and the chair of the Berlin Jewish community supported his conference on Islamophobia. In reality they had not even talked with him regarding this topic.<sup>28</sup>

The Western world fails to understand the genocidal threat deriving from Islamic Jihad. Instead it opts to be trendy. The fashionable philosophy of Giorgio Agamben is esteemed. Agamben compares imprisoned Jihad terrorists in Guantanamo Bay with Jews in German concentration camps during the Holocaust.<sup>29</sup>

In Henryk M. Broder’s view, centers such as the ZfA are good at analyzing *why* Jews are hated, but fall short of explaining why *Jews* became the object of derision.<sup>30</sup> Charles Small, founder and director of the Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism, has criticized the ZfA for its silence on the matter:

The lesson of the Holocaust was that silence in the face of injustice was immoral—especially when it comes to genocidal antisemitism. The silence among those who understand contemporary antisemitism—from Durban II to the Iranian regime’s threat and German economic relations

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27. See the monthly newsletter of the ZfA, the January 2009 issue, no. 37 <http://zfa.kgw.tu-berlin.de/newsletter/news-09-01.pdf>. Professor Benz is responsible for the newsletter; the editor was Dr. Juliane Wetzel. See also Clemens Heni, “What Is Considered Extremist in Today’s Germany?” *Jerusalem Post*, February 10, 2009, <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1233304731222&pagename=JPost%2FJPArticle%2FShowFull>.

28. <http://www.lizaswelt.net/2008/12/zentrum-fr-ahnungslose.html>. LizasWelt is a well-known pro-Israel blogger in Germany.

29. Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception* (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003/2005), 3-4.

30. [http://www.achgut.com/dadgdx/index.php/dadgd/article/aliens\\_und\\_antisemiten/](http://www.achgut.com/dadgdx/index.php/dadgd/article/aliens_und_antisemiten/).

with the regime—to remain silent is most troubling.”<sup>31</sup>

Noah Flug, chairman of the Center of Organizations of Holocaust Survivors and president of the International Auschwitz Committee, notes that Germany “must examine and analyze whether it is important to support the center.”<sup>32</sup>

The ZfA provides an example of the stance of today’s academic world in being disinclined to address Muslim antisemitism with the seriousness that the situation deserves. It can also be argued that the group does not devote enough attention to antisemitism as a whole, and that within the ranks of the organization the ramifications of the ideology are minimized.<sup>3334</sup>

There is one positive outcome of the ZfA conference. It has created an opportunity for several scholars to change their research framework regarding the “longest hatred.”<sup>35</sup> Antisemitism cannot be equated with “simple” prejudice, racism, or even “Islamophobia.”

Antisemitism is a dangerous ideology and worldview. It has singled out Jews for several thousand years. Its irrational nature leads to genocide. To prevent a “second Holocaust,”<sup>36</sup> research on antisemitism has to be strengthened.

To remain silent during the Gaza war in the face of extreme antisemitic rallies, or to downplay the antisemitic rallies in Germany,<sup>37</sup> or to

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31. Benjamin Weinthal, “Antisemitism Research Center in Germany Criticized for Failing to Urge Boycott of Durban II,” *Jerusalem Post*, March 11, 2009, <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1236764158749&pagename=JPost%2FJP%2FPrinter>.

32. Weinthal, 2009.

33. See footnote 5.

34. Cf. footnote 17.

35. Robert Wistrich mentioned at his speech at the Simon Wiesenthal Center in New York City, Manhattan, on February 26, 2009, that he would today be a millionaire if he had asked for a certificate for his term “longest hatred,” title of a film and partial title of his book *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred* (London: Methuen, 1991).

36. Dr. Charles Small mentioned this “pathetic” moment when Wiesel spoke at the Yale Law School a few years ago, at a lecture Small gave at the conference of the Canadian Academic Friends of Israel (CAFI) in Toronto, March 9, 2009. I myself attended a big rally of some 10,000 people in Manhattan/New York City on September 22, 2008, one day before Iranian President Ahamdinejad gave one of the most anti-Zionist anti-Semitic speeches in the history of the United Nations. Wiesel spoke at this rally and urged the world to act against Iran.

37. See Interview with Prof. Bergmann in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, February 9, 2009. He claims that Muslims just were in fear for their relatives in Gaza, etc. He

equalize antisemitism with “Islamophobia” is more than inappropriate. It smacks of intimidation and surrendering to Islam under the guise of political correctness and fear of being accused of Islamophobia. It is a trivialization of the Holocaust, a form of “secondary antisemitism.”<sup>38</sup>

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does not explain what the slogans “Death to the Jews” and “Olmert is a son of a dog” have to do with worry about family in Gaza. In consequence, he says, it is something totally different if German leftist or right-wingers are against Israel, compared to anti-Israel hatred of Muslims! The German original reads: “Question: ‘Sie verharmlosen den Hass der Demonstranten. Bergmann: Keineswegs.’ Aber wenn Palästinenser, die um ihre Angehörigen und Freunde im Gazastreifen fürchten und vielleicht Familienmitglieder im Konflikt mit Israel verloren haben, ihre Wut und Angst artikulieren, dann ist das erst einmal eine Reaktion auf einen aktuellen Konflikt. Man muss das anders bewerten, als wenn deutsche Rechte oder Linke aus ideologischen Gründen so etwas tun.”

38. See Clemens Heni (2008a), “Secondary Anti-Semitism: From Hard-core to Soft-core Denial of the Shoah,” *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 20, no. 3-4 (Fall 2008): 73-92. Available online at <http://www.jcpa.org/JCPA/Templates/ShowPage.asp?DBID=1&LNGID=1&TMID=111&FID=625&PID=0&IID=2675> (accessed September 1, 2009).

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