

## Anti-Semitism

**I**N 2006 THE SECURITY of Jews in the U.S. remained strong and anti-Semitism continued to be a marginal phenomenon. Nevertheless, there was increased anti-Zionist and anti-Israel activity and visibility in a number of disparate quarters; indeed, much anti-Semitic expression was related to the Arab-Israeli conflict, underlining once again the question of “threshold”—at what point does criticism of the policies of the State of Israel, or questioning the legitimacy of the state, cross the line into anti-Semitism?

### *Assessing Anti-Semitism*

The Jewish community in the U.S.—the largest concentration of Jews in the world outside Israel—experienced remarkably low levels of anti-Semitic expression, both behavioral and attitudinal, in 2006. This followed a 50-year pattern that reflected the strengths of a pluralistic society, even as intergroup tensions in general continued to concern political leaders and social analysts.

There are a number of criteria for assessing anti-Semitism—actions and statements on the part of public officials and religious communities, political developments, attitudinal surveys, and so on. In 2006 there were no new data from attitudinal surveys; the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), long a generator of such data, announced that it was planning a new round of surveys in 2007 and 2008.

According to the ADL’s annual *Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents*, there was a decline in such incidents in the U.S. for the second consecutive year in 2006. The overall total of 1,554 was down 12 percent from the 1,757 reported in 2005. (The average annual total during the ten-year period 1996–2005 was 1,618.) While social scientists had long questioned the significance of an audit that reports on relatively few incidents in a population approaching 300 million—and the nature of the reporting itself—the *Audit* remained a useful indicator.

To be sure, the year was marked by some violent attacks, most notably the shooting spree that occurred at the Greater Seattle Jewish Federation on July 28, when Naveed Afzal Haq, a 30-year-old U.S. citizen of Pakistani descent, killed staffer Pamela Waechter and seriously wounded five others. Haq, who allegedly forced his way through a security door

by holding a gun to a 13-year-old girl's head, began shooting after telling staff members that he was "a Muslim American" who was "angry at Israel." He surrendered shortly afterwards. That attack and others underscored a continuing threat to Jewish community institutions, particularly at a time of heightened conflict in the Middle East.

In 2006, cases of harassment against Jews decreased by 22 percent, with 885 incidents reported as compared to 1,140 in 2005. Acts of vandalism increased by 8 percent to 669, up from 617 incidents reported in 2005 and 644 in 2004. Examples ranged from synagogue desecration to swastikas and other anti-Jewish graffiti painted on schools, private homes, and public buildings. Vandalism accounted for 43 percent of the total of incidents reported in the ADL *Audit*, as compared to 35 percent in 2005, while harassment of individuals—less violent but more direct and personal—constituted 57 percent, as compared to 65 percent in 2005. (Incidents of harassment have predominated since 1991; before that, more instances of vandalism were reported.)

As in previous years, the states with the highest numbers of incidents were New York (284, down from 381 in 2005); New Jersey (244, down from 266); California (204, down from 247); Florida (179, down from 199); Massachusetts (96, up from 93); Pennsylvania (94, down from 95); and Connecticut (77, up from 57).

In 2006, a total of 77 incidents related to racist and/or ultra-right-wing activity were recorded, a decline from 112 in 2005, a drop possibly related to the factional infighting within these groups (see below).

There were 193 incidents of anti-Semitic harassment and vandalism reported at middle schools and high schools. In the eight states with the highest overall totals of anti-Semitic acts in 2006, 15 percent of all incidents were school based, compared to 13 percent in 2005. These included swastikas painted or scratched on desks, walls, and other school property, as well as name-calling, slurs, mockery, and bullying.

On college campuses there were 88 anti-Semitic incidents reported in 2006, a decrease of 10 percent from the 98 reported in 2005 but still more than the 2004 total of 74. Besides vandalism of property belonging to Jewish student organizations, some actions were included in this category that escalated from antiwar and anti-Israel rallies and demonstrations to harassment of Jewish students and other anti-Semitic phenomena, placing them beyond the category of mere political expression.

The Federal Hate Crime Statistics Act (HCSA) required the Justice Department to gather data on crimes that manifested prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, disability or ethnicity from law en-

forcement agencies across the country, and to publish an annual summary of its findings. According to FBI statistics for 2005 (the most recent available), 7,163 criminal incidents involving 8,380 offenses were reported that resulted from such bias. Of these, 17.1 percent (1,227) were motivated by religious prejudice. In that category, 68.5 percent were anti-Jewish and 11.1 percent anti-Islamic. These numbers were down marginally from those reported in 2004. According to the ADL, two of the largest American cities—New York and Phoenix—did not submit hate-crime data in time to be included in the report, and thousands of smaller police agencies did not participate in the FBI data-collection effort.

Another way of looking at anti-Semitism is to measure how Jews themselves perceive it. According to the *2006 Annual Survey of American Jewish Opinion*, conducted for the American Jewish Committee (AJC) by Market Facts, Inc., 26 percent of American Jews said that anti-Semitism was a “very serious problem” and 65 percent that it was a “somewhat serious problem.” These data were virtually identical to those found in 2005. Thirty-two percent of those surveyed said that “most” Muslims were anti-Semitic and 27 percent placed “many” Muslims in that category, deeming Muslims far more prone to anti-Semitism than any other American religious or ethnic group.

### *Intergroup Relations and Anti-Semitism*

#### MAINLINE PROTESTANTS AND DIVESTMENT

The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) had been in the forefront of the movement for “divestment,” the withdrawal of funds invested in Israel, Israeli companies, or companies doing business with Israel (see AJYB 2005, p. 164; 2006, p. 67). On June 15, 2006, the group’s General Assembly met to reconsider its position. While many observers expected this body to send the matter back to the churches for further study, it instead voted to replace its 2004 position advocating “phased selective divestment” from Israel with a new, more balanced resolution. The church would now hold companies working in Israel to the same standards demanded of recipients of its other investments. There was also a change in the Presbyterian stance on Israel’s security barrier, no longer calling for its removal but instead focusing on problems with its location. The 2006 resolution also acknowledged the “pain and misunderstanding” to “Jewish friends” caused by the 2004 statement. Even though it became

evident after the resolution's passage that certain Presbyterian elements were eager to minimize its significance (see above, p. 87), the Jewish community saw it as a significant step forward.

#### EVANGELICALS, JEWS, AND THE AIR FORCE ACADEMY

In the aftermath of the 2005 flare-up over evangelical-sponsored activities at the U.S. Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs (see AJYB 2006, pp. 61–63), the Air Force, in February 2006, issued revised guidelines that marked something of a compromise: while barring chaplains from invoking the name of Jesus during official ceremonies, they also stated that “nothing in this guidance should be understood to limit the discussion of voluntary discussion of religion, or the exercise of free speech, where it is reasonably free of the potential for coercion.” On the floor of the House of Representatives opposition was voiced by some Republican members, who viewed the guidelines as too restrictive, but also, for the opposite reason, from some Democrats like Rep. Gary Ackerman (D., N.Y.), who asked, “‘Reasonably free’? What does that mean? You’re talking about the military, about a guy who has a lot of stripes on his arm.”

Jewish leaders and groups were split over the new guidelines. The ADL opposed them. AJC, the American Jewish Congress, and the Religion Action Center of Reform Judaism issued a joint statement commending the Air Force for issuing the guidelines, which, it said, “go far in addressing the unfortunate situation which prevailed at the Air Force Academy.” Richard Foltin, the AJC legislative director, said, “It is important that steps be taken to ensure these guidelines be implemented in the spirit in which they were intended, which was to provide clear lines that ought not be crossed” (see above, pp. 84–85).

#### CATHOLICS AND JEWS

Pope Benedict XVI, now in the second full year of his papacy, had an unusual opportunity to address the subject of anti-Semitism when he visited the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp complex in Poland on May 28. Although the pope's words were moving, he failed to speak directly about the Jewish victims of the Holocaust or to mention that the day before, Polish chief rabbi Michael Schudrich had been attacked on a Warsaw street by a man yelling, “Poland is for Poles,” suggesting that the Jew-hatred that fueled the Holocaust was hardly extinct (see below, pp. 495–96).

Jewish officials, used to the more effusive and publicly sympathetic Pope John Paul II, generally kept their disappointment to themselves and praised the pope's decision to go to Auschwitz. But Father John Pawlikowski, a Chicago-based theologian and a leader in American Catholic-Jewish relations, noted with regret the "omission of any strong statement on anti-Semitism past and present and the Church's own role in propagating it, including among affiliated Catholic groups in Poland today."

Two days after the pope's Auschwitz visit, Edward Cardinal Egan, archbishop of New York, spoke in that city's Jewish Center, a large Orthodox synagogue, where he stressed the need for Jews and Catholics to work together on issues of common concern. Observers of Catholic-Jewish relations viewed his presentation as symptomatic of the warm ties between the two religions in the U.S., which contrasted with the sometimes rocky relations between Jews and the Vatican.

One matter on which many Jews had strong feelings was the ongoing Vatican process that seemed likely to lead to the canonization of Pope Pius XII, the wartime pontiff who had been criticized in many quarters for allegedly failing to speak out against the Nazi regime. To be sure, fault lines emerged within the Jewish community on this matter. ADL national director Abraham H. Foxman suggested, in December, a linkage with another issue, saying, "If the Vatican rushes to judgment on sainthood without allowing open access to the files of the Holocaust years, that would seriously damage the [Catholic-Jewish] relationship." But Rabbi David Rosen, AJC's director of international interreligious relations and president of the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC), said that while canonizing the wartime pope would create unhappiness among Jews, it would not rupture Catholic-Jewish relations. Rosen characterized Foxman's position as "apocalyptic," and stated: "It is a fallacy to suggest that opening the archives would resolve the debate over Pius, since the difference between the two sides is substantive in nature. Catholics look at the evidence and say, 'Pius did everything he could to save the Jews.' We see it differently and no amount of new evidence will change that."

Mel Gibson, the actor and director whose 2004 film, *The Passion of the Christ*, raised fears of anti-Semitism (see AJYB 2005, pp. 160–63), was back in the news in 2006 for his anti-Jewish venom. Following an arrest for drunk driving in Malibu, California, on July 28, he blurted out a barrage of vulgar anti-Semitic remarks to the arresting officer, who he believed was Jewish. Gibson subsequently apologized profusely, saying, "I am asking the Jewish community, whom I have personally offended, to

help me on my journey to recovery,” and “Please know from my heart that I am not an anti-Semite.” In January, an important book was published that provided the broad historical context for Gibson’s 2004 film. Its title was *Christ Killers: The Jews and the Passion from the Bible to the Big Screen*. The author, Jeremy Cohen, was professor of history at Tel Aviv University.

### *Blacks and Jews*

In his annual Saviours’ Day Address delivered in Chicago in February, Minister Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam (NOI) leader with a long anti-Semitic record, blamed Jews and Israel for the war in Iraq, claimed that Jews controlled Hollywood, and charged them with promoting “immorality.” By September, weakened by illness, Farrakhan relinquished the leadership role he had held for nearly 30 years. Some observers suggested that the NOI would fold without Farrakhan, but others expected a battle for succession, with Ishmael Muhammad, Farrakhan’s assistant minister at Mosque Maryam in Chicago (and son of former NOI leader Elijah Muhammad), considered the strongest contender.

The New Black Panther Party (NBPP), the largest anti-white (and anti-Semitic) black militant group in the country, continued to capitalize on media interest in racially charged issues by organizing protests—often threatening violence—under the guise of championing black empowerment and civil rights. Cloaking a conspiracy-oriented worldview in religious and democratic rhetoric, NBPP figures managed to achieve frequent appearances on national television during the year. In an interview on “The O’Reilly Factor,” for example, NBPP leader Malik Zulu Shabazz blamed Jews for creating negative images of blacks, and Zionists for terrorist attacks against them. Shabazz sought to strengthen the organization’s influence by solidifying relationships with street gangs and developing close ties with the NOI, joining Farrakhan at the Saviours’ Day convention. There was some speculation that some NOI members might switch their allegiance to the NBPP once Farrakhan was out of the picture.

### *The Campuses*

After the turmoil of the previous two years, 2006 was relatively quiet on the nation’s campuses. There were, however, a number of incidents.

Brandeis University—a secular, nonsectarian institution even though

it was Jewish-sponsored and had a majority Jewish student body—encountered some opposition from donors over the appointment to the faculty of Khalil Shikaki, a political scientist who, according to the Zionist Organization of America, had once had ties to the Palestinian terrorist group Islamic Jihad. Shikaki was made a senior fellow at the university's Crown Center for Middle East Studies (see below, p. 118).

Another controversial university appointment came up at Yale regarding Juan Cole, one of the country's top Middle East scholars. In June, Yale's tenure committee voted down his appointment after he had been approved by the history and sociology departments. Cole was known for his pro-Palestinian views, and a number of Jewish donors to Yale made their disapproval known. In December, the university opened the Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Anti-Semitism, reportedly the first such university-based program in America.

At the University of California at Irvine, where tensions between Muslim and Jewish students had simmered for some time, Chancellor Michael V. Drake drew severe criticism for not publicly deploring anti-Israel activities surrounding a series of lectures and symposia, "Holocaust in the Holy Land," held at an annual weeklong event in May. Drake defended what happened by citing the right to free speech on campus.

An important contribution to the debate over how Zionism was treated on many college campuses appeared in the spring issue of *Jewish Political Studies Review*, "The Columbia University Report on its Middle Eastern Department's Problems: A Paradigm Obscuring Structural Flaws," by Noah Liben.

### *The "New" Anti-Semitism*

Debate continued during 2006 over whether criticism of Israel and Zionism had become the "new anti-Semitism." For those who thought it had, a prime example appeared in the March 26 issue of the *London Review of Books*, "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy," by John Mearsheimer, an international-relations theorist at the University of Chicago, and Stephen Walt, the academic dean at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government (their essay appeared in longer form on the Kennedy School Web site). These scholars depicted "the Israel Lobby" as a "loose coalition" of politicians, media outlets, research institutions, Jewish groups, and evangelical Christians that steered—indeed, had a stranglehold on—American Middle East policy, which it directed towards Israel's benefit even if such a course harmed American

interests. To many observers, this argument seemed reminiscent of the classic anti-Semitic charges that Jews exercise undue influence over key institutions in society and that their attachments to parochial Jewish interests override loyalty to the state.

Specifically, the report revived the claim that Jewish and pro-Israel groups played a major role in pressing for the Iraq war in 2003. "The charge isn't new," observed Martin Raffel, associate director of the Jewish Council for Public Affairs (JCPA). "But this is Harvard and the University of Chicago we're talking about; it's the credibility of the writers." Initially, Jewish groups were torn between a reluctance to engage in frontal debate with the two scholars, on the one hand, and a strong desire to discredit their arguments, on the other. "The key," said Malcolm Hoenlein, executive vice president of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, "is not to have them say that they are being silenced." Instead, Jewish groups hoped for rebuttals to emerge from the academic community. Analytical treatment of the Walt-Mearsheimer essay varied widely, from outright dismissal on the grounds of anti-Semitism to overall agreement with the thesis, even if some of the details were wrong. Walt and Mearsheimer, meanwhile, were at work on a book-length version, scheduled for 2007 publication by Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

The controversy was replayed in late September when the *London Review of Books* staged a lively debate in New York featuring Mearsheimer, Tony Judt—the New York University professor who had argued in the *New York Review of Books* in 2004 against the legitimacy of the State of Israel—Columbia University's Rashid Khalidi, former Israeli foreign minister Shlomo Ben-Ami, and U.S. Middle East specialists Martin Indyk and Dennis Ross.

Judt, meanwhile—who had argued in a *New York Times* op-ed on April 19 that the charge of anti-Semitism against Walt and Mearsheimer amounted to censorship of their legitimate charges against Israel's supporters—became, he believed, another victim of the same tactic several months later. On October 3, less than three hours before he was to give a talk at the Polish consulate about the "Lobby," Poland's consul general, Krzysztof Kasprzyk, abruptly canceled the event after being contacted by some organizations. ADL director Foxman acknowledged that his agency had talked with Kasprzyk, but denied urging cancellation of the speech. Judt commented in an e-mail, "This is, or used to be, the United States of America."

The imputation of censorship aroused considerable concern. A strong

protest letter signed by 113 intellectuals and academics, published in the *New York Review of Books*, asserted: "What does surprise and disturb us is that an organization dedicated to promoting civil rights and public education [the ADL] should threaten and exert pressure to cancel a public lecture by an important scholar." Foxman responded by denying any exertion of pressure on the consul general and complaining that the authors of the letter "did not seek me out to get the perspective of the ADL." A number of observers hostile to the Walt-Mearsheimer position noted that diverting the discussion to the issue of censorship served to make the two men into martyrs in the cause of free expression and minimize attention to the weakness of their case.

That same month, an award-winning anti-Israel play about the Gaza occupation, *I Am Rachel Corrie*, opened at the New York Theatre Workshop. It had originally been scheduled to open in May, but was cancelled—according to the workshop's artistic director—due to pressure from "Jewish leaders."

And if all of this were not enough, former president Jimmy Carter's book, *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid*, was released on November 14. In it, Carter characterized Israeli activities in the West Bank as being "even worse" than the apartheid policies of the old white supremacist government in South Africa, and, like Walt and Mearsheimer, accused pro-Israel groups of stifling legitimate debate on U.S. Middle East policy. Response from Jewish leaders was immediate. The ADL's Abraham Foxman charged that Carter was "engaging in anti-Semitism," and AJC executive director David Harris, noting that the Carter affair followed hard on the heels of Walt-Mearsheimer, suggested that "what's particularly worrisome is the accretion factor." Analysts, noting that the South Africa analogy—which, by its racial nature, also conjured up Nazi policies—was deeply offensive to most American Jews, recalled that the former president had always had a troubled relationship with Israel. Those interested in the political fallout wondered if the book might harm traditional Jewish support for Democratic candidates, and major figures in the party dissociated themselves from Carter's views on the subject.

A key publication that sharpened and informed the controversy over the blurry boundary between anti-Semitism and hostility to Israel was Alvin H. Rosenfeld's "*Progressive*" *Jewish Thought and the New Anti-Semitism*, published by AJC in December. Rosenfeld argued that a number of Jews, primarily academics of the liberal/left persuasion (he named names and provided quotations), were feeding a rise in anti-Semitism by questioning Israel's right to exist or, in more euphemistic

terms, urging a “one-state solution” that would inevitably bring the Jewish state to an end. The publication evoked great hostility, as Rosenfeld was charged with seeking to intimidate Jewish critics of Israeli policies by conflating them with anti-Semites, and making unwarranted generalizations about “progressives.” But he had his defenders. Brandeis University sociologist Shulamit Reinharz, for example, told the *Boston Jewish Advocate* that “in a world in which there is only one Jewish state, to oppose it vehemently is to endanger Jews.” Acknowledging that the publication “deals with matters of great sensitivity,” AJC research director David Singer said, “[The essay] is an act of courage on the part of AJC and the author.”

### *Arts, Letters, and Anti-Semitism*

Playwright David Mamet took a controversial position on anti-Semitism in his 2006 book, *The Wicked Son: Anti-Semitism, Self-Hatred, and the Jews*. Many reviewers suggested that he seriously overstated the extent of anti-Semitism in the U.S., apparently harking back to a period when American Jews, for good reason, were profoundly insecure. Another provocative work dealing with anti-Semitism was Princeton sociologist Jan Gross’s *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland After Auschwitz*. Sparing no detail in illuminating the full extent of Polish malevolence toward Jews in the aftermath of the Nazi defeat, Gross encountered criticism from those who thought he missed the highly nuanced, centuries-old relationship between Poles and Jews. A third book that touched on anti-Semitism was *Shylock Is Shakespeare*, by Kenneth Gross, which theorized that Shylock, like his creator, was a product of profound artistic and personal isolation whose success came at great personal costs. Finally, AJC issued Kenneth S. Stern’s *Anti-Semitism Today: How It Is the Same, How It Is Different, and How to Fight It*, which summarized much of the data about recent expressions of anti-Semitism worldwide.

A serious crisis emanating from works of art began with the publication of cartoons in the mass-circulation Danish daily *Jylands-Posten* in September, 2005, which depicted the Prophet Mohammed. While Muslim anger led to riots and boycotts in many parts of the world, American Jewish communal leaders pointed out that the same Muslim governments that condemned the cartoons routinely allowed the publication of anti-Semitic cartoons. “It’s the pot calling the kettle black,” said David Harris, AJC’s executive director. Muslim groups, for their part, accused Western organizations and governments of censoring views offen-

sive to Jews while defending attacks on Muslims under the guise of free speech.

The opening, in November, of comedian Sacha Baron Cohen's spoof film *Borat: Cultural Learnings of America for Make Benefit Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan*, provided an opportunity for both comic relief and serious discussion of anti-Semitism in the arts. The central character, played by Cohen, was casually anti-Semitic, and viewers differed over whether the satirical nature of the movie encouraged anti-Semitism or made it a butt of ridicule.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum hosted an exhibition in April, "A Dangerous Lie," on the history and contemporary significance of the old anti-Semitic libel, the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. It focused particularly but not exclusively on the use made of the *Protocols* in Muslim and Arab lands.

### *Anti-Semitism and the Political Arena*

There were only a few, minor expressions of anti-Semitism in politics during 2006. Perhaps the most significant was language in the biennial platform of the Texas Republican party, issued in June, that America was a "Christian nation," and describing separation of church and state as a "myth." Jewish members of the state party criticized these planks of the platform, while leaders of the organized Jewish community there acknowledged that they had expended most of their energy in opposing pro-Palestinian planks.

On June 14, Rep Steven King (R., Iowa) wrote a letter to the ADL demanding that it apologize for defaming him by claiming that he compared illegal immigrants to Nazis. The congressman, who was strongly opposed to illegal immigration, said in a speech on May 22 that "We have a slow-motion holocaust on our hands," referring to Americans killed by illegal immigrants. King explained to the ADL, "I never capitalized the word 'Holocaust.'"

The question of the cynical use of anti-Semitism for political purposes was addressed in September by Sam Gejdenson, a former Democratic congressman from Connecticut. In an op-ed article in the *Forward* (Sept. 26), Gejdenson objected to repeated Republican allegations that Democrats were insufficiently supportive of Israel. Gejdenson pointed to the use by conservative commentators of anti-Semitic posts on progressive on-line sites to argue that the entire political left—and, by implication, the Democratic Party—was anti-Semitic. Said Gejdenson, "The use of

anti-Semitism for blatant political purposes should have no place in the American political dialogue.”

On the local level, New York City, in September, approved tax-exempt bond financing for a not-for-profit arts group that was founded by Lenora Fulani, a leader of the Independence Party and an activist in a bizarre political cult. She had, over the years, run for virtually every city office, in the course of which she had made numerous anti-Semitic remarks. The lone voice in opposition to the financing plan was that of New York State comptroller Alan Hevesi, who said, “Providing financial assistance to a misogynistic and anti-Semitic cult is tantamount to providing public validation of and support for these ideas.”

AIPAC’s legal problems, which began back in 2004, continued in 2006, and some believed that the drawn-out saga could have anti-Semitic implications. In January, Pentagon analyst Larry Franklin, who had passed classified information to two AIPAC staffers, was sentenced to a harsh prison sentence, perhaps boding ill for Steven Rosen and Keith Weissman, the men who received this material and allegedly passed it on to Israel. In March, Judge T.S. Ellis, the federal judge assigned to hear the case against Rosen and Weissman, suggested that the Espionage Act under which they were being prosecuted was vague, and might be unconstitutional. A *Time* magazine report in October claimed that the FBI investigation of AIPAC had been expanded to include possible meddling in the affairs of the House Intelligence Committee. There were claims that Rep. Jane Harman (D., Calif.) had entered into a deal with AIPAC whereby the latter would support Harman’s bid to become the next chair of the House Intelligence Committee if Harman would press the government to drop the charges against Rosen and Weissman. Both sides denied the report. At year’s end, Rosen and Weissman were reported to be considering suing AIPAC for having stopped payment of their legal fees.

Jewish groups not only speculated about possible anti-Semitic motives behind the government’s pursuit of the case, but also worried over potential anti-Semitic fallout, particularly involving the “dual loyalty” issue: the charges against the former AIPAC people could well be linked in the public mind with the “Israel Lobby” and its alleged clout in the determination of American foreign policy.

### *Extremist Groups and Activities*

While the main focus of American Jewish concern was anti-Semitic stereotyping and anti-Israel propaganda, there were still extremist orga-

nizations, mostly racist and/or neo-Nazi, that sometimes engaged in threats, vandalism, and violence. In 2006, according to the ADL *Audit*, there were 77 incidents ascribed to extremists as compared to 112 in 2005, a significant decline possibly related to factional infighting within these groups. In addition, the national discussion over illegal immigration, with rallies and protests that drew much attention, presumably diverted extremist energies away from some of their usual targets and toward Hispanics. The anti-Jewish activity that did take place generally took the form of leafleting, rallies, and distribution of hate propaganda, often via the Internet.

Racist organizations in the U.S. underwent a number of important developments in 2006. As the year began, the National Socialist Movement (NSM), a Minneapolis-based organization descended from the 1960s-era American Nazi Party, was the largest neo-Nazi group in the country. Its members, who wore Nazi uniforms at rallies, called for a "Greater America" that would deny citizenship to Jews, nonwhites, and homosexuals. By summer, however, internal strife led to the ouster or resignation of several high-profile leaders, including the media liaison, Bill White, and the chairman, Cliff Herrington. Each man proceeded to start his own new organization, White establishing the American National Socialist Workers Party (ANSWP) and Herrington the National Socialist Freedom Movement, which existed primarily on the Internet.

The National Alliance (NA) in 2006 had a small, largely inactive membership. In June, federal authorities arrested Shaun Walker, its leader, in his West Virginia compound after a federal grand jury in Salt Lake City indicted him on conspiracy to interfere with civil rights and with a federally protected activity. Two other NA members, Travis Massey and Eric Egbert, were arrested in Utah on the same charges. According to the indictment, between December 2002 and March 2003, the three conspired to threaten, provoke, and fight with minorities in order to deter them from living in and around Salt Lake City.

The National Vanguard, led by former NA activist Kevin Strom, had been created out of an organizational split within the NA in April 2005. By March 2006, however, the Tampa and Denver Vanguard units, two of the largest and most active, split off to form yet another organization, the Nationalist Coalition.

By 2006, Volksfront, based in Portland, Oregon, had become one of the most active white-supremacist groups on the West Coast. One of its primary goals was to establish an autonomous "whites only" living space in the Pacific Northwest, and to this end the group claimed to have pur-

chased several acres of property in Oregon. Many members of Volksfront had records of conviction for violent hate crimes. In August, for example, two brothers, Jacob and Gabriel Laskey, pleaded guilty in a federal court in Portland, Oregon, to throwing swastika-etched rocks at Temple Beth Israel in Eugene during a religious service in 2002.

On the Klan front, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), with more than 40 active groups—most with multiple chapters, or “klaverns,” around the country—increased its activities in 2006. The KKK’s central issue remained immigration, a mainstream concern that Klan leaders believed would gain new adherents for the movement. The Tennessee-based Brotherhood of Klans (BOK) organized a series of events in 2006 that included “unity” gatherings for white supremacists. The BOK also established new chapters in many parts of the country. Among the newer Klan groups, the Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, based in Florida and founded largely by former members of the Southern White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, expanded to 18 states. In the Midwest, the Michigan-based United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, created in 2005 as a splinter group that seceded from another Klan, expanded to nine states in 2006. Also, new Klan groups formed in areas where the Klan had previously been weak, such as Iowa, where Douglas Sadler established the Fraternal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and in the Middle Atlantic region.

The Christian Identity movement promoted a racist and anti-Semitic agenda through the manipulation of religious themes, maintaining that people of white European ancestry descended from the Lost Tribes of Israel, and thus whites were the “chosen people” of the Bible. Identity groups in the U.S. included America’s Promise Ministries of Sandpoint, Idaho; Dan Gayman’s Church of Israel in Schell City, Missouri; Scriptures for America Worldwide, led by Pete Peters in Laporte, Colorado; and Kingdom Identity Ministries in Harrison, Arkansas.

Aryan Nations, a paramilitary neo-Nazi group formed in the mid-1970s that subscribed to Identity ideology, continued the decline that had begun following the death of its founder and leader, Richard Butler, in 2004. By 2006 Aryan Nations consisted of only two small factions. In May, Morris Lynn Gullett, a former high-ranking member of Aryan Nations and leader of the Church of the Sons of Yahweh, one of the group’s factions, and Charles Scott Thornton of Piedmont, Alabama, were sentenced, respectively, to 72 and 60 months in prison following convictions on several charges, including conspiracy to commit armed robbery.

Since 2002 the skinhead movement in the U.S. had enjoyed a resurgence

as both the number of groups and of independent skinheads increased. One of the most active skinhead groups to emerge in 2006 was the Vinlanders Social Club. Originating in Knightstown, Indiana, the Vinlanders began as a loose association of skinhead gangs from Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan. Within a short period of time the Vinlanders grew to over 100 members and close associates, and began to develop rivalries with other racist groups.

The criminal activity committed by extremist groups included murders and attempted murders of African Americans, Hispanics, multiracial couples or families, Asians, gays and lesbians, homeless people, and Jews. There were also instances of kidnapping, assault, drug trading, identity theft, and counterfeiting. A number of high-profile trials involved the Aryan Brotherhood, especially in California. One trial, in Santa Ana, resulted in the convictions of four Aryan Brotherhood leaders: Barry "The Baron" Mills, Tyler "The Hulk" Bingham, Edgar "The Snail" Hevle, and Christopher Gibson. In Texas and Oklahoma, Brotherhood members Brandon James Horne and Michael Sean Rose were charged with first-degree murder in October 2006 for the alleged killing of a prison inmate who was a sex offender.

On November 28, a federal court in Jackson, Tennessee, sentenced white supremacist Demetrius "Van" Crocker to 30 years in prison, plus lifetime supervised release, for trying to obtain ingredients for Sarin nerve gas and C-4 explosives from an undercover agent. During his trial, a jury heard hours of taped conversations between Crocker and the undercover agent during which Crocker talked about exploding a bomb and releasing Sarin gas outside a courthouse, making batches of poisoned marijuana to kill black residents of Jackson, and spraying African American neighborhoods with mustard gas from a helicopter. Crocker also told the agent that he hated Jews and admired Adolf Hitler.

Many regional racist gangs caused problems in 2006. Michael David Cottler, a member of the Nazi Low Riders (NLR), was arrested in August for allegedly conspiring with another man in prison to murder a California Highway Patrol officer who was going to testify against one of them in court. In Maricopa County, Arizona, federal and local authorities arrested 42 members of a racist skinhead gang known as the AZ 88 Boot Boys ("88" is neo-Nazi code for "Heil Hitler"), including leader Todd Streich, on weapons and drug charges. Most were from Phoenix and Glendale. These arrests, which took place in May, resulted from a 14-month, multi-agency investigation.

Anti-government militia groups continued to conduct paramilitary

training in relative secrecy. The revived Internet militia discussion board, "A Well Regulated Militia," as well as individual militia Web sites and lists, were used to stimulate recruitment. War veterans, especially targeted because of their training, were viewed as potential leaders. Popular topics of discussion were immigration, skepticism about the government's "war on terrorism," and rumors about a future North American Union that would unite the U.S., Canada, and Mexico. Racist and anti-Semitic themes were not uncommon.

Following his release from prison in May 2004, former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke continued promoting his anti-Semitic theories both in the U.S. and abroad (see AJYB 2006, p. 84). In March 2006, Duke praised Mearsheimer and Walt's "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy," which claimed that an "Israel Lobby" controlled American foreign policy (see above, pp. 96–98). Duke claimed that their work "validated" his own assertions over the years, and he made a rare appearance on mainstream television on March 21, when he was interviewed by Joe Scarborough on the MSNBC program "Scarborough Country." In October he addressed an audience at the MAUP (Interregional Academy of Personnel Management) in Ukraine—which had awarded him a doctorate in history in 2005—on the topic of Zionist influence (see below, p. 000). December found Duke in Tehran for President Ahmadinejad's Holocaust-denial conference, where he publicly reiterated his view that Zionists control and manipulate governments. He condemned the war in Iraq "being fought on behalf of Israel" and the imprisonment in Europe of Holocaust deniers, whom he referred to as "scholars and researchers."

Hal Turner, an independent New Jersey-based white supremacist who previously belonged to the National Alliance, hosted an Internet radio show that spewed hardcore anti-Semitism, and his Hal Turner Radio Network provided air time to other white supremacists. During the year Turner repeatedly encouraged listeners to attack and to kill Jews, Hispanics, and federal officials.

### *The Left and the Lebanon War*

Antiwar rallies organized throughout the country during the summer in response to Israel's war in Lebanon and military strikes in the Gaza Strip—both precipitated by the kidnapping of Israeli soldiers—often included support for terrorist groups, calls for the destruction of Israel, the equation of Zionism with Nazism, and outright anti-Semitism.

Indeed, many on the far left conflated these hostilities with the war in

Iraq, so that Israel's conflict with Hezbollah in Lebanon validated the notion that the fundamentalist Shi'ite movement, Iraqi insurgents, and Palestinian terror organizations constituted an important ideological partner of progressive movements in the West.

One typical sign at the largest anti-Israel rally, in Washington, D.C., featured a Star of David with the caption: "The Nazis are back." One protester at a rally in San Francisco on August 12 held a sign that proclaimed: "Nazi kikes out of Lebanon." At several of the rallies, crowds called on Hezbollah to bomb Israeli cities. A common chant in Arabic, with variations, was: "Nasrallah, dear: bomb Tel Aviv . . . bomb Kiryat Shmona." (At the time, Hezbollah was bombing northern Israel and threatening to hit Tel Aviv). Speakers at the rallies denounced U.S. support for Israel, which many blamed on Israel's alleged stranglehold on American policy. At a demonstration in Dearborn, Michigan, in July, one speaker said, "We know that the president is being bought by the Zionist lobby. We know that the Congress is being bought by the Zionist lobby."

### *Anti-Semitism on the Internet and the Web*

The Internet continued to play a substantial role in the dissemination of anti-Semitism, with hate literature being transmitted through hundreds of sites on the Web and through bulletin boards, chat rooms and, e-mail messages. Hate groups actively contributed to the continued Internet circulation of anti-Jewish conspiracy charges related to the events of September 11, 2001, while also promoting theories of Jewish control of government, finance, and the media.

The expansion of the extremist presence on the Internet during 2006 suggested that these groups were becoming more technologically adept. Thousands of Web sites spread racism, anti-Semitic and anti-Israel views, and Holocaust denial through the use of the latest technology, such as streaming audio, video, and e-commerce sections, as well as sophisticated flash videos and background music, along with original artwork and cartoons. Many extremist groups based overseas utilized servers located within the U.S. to circumvent laws in their home countries prohibiting racist, extremist, bigoted, and anti-Semitic content.

Virtually every major U.S.-based extremist group had some form of Internet presence, and many individuals with such ideologies created their own personal sites, pages, or blogs. Conspiracy theorists maintained Web sites and e-mail lists linking current world events to Jews and Israel, and neo-Nazi sites promoted not only their own theories but advertised mer-

chandise and magazines as well. Information about Iran's Holocaust cartoon contest and its Holocaust-denial conference was posted on-line by U.S.-based sites such as Stormfront, David Duke, Institute for Historical Review, and Vanguard News Network.

International terrorists that targeted the U.S. and Israel, such as Hamas, Hezbollah, and Al Qaeda-affiliated groups, were finding that U.S. Internet providers were less willing to host their materials than they had been in the past. Nevertheless, these groups managed to find ways to post and distribute their propaganda, urging audiences to participate in the "Internet jihad." Pronouncements by Al Qaeda leaders, including Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri, against "the Crusaders" and "the Jews" were posted in videos on-line using file-sharing services in countries around the world, including the U.S.

It was now illegal in the U.S. to have business dealings with Hezbollah Web sites such as al-Manar or al-Nour radio. In 2006 the government filed a case against a person in New York for rebroadcasting al-Manar programs over cable systems and the Internet.

### *Responses to Anti-Semitism*

Jewish groups continued to expend significant resources on programs aimed at prejudice reduction. Amongst the most visible, the ADL's "A World of Difference" (AWOD) was the subject of two evaluative-research studies. In 2006, the Yale University Evaluation Study of AWOD's Peer Training Program—a pioneering effort in high schools around the country—studied 500 students in ten schools who were involved in the program, and found that the training had "important effect on reducing bias in schools." An earlier study, conducted by the Cantor-Fitzgerald Center for Research on Diversity in Education in June, 2000, but not posted on the ADL Web site until 2006, studied AWOD pilot programs in three public-school districts in New York, Missouri, and New Jersey. It affirmed the efficacy of the programs.

Left-wing activists concerned about anti-Semitism in their own ranks gathered in New Jersey in April for a conference, "Facing the Challenge Within," which examined anti-Semitic expression in organizations of the progressive "left." It included workshops on the history and ideology of progressive Zionism and on methods of coping with anti-Zionism on campus, where left-liberal views tended to predominate. Mainstream Jewish groups applauded the event, seeing it as the possible beginning of a broader effort to influence a range of groups on the left.

On the international front, UN Watch, a Geneva-based monitoring group affiliated with AJC, launched a petition aimed at calling for the Security Council to expel Iran from the UN. This followed a similar call by Israel in the spring, after Ahmadinejad spoke publicly about wiping Israel off the map.

In September, the World Jewish Congress, notwithstanding its internal problems, convened a mission to Israel for Jewish leaders from around the world to discuss the bias attacks that followed the summer's Lebanon conflict. While the WJC meetings were inconclusive, they did reenergize the debate about whether threats to the security of Diaspora communities ought to play a role in forging Israeli policy. Along the same lines, the Jewish People Policy Planning Institute (JPPPI), a Jerusalem think tank affiliated with the quasi-governmental Jewish Agency, launched a Crisis Management Project to help leaders in Israel and Diaspora communities deal with crises involving Jews. Not all Diaspora leaders welcomed the JPPPI recommendation for Israel to consult with and aid Diaspora communities on such matters; American Jewish leaders were of the view that Israel should have a say only in regard to Israeli politics and policies, but that the security problems of Diaspora communities ought to be dealt with by authorities in their respective countries.

### *Legislation/Law Enforcement*

As of the end of 2006, 46 states and the District of Columbia had hate-crimes laws that provided for enhanced penalties.

The Hate Crimes Prevention Act/Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act (LLEEA), S.1145 in the Senate and H.R.2662 in the House, were introduced in 2005, both with numerous cosponsors, but still awaited passage at the end of 2006. The measures, which enjoyed broad support from Jewish groups, sought to increase cooperation between local, state, and federal authorities in bringing hate-crimes offenders to justice, especially in states without special statutes. They also added gender, disability, and sexual orientation to the federally protected categories of race, color, religion, and national origin. The House bill explicitly encompassed transgendered persons as well, and provided additional First Amendment protection by stating that it did not seek to punish bias, speech, or association. On September 14, 2005, the House passed its version as an amendment to the Children's Safety Act of 2005 (H.R.3132), but in March 2006 the amendment was stripped when the Senate in-

cluded the Children's Safety Act in an omnibus crime package, H.R. 4472, which was signed into law July 27.

Under the provisions of the Global Anti-Semitism Awareness/Review Act of 2004, the U.S. Department of State was mandated to report on the condition of anti-Semitism throughout the world. The first report was issued in 2004 (see AJYB 2005, p. 182). The legislation had not mandated further reports.

There were a number of court decisions that bore implications for the treatment of suspected terrorists. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled on June 11 in *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld* that the military commissions established by the president to try terror suspects detained at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, lacked "power to proceed" because their "structure and procedures" went against both the Uniform Code of Military Justice and the Geneva Conventions, the international agreements covering treatment of prisoners of war. The president could now either ask Congress for authority to proceed, or else try the detainees under the rules of traditional military courts-martial. In response to *Hamdan*, the president asked for, and Congress passed, a new Military Commissions Act that stripped detainees of their right to seek review of their detentions in federal courts. Another relevant legal case, *Boumediene v. Bush*, was pending before the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia as the year ended. It dealt with the question of whether federal courts had jurisdiction over the habeas petitions of aliens deemed enemy combatants.

A case with important implications for hate-crimes laws around the country was *Cunningham v. California*, which was argued before the U.S. Supreme Court in October. At issue was the constitutionality of a California sentencing law that allowed judges to impose a heightened sentence based on facts found by the judge rather than the jury. In an earlier case, *Apprendi v. New Jersey*, the court had ruled that facts pertaining to hate-crime sentence enhancement must be found by juries, not judges. *Cunningham* was not yet decided at year's end.

On April 17, a federal judge approved an agreement that prosecutors made with Sami Al-Arian, a Palestinian born in Kuwait, whereby he would plead guilty to a charge of conspiring to "make or receive contributions of funds, goods or services" to, or for the benefit of, a terrorist organization, and be deported from the U.S., according to an attorney involved in the negotiations. Al-Arian and three codefendants were arrested in 2003 and charged with providing money and support to the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (see AJYB 2006, p. 90).

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On July 21, the Federal District Court in Manhattan sentenced Uzair Paracha to 30 years in prison for attempting to help Majid Khan, a Pakistani member of Al Qaeda, obtain documents to travel from Pakistan to the U.S. in 2003. Paracha was convicted on all charges of a five-count federal indictment, which included conspiracy to provide and supply material support to Al Qaeda, conspiracy to provide and supply funds, goods or services to that organization, and identification-document fraud committed to facilitate an act of international terrorism.

On June 23, seven men were arrested for allegedly plotting to attack the Sears Tower in Chicago, the FBI headquarters in Miami, and other buildings. The suspects, described as "homegrown terrorists" by Attorney General Alberto Gonzales, allegedly sought to obtain funding and support for their plot from a government informant posing as a member of Al Qaeda. Five of the arrested men were U.S. citizens, one a legal permanent resident, and the other a Haitian national who was an illegal alien.

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