

Antisemitism and Right-Wing Extremism in Germany: New Discourses

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In recent years, the enhanced attempts by German right-wing extremists to participate in both socially relevant discourse and debate involving a broader public have become readily discernible. To that end, these groups and individuals activate and radicalize the antisemitic components of their ideology. This often happens, however, without calling attention to the antisemitic elements as such. Thus, in the context of the discussion over the “forgotten” German victims of World War II, the National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD) managed to attract public attention, most notably with regard to the renewed controversy over the Allies’ aerial bombardment of German cities. The term *Bombenholocaust* [bomb Holocaust] of Dresden, coined by the Saxonian NPD parliamentarian Jürgen Gansel, established, on the one hand, a direct connection to repressed attitudes of secondary antisemitism, which allege that “the Jews” have profited from the past at the Germans’ expense—for instance, through their assumed monopolization of the status of victimhood.

On the other hand, the term consciously abetted the trivialization of the Holocaust and of the crimes of Nazi Germany. Similarly, the weekly *National-Zeitung*, affiliated to the German People’s Union (DVU) and Germany’s widest circulated right-wing extremist newspaper, uses the terms “nuclear Holocaust” and “nuclear exterminatory deployment” to refer to the atomic bombing of Nazi Germany’s ally, Japan.¹ The secretary of the Brandenburg parliamentary faction of the DVU, Sigmar-Peter Schuldt, demanded that we look at “history as a whole” and was opposed to Germans “wearing sackcloth and ashes all the time.” He recalled the victims of Stalinism as well as of US crimes against the North American Indians and in Vietnam.² The *National-Zeitung* even called Nazi Germany’s atrocities against the Jews “Hitler’s Holocaust,” in which, it maintains, the family of US President George W. Bush, but not the German people, were involved.³ This corresponds to the claim that “the million-fold suffering and dying of refugees and expellees, victims of bombings and Germans deported to concentration camps” was similar

to the Holocaust or even surpassed it. The monthly *Der Republikaner*, affiliated with the party of the same name, dubs the suffering of the German people “the crime of the century” and denounces its alleged trivialization or denegation by the political establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany.⁴ In so doing, the far-right attempt to appropriate the Holocaust and Jewish suffering.

Broad sections of the population agree that the time has come to put an end to German responsibility for the Holocaust. According to a 2005 poll, 18 percent of respondents did not consider the term “bomb Holocaust” inappropriate, despite a clear reference to the meaning of the term “Holocaust” in the framing of the question. Among voters of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the results were 31 percent, 28 percent and 17 percent, respectively.⁵ It becomes evident that the ideologue of the “forgotten and supplanted German victims” of an alleged allied crime comparable to the annihilation of the Jews transcends the traditional NPD constituency and supporters of other right-wing extremist parties.

Organized right-wing extremism uses current foreign policy developments in order to link up with social protest movements that have antisemitic potential. The extreme right wing tempted to participate in protest events and demonstrations, organized by the so-called peace movement, against the US-led military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq. The results were mixed. In some cities, the demonstrators, including representatives of established political parties of the democratic mainstream, refused to prohibit the active participation of *Freie Kameradschaften* [autonomous right-wing extremist groups that are not legally registered] and NPD representatives because of threats and intimidation on the part of the right-wing extremists, and in order to maximize the number of demonstrators. Given the overlap in anti-Zionist and anti-American content, this “marriage” may have seemed desirable from the perspective of the peace movement. Even before September 11, 2001, right-wing extremists had attempted to climb aboard the Palestine advocacy efforts of left-wing groups, which intensified in the wake of the intifada.⁶ On an iconographic level, this found expression in the sudden ostentatious display of symbols that had hitherto been untypical of the extreme right, such as the *kaffiyeh* [headscarf worn by Arab males]⁷ and slogans like “No blood for *Israoil*.”⁸ During a rally against Israel’s invasion of Lebanon in the wake of the Second Lebanon War in the summer of 2006, the slogan “Israel – international genocide center,” which had typically been used by left-wing activists to refer to the US, was chanted by the NPD chairman Udo Voigt and by many of his party’s sympathizers.⁹ “In the absence of a suitable critical mass,” as they themselves acknowledged, the *Deutsche Akademie*, a right-wing extremist discussion circle with links to the NPD, called on its comrades to participate in the anti-Israel demonstrations of the peace movement, left-wing anti-imperialists, Arab

associations and Turkish extremist groups. It was recommended that they put aside their opposition to the “Antifa” (left and extreme-left groups that identify themselves as anti-Fascist) and the “multi cult” (multiculturalism rejected by the Nazis) and give priority to their common anti-imperialist concern, for Islamism was “not our enemy.” In that spirit, it was also recommended that they “renounce the provocations typical of the scene” (waving the black-white-red imperial war ensign used by the Nazis, wearing specific clothing, etc.) which would have alienated the people with whom they sought common cause.¹⁰ These expressions of solidarity, which included an appeal to international law and various UN resolutions that had allegedly been violated by Israel, were augmented by the calls of the most extreme among them to bomb the Jewish state. Right-wing radicals who act in a somewhat more moderate manner, such as those who voice their views in *Der Republikaner*, demanded that the federal government impose sanctions against Israel in the form of an “immediate halt to all financial and material benefits to Tel-Aviv,” as well as the suspension of the Association Agreement between Israel and the EU.¹¹

Right-wing extremists have repeatedly signaled readiness to temporarily subordinate central elements of their ideology, such as racist aims, in favor of anti-American and antisemitic mobilization efforts. This tactic manifests itself in two ways: On a symbolic level, at various rallies, some neo-Nazis wear T-shirts emblazoned with the portraits of Saddam Hussein and Osama bin-Laden and the slogan “my friend is a foreigner.” In terms of rhetoric, solidarity has been expressed for those “peoples” who are “oppressed” by “America’s neo-colonialism” and “Israel’s state terrorism”—in particular the Palestinians¹²—who usually enjoy the support and sympathy of the left wing. The implication is that “the Zionists are breeding terrorism through their intrigues in Israel and elsewhere.”¹³ The NPD chairman Udo Voigt criticized the federal government as follows: “Why don’t you broach the issue of the ubiquitous murders and displacement of the Palestinians when an Israeli head of state visits the Federal Republic?”¹⁴ It was repeatedly suggested that the German government was actually serving foreign—i.e., Israeli and Jewish—interests.¹⁵ On the occasion of the state visit of the Israeli president in December 2002, the NPD organized a demonstration in Berlin under the twin slogans “Solidarity with Palestine” and “Hands off Palestine—No weapons for Israel.”¹⁶

Analogies are drawn between the situation of the German and the Palestinian peoples: both are said to be involved in a struggle for freedom against oppression by the same enemies—namely, the Jews and the Americans—and their German puppet regime and political system. According to the former NPD activist and right-wing extremist ideologue Horst Mahler, Germany is under “Judeo-American foreign rule.”¹⁷ The “destruction of the German people” and the “genocide” against the Palestinians by the “Jewish organizations of the East Coast” and Israel

would bring about “a common front of Germans and Palestinians.”¹⁸ The federal government was said to be closing ranks with the minority of “oppressors,” namely, the US and Israel, against the alleged will of an imagined majority in Germany — and within the international community, in whose name the right-wing extremist and radical anti-imperialist activists claim to speak.

There has also been an ideological overlapping between German right-wing extremists and Islamists, which has been manifested on a practical level, most notably in the form of dialogues. Thus, for instance, in 2002 Voigt and Mahler participated in an event of the Hisb-ut-Tahrir [Party of Liberation] group on the “imminent Iraq War” in Berlin. The NPD chairman later remarked: “To my surprise, our views were almost congruent regarding the assessment of this issue.”¹⁹ Since then, there have been repeated occasions of mutual participation in certain events as well as interviews given to the respective publications of each group. It comes as little surprise that content-wise, the emphasis has always been on anti-Israel and anti-American positions.²⁰

Attempts at building such ideological bridges were by no means restricted to a domestic policy context: Mahler’s name appeared on the list of those Holocaust revisionists who had been invited by the Iranian president to an international conference of Holocaust deniers.²¹ The German contribution to the Iranian caricature competition on the Holocaust was provided by Andreas Molau, the assistant editor in chief of his party’s monthly organ *Deutsche Stimme*.²² Though hitherto less successful in linking up with broad social movements before and during the Iraq War and the intifada, there have been displays of right-wing extremist sympathy for the Iranian president. This can be attributed to Mahmoud Ahmadinejad’s espousal of Holocaust revisionism and his threats to annihilate Israel. Before and during the soccer world championship, sporadic demonstrations by right-wing extremist activists took place. At those gatherings, Iranian flags were waved.²³ Such manifestations, however, did not find a direct analogy among the extreme left and the peace movement.

The bonding of right-wing extremists with Arab nationalists and Islamists is mainly based on tactical considerations. These are buttressed by a common antisemitic concept of the enemy as well as the closed character of the Islamic faith community, which — through its “renunciation of mixed marriages” — “makes an important contribution to the ethno-biological preservation of the Germans,” according to the NPD official and intellectual Jürgen Gansel. In his view, this allows the temporary postponement of one of the key demands of the extreme right, namely the repatriation of all “foreigners.”²⁴ Undoubtedly, there is also an awareness of the historical dimension of such alliances. The *Kampfbund Deutscher Sozialisten*, a cross-alliance group that identifies with the national-Bolshevist

tradition, cultivated contacts with the Iraqi embassy while Saddam Hussein was still in power. It justified them by referring to the similarities between Hitler's Germany and Iraq under Saddam.²⁵ This explains why the Arab-Muslim world—otherwise serving as the enemy in right-wing extremist circles—has been transformed into the victim of Israeli and American aggression. There is indeed a consciousness of “the still extant pro-German sentiment in Arabia and Central Asia”²⁶ especially since it derives, to a significant extent, from an admiration for Nazism and its mass murder of the Jews. Together with the stated intention of avoiding conflict with the Arab world, this is cited as an argument in NPD circles for discontinuing material support for²⁷ and the “alliance with Israel.”²⁸ Israel is accordingly claimed to engage in “state terrorism against the Palestinians,” to pursue “Jewish policies of aggression against the Arab world”²⁹ or to be, itself, a “terrorist state.”³⁰

At the same time, the Jewish state is seen not only as the source of regional but also of global problems—even by those right-wing radicals who act in a more moderate manner, such as the chairman of *Die Republikaner* Rolf Schlierer. He stated, “The key lies in Israel. [Saddam] Hussein is a permanent challenge to its existence.”³¹ The US is said to have led the war against Iraq only because of Israel. The implicit inversion of this argument amounts to the conclusion that without Israel, there would be peace: “Since America does not want to abandon Israel, Hussein must go.”³² Those segments of the extreme right who openly argue in a radical manner do not differentiate between a “seduced” America and a “seducing” Israel. In Mahler's view, for instance, anti-Zionism, anti-Americanism and anti-globalism fuse into a global fight “against the ‘Zionist’ one-world-terror” and the “Zionist-occupied government” of the US. The “globalists” are imputed to be engaged in a “war of extermination”...“against the cultures of the peoples.”³³ By contrast, the “people's community” is the “negation of the Jewish principle and of haggling in its mundane guise.”³⁴

Neo-Nazis often try to climb on the bandwagon of larger protest movements in order to radicalize them from within. Antisemitic stereotypes are often already part of the symbolism used by large protest movements that are critical of capitalism or American/Israeli policy, which makes it easier for neo-Nazi groups to attach themselves to them. This is true, for example, of the protest movements that are critical of capitalism, such as those which organized the demonstrations against the Hartz IV social reforms of the federal government. For reasons of legitimacy, such propaganda is often blended with other current political debates. Thus, during the World Cup championship, NPD activists marched under the motto “Work for millions instead of profit for millionaires,”³⁵ chanting “Solidarity with Iran.” Conversely, on the occasion of a solidarity rally in Frankfurt-on-Main for Iran and its president, the NPD tried to mobilize its supporters along the lines

of traditional antisemitic nationalist critique of the financial sector. “Grubbing Jewish capital” (as opposed to “constructive German capital”) was attacked, and the demonstrators emphasized that “in the city of the stock exchange and the banks, the Jerusalem-on-the-Main...truth-loving and nationalist Iranians are welcome guests.”

Likewise, the NPD and several *Freie Kameradschaften* used economic arguments to oppose the construction of a synagogue in Bochum. In his speeches, the NPD chairman Voigt repeatedly claims that the Israeli state is being financed with German tax money.³⁶ The parliamentary party of the NPD in the state parliament of Saxony introduced a motion that called for the cancellation of state subsidies for Jewish communities, arguing that “special interests of small minorities” should not be supported. It also consistently championed the cancellation of piddling sums spent on the maintenance of parliamentary contacts with the Israeli Knesset.³⁷ For its part, the *Deutsche Stimme* reported on the “key position of Jews in the private and state centers of power of world capitalism,” claiming that “besides the US Federal Reserve and the World Bank ... the EU trade commissariat, too, will soon be in chosen hands.”³⁸ Time and again, the codes of “the East Coast” and “Wall Street” are used in order to evoke the cliché of a Jewish world economic conspiracy that is directed from US soil.

The controversies surrounding people like the prominent writer Martin Walser³⁹ and the mainstream politicians Jürgen Möllemann and Martin Hohmann were also exploited by the extreme right. The subtext of the messages of these figures is clearly appreciated by right-wing players, whose views on Jews and antisemitism are almost identical. The *Deutsche Stimme*, for instance, supported the accusations directed at Israel by the former vice-chairman of Germany’s National Liberal Party, Möllemann, who had accused Israel of “state terrorism” and had claimed that “certain Jewish people were contributing to an increase in antisemitism.” The liberal politician is said to have “taken on the Jewish centers of power.”⁴⁰ The right-wing extremist press acclaims such “taboo breakers” as heroes of “freedom of opinion.”⁴¹ At the same time, it presents them as “victims” of merciless Jewish “inquisitors”⁴² or an allegedly pro-Jewish public. The “taboo breakers” are portrayed as being threatened by “total annihilation”⁴³ and “execution.”⁴⁴ However, their acclaimed breach of taboo is only a putative one: their assertions are truncated or falsified in order to put the alleged remark in contrast to the scandal that was induced by their original statement. It was claimed, for instance, in the *National-Zeitung* that the former CDU politician, Hohmann, who had been ousted from his party, “was pursued throughout the republic as an ‘antisemite’ because he had held ‘wrong’ views.”⁴⁵ One could “drape” his “orphaned seat” in the Bundestag “with the relentless motto, ‘an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.’”⁴⁶

In the case of Möllemann, the *Deutsche Stimme* even employed a conspiracy theory when looking for explanations for his death while skydiving, raising the possibility of an assassination by the Mossad.⁴⁷

While right-wing extremism disavows the existence of antisemitism or attempts to trivialize it, the so-called “accusation of antisemitism” is regarded as the main problem. Society is conceived as being dominated by suspicion and subjecting all those who are confronted with the accusation of antisemitism to a “merciless political ostracism and complete social exclusion, often even the annihilation of their existence.”⁴⁸ The attempt at building bridges to other political camps becomes evident: “The terror of the virtue of ‘political correctness’ is not only aimed ‘against the right.’”⁴⁹ It is implied that the Jews, themselves, invented and spread the “the bugaboo of antisemitism”⁵⁰ in order to advance their own agenda. Thus the “Jewish” commentator of the *National-Zeitung*, Gerard Menuhin, mentions “an international lobby of influential people and associations who keep the Germans under pressure for the purpose of their own cause.”⁵¹ He also claims in his own column: “Some Jewish organizations, such as, for example, the Anti-Defamation League are downright dependent on keeping the bugaboo of antisemitism alive.”⁵² Such arguments result in an inversion of victim and perpetrator. The purported taboo-breaker, who, allegedly, only wanted to “criticize the Jews” or a “pro-Jewish public” is turned into the victim of a Jewish-influenced public of “perpetrators,” in which there is a “Jew reward administered by public law.”⁵³

The extreme right calls the Central Council of Jews an “unofficial Jewish para-government” and accuses it of using “methods of the Inquisition” and of having a “pretension of omnipotence.” Leading representatives of the Jewish community or prominent Jewish figures are said to be leading “endless attacks against everything German.”⁵⁴ Apart from the antisemitic ideologemes of vengefulness, foreignness and anti-German sentiment, such arguments also comprise the motifs of “Jewish hegemony” in today’s Germany and of the “vassalage of the Federal Republic.” The Federal Government is accused of being “under the hegemony of Washington and Tel-Aviv” and “provocatively siding with the US and Israel in unquestioning loyalty against the majority will of almost all peoples at every opportunity.”⁵⁵ The extreme right suggests that the German government rid itself of its guilty conscience and opportunism, the root causes of its pro-Israel attitude. “Why does the commitment to Israel take on such importance for [Chancellor Angela] Merkel and her friends? Are they perhaps Jewish, or were their grandparents responsible for the persecution of Jews? Or have they accommodated for the sake of comfort and career?”⁵⁶

Attempts by right-wing extremists to trivialize or deny the existence of antisemitism in German society are sometimes accompanied by the denouncement of Muslim

antisemitism and its presentation as the “real antisemitic threat.”⁵⁷ Occasionally, the existence of antisemitism in mainstream society is conceded, but it is then rationalized by pointing at alleged Jewish behavior or misconduct.⁵⁸ Thus, Germany’s right-wing extremist press consistently calls attention to the Jewish background of certain figures, thereby suggesting that the genuine or putative Jewish identity is the decisive factor in their action. In so doing, “Jewish” figures who happen to support one’s own position are used in order to deny the antisemitism that is part and parcel of right-wing extremist ideology, and not at all uncommon in wider German society.⁶⁰ Thus, apart from the *National-Zeitung* columnist Menuhin, left-wing anti-Zionist intellectuals from abroad who have been criticized for antisemitism also appear in interviews or as guest columnists in the right-wing extremist press. The existence of Jewish family members or friends is usually cited as counter-evidence. The left-wing, “anti-imperialist” Noam Chomsky is used alongside the ultra-orthodox activist Moishe Arye Friedman as Jewish “chief witnesses” in this respect.⁶¹

Most of the patterns of argumentation of current right-wing extremist antisemitism outlined here all use the notion of “German victimhood” at the hands of a public suffering under Jewish hegemony that does not tolerate criticism of Jewish figures or protest against Israeli policies, and that punishes its articulation through the “antisemitism accusation.”⁶² The alleged breach of taboo is alluded to via a verbal wink along the lines of a conspiracy theory, suggesting that there is truth behind the idea that culture and the media are constrained by pro-Jewish censorship. While traditional anti-Jewish thinking remains at the core of right-wing extremist ideology, modernized forms of antisemitism—in particular anti-Zionism—have certainly become more prominent. Consequently, they can be more easily linked to relevant discourses within wider society.

Notes

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² “Der Bomben-Holocaust von Dresden,” *National-Zeitung*, January 28, 2005.

³ “Juden klagen Bush an. ‘Seine Familie in Hitlers Holocaust verwickelt,’” *National-Zeitung*, November 19, 2004.

⁴ “Schröder verhöhnt die Vertriebenen,” *Der Republikaner*, September/October 2003;

⁵ *Welt am Sonntag*, January 30, 2005.

⁶ “Kein Unbekannter: Der Anmelder des anti-israelischen Aufmarsches der NPD,” *hagalil.com*, November 13, 2002; *Jungle World*, September 26, 2001; Heike Kleffner, Jubel von rechts, <http://www.klick-nach-rechts.de/gegen-rechts/2002/12/bethage.htm>.

⁷ Stefan Alberti and Anne Haemig, “Protest erstarrt in der Kälte,” *taz*, December 10,

- 2002; hagalil.com, November 13, 2002; "Kein Unbekannter: Der Anmelder des anti-israelischen Aufmarsches der NPD," <http://www.klick-nach-rechts.de/gegen-rechts/2002/12/bethage.htm>
- ⁸ Christian Grünert and Andreas Speit, "Avancen und Aversionen," *Der Rechte Rand-Informationen von und für AntifaschistInnen*, May/June 2003.
- ⁹ "NPD-Chef wegen Israel-Hetze festgenommen," *Netzzeitung*, July 23, 2006.
- ¹⁰ http://de.altermedia.info/general/friedensdemo-aufruf-der-deutschen-akademie-da-100806_6610.html; August 10, 2006, Friedensdemo-Aufruf der Deutschen Akademie (DA).
- ¹¹ Press release of April 11, 2002, "Republikaner fordern Einstellung aller Zahlungen und materieller Hilfen an Israel."
- ¹² Christian Grünert and Andreas Speit, op. cit.
- ¹³ Gerard Menuhin, "Menuhin und wie er die Welt sieht. Grüezi miteinander," *National-Zeitung*, November 25, 2005.
- ¹⁴ Udo Voigt, "Willkommen, Herr Präsident!," *NPD – Die Nationalen*, June 13, 2006, http://www.npd.de/index.php?sek=0&pfad_id=9&cmsint_id=1&detail=414.
- ¹⁵ *Deutsche Stimme*, December 1998.
- ¹⁶ "NPD darf gegen Staatsgast aus Israel demonstrieren," *Der Tagesspiegel*, December 6, 2002; "Anschlag auf jüdischen Laden," *taz*, December 11, 2002; "Israelischer Präsident zu Besuch in Berlin," *Berliner Zeitung*, December 10, 2002.
- ¹⁷ Goedart Palm, "Vom Volksgeist der Germanen in Zeiten unsicherer Renten," *Telepolis*, February 14, 2004.
- ¹⁸ Horst Mahler in the telecast "Kennzeichen D," December 6, 2000, as quoted in Tânia Puschnerat, "Antizionismus im Islamismus und Rechtsextremismus," *Bundesministerium des Inneren: Feindbilder und Radikalisierungsprozesse. Elemente und Instrumente im politischen Extremismus* (Berlin, 2005), p. 68.
- ¹⁹ Deniz Yücel, "Jihad im Überbau," *Jungle World*, November 20, 2002.
- ²⁰ [tagesschau.de](http://www.tagesschau.de), August 24, 2006, Kontakte zwischen NPD und Islamistengruppe, http://www.tagesschau.de/aktuell/meldungen/0,1185,OID5841098_TYP6_THE_NAV_REF1_BAB,00.html.
- ²¹ *Zeit online*, February 3, 2006, Veit Medick: Graswurzel-Verstrickungen. Der Iran plant angeblich eine internationale Holocaust-Konferenz. Die Antisemiten organisieren sich dabei auch über das Internet; Mariam Lau, "Mahler darf nicht zur Holocaust-Konferenz. Ordnungsamt Kleinmachnow behält Reisepaß des Rechtsextremisten ein," *Die Welt*, January 31, 2006, <http://www.irancartoon.com/120/occupation/Andreas%20Molau/index.htm>.
- ²³ Arie Moscovici, "Ihr Freund ist Ausländer," *Jungle World*, June 21, 2006.
- ²⁴ Markus Wehner, "Völkische Trittbrettfahrer," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*, June 11, 2006.
- ²⁵ Rainer Fromm, "Saddam Hussein und deutsche Nazis: Brüder im Ungeist," in the telecast *Frontal21*, ZDF, October 8, 2002.
- ²⁶ Lutz Dessau, "BRD als Waffenlieferantin Israels. Raketen und Panzer für Kampf gegen

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- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ D. Reichert, "Krieg der Sterne," <http://www.npd.de>, April 18, 2006.
- ²⁹ Lutz Dessau, op. cit.
- ³⁰ Otmar Wallner, "Des Volkes Schutz und Schirm," *Deutsche Stimme*, March 2003.
- ³¹ Rolf Schlierer, "Es geht nicht nur ums Öl... aber ganz bestimmt nicht um die 'Menschenrechte,'" *Der Republikaner*, March/April 2003.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Heike Kleffner, "Jubel von rechts," *Jungle World*, September 26, 2001.
- ³⁴ Goedart Palm, "Vom Volksgeist der Germanen in Zeiten unsicherer Renten," *Telepolis*, February 14, 2004.
- ³⁵ Markus Wehner, "Völkische Trittbrettfahrer," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*, June 11, 2006.
- ³⁶ Toralf Staud, *Moderne Nazis. Die neuen Rechten und der Aufstieg der NPD* (Köln, 2006), p. 99.
- ³⁷ Ibid, p. 125 fn.
- ³⁸ *Deutsche Stimme*, October 2004.
- ³⁹ For a comprehensive overview of the positive if not enthusiastic reactions to the speech of Walser by the nationalist press see Martin Dietzsch, Siegfried Jäger and Alfred Schobert (eds.), *Endlich ein normales Volk? Vom rechten Verständnis der Friedenspreis-Rede Martin Walsers. Eine Dokumentation* (Duisburg, 1999).
- ⁴⁰ Claus Nordbruch, "Hinrichtung eines Israel-Kritikers? Fallschirmspringer-Kameraden und Parteifreunde glauben nicht an Selbstmord," *Deutsche Stimme*, July 2003.
- ⁴¹ "Danke, Jürgen! Möllemann und die Grenzen der Freiheit," *Der Republikaner*, May/June 2002.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ "Hohmann raus? CDU will Ausschluss erzwingen," *National-Zeitung*, April 30, 2004.
- ⁴⁴ Claus Nordbruch, op. cit.
- ⁴⁵ "Hohmann raus? CDU will Ausschluss erzwingen," op. cit.
- ⁴⁶ Hauke Nanninga, "Triumph des Antigermanismus. Moderater Konservativer wegen vermeintlichem 'Antisemitismus' kaltgestellt," *Deutsche Stimme*, December 2003.
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⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ "Die wahre Macht der Israel-Lobby. Prof. Finkelsteins neue Enthüllungen," *National-Zeitung*, April 7, 2006.

⁵⁶ "Menuhin und wie er die Welt sieht," *National-Zeitung*, January 13, 2006.

⁵⁷ "Im Tal der Wölfe," *Zeit für Protest*, January/February/March 2006.

⁵⁸ "Jesus-Film: Ist Mel Gibson Antisemit?" *National-Zeitung*, February 27, 2004.

⁵⁹ "Iran-Konflikt: Wie Israel zündelt. Hintergründe zum 'Atomstreit' mit Teheran," *National-Zeitung*, September 24, 2004; "'Krieg gegen alle Feinde Israels,' Was Richard Perle wirklich will / Interview mit Professor Dr. Kevin MacDonald," *National-Zeitung*, March 2004.

⁶⁰ "Friedman mahnt wieder," *National-Zeitung*, March 19, 2004; "Die wahre Macht der Israel-Lobby. Prof. Finkelsteins neue Enthüllungen," op. cit.

⁶¹ "Interview mit Professor Noam Chomsky: 'Praktisch völlige Unterdrückung der Tatsachen,'" *National-Zeitung*, June 21, 2002; "Interview mit Professor Noam Chomsky: 'Angriff auf Irak? Die offiziellen Vorwände sind lächerlich,'" *National-Zeitung*, June 28, 2002; "Der andere Friedman. Interview mit dem Oberrabbiner der Orthodoxen Jüdischen Gemeinde in Wien," *National-Zeitung*, June 7, 2002; "'Es entsteht ein extrem falsches Bild des Judentums.' Der Wiener Oberrabbiner Moishe Arye Friedman im Gespräch mit *National-Zeitungs*-Herausgeber Dr. Gerhard Frey," *National-Zeitung*, July 5, 2002; "Kann man Michel Friedman trauen? *National-Zeitung* fragt Oberrabbiner," *National-Zeitung*, July 12, 2002.

⁶² "Friedman mahnt wieder. Antisemitismus-Vorwürfe gegen Gibson-Film," *National-Zeitung*, March 19, 2004.