

## **THE CRUDEST HATRED: ANTISEMITISM AND APOLOGIA FOR TERRORISM IN CONTEMPORARY GREECE<sup>1</sup>**

*Andrew Apostolou*

Greece has attracted justified attention in recent years for the prominence, frequency and crudeness of its antisemitism.<sup>2</sup> Without the slightest inhibition, Greek newspapers and prominent personalities have recycled antisemitic canards. Mainstream Greek newspapers in 2002 produced antisemitic cartoons of a coarseness and crudeness not seen in many European countries since the 1930s.

For example, in *Ethnos* (Nation), a newspaper founded in the 1980s with Soviet money, one cartoon on 7 April 2002 has two soldiers in Nazi uniforms with Stars of David on their helmets stabbing Palestinians to death. One soldier says to the other, 'Don't feel guilty, brother. We were not in Auschwitz and Dachau to suffer but to learn.'<sup>3</sup> In November 2003, the well-known Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis said of Jews that 'This small nation is at the root of evil and not of good.'<sup>4</sup> Antisemitism in Greece is not simply verbal; Jewish sites are increasingly the target of violence. In 2003, the Holocaust memorial in Salonika was desecrated,<sup>5</sup> as was the Jewish cemetery in Ioannina.<sup>6</sup>

Rather than discuss antisemitism in Greece in terms of these individual incidents, which are interesting in and of themselves, this chapter examines Greek antisemitism within the context of the Greek reaction to terrorism and, in particular, the attacks of 11 September 2001. The reason to do this is not just that 11 September was the occasion for an array of prejudices to be displayed in Greece, as elsewhere, but also because antisemitic beliefs are being used as either justifications or excuses for terrorism.<sup>7</sup>

What is interesting about the antisemitic outbursts in Greece after 11 September is that they were largely missed by external commentators. Yet Greece outdid itself in its reaction to the massacres in the United States on that date. In no other European country was the Israeli embassy forced to issue two official denials of the Arab media lie that Jews were warned not to go to the World Trade Center on 11 September.<sup>8</sup>

The first reaction to 11 September was vintage anti-Americanism, but a strong flavouring of antisemitism was soon added. The Greek media led the way. Greece's political leaders for the most part ducked and dived, leaving one or two brave souls to attempt to sound a note of common sense and morality. Yet even they stumbled, ensnared in the puerile rhetoric which Greek politicians reach for when they are embarrassed in front of foreigners. In Greece, the anti-Americanism of the left-wing fringe is also the mainstream.

The massacre of Americans was widely condemned half-heartedly and then, in the next breath, justified with an incoherent list of US crimes, often more imagined than real. Some could scarcely conceal their satisfaction at seeing the United States taken down a peg or two. Stathis, a Greek newspaper cartoonist, declared in the left-wing newspaper *Eleftherotipia* on 12 September 2001 that 'The moment when the USA has reached the stage of believing that it can prosecute wars, today and in the future, without casualties of its own, without deaths close-up (Kosovo), along comes David and reminds Goliath that all it needs is one stone.'<sup>9</sup>

Other journalists were less restrained. At *Kathimerini*, Greece's leading daily, whose English-language edition co-publishes with the *International Herald Tribune*, some journalists cheered when they saw footage of the Twin Towers under attack.<sup>10</sup> *Kathimerini* issued a half-hearted denial. *Kathimerini*'s English-language edition avoided the incident but notably moderated its usual snippy anti-Americanism, apparently on the orders of the proprietor.

The *Kathimerini* journalists who celebrated the World Trade Center attacks were being true to the Greek media view of the United States as a mad, rampaging, bullying superpower with totalitarian proclivities. According to the Greek media, the United States never asks Greece for anything; it blackmails, bullies and applies 'asphyxiating pressure', a stock description of US diplomacy. An extreme version of this attitude was displayed during the Kosovo war in 1999 when *Kathimerini* called President Clinton's decision to bomb targets in

the centre of Belgrade a 'final solution'. The newspaper *Vradini* ran a cartoon of Clinton as a Nazi stormtrooper crucifying peace.<sup>11</sup>

The notion of the terrorists as the underdogs battling against tyrants is popular in Greece. Greek governments have taken an indulgent attitude towards terrorism, either by giving outright support, as was the case with Ethniki Organosis Kypriou Agoniston (EOKA)<sup>12</sup> in Cyprus or the Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan (PKK, the Kurdistan Workers' Party)<sup>13</sup> in Turkey, or by allowing terrorist suspects to walk free, as occurred in the 1980s under the then dominant socialist party, the Panellenio Sosialistiko Kinema (PASOK).<sup>14</sup> In 2003, this favourable view of terrorism was taken to gruesome lengths by Alexandros Psychoulis, a professor of architecture at the University of Thessaly, who produced a 'knitted' suicide vest for a female suicide bomber as a work of 'art'.<sup>15</sup>

The Greek media, despite being held in low public esteem, at least according to opinion polls, clearly have some effect on public opinion. Polls showed that 86 per cent of Greeks opposed a US military reaction to the 11 September atrocities. Put otherwise, when terrorists attack the United States, this is regrettable, but the United States 'had it coming'.<sup>16</sup> When the United States strikes back at the terrorists, that is 'aggression'.

So strong was the anti-American current in Greece that there was actually more support for US action in response to 11 September among Palestinians than among Greeks. According to opinion polls taken after 11 September but before the first military action in Afghanistan in October 2001, only 6 per cent of Greeks backed US military action (the figure fell to 1 per cent if the military response involved civilian casualties).<sup>17</sup> For comparison, 7 per cent of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza felt that a US military response to 11 September was justified.<sup>18</sup>

The Greek media revel in such polls, including the survey during the Kosovo war which claimed that 99 per cent of Greeks were against the war, but the Greek foreign ministry finds them embarrassing. Under the previous foreign minister, George Papandreou (1999–2004), there was a policy of discouraging such polls or their publication. That policy is likely to have continued under the New Democracy government elected in March 2004. Papandreou, to his credit, attempted to clean up journalism by stopping payment to journalists, Greek and foreign, something that had been standard practice in the past. He did not, however, publish the list of journalists who had been on the Greek foreign ministry's payroll.

Even more remarkable is the widely voiced complaint in Greece that the United States is too 'pro-Muslim'. The US-led interventions to save Bosnian Muslims and Kosovo Albanians were extremely unpopular in Greece. Prejudice against the Muslim populations of the Balkans, historical remnants of the Ottoman Empire, runs deep. Basic logic might force any person to ask how it could possibly be that the United States is hated in Greece for being 'pro-Muslim', but loathed in Pakistan and the Arab world for being 'anti-Muslim'. Ever creative, too big a proportion of the Greek media found an escape route after 11 September from this glaring inconsistency in antisemitism.

The local media applied the standard left-wing logic of *qui bono* (who benefits) to staple together their conspiracy theories. From a Greek perspective, the obvious beneficiary of the NATO action to stop Serb mass murder in the Balkans was Turkey, Greece's historic enemy. After all, these Muslim minorities not only have received political support from Turkey, but are a historic legacy of the Ottoman conquest of the region. So far, so warped, and ignoring the unpleasant fact that Turkey was in two minds about seeing Yugoslavia collapse into ethnic successor states. Indeed, while Turkish public opinion supported the Kosovo war, the Turkish establishment was uneasy with legitimising the doctrine of humanitarian intervention.

If Turkey, in the Greek imagination and according to this line of thinking, benefited from the defeat of murderous Serb nationalism, then so must have Turkey's ally, Israel. According to this tortured thought process, the United States is anti-Serb and pro-Muslim in the Balkans because it suits Israel; while in the Middle East the United States is anti-Muslim, again to the alleged benefit of Israel. At this point, for the antisemites in Greece, Turkey drops out of the equation and is dismissed as a mere Israeli lackey. The fact that the Israel–Turkey defence relationship has nothing to do with Greece is ignored. The 1997 Israel–Turkey defence

agreement sets a formal seal on links established between the two countries in the late 1950s with common security threats from the Middle East in mind. Israeli night-clubbers care about what happens in the Aegean; the Israeli chief of staff does not.<sup>19</sup>

How is it that the United States does Israel's work in the Balkans and Middle East? Naturally, according to Greek prejudices, because of that old canard the 'Jewish' lobby. Not that anybody in Greece has a problem with lobbying *per se*; rather, Greeks suffer from lobby envy. The Greek government has spent large sums on its own lobby in the United States, a largely ineffective cacophony of diaspora organisations. What is bothersome is that the lobby which supposedly 'runs' US foreign policy is somebody else's.

Unsurprisingly then, the basest antisemitic slurs from the Middle East circulate with ease in Greece. The lie that Jews were told to avoid the World Trade Center on 11 September, 2001 was printed in a number of Greek newspapers and broadcast on leading television channels, with the sole caveat that the report could be neither confirmed nor denied. One rogue Member of Parliament, Giorgos Karatzaferis, raised this conspiracy theory in the chamber of the Greek parliament on 21 September 21 2001. According to a poll by Kappa Research on 17 and 18 October 2001, an astonishing 42 per cent of Greeks believed that 4,000 Jews were warned in advance of the 11 September attack.<sup>20</sup> The analogous figure in Pakistan was 48 per cent.<sup>21</sup> In a rare gesture of principle, *Eleftherotypia* denounced Karatzaferis and those who spread this antisemitic lie.

Few overseas would have noted this outbreak of antisemitism following 11 September had it not been for sports journalists. During a football match on 20 September 2001 some supporters of AEK, an Athenian team, jeered during the minute's silence for the victims of the 11 September attack and shouted 'Americans, killers'. Other fans burned an Israeli flag and attempted to burn the Stars and Stripes, which turned out to be of the non-inflammable variety. The story appeared on ESPN and in the *Washington Post*. Yet the Greek government only denounced the hooliganism a week later, after there had been a substantial outcry overseas, particularly from Greek Americans. Eventually the AEK team went to the US embassy in Athens on 3 October 2001 to apologise on behalf of their fans and to sign the book of condolences, although this was partly to avoid having disciplinary action taken against the club by Europe's football authorities, the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA). Yet there was no apology to the Israeli embassy, and the anti-Israeli aspect of the incident was ignored by reports in the *Guardian* (London) and the *New Statesman*, and by the BBC.<sup>22</sup>

The ease with which antisemitism finds expression in Greece stems from the social acceptability of prejudice. Indeed, those Americans who complain of a surfeit of political correctness at home may wish to export the surplus to Greece. This, after all, is a country where small ads for rentals explicitly say 'no foreigners'. Xenophobia in Greece is influenced by the Ottoman past. Its main focus is the hundreds of thousands of Albanian migrant workers, the most numerous immigrants in Greece. Albanians are popularly regarded as uncivilised and having been historically pro-Turkish. There is less prejudice towards Polish migrant workers or towards Arab immigrants. It is as if Greeks distinguish between a near abroad and a far abroad, as Russians do when they distinguish between the former Soviet republics and other foreign countries. Thus, immigrants from countries close to Greece, which along with Greece, were part of the Ottoman Empire, are often despised, whereas migrants from countries further afield are often held in far less contempt. While Greeks do not accept that massive immigration into Greece since 1990 has made the country multicultural, they do not regard themselves as 'racist' and there is remarkably little xenophobic or antisemitic violence. These recent immigrants are now far more numerous than Greece's ethnic and religious minorities. Immigrants constitute around 10 per cent of Greece's 11 million-strong population, while ethnic and religious minorities do not make up even 2 per cent of the total.

The problem with antisemitism is not so much that it is rampant, rather that there is rarely any response to it. Antisemitism is mostly viewed with indifference and considered to be a 'Jewish' issue. When the Archbishop of Athens and all Greece, Christodoulos, blamed Jews for wanting religion taken off of the Greek national identity card, an issue of some

controversy, he was mildly mocked by *Kathimerini* and obliquely criticised by the government. An attempt by the small Jewish community to criticise the archbishop was rudely rebuffed.<sup>23</sup> The community, barely 5,000 strong, keeps a low profile and its leaders tend to accentuate the positive when talking to foreign interlocutors. According to the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), its two Greek interviewees, the head of the Jewish communal organisation in Greece and his deputy, who is also the head of the Salonika community, 'had no recollection of any antisemitic speech in the Parliament'.<sup>24</sup> In fact, antisemitic statements were made in the Greek Parliament in 1981 and 1983,<sup>25</sup> and, most recently and notoriously, on 21 September 2001 by Giorgos Karatzaferis.<sup>26</sup>

What has yet to dawn on Greece's political leaders, who generally spend days calculating whether to denounce bigotry, is that antisemitism cannot be defeated by Jewish complaints alone. Rather, antisemitism will only wane when non-Jews are willing to confront other non-Jews to denounce and end this hatred. During 2004, Greek foreign ministry officials were worried about antisemitism because of potential embarrassment during the Olympics.<sup>27</sup> In a similar fashion, the Greek government unveiled a Holocaust memorial in Salonika in 1997 only because the port city was at the time the European City of Culture. The failure to memorialise the Holocaust in Salonika, where most Greek Jews had lived before the war, 90 per cent of whom were murdered, would have been remarked upon.<sup>28</sup>

The official unwillingness to denounce antisemitism stems from the same Greek official mindset that led to Greece's feeble response to terrorism, both domestic and international: that it is a problem for complaining foreigners, not an ill that need concern Greeks. It took the Madrid terrorist attacks of March 2004 to fully convince Greece otherwise, and the incoming New Democracy government was forced to request NATO support for security for the Athens Olympics held in August 2004.<sup>29</sup> Although the domestic terrorist threat in Greece was not substantial, the remarkable fact was that there was not one arrest for over twenty-five years during which the November 17 terrorist group was killing Greeks and foreign diplomats. The Greek authorities were able to close down November 17 only when the terrorists' incompetence finally exceeded that of the Greek police: a member of the group blew himself up with his own bomb but survived and betrayed his colleagues.

Given this record of domestic incompetence and indifference to terrorist violence, it was perfectly consistent of the government after 11 September simply to trot out its usual formulaic denunciations of terrorism, denunciations lacking in both spirit and conviction. It took prime minister Costas Simitis, who ran the country from 1996 to 2004, well over a week after 11 September to make a strong statement against terrorism. Even then, the statement had clearly been extracted from him under pressure by more sensible members of the cabinet.

The Greek prime minister played out the same routine at the beginning of the Kosovo war in 1999. When Simitis finally emerged to give a televised address to the nation in April 1999, nearly two weeks into the war, he stated, as if it were a profound insight, that the Greek government would not make hot-headed decisions (put otherwise, Greece would not support Milošević's campaign of murder and ethnic cleansing). Instead, Greece would act with NATO, but not because of its treaty obligations. No, Simitis argued that Greece had to help NATO to stop Turkey from taking advantage of the crisis. (Curiously, a similar line was trotted out by General Pervez Musharaff in his televised address to Pakistan on 19 September 2001: that Pakistan had to help the United States to thwart Indian 'designs'.<sup>30</sup>

Although Greece, along with the rest of NATO, invoked article V just days after the atrocities in the United States, the Greek government and foreign ministry spokesmen rushed to characterise the declaration as largely symbolic. The Greek government strategy is to promise the bare minimum, in the hope that it can get away with even less.

A country that relies so substantially on foreign goodwill might be expected to take a more enlightened approach, even if only in the name of narrow self-interest. In the post-Second World War era, Greece was a major recipient of US aid. The relationship soured after the Nixon administration got into bed with the military dictatorship that ran Greece from 1967 to 1974. There is no evidence in the US archives opened to date that the United States organised the 1967 coup, however. The Greek archives are, unsurprisingly, closed. Both the previous

US ambassador to Greece, Nicholas Burns, and the former US president Bill Clinton apologised for US support for the junta, to no avail.

The United States may no longer provide Greece with aid, but is presently its major arms supplier. Greek officials like to point out that their multi-billion-dollar arms programme is part of a NATO-mandated modernisation plan. Yet when speaking to the domestic audience they rarely mention NATO, but invariably talk of how these arms purchases will allow Greece to 'deter' Turkey.

Diplomatically, Greece also relies on the United States. When Greece and Turkey nearly came to war over an islet in the Aegean in January 1996, it was the United States which intervened to prevent the two NATO allies coming to blows in a war that Greece would have lost badly. The improvement in relations with Turkey following the February 1999 Ocalan crisis, during which it was revealed that the then Greek foreign minister had assisted the leader of the Turkish Kurdish terrorist group, the PKK, and the Kosovo war of March to June 1999 has not changed the media and public perception that Turkey remains a major potential threat to Greek security.

Greece is now financially dependent on European Union (EU) money. The largest net contributor to the EU budget is Germany. The largest net recipient per capita is Greece. Good relations with Germany are therefore a priority for the Greek government. The Greek ministry of justice has therefore blocked legal moves by the survivors and descendants of a German army massacre at the village of Distomo in 1944 to seize German state-owned property in Athens in place of the cash compensation which Germany is refusing to pay. So, while politicians and the media are quick to blame US, British and Turkish wrongdoing for Greece's ills during the twentieth century, they are slower to remember what happened when Greece was under German rule during the last world war.

Similarly, the Greek government is interested in the Holocaust only for propaganda purposes, to peddle the myth that Greek Christians generously saved their Jewish compatriots and failed to collaborate with the Germans in the Holocaust – which, if true, would have been a rare phenomenon in continental Europe during the Second World War.<sup>31</sup> The then foreign minister, George Papandreou, in 2000 inflated by more than tenfold the number of false identity cards issued during 1944 to save Jews.<sup>32</sup> The Christian rescue of Jews during the Holocaust is continually used as an alibi for contemporary antisemitism, as demonstrated by Archbishop Christodoulos when he defended himself in March 2000 after his antisemitic outburst by telling the Jewish community that 'The Church has no reasons to wish to be honoured, but you [the Jewish community] have any reason [*sic*] to do it, honouring the memory of Christian clergy, priests and prelates who clasped your persecuted fathers and mothers in their arms.'<sup>33</sup>

The rabid Greek media reaction to 11 September and the resonance it found in public opinion caused a deep rift with Greek Americans, which forced the Greek government to formulate some sort of response. By contrast, antisemitism was not raised as an issue and so went ignored, which allowed it to worsen significantly during 2002. The Greek government expects those of Greek descent to act as its unthinking proxy in US politics. Those belonging to the diaspora were disgusted to find their 'fellow' Greeks indifferent or cheering while they were butchered along with other Americans. Gregory Maniatis, a New York-based publisher, who has devoted his career in publishing to the fostering of relations between Greeks and Greek-Americans, declared, with a mixture of anger and disappointment, that Greece had condemned itself to irrelevance.<sup>34</sup>

Despite being deluged with angry messages and telephone calls from Greek-Americans,<sup>35</sup> even Papandreou bungled his reply. The sole cabinet member to clearly denounce terrorism, Papandreou avoided publicly apologising to angry and horrified Greek-Americans. Instead, speaking of the Greek reaction to 11 September while visiting New York on 3 October 2001, he claimed that 'it is absolutely certain that there is not a Greek in the world who does not condemn these unjustified acts of violence and terrorism in the most unequivocal and categorical manner'.<sup>36</sup> George Papandreou and the reformers in the Greek foreign ministry worked admirably to help the Serb opposition topple Milošević and prevent a last-minute

Russian attempt to save the dictator in October 2000. However, by avoiding the truth of Greek applause for the 11 September attacks, Papandreou demonstrated that he was not the courageous politician that he portrayed himself as.

Mr Papandreou took over the leadership of PASOK during the 2004 election campaign but he was defeated by the leader of New Democracy, Costas Karamanlis. Whether Mr Karamanlis will be better on the issues of antisemitism or xenophobia remains to be seen. In opposition, New Democracy was quite willing to be reticent in condemning prejudice for fear of losing electoral advantage. More likely, however, New Democracy will prove no different from PASOK, equally tainted with anti-Americanism and equally willing to ignore antisemitism. Greek voters can change their governments, but what is needed is for them, along with the Greek media, is to change their minds.

## NOTES

- 1 Based upon the sixth lecture of the Third Herbert Berman Memorial Series on Post-Holocaust and Anti-Semitism at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 14 March 2004, 21 Adar 5764, available at [http://www.defenddemocracy.org/usr\\_doc/Anti-Semitism\\_in\\_Greece\\_2.pdf](http://www.defenddemocracy.org/usr_doc/Anti-Semitism_in_Greece_2.pdf). All Internet references were last accessed on 7-8 March 2005.
- 2 Excellent overviews of incidents which bring together the sources are given in the following: Greek Helsinki Monitor/Minority Rights Group – Greece, *Anti-Semitism in Greece a Current Picture: 2001–2002*. November 2002, available at [http://www.greekhelsinki.gr/bhr/english/organizations/ghm\\_mrgg\\_antisemitism\\_2002.rtf](http://www.greekhelsinki.gr/bhr/english/organizations/ghm_mrgg_antisemitism_2002.rtf); Joint Statement of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF) and Greek Helsinki Monitor (GHM) to the OSCE Conference on Discrimination, Racism and Xenophobia, Vienna, 4–5 September 2003, ‘Greek Judicial System Lacks Will to Deal with Incitement to Hatred and Discrimination’ (PC.DEL/1066/03 11 September 2003), available at [http://www.osce.org/documents/sg/2003/09/648\\_en.pdf](http://www.osce.org/documents/sg/2003/09/648_en.pdf); Report by International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights and Greek Helsinki Monitor, *Anti-Semitism in Greece: Recent Developments*, 16 June 2003 (PC.DEL/605/03 19 June 2003), available at [http://www.osce.org/documents/sg/2003/06/259\\_en.pdf](http://www.osce.org/documents/sg/2003/06/259_en.pdf); Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, ‘Anti-Semitism in Greece: Embedded in Society. An Interview with Moses Altsech’, *Post-Holocaust and Anti-Semitism*, no. 23, 1 August 2004/14 Av 5764, available at <http://www.jcpa.org/phas/phas-23.htm>; CENTRE SIMON WIESENTHAL – EUROPE, ‘25 MONTHS OF ANTISEMITIC INVECTIVE IN GREECE: TIMELINE: MARCH 2002–APRIL 2004’, A report compiled in cooperation with the Greek Helsinki Monitor, Presented at the OSCE Conference on Antisemitism in Berlin, 28–29 April 2004 by Dr. Shimon Samuels, Director for International Liaison of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, Paris, available at <http://www.wiesenthal.com/atf/cf/%7BDFD2AAC1-2ADE-428A-9263-35234229D8D8%7D/25Months.pdf>; European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), *Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU 2002–2003*, March 2004, executive summary available at <http://eumc.eu.int/eumc/material/pub/AS/AS-Summary.pdf>, main report available at <http://eumc.eu.int/eumc/material/pub/AS/AS-Main-report.pdf>.
- 3 ADL Calls On Greek Government To Condemn Anti-Semitism In The Press, July 22, 2002, available at [http://www.adl.org/PresRele/ASInt\\_13/4134\\_13.asp](http://www.adl.org/PresRele/ASInt_13/4134_13.asp). The *Ethnos* cartoon is available at [http://www.adl.org/Anti\\_semitism/arab/cartoon\\_072202.asp](http://www.adl.org/Anti_semitism/arab/cartoon_072202.asp).
- 4 Takis Michas, ‘Theodorakis’ Antisemitic Ranting’, *National Herald*, 12–13 December 2003, available at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/balkanhr/message/6263>; Herb Keinon, ‘Greek composer adds voice to anti-Semitic chorus’, the *Jerusalem Post*, 11 November 2003, available at <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?pagename=JPost/JPArticle/ShowFull&cid=1068525557451&p=1008596981749>.
- 5 The Stephen Roth Institute, ‘Antisemitism Worldwide 2002/3: Greece’, available at <http://www.tau.ac.il/Anti-Semitism/asw2002-3/greece.htm>. See also Panayote Elias Dimitras, ‘Recent anti-Semitism in Greece’, available at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/balkanhr/message/3884>.
- 6 ASM DATABASE, ‘2003–GREECE–10–VIOLENT INCIDENTS–VANDALISM–CEMETERIES–IOANNINA’, available at <http://132.66.58.20/ALEPH/ENG/ASM/ASM/ASM/FULL/0023597?>.

- 7 Greece's vitriolic anti-Americanism during the Iraq crisis, when more Greeks had a favourable opinion of Saddam Hussein than of President George W. Bush (see Anthee Carassava, 'Anti-Americanism in Greece Is Reinvigorated by War', the *New York Times*, 7 April 2003, available at <http://www.polisci.ucla.edu/faculty/trachtenberg/useur/carassava.html>), will not be dealt with here. Suffice it to note that in Greece, so-called anti-war protests have a habit of turning violent: CNN, 'Cities Jammed in Worldwide Protest of War in Iraq', 15 February 2003, available at <http://www.cnn.com/2003/US/02/15/sprj.iq.protests.main>; Craig Whitlock and Peter Carlson, 'Protest in Athens Against Powell Visit Turns Violent', the *Washington Post*, 28 August 2004; P. A15, available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A39938-2004Aug27.html>; Associated Press, 'Violence Mars Greek Anti-war protest', 18 November 2004, available at <http://news.ninensn.com.au/article.aspx?id=22925>.
- 8 Michael Dobbs, 'Myths over Attacks on U.S. Swirl through Islamic World: Many Rumors Lay Blame on an Israeli Conspiracy', the *Washington Post*, 13 October 2001, P. A22, available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn?pagename=article&contentId=A52410-2001Oct12&notFound=true>. Report by International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights and Greek Helsinki Monitor, *Anti-Semitism in Greece: Recent Developments*, 16 June 2003 (PC.DEL/605/03 19 June 2003), available at [http://www.osce.org/documents/sg/2003/06/259\\_en.pdf](http://www.osce.org/documents/sg/2003/06/259_en.pdf).
- 9 Stathis, *Eleftherotypia*, 12 September 2001.
- 10 Jonathan Foreman, 'The Coalition Trap', the *New York Post*, 20 September 2001, available at <http://www.jonathanforeman.com/opeds/trap.html>. The denial was in Eleni Bistika, 'No Laughs on Tragedy Day, Mr. J. Foreman!', *Kathimerini*, 25 September 2001.
- 11 For examples of Greek media coverage during the Kosovo war, see Panayote Dimitras, 'Realist Greek Foreign Policy Embarrassed Anew by Returning Anti-Western Serbophilia', *Greek Helsinki Monitor and Minority Rights Group – Greece*, (AIM Athens 25 March 1999), available at <http://www.greekhelsinki.gr/english/articles/AIM25-3-99.html>. A collection of cartoons from the Kosovo war can be found at [http://members.tripod.com/~sarant\\_2/grcart/hkm3003.html](http://members.tripod.com/~sarant_2/grcart/hkm3003.html).
- 12 National Organization of Cypriot Strugglers.
- 13 Kurdistan Workers' Party. Now known as KONGRA-GEL, Freedom and Democracy Congress of Kurdistan.
- 14 Panhellenic Socialist Movement.
- 15 Jean Cohen, 'Jewish Group Slams Greek Exhibit that Glorifies Female Suicide Bomber', JTA, 9 October 2003, available at [http://www.jta.org/page\\_view\\_story.asp?strwebhead=Greek%20exhibit%20said%20to%20glorify%20terrorism&intcategoryid=2](http://www.jta.org/page_view_story.asp?strwebhead=Greek%20exhibit%20said%20to%20glorify%20terrorism&intcategoryid=2) (registration required). A picture is available at [http://backspin.typepad.com/backspin/2003/10/greek\\_artist\\_gl.html](http://backspin.typepad.com/backspin/2003/10/greek_artist_gl.html).
- 16 The comment was made by the Cambridge don Mary Beard, '11 September', *London Review of Books*, vol. 23, no. 19, 4 October 2001, available at [http://www.lrb.co.uk/v23/n19/mult01\\_.html](http://www.lrb.co.uk/v23/n19/mult01_.html). 'The horror of the tragedy was enormously intensified by the ringside seats we were offered through telephone answering machines and text-messages. But when the shock had faded, more hard-headed reaction set in. This wasn't just the feeling that, however tactfully you dress it up, the United States had it coming. That is, of course, what many people openly or privately think. World bullies, even if their heart is in the right place, will in the end pay the price.'
- 17 Partial results are given in Karlyn Bowman (ed.), 'The World Reacts', *Opinion Pulse*, MBER 2001, available at [http://www.taemag.com/docLib/20030117\\_Opinion1201.pdf](http://www.taemag.com/docLib/20030117_Opinion1201.pdf).
- 18 Birzeit University Development Studies Programme, Survey no. 5: 'The Intifada, and America's Relations with the Arab World', *The Aftermath of the September 11 attacks in the United States*, n.d. [2001?], available at [http://home.birzeit.edu/dsp/DSPNEW/polls/poll\\_5/analysis.html](http://home.birzeit.edu/dsp/DSPNEW/polls/poll_5/analysis.html).
- 19 The highly irrational nature of these beliefs means that even poor Turkish-US and Turkish-Israeli relations after March 2003 are of little relevance. On the dramatic change in attitudes, see Salih Boztas, 'EU Survey: Turkey Most Critical of US', *Zaman*, 2 March 2005, available at <http://www.zaman.com/?bl=international&alt=&hn=17070>. Also, Robert L. Pollock, 'The Sick Man of Europe – Again', *The Wall Street Journal*, 16 February 2005; P. A14, col. 3, available at <http://www.opinionjournal.com/editorial/feature.html?id=110006299>.
- 20 Kappa Research poll carried out 17 and 18 October 2001. Greek Helsinki Monitor/Minority Rights Group – Greece, *Anti-Semitism in Greece: A Current Picture: 2001–2002*. November 2002, available at [http://www.greekhelsinki.gr/bhr/english/organizations/ghm\\_mrgg\\_antisemitism\\_2002.rtf](http://www.greekhelsinki.gr/bhr/english/organizations/ghm_mrgg_antisemitism_2002.rtf).

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- 27 The notion that what matters is embarrassment abroad rather than incitement at home is evident from conversations with Greek officials.
- 28 Thanassis Cambanis, 'Forgotten History, Fragile Future: A Belated Tribute to Greece's Fascinating Jews', *Odyssey*, January/February 1998.
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- 32 Address by George A. Papandreou, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece, to the American Jewish Committee, Washington, 3 May 2000, available at [http://www.hri.org/MFA/whatnew/jewish\\_352000.htm](http://www.hri.org/MFA/whatnew/jewish_352000.htm). American Jewish Committee, 'AJC Honors Greek Foreign Minister Papandreou', 3 May 2000, available at <http://www.ajc.org/InTheMedia/PressReleases.asp?did=31>. For a more recent AJC perspective, see David A. Harris, AJC Executive Director, 'Letter from Athens', 22 April 2003, available at <http://www.ajc.org/InTheMedia/PubDAHLetters.asp?did=791>.
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- 36 M. Georgiadou, 'FM Meets Greek Orthodox Archbishop of America in New York', *Athens News Agency*, 4 October 2001, available at <http://www.hri.org/news/greek/ana/2001/01-10-04.ana.html#03>. Interviewed in the United States, Papandreou lamely said that 'I disagree with the interpretation of the polls'. See *PBS – Online NewsHour*, 'Drawing the Line Margaret Warner Talks with Greek Foreign Minister George Papandreou about NATO's Coalition Building Efforts', 2 October 2001, available at <http://www.papandreou.gr/papandreou/content/articlepage.aspx?articleid=257&language=0>.