Holocaust denial as a tool of Iranian policy

The Holocaust denial conference in Tehran: Overview

Iranian president Ahmadinejad (center) with the participants of the Tehran conference (Raheb Homavandi/Reuters, December 12)

1. On December 11 and 12, 2006, the Iranian regime hosted a conference dedicated to Holocaust denial, called the “International Conference on Review of the Holocaust: Global Vision.” Its intention was to give an international

1 Our thanks to Dr. Soli Shahvar, specialist in Iranian affairs at the Ezri Center for Iran and Persian Gulf Studies, Haifa University, who aided in the preparation of this document.
dimension to the false claim that the Holocaust of the Jewish people during
the Second World War did not occur, or, at least, to minimize its magnitude.

**The overall objective was to deny international legitimacy for the existence of the State of Israel.**

2. Sixty-seven individuals from 30 countries attended the conference. Among them were a number of prominent Holocaust-denying racists: Prof. **Robert Faurisson** from France, who in the past was brought to trial for his Holocaust denial; **David Duke** from Louisiana, former head of the Ku Klux Klan, today a state representative, and a Holocaust denial supporter; Prof. **Frederick Töben** from Australia, who was sentenced to five years in prison in Germany for Holocaust denial; **Michele Renouf** from Britain, a model and former dancer, who became famous for her support of Holocaust denier David Irving. (For conference participants, see the Appendix).

3. The conference was also attended by a delegation of six ultra-Orthodox Jews, members of Neturei Karta from Britain, the United States and Austria, among them rabbis Yisroel David Weiss, Aharon Cohen and Moshe Ayre Friedman. They were singled out for special attention by Ahmadinejad, and the Iranians tried to use them to “prove” that their Holocaust denial campaign had Jewish anti-Zionist members as well, who also supported the destruction of the State of Israel even if they did not deny the Holocaust.

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2 Most of the prominent European Holocaust deniers could not attend the conference because they were serving jail sentences for Holocaust denial. The most prominent, David Irving, was released from an Austrian prison shortly after the conference.

3 Neturei Karta (Aramaic for “Guardians of the City”) are a minor ultra-Orthodox Jewish sect who reject all forms of Zionism and actively oppose the existence of the State of Israel. They are mostly concentrated in Jerusalem and other cities in Israel, where they enjoy full rights as citizens, and in upper New York State, London, Vienna and Antwerp.
4. The conference was held at the Institute for Political and International Studies in Tehran, which belongs to the Iranian foreign ministry. Its organizers tried (without success) to project the image of a serious academic-scientific forum holding discussions about whether or not the Holocaust took place (the discussion topics were predetermined by the Iranian regime). The Iranians also represented the conference as an example of Iran’s “freedom of expression,” unlike the West, where discussion of Holocaust denial is considered a crime. The racists and Holocaust deniers at the conference “deliberated” issues such as whether or not the Holocaust had occurred, what its magnitude was, how many Jews were killed, whether or not there were gas chambers, how anti-Semitism and the Holocaust influenced Zionism, what the influence of the Holocaust was on Jewish immigration to Israel, etc.
5. The conference hall was ringed with pictures, posters and tables holding CDs, all dealing with Holocaust denial. For example, pictures of Holocaust survivors in concentration camps were labeled as pictures of typhus patients who had been quarantined to avoid spreading the disease. Outside the hall books written by Holocaust deniers and anti-Zionist writers could be bought. To lend the conference an air of “objectivity,” the testimonies of 12 Holocaust survivors were broadcast on television screens, describing their sufferings (Yaniv Halili, New York, Yediot Aharonot, December 12).

6. The conference participants agreed to establish an international institution for Holocaust studies and appointed Mohammad Ali Ramin as general secretary. He is one of Ahmadinejad’s advisors, a university lecturer, anti-
Semitic and well-known Holocaust denier who heads an organization called the Society for Defending the Rights of Muslim Minorities in the West. Five other participants were appointed to sit with him on the organization’s “central council,” whose task is to prepare the next Holocaust conference. It was reported that the organization’s head office will be in Tehran, although Ali Ramin’s intention is to move it to Berlin (because of Germany’s associations with the Holocaust) “as soon as the groundwork has been prepared” (IRNA, December 14).

Holocaust denier Mohammad Ali Ramin

Main Western and Arab reactions to the conference

7. The Holocaust denial conference was condemned by the West. The White House called it “an affront to the entire civilized world;” the State Department spokesman called the statements made by the Iranian regime’s leaders denying the Holocaust as “flabbergasting;” German Chancellor Angela Merkel and the French foreign minister condemned the conference; Pope Benedictus

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4 For Mohammad Ali Ramin’s calls for the destruction of the State of Israel, see MEMRI’s special dispatch series No. 1397, posted on December 15, 2006: “Iran Holocaust denial conference announces plan to establish world foundation for Holocaust studies – to be eventually based in Berlin and headed by Iranian presidential advisor Mohammad-Ali Ramin who has said: ‘The resolution of the Holocaust issue will end in the destruction of Israel.’”

5 http://www.muslim-markt.de/interview/2004/ramin.htm
XVI stated that the Holocaust was “an immense tragedy...[which] must remain as a warning for people's consciences.”

8. Despite the Arab world’s widespread support of Holocaust denial6 and the conference, there were also reservations. As expected, the Palestinian terrorist organizations, especially Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, supported the conference, Ahmadinejad’s policy and Holocaust denial. Some of the Arab media gave the conference brief coverage and some of them ignored it completely. On December 13 Al-Jazeera TV gave factual coverage of remarks made by Ahmadinejad, who claimed that the Holocaust was a Jewish invention and that the State of Israel would soon vanish. It reported that most of the participants, led by Robert Faurisson from France and Frederick Töben from Australia, had expressed doubts as to whether or not the Holocaust had actually occurred or as to its dimensions.

9. Nevertheless, some of the Arab newspapers reported clear criticism of the conference and its Iranian organizers, either by stating that the Holocaust had in fact occurred or by calling the conference a political ploy by the Iranian regime which was harmful to the Muslim-Arab cause. For example:

   A. On December 16 the Arabic version of Al-Sharq al-Awsat, the popular Arab newspaper issued in London, published an editorial article called “The Holocaust: What is its imminent danger to Muslims from its recognition?” The article called the conference “a festival of hate,” and blamed Ahmadinejad for harming Muslims by brainwashing them with hatred, exploiting the “hate TV channels” to increase his popularity, although the Holocaust is a historical fact which cannot be ignored. The article also expressed reservations regarding the conference's

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participants, who were not scholars but merely racists. Reactions to the article were mixed.\textsuperscript{7}

B. On December 18 an op-ed article in the Egyptian daily Al-Akhbar attacked the conference and Ahmadinejad’s statement that Israel would cease to exist, but with a clearly anti-Israeli approach. The Holocaust was not a myth, stated the article, and even worse, Iranian policy was playing into Israel’s hands (giving it a “life-preserver,” according to the article). It stated that the conference and remarks made by the Iranian president renewed international sympathy for Israel, convinced the world (which does not distinguish between Iranians and Arabs) that Muslims were in fact racists, gave Israel an excuse to maintain nuclear weapons to be able to deal with the Iranian threat, and harmed the Arabs in their attempts to deal with the “holocausts” currently taking place in Palestine and Iraq (“Aren’t we victims of a holocaust now, in both Palestine and Iraq? ... The Arabs are involved in a bloody confrontation with the neo-Nazis [Israel], so what’s the point of defending the old Nazis?)

C. On December 14 Al-Sapir, the Lebanese daily newspaper, published an article criticizing Iran and the Arab world for likening Zionism to Nazism on the one hand, while on the other copying Nazism and trying to fulfill its mission, i.e., the annihilation of the Jewish people. The article advised the Arabs to remember that according to Nazi racist theories, the Arabs were considered even more inferior than the Jews. In addition, Holocaust denial would do nothing to help the Arabs deal with Israel, and provided support for the Israeli claim that it needed superior force to protect its existence.

D. On December 14 the Saudi Arabian Internet site Elaph criticized the conference, claiming that a conference whose objective was to deny the Holocaust would have the opposite effect, it would only strengthen Israel’s claims for the need of a Jewish state which would protect the Jews from persecution. In addition, the conference reinforced European

\textsuperscript{7} http://www.asharqalawsat.com/leader.asp?section=3\&article=397153\&issue=10245 (Arabic site).
solidarity with Israel and the perception that Israel was a modern state which had joined Europe in the struggle against radical Islam.\(^8\)

10. Syria, Iran’s ally, has avoided taking an active part in Iran’s campaign and its media gave the conference only modest coverage. On December 15, in an interview with the Italian newspaper La Repubblica, Bashad Assad was asked to comment on the conference. He answered that the Europeans had a Holocaust complex and that it had not been caused by Arabs. He defended the conference, saying that there was freedom of expression and that doubt could be cast on anything related to human history. As an example he gave *The Da Vinci Code*, which questioned generally-accepted truths relating to Jesus.

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11. The Iranian Islamic regime’s anti-Semitic worldview is built into the ideology of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the founder of the Iranian Islamic Republic, and his successors. Khomeini wanted to restore the Islamic Caliphate, in which all Muslims would live as a single community ruled by Muslim law (the Shai’ah). Like the prophet Muhammad, who waged a holy war against the infidels, the Iranian Islamic regime led by Khomeini set out to wage a war to the death against contemporary infidels, central among them “the great Satan,” the United States, and “the little Satan,” Israel.

12. In the perceptions of both Khomeini and the heads of the Iranian regime, no real distinction is made between Israel and the Jewish, and their virulent anti-Israeli ideology is laced with anti-Semitism and a fundamental hatred for the West, particularly the United States. Both Shi’ite religious law and the

teaching of Khomeini define the Jews, like the followers of all religions which are not Islam, as infidels and unclean. Khomeini regarded the Jews as the enemies of Islam, and that perception was strengthened by the fact that the Jews and “world Zionism” were identified as allies of the Shah (whose regime was overthrown by the Islamic Revolution). Furthermore the Jews, he claimed, deprived the Palestinians of their rights and land and established a country in the middle of the Muslim world. The “liberation” of Palestine and Jerusalem were and are the cornerstones of the Iranian regime’s internal and inter-Arab legitimacy, and the justification for its negative stance toward Israel, the Jewish people, the United States, the West and the peace process in the Middle East.

13. In addition, Khomeini and his successors view the Jews as plotting to take over the world, and that image is rooted in the minds of the heads of the Iranian Islamic regime. For them, the Jews play an overt or covert role in every international event or crisis, they control global media (including the film industry, especially in America), founded the Freemasons to carry out their plots to rule the world and prevent the spread of Islam, exert pressure on the decision-makers of the United States and Europe, and are even accused of supporting terrorist organizations around the world to create crises. Therefore they are a threat and danger to the world. One of the “proofs” is The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, which have a central place in the anti-Semitic publications issued in Iran.⁹

14. The Iranian aspiration to destroy the State of Israel is also political. According to the ruling clerics in Iran, Judaism is considered a religion, not a nationality, and thus the Jews are not necessarily deserving of a state of their own. Thus there is no place for a Jewish state, and certainly not on what the Iranians consider Muslim land (Palestine), while violating what they consider the legal rights of Muslims (Palestinians), and certainly not one with control and sovereignty over Jerusalem, sacred to all Muslims.

⁹ See Footnote 6; pp. 100-104.
15. As a result, the lessening of the Holocaust’s dimensions is central to the political worldview of the heads of the Iranian regime, according to which the Jews use a variety of strategies in their striving to control the world and justification for the “occupation” of Palestine. One of the more successful ones, in Iranian opinion, is an exaggeration of the dimensions of the Holocaust which is meant, claimed Khomeini and his successors, the current Iranian leaders, to deflect world attention from the Jews’ real goals. The Iranian regime does not deny the loss of Jewish lives during the Second World War, but attempts to minimize the magnitude of the Holocaust, and to that end gives broad coverage to Holocaust deniers or individuals who cast doubt on the Holocaust.

Why does the Iranian regime stress Holocaust denial?

16. Contemporary Iran is the only country which has openly adopted a strategy aimed at the elimination of the State of Israel, of which Holocaust denial is one component. That strategy also includes the ambition to acquire nuclear capabilities (which will enable Iran to carry out its policy). The almost universal international criticism for the Iranian regime’s statements about the Holocaust and its calls for the destruction of Israel have done nothing to weaken it, quite the opposite. During the past months the Iranians have stepped up their anti-Israel campaign, pointedly ignoring world protest.

17. Despite the loathing for the Jewish people and the State of Israel deeply rooted in Khomeini’s ideology and those upon whom the Iranian regime rests, until recent years the Iranians were careful about making anti-Semitic remarks, especially because of the international criticism they caused. To a great extent, Ahmadinejad’s intensive Holocaust denial campaign reflects the regime’s growing self-confidence and its readiness to undertake a defiant and even provocative stance toward the United States, the West and Israel, and the Holocaust denial campaign is but one aspect of that.
18. Since August 2005, when he was appointed president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has aligned himself with Iran’s ultra-conservative camp in a propaganda campaign, as have other senior members of the Iranian regime. Its goal is to indoctrinate the public, in Iran and beyond, with the notion that Israel has no right to exist and that it should be wiped off the map. At the same time, Iran, under his leadership, has been waging a campaign to undermine the legitimacy of Israel’s existence, at whose the center is a denial of the Holocaust. In that context, Ahmadinejad organized the international Holocaust cartoon competition, was behind the international Holocaust denial conference and has plans to continue airing his views on the subject.

![Antisemitism and Holocaust denial in cartoons](image)

Anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial in cartoons: a page of cartoons from the Iranian Website of Al-Quds TV, devoted to Holocaust denial and the likening of Jews and Nazis.

19. The Holocaust denial campaign, as a main component of the Iranian regime’s anti-Israeli policy, is not only an expression of the hatred for Jews which is rooted in Iranian politics and society, but also a clever and well-planned strategy which the Iranian regime under Ahmadinejad’s presidency seeks, in our opinion, to achieve three main goals:

A. **To delegitimize the Zionist movement and the State of Israel as ideological and moral preparation for Israel’s destruction:** Ahmadinejad considers that Holocaust denial or at least minimizing its magnitude will relieve the European and American sense of guilt which led to the establishment of the State of Israel and thus prepare the ground for its eventual destruction. The Jewish problem, according to Ahmadinejad, is European and should be solved by
Europeans in such a fashion that Jews will be able to live there as European protégés, while the state of Palestine will rise on the ruins of the State of Israel (with the implication that anyone who stays in Israel will be fair game.) In fact, throughout the Tehran conference the connection was made between Holocaust denial and the destruction of the State of Israel:

1) **Iranian foreign minister Mamuchehr Mottaki** stated that “...an official study of the Holocaust will also lead to the nature of the Zionist regime’s existence being questioned. And if the Holocaust is proved to be a historical fact, then an answer will have to be provided for the question why the Muslims in the region and the Palestinians have to pay the price for the Nazis’ crimes” (ISNA News Agency, December 11).

2) **Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad** exploited the conference to repeat his stated objective of the destruction of the State of Israel: “Israel is temporary and will vanish like the Soviet Union. When I said that that regime [i.e., the “Zionist regime”] would disappear, I was expressing the hidden thoughts of nations... Just as the Soviet Union was erased from [the map of] the world, so will the Zionist entity soon disappear...” (Al-‘Alam, December 13).

3) **Iranian ambassador to Syria, Muhammad Hassan Akhtari**, was interviewed in Damascus by a reporter for the Italian daily newspaper Corriere della Serra on December 14. He claimed that there were no gas chambers, that the concentration camps at Auschwitz and Treblinka did not exist, and that six million Jews were not murdered. He claimed that the Holocaust was nothing more than a Zionist “invention” intended to persecute the Palestinians and justify the establishment of the State of Israel. He stated that there was no legitimacy for Israel’s existence, not even within the 1967 borders, and that the Jewish immigrants and their descendents living in Israel had to leave and let the Palestinians return.
B. To increase Iran’s influence among the Palestinians by representing Iran as the spearhead of the Palestinian “struggle,” they present the Palestinians as the Holocaust’s real victims and themselves as the defenders of the Palestinian cause, and in the forefront of the “struggle” to destroy the State of Israel. Their anti-Israel campaign, accompanied by Holocaust denial, is also intended to reinforce Iran’s influence in the Palestinian arena. The campaign supports Palestinian terrorism and a strengthening of bonds with the Hamas government, whose extremist ideology identifies with Iran’s extremist Islamic ideology. It should be remembered that on the eve of the Holocaust denial conference Hamas government prime minister Ismail Haniya visited Tehran, where he was promised an unprecedented $250 million in aid.10

A cartoon published by the Iranian News Agency FARS. The Holocaust serves as a guillotine for the Palestinian people.

C. The Iranian regime views Holocaust denial as an effective tool for advancing Iran’s aspirations for regional hegemony and strengthening its position in the Arab-Muslim world. As opposed to its first years, the Islamic regime in Tehran is currently carrying out an offensive to broaden its influence in the Middle East. The anti-Israel campaign, centering as it does around Holocaust denial, is

perceived by the regime as an effective weapon which can be used to gain support in the Arab-Muslim “street” and to harm pro-Western regimes which have peaceful relations with Israel and oppose Iranian policy.\textsuperscript{11}
That is achieved by exploiting hatred for Israel, the Jewish people and the West. Such a perception is not new, since hatred for Israel and the Jewish people have served as an effective tool for the dictatorial regimes in the Middle East to enlist popular support. Those regimes prefer to manipulate the bitterness and frustration caused by the poverty and hardship prevalent in their countries and channel them against Israel. They use anti-Semitism and opposition to Israel to produce the desired results whenever they want to enlist popular support, since Israel has always been perceived as representing the Jewish people and as the advance guard of the United States and the West.

20. Beyond those basic goals, in our assessment the Holocaust denial campaign may also be the product of the personality of Iranian president Ahmadinejad, who belongs to his country’s ultra-conservative camp. Despite his remarks and comments about the Holocaust, Ahmadinejad echoes previous statements made by other sources within the Islamic Republic, and it seems as though his more extreme rhetoric, uttered with total disdain for the world sensitivity (especially in the West), spring from his religious beliefs and social and political background, and are not only rhetoric.

21. It is possible that his membership in the extremist Jamkaran group,\textsuperscript{12} his

\textsuperscript{11} Such regimes are well aware of Iran’s true intentions and what is really behind the Holocaust denial campaign (See above, Western and Arab reactions to the conference).

\textsuperscript{12} The Jamkaran take their name from the Jamkaran mosque, located about 6 kilometers (about 3 ½ miles) east of Qom, Iran. According to Shi’ite traditions, Imam Mahdi (the Hidden Imam) was there at the time of his disappearance, proclaimed it a holy site and ordered a mosque built. Thus the mosque became the site for a pilgrimage for Shi’ites all over the world. Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad belongs to the group, which is part of the Hojjatyeh movement. They believe, among other things, that the rule of true Islam will only come about when the Mahdi returns, and that the time is approaching. The group meets often at the Jamkaran mosque to discuss politics and other topics. Their opinions are radical, with regard to both internal Iranian and external matters. The Ayatollah Muhammad Taki Mesbah-Yazdi is known to be the group’s spiritual leader and Ahmadinejad’s spiritual guide.
belief in the coming of the Hidden Imam (Imam Mahdi) who will arrive after the battle of Armageddon with Israel and the West, may be a possible explanation for his extreme statements (such as the destruction of Israel and Holocaust denial), and even behind his stubborn desire for nuclear technology.

22. There are also extremist clerics in Iran who are laying the groundwork for an atmosphere leading to the battle of Armageddon. For example, in April 2005 the Ayatollah and “source of authority” Hussein Nuri Hamdani claimed that “the Jews should be fought against and forced to surrender to prepare the way for the coming of the Hidden Imam [the Mahdi]…”

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13 According to Shi’ite tradition, the Hidden Imam is suppose to appear as the Messiah who will save the world. The believe in the Imam as a supernatural, omnipotent, omniscient leader is one of the unique tenets of Shi’a. The first imam was Ali, the “the leader of [the Muslim] believers,” the prophet Muhammad’s son-in-law and the fourth Sunni Muslim Caliph. From the time of his death in 661 AD until 874 AD there were 11 imams; the 12th disappeared during that year. The Hidden Imam, according to Shi’ite belief, will return to the world as the “Mahdi,” a term meaning “the one guided by Allah along the true path.” The Mahdi will bring a message of redemption with him, settle debt with the enemies of the Shi’ite and bring justice to the world. From The Coordination Forum for Countering Anti-Semitism Website: www.antisemitism.org.il.
Appendix

Participants at the Holocaust denial conference

Mohtashamipour
Iran

Manouchehr Mottaki
Iran

Manouchehr Mohammadi
Iran

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad
Iran

Christian Lindner
Denmark

David Duke
USA

Fredrick Töben
Australia

Robert Faurisson
France

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14 From The Coordination Forum for Countering Anti-Semitism Website:
www.antisemitism.org.il

15 Ali Akbar Mohtashamipour serves as head of the “Headquarters for the Support of the Intifada” (i.e., the Palestinian terrorist organizations), was one Hezbollah’s founders and Iranian ambassador to Syria. For further information see our Bulletin entitled “An Iranian figure who had a key role in founding Hezbollah publicly announced that long-range Iranian Zelzal-2 rockets were delivered to the organization,” at http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/html/ali_akbar_e.htm and http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/ali_akbar_e.pdf.
Other participants

- Leonardo Clerici: Chairman, Skriptura Institute, Belgium
- Mohammad Mansour Nejad: Director, Group of Religion, National Studies Institute, Iran
- Mohammed Mojtaba Khan: New Delhi University professor, India
- M Al Rousan: Political deputy of People's Movement, Jordan
- Hossein Harsich: Isfahan University Professor, Iran
- Mr Mosleh Zadeh, Senior Assistant to the Foreign Minister, Iran
- Mr Ghaderi, Director, Middle East & Africa Studies, IPIS, Iran
• Majid Ghodarzi: Islamic Culture & Communications Organization, Iran
• Mohammad Tarahi: Senior expert, IRIB, Iran
• Dr Mohammadi, Deputy Foreign Minister, Iran
• Veronica Clark: USA
• Moshe Ayre Friedman: Austria
• Arnold Cohen, UK