# **Unraveling Anti-Semitic** 9/11 Conspiracy Theories



### **Anti-Defamation League**

Glen A. Tobias, *National Chair*Abraham H. Foxman, *National Director* 

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## **Highlights**

- A global network of anti-Semitic conspiracy theorists is energetically working to blame Jews and Israel for the 9/11 terrorist attacks.
- These theories are the latest manifestation of centuries-old allegations that Jews manipulate and control world events for their own benefit. They bring the Protocols of the Elders of Zion into the 21st century, updating a familiar theme: that Jews are inherently evil and have a "master plan" to rule the world.
- What makes the 9/11 conspiracy theories particularly important is that they have united disparate groups of Jew haters American far-right extremists, white supremacists and elements within the Arab and Muslim world who are exchanging and echoing information, ideas, and conspiracy theories, particularly through the Internet.
- 9/11 conspiracy theories have grown to such an extent that they form an entire industry that includes books, pamphlets, videotapes, Web sites, and speakers.
- These theories are poised to form the basis of a new anti-Semitic canard that will linger for decades and be used to demonize Jews and Israel. Anti-Semites are blaming Jews for the worst terrorist act committed and for its consequences, such as military conflicts. Allegations of Jewish culpability in the 9/11 attacks may even be used as justification for future acts of anti-Semitic violence.

"Around 4,000 Israelis working in the World Trade Centre [sic] had been issued a secret directive before the incident not to report for duty on September 11 which they complied with. This is evident from the fact that not a single Israeli or American Jew working in the WTC was reported killed or missing."

— Islamweb

"Seven thousand Americans were killed because our government has for decades been used to further the interests of Israel at the expense of the interests of the American people...."

— National Alliance

# **Unraveling Anti-Semitic 9/11 Conspiracy Theories**

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# **Executive Summary**

A new report by ADL reveals that anti-Semitic conspiracy theories placing the blame for the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on Jews and Israel continue to gain currency around the world, and are contributing to a new form of global anti-Semitism. These theories, increasingly popular among American right-wing extremists, white supremacists, and in the Arab and Muslim world, claim that Israel, not Osama bin Laden, was behind the horrible events of 9/11.

- These theories are a new spin on centuries-old allegations charging that Jews manipulate and control world events for their own benefit, and are willing to wreak havoc on the world in order to gain power. Conspiracists circulating these theories argue that the 9/11 attacks fit into the pattern of deception, manipulation, and evil that has been the Jews' "trademark."
- The conspiracy theories, in conjunction with the Internet, have facilitated an unprecedented cross-fertilization of anti-Semitic ideas between European and American anti-Semites on one hand, and Muslim and Arab anti-Semites on the other.
- Both anti-Semitic and non-anti-Semitic 9/11 conspiracy theories have grown to such an extent that they form a virtual industry that includes books, pamphlets, videotapes, Web sites and speakers. The white supremacist Creativity Movement (under their former name World Church of the Creator), for instance, published "The Truth about 9-11: How Jewish Manipulation Killed Thousands." The anti-Semitic American Free Press published a 60-page report with a similar theme, entitled, "Did Israeli Spies Have Advance Knowledge of the 9-11 Attacks?"

#### Future Impact

- These conspiracy theories are likely to form the basis of a new anti-Semitic canard that will linger for decades and be used to demonize Jews and Israel. They allow anti-Semites to blame Jews for the worst terrorist act ever committed and to blame them as well for its consequences, including military actions. Allegations of Jewish culpability in the 9/11 attacks may even be used as justification for future acts of anti-Semitic violence.
- Although anti-Semitic conspiracy theories have not been accepted in mainstream circles in the U.S., this is not the case in the Arab and Muslim world where there is considerable belief that Jews and Israel are behind the 9/11 attacks.

## I. Anti-Semitic Basis of 9/11 Conspiracy Theories

Anti-Semitic conspiracists claim that the 9/11 attacks were actually carried out by Israeli
agents, who they allege are the only ones with enough cunning and wickedness to commit such an act.

• Their theories bring the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* into the 21st century, updating a familiar theme: that Jews are inherently evil and have a "master plan" to rule the world.

#### II. Far-right extremists exploit 9/11 theories

- White supremacist and neo-Nazi groups adopted anti-Semitic 9/11 conspiracy theories because the theories confirm their belief in the inherent evil of Jews.
- Those who didn't blame Israel and the Jews directly for the attacks adopted conspiracy theories claiming that Israel knew about the attacks in advance because of spying operations in this country and did nothing to stop them, thus pointing to what they said was Israel's and the Jews' betrayal of the United States.
- These groups promoted the theories to convince the American public that hatred of Jews is justified, and to strengthen their membership and galvanize potential recruits to take action.

#### III. Categories of Anti-Semitic 9/11 Conspiracy Theories

The exchange of ideas between far-right extremists and certain Arab/Muslim circles has led to a proliferation of anti-Semitic 9/11 conspiracy theories, which are constantly recycled and redefined to place blame on Israel and the Jews. Some of these theories purportedly explain how the attacks were planned and carried out. Others provide corroborating "evidence" that the Mossad or Israelis/Jews planned the attacks or knew about them in advance.

#### Conspiracy Theories 'Proving' Israelis/Jews Planned the Attack

A number of theories imply that Israel would allow thousands of innocent people to die rather than compromise its intelligence operations in the U.S., a notion that reinforces stereotypes of the disdain they feel for non-Jews and the perception that Israel uses the U.S. as a tool for its own agenda.

- **Blaming the Mossad.** The biggest "villain" in anti-Semitic 9/11 conspiracy theories is the Mossad, Israel's intelligence agency, portrayed as the only organization able to carry out such devastating acts. This perverse respect for the Mossad derives in part from anti-Semitic notions that only Jews are sufficiently cunning, resourceful, and wicked to have carried out the attacks and blamed them on their enemies.
- "Israeli Art Student" Spy Ring. The theory that received the most attention in far-right publications and the Arab press, as well in the mainstream media, claims that an Israeli spy ring, allegedly made up of young Israelis claiming to be art students, had been tracking the 9/11 hijackers but did nothing to stop their attack.

- Israeli Companies Spying on the U.S. The "Israeli art student conspiracy" theory created speculation about another conspiracy theory that Israeli spies used telecommunications systems set up by Israeli high-tech companies in the U.S. to spy on American law enforcement and military installments, and avoid detection about their pursuit of the hijackers.
- "Jewish Ownership" of the World Trade Center. Conspiracists focused not only on Israeliowned companies' alleged involvement in the 9/11 attacks but also on what the "Jewish owners" of the World Trade Center stood to gain from its destruction. According to this theory, Jewish businessmen, in an effort to obtain millions of dollars in insurance money, plotted to destroy the World Trade Center. This conspiracy theory goes to the heart of the myth of the greedy Jew.

#### Corroborating Conspiracy Theories 'Proving' Israeli/Jewish Involvement in the Attacks

- Four Thousand Israelis Told to Stay Home. Of the many conspiracy theories about Jewish/Israeli involvement in the 9/11 attacks, none has received more attention than the "4,000 Israelis" who allegedly worked at the World Trade Center and were warned by Israeli intelligence to stay home on 9/11, thus implying that Israel had foreknowledge of the attacks.
- Five Israeli "Spies" Found Taping the WTC Attacks. Another conspiracy theory involves five so-called Israeli "spies" caught videotaping and celebrating the destruction of the WTC. The accounts are partially factual: five men, who later turned out to be Israelis, were arrested after the attack, and one of them had photographed the burning Twin Towers. For conspiracy theorists, the story became yet more "proof" of Israel's involvement in the events of 9/11, despite the FBI's statement that it had found no connection between the five men and the attacks.

## **IV.** Anti-Government Conspiracy Theories

Anti-Semitic conspiracy theories are not the only conspiracy theories advanced to explain 9/11. Fringe anti-government activists from both the far right and the far left are circulating conspiracy theories that implicate the U.S. government. Most theories focus on the government's alleged desire to create a war in the Middle East in order to seize or control oil supplies there; others allege that the government had foreknowledge of the 9/11 attacks but permitted them so that it would be able to suspend or curtail civil liberties in their wake.

#### V. Conclusion

The 9/11 conspiracy theories show no sign of losing their momentum or unifying power in the near future. In an unprecedented way, white supremacists, far-right extremists and Muslim and Arab propagandists are exchanging and echoing information, ideas and conspiracy theories regarding the attacks, particularly through the Internet.

## Introduction

Within hours of the September 11 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, conspiracy enthusiasts in the United States and abroad leapt at the chance to create a new genre of conspiracy theory. The attacks, spectacular in their destruction and profound in their effects, provided

9/11 conspiracy theories have developed into a major attempt to affix responsibility on the Jewish people for the worst terrorist attack in history.

abundant material for conspiratorial explanations: among others, the CIA, President Bush and Vice President Cheney, and large oil companies, were blamed. From the first, however, the emerging 9/11 conspiracy genre was dominated by theories that blamed the terrorist attacks on Israel specifically or on Jews more generally. Two years after the attacks, these conspiracy theories have developed into a major attempt to use the

"Big Lie" to affix responsibility on the Jewish people for the worst terrorist attack in history.

Certainly, not all 9/11 conspiracists are anti-Semitic. However, the focus of this report is on those groups and individuals who use the attacks to promote anti-Semitic ideas and myths. Below are two examples of typical theories that were circulated soon after the attacks. In the first, Ariel Sharon works in conjunction with the Mossad and the CIA to carry out the attacks.

Ariel Sharon was in trouble. The World Court was about to charge him with war crimes. His trip to the Al Asga mosque had sparked another Palestinian uprising and turned world opinion against him. And in a major policy switch, the United States was about to recognize a separate Palestinian state, something Sharon had always opposed. He needed help. Renegade forces in the CIA and the Mossad who wanted to take over the lucrative opium trade in Afghanistan had already come up with a plan to get the U.S. to attack Afghanistan and rout the Taliban. They would attack the World Trade Center and the Pentagon and blame it on Al Qaeda and the Taliban, its backer. The plotters decided to help Sharon out by letting him in on their plan since he would be of use to them later. The Mossad, which had long ago infiltrated Al Qaeda, then tricked unsuspecting Muslims into thinking they were following bin Laden's orders when they agreed to hijack four planes on September 11. But even they didn't know what was in store. The planes were operated via remote control by CIA and Mossad operatives who caused the planes to crash into the Twin Towers and the Pentagon. Sharon, the CIA, the Mossad and forces complicit in the Bush administration were able to blame Al Qaeda for the attacks, and now had what they wanted — the excuse to invade Afghanistan and control its opium and oil trade. Israel also benefited because the West now saw the Palestinians as part of the terrorist camp for carrying out suicide attacks.

A second theory attributes the attacks to a "Zionist" conspiracy involving a small group of elite Jews that wants to take control of world events.

The Zionist leaders were worried. In the summer of 2001, the Palestinian uprising raged through the Palestinian territories and Israel. Suicide bombings against Israelis were carried out with increasing frequency, and Israel retaliated by re-occupying the territories,

killing and wounding innocent Palestinians. World opinion condemned Israel's brutality. In early September, international organizations at the United Nations conference against racism in Durban denounced Israel and planned to issue an anti-Israel statement. The Zionist leaders desperately needed a way to turn the world's focus away from the plight of the Palestinians; they devised a plan to bomb the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, and to blame Muslims for the act.

Appearing on the Internet and in conspiracy-oriented publications in the United States and Europe, as well as in the international Arab/Muslim media, anti-Semitic conspiracy theories like these soon supplanted most other explanations circulating in far-right, white supremacist and Arab/Muslim circles. As the months have passed since 9/11, these bizarre explanations for the terrorist attacks have only gained strength, and have formed the basis for a cottage industry that produces books, tracts, and Web pages blaming Jews for the tragedy of 9/11. Widely accepted in the Arab/Muslim world, these theories have dominated the anti-Semitic extreme right in Europe and the U.S. as well, and have even seeped into the mainstream. Most disturbingly, the conspiracy theories, in conjunction with the Internet, have facilitated an unprecedented cross-fertilization of anti-Semitic ideas between European and American anti-Semites on one hand, and Muslim and Arab anti-Semites on the other. The dynamics and dangers of 21st century global anti-Semitism have rarely been so well illustrated.

# **Anti-Semitic Ideologies Fuel Conspiracy Theories**

For conspiracists of any stripe, the "accepted" version of events is never acceptable. Events are never as they seem; the real explanation always lies hidden in the shadows. Conspiracy theorists take actual facts, or sometimes grains of truth, then exaggerate and manipulate them into propaganda useful for scapegoating particular groups.

The 9/11 attacks were an unexpected windfall for anti-Semitic conspiracy theorists, who manipulated the very implausibility of the attacks. If it seemed unlikely that a small group of Muslim hijackers could simultaneously take control of four commercial airliners and pilot them on suicide runs to various destinations, conspiracy theorists argued that it seemed unlikely because this in fact was not what really happened. It was simply what the public was led to believe happened. Depicting Jews as sinister puppet masters, anti-Semitic conspiracy theorists explained that it was not radical Islamic terrorists who hijacked the planes but rather Israeli intelligence agents, the only ones with the sophistication, power, cunning and prowess to control events of such magnitude. Exemplifying the perverse circular logic of conspiracy theories, anti-Semites blamed Israel and Jews for these attacks to justify their belief that Jews are inherently evil. In white supremacist and far-right circles, as well as in large sectors of the Arab and Muslim worlds, the 9/11 attacks have given rise to a new exploitation of anti-Semitic myths.

The claim that Jews plot to control and manipulate world events to their advantage is not a new concept. The 9/11 anti-Semitic conspiracy theories exploited anti-Jewish conspiracy theo-

ries and stereotypes that have been circulated for over a hundred years. A century ago, the forged *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* claimed that there was a secret and all-powerful group of Jews that controlled and manipulated world events for their own benefit, pitting people against people, nation against nation. Jews, claimed the *Protocols*, would not hesitate to create tragedy, turmoil and war when they believed it was in their best interest. The 9/11 conspiracy theories take the *Protocols* into the 21st century, echoing and expanding upon this familiar theme: that Jews have a master plan to rule the world. Many of the theories claimed that Jews, usually Israelis, concocted and carried out the 9/11 terrorist attacks in order to unleash the fury of the United States on the "enemy" of the Jews — the Muslims.

The Arab and Muslim press quickly picked up on this theme and blamed the 9/11 attacks on a worldwide Jewish conspiracy. An article on the Web site Islamweb.net, registered to the State of Qatar, claimed, for example, that "the September 11 terrorist attacks on World Trade Centre (WTC) in New York and Pentagon in W



Image used on the now-defunct Web site of the white supremacist Creativity Movement (formerly World Church of the Creator) implies that Jews were behind the 9/11 attacks.

attacks on World Trade Centre (WTC) in New York and Pentagon in Washington were masterminded by an international Zionist organization, 'The Elders of Zion.'" Islamweb was not the only

"The September 11 terrorist attacks on World Trade Centre (WTC) in New York and Pentagon in Washington were masterminded by an international Zionist organization, 'The Elders of Zion.'"

Arab/Muslim media source to promote this age-old conspiracy. In order to add veracity to its claim, the article on the site referred to another publication, the Lahore-based Urdu weekly, *The Jihad Times*, which reported that "the 300-member apex Zionist body consisting of peers of the Judaism in the world [sic], decided to avenge the anti-Israel bashing" at the August 2001 U.N.-sponsored conference against racism in Durban, South Africa, by carrying out the 9/11 attacks. According to Islamweb, the "Elders of Zion" acted because their interests

were threatened and because the attacks also offered them an opportunity to scapegoat and blame Muslims. The article presented as fact various myths contained in the *Protocols* about the evil "Elders of Zion" meeting in a secret place to plot world domination.

American white supremacists soon joined the Arab and Muslim anti-Semitic theorists who claimed that the world Zionists plotted the 9/11 attacks. An article in the Ohio-based anti-Semitic conspiracy magazine *Criminal Politics* stated:

The 9-11 catastrophic attacks on the American homeland was [sic] designed to FORCE American Presidential action to commit military force in the Middle East, and to protect Israel from its Arab neighbors. In 1991, a fake attack on Kuwait was organized by the CIA with Saddam Hussein to accomplish the exact same military action for the benefit of International Zionism....Now ten years later, Bush (the son) repeats the performance...but this time under the guise of an outrageous attack on our homeland perpetrated by brazen criminals in the Secret Societies dominated by Jewish Zionism.

Islamweb and *Criminal Politics* alike asserted that Jews control the world and cause catastrophic events in order to maintain their power, and that 9/11 was a manifestation of Jewish manipulation.

# 9/11 as a Call to Arms

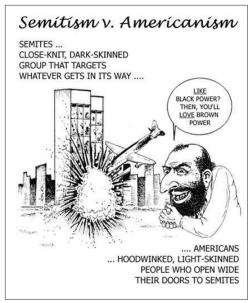
Before going into the various 9/11 conspiracy theories themselves, it is important to understand why so many anti-Semites were so quick to jump onto this particular bandwagon. The 9/11 terrorist attacks were so horrific and so surprising that they generated — and still generate — powerful emotions ranging from sorrow to fear to anger. Opportunistic anti-Semites sensed a chance to harness these emotions and employ them to achieve their own bigoted ends. White supremacist and neo-Nazi groups were quick to accept and promulgate anti-Semitic conspiracy theories to explain 9/11 because these theories confirmed their already established belief in the inherent evil of Jews, and they wanted to exploit the theories to gain the support of a suspicious and frightened American public looking for answers to the 9/11 tragedy. Groups like the National Alliance, the Creativity Movement (formerly known as the World Church of the Creator), and Aryan Nations wanted to engender anti-Jewish sentiment to strengthen their membership, galvanize potential recruits to take action, and convince the American public that hatred of Jews was justified.

The groups used a number of tactics to publicize the Jews' or Israel's alleged responsibility for the attacks. During the year following the attacks, the National Alliance (the largest and most well-organized neo-Nazi organization in the United States) held four separate demonstrations outside the Israeli embassy in Washington, D.C., to protest U.S. support of Israel. Holding demonstrations was a relatively new tactic for the group, which had hitherto usually limited its public activities to leafleting, holding meetings, selling literature, and sponsoring white-power music concerts. Members of Aryan Nations and the Creativity Movement, as well as racist skinheads, joined the National Alliance at its demonstrations. All of these groups also distributed fliers that pictured Osama bin Laden and the burning Twin Towers and said, "Let's Stop Being Human Shields for Israel," and posted them on-line. They saw an opportunity to exploit the attacks and the American public's uncertainty and fear by blaming their own "enemy" — the Jews — for the events of 9/11.

These groups didn't just blame Israel and Jews for the attack; many also adopted conspiracy theories claiming that even if Israel was not behind the attacks, it knew about the attacks in advance and did nothing to stop them, as will be seen later in this report. Their initial reaction, however, emphasized the loss of innocent American lives because of the Jews' alleged control of the U.S. government. On September 11, Matt Hale, head of the Creativity Movement, asserted in a press release that "the people of America deserve to know that the blood of innocents was shed because this government has America's nose in business in which it does not belong and which benefits the Jews and no others." William Pierce, the now-deceased head of

the National Alliance, made a similar point in a September 2001 American Dissident Voices radio broadcast. He stated that "seven thousand Americans were killed because our government has for decades been used to further the interests of Israel at the expense of the interests of the American people...." About one month after the 9/11 attacks, former Klan leader and neo-Nazi David Duke claimed that the government's actions in Afghanistan and the "war on terror" were being carried out only to "strike devastating blows at Israel's enemies." He repeatedly blamed America's support of Israel for the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, and warned that the U.S. government's continued support would lead to more loss of American lives and civil liberties.

In addition to blaming the Jews and Israel for the 9/11 attacks, many anti-Semites also voiced support for the Arab and Muslim world, especially the Palestinian cause. However, this support did not stem from a genuine concern with the plight of



Cartoon from the white supremacist Nationalist Movement blames Jews for allowing "Semites" into the U.S.

Muslims or Palestinians. These groups followed the old adage "The enemy of my enemy is my friend." They were willing to make common cause with Arabs and Muslims to express what they assumed was a shared hatred of the Jews and a desire to blame the Jews for the world's ills. In a fund-raising letter to supporters, the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), a Holocaust-denial organization, tried to use an anti-Israel, anti-Jewish appeal to raise money. "In the aftermath of the shocking Sept. 11 terrorist attacks," the IHR wrote, "which were an indirect consequence of our Israel-first foreign policy, and at a time of new threats against freedom and civil liberties, and of escalating Israeli brutality against Palestinians, the IHR's voice of truth and sanity is more needed than ever." The letter went on to say that for years the IHR had spoken out "against the dangers to America and humanity of Jewish-Zionist power."

Joshua Caleb Sutter, a Pennsylvania neo-Nazi active in an Aryan Nations faction, went even further. In response to a query from a BBC reporter, Sutter responded that "if Muslims were responsible for the WTC attacks no doubt their motivation was many pronged, but first and foremost to begin their ambitious process of destroying the United States infrastructure being as it is, the seat of World Zionist power. We support and will always support any and all actions which cause system disruption leading to total system breakdown."

Since the 9/11 attacks, there have been increasing exchanges of ideas between white supremacist, neo-Nazi, and far-right circles on one hand and radical Arab and Muslim circles on the other. A number of Arab and Muslim publications and Internet groups have printed pieces by William Pierce and David Duke that blamed the attacks on Israel and the Jews. On the other side, some white supremacist and neo-Nazi groups have openly claimed to be trying to make

contact with radical Muslim groups that want to destroy Israel and the Jewish people. This increased exchange between these groups that demonize the Jews has been one of the results of the 9/11 attacks.

# Categories of Anti-Semitic 9/11 Conspiracy Theories

The increased exchange of ideas between far-right extremists and certain Arab/Muslim circles has also led to a greater proliferation of anti-Semitic 9/11 conspiracy theories. These theories appear in endless varieties. Some explain how the attacks were planned and carried out. Many focus on the motivation and actions of the Mossad, Israel's intelligence agency. Other conspiracy theories provide corroborating "evidence" to prove that the Mossad or Israelis/Jews planned and executed the 9/11 attacks, or knew about the attacks but did nothing to prevent them from happening. Many of these theories refer to incidents that have a kernel of truth, or were reported by the mainstream press, or were simply misunderstood but were seized as "proof" that the theories are true. An initially erroneous news report later corrected becomes a "true story" that was later "covered up." Moreover, virtually any unexplained or contradictory aspect of an event can be used as "evidence." In the case of the John F. Kennedy assassination, the conspiracy-minded believed that the shots directed at JFK occurred too quickly together to have been fired by one person. In the Oklahoma City bombing, an unidentified leg found in the rubble was considered evidence that Timothy McVeigh did not act alone. Reports of Israeli art students casing federal installations and living in the same areas as the 9/11 hijackers became proof that Israel knew about the attacks in advance. In the minds of the conspiracy-oriented, this "evidence" becomes the "facts" behind the event.

# **Conspiracy Theories 'Proving' Israelis/Jews Planned the Attacks**

## Blaming the Mossad for the attacks

The biggest "villain" in anti-Semitic 9/11 conspiracy theories is the Mossad, Israel's intel-

The biggest "villain" in anti-Semitic 9/11 conspiracy theories is the Mossad, Israel's intelligence agency. ligence agency. Its reputation for professionalism and effectiveness is turned against it by 9/11 conspiracy theorists, who argue that it had to have known about an operation like the terrorist attacks in advance. At the same time, the Mossad is represented as the only organization with the ability to carry out such devastating acts. This perverse

respect for the Mossad derives in part from anti-Semitic notions that only Jews alone are sufficiently cunning, resourceful, and wicked to have carried out the 9/11 attacks and blamed them on their enemies. The implication is that "the Jews" are behind the attacks since the Mossad works on behalf of the "Jewish State," and is run by Jews.

Of course, the Mossad not only had to have the ability to orchestrate the 9/11 attacks, it had to have the motivation. To stress the point that Israel and Jews had not only the cunning but also the desire to carry out the 9/11 attacks, a number of far-right publications quoted an editorial from the Saudi newspaper, *Okaz*, which claimed that the "main purpose of the conspiracy is to undermine ties between Arabs and Muslims...and to turn the Muslim and Christian civilizations against each other and incite hatred between their adherents." By trying to weaken the

bonds between Muslims and Arabs, and by undermining Christian civilization, turning it against Islam so that the two will destroy each other, the Jews were allegedly plotting to gain total power over the world.

Conspiracy-oriented material also pointed to previous "treacherous" acts allegedly carried out by Israel as proof that the country has a history of clandestine terrorist operations against the U.S., and that its alleged actions on 9/11 were nothing new. The example cited most often is the 1967 attack on the U.S.S. Liberty, an American naval vessel that



The Arabic wording in this cartoon from the newspaper Al Watan (Oman) reads: "The American September 11."

Israel mistakenly targeted in the Six Days War. Over 30 American servicemen stationed on the ship were killed in what official inquiries determined was a tragic accident.

Many conspiracists focus on the alleged brutality of the Mossad in carrying out secret plots to benefit Israel and the Jews. In his newsletter, David Duke asserted to his followers that the Mossad is "the most ruthless terrorist organization in the entire world." He added that the Mossad prides itself on "infiltrating every sizable militant Palestinian and Arabic organization on earth" and therefore it was likely that it had infiltrated the Al Qaeda network and knew about the 9/11 attacks in advance. Duke and other far-right conspiracy theorists pointed to an article that appeared in *The Washington Times* the day before the attacks. The article reported on a study done by the Army School of Advanced Military Studies (SAMS) that assessed the problems an international peacekeeping force would face if the U.N. authorized such a force after Israelis and the Palestinians reached a peace agreement. According to the article, the SAMS report characterized the Mossad as: "Wildcard. Ruthless and cunning. Has the capability to target U.S. forces and make it look like a Palestinian/Arab act." For many conspiracists, this article was a premonition of the events of September 11, and confirmation of the Mossad's role in them.

A number of 9/11 conspiracy theoriests use statements made by people with an alleged former association with the intelligence community, the implication being that they, by virtue of their knowledge of undercover operations, would know who was behind the attacks. In every case, these "experts" asserted that the Mossad was the likely perpetrator because it was Israel that would benefit from an anti-Arab, anti-Muslim backlash in the U.S. A number of anti-Semitic publications and Web sites quoted Andreas von Bulow, identified as a former member of the German parliament who served on a commission overseeing three branches of the German secret service, as saying to a reporter that the Mossad carried out the 9/11 attacks "to turn

public opinion against the Arabs and boost military and security spending." The Arab media also joined the chorus of voices blaming the Mossad. Amin Hweidi, the ex-chief of the Egyptian

"Israel is the only beneficiary of all [t]hat has taken place."

Intelligence Service, said in an article in the *Syrian Times*, that "he did not rule out an Israeli role in the US bombings...because Israel is the only beneficiary of all what [sic] has taken place." A columnist in an Egyptian newspaper

focused on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as Israel's motivation, claiming that the Mossad might be involved as part of "an attempt to shift attention from greater Israeli atrocities in the Palestinian territories."

Another Egyptian reporter for *El-Osboa (The Week)* made similar remarks when interviewing Nihad Awad, the executive director of the Arab-American organization, CAIR (Council on American-Islamic Relations) in June 2002. According to *The Weekly Standard*, the reporter, Sanaa Al Said, said, "My belief is that the beneficiary is behind the attack and the biggest beneficiary of the September 11th event is certainly Israel, as it took advantage of it in a wide scale." Awad replied that "there are theories leading in this direction." He also claimed to have had a discussion with President George W. Bush about the improbability of Muslims carrying out these attacks. Awad reportedly stated that "Bush said, 'This means that if those that carried out the attack were Arabs, then non-Arabs and non-Muslims could be behind them.'" According to *The Weekly Standard*, the White House "denied the content of this conversation."

Some conspiracists concede that while Muslims may have carried out the 9/11 attacks, in actuality they were working — knowingly or unknowingly — for the Mossad. The *American Free Press* and another anti-Semitic, far-right publication, the *Free American Newsmagazine*, admitted that "Muslim extremists" hijacked the planes that rammed into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon but claimed that they were actually trained by the Mossad. "The truth is that Muslim extremists have proven useful (if often unwitting) tools in advancing Israel's own geopolitical agenda," wrote Michael Collins Piper in the *American Free Press*. In a later article, Piper claimed that "these hijackers could well have been Israeli-sponsored fundamentalist Jewish fanatics (posing as 'bin Laden Arabs') hoping to instigate an all-out U.S. war against the Arab world."

Some conspiracy theorists contend that the U.S. government was complicit with Israel in the attacks while others, by contrast, said that Israel betrayed the U.S. government for its own purposes. In an article reprinted in *Free American Newsmagazine*, General Hameed Gul, identified as the former head of the Pakistani intelligence agency, explained that "the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks...were perpetrated by renegade U.S. Air Force elements working in conjunction with Mossad...." The *Free American* also presented other elaborate conspiracy theories involving a 9/11 plot by Israeli and American agents. One contributor, for instance, speculated that the Mossad and the CIA were involved in the "Afghan-opium-derived" heroin trade in order to protect "the multi-trillion-dollar money-laundered deposits backing the global investments of American and British merchant banks." In other words, the attacks provided a pretext for an American overthrow of the Taliban, which gave the U.S. control of the country's opium production.

This contributor also reported that the FBI offices at the World Trade Center needed to be destroyed because evidence of the attempts by Russian and Kazakh mafias to establish pipelines in Central Asia, and of the plans of powerful American financial figures and institutions (all Jewish) to fix gold prices, was stored there.

"The Sept. 11 terrorist attacks... were perpetrated by renegade U.S. Air Force elements working in conjunction with Mossad."

Other conspiracy theorists claim the U.S. government wanted the attacks to happen so that it could wage a war against its enemies in the Middle East, enemies it shared with Israel. As one writer for the anti-government Militia of Montana newsletter, *Taking Aim*, argued, "the attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center Towers were carried out for the purpose of preparing the American people to accept a major military action in the middle east [sic] in conjunction with Israel."

More than a year after September 11, one anti-Semitic conspiracy theorist found a novel way to trumpet the supposed involvement of Israel and Jews in the attacks to a larger audience. Jim Condit, Jr., a long-time right-wing activist, repeated many elements of the above-mentioned conspiracy theories in radio ads that were run ostensibly to support his November 2002 bid for Congress in Ohio. In an e-mail to supporters, Condit explained that the law allows and guarantees federal candidates the right to run ads without censorship on FCC-licensed radio and TV stations. He also revealed that his real motivation for running the ads was to expose "Zionist" control of major TV and radio stations in the U.S. and the 9/11 attacks as a plot hatched by an "Israeli/Anglo-Secret-Society," rather than by Muslims. Condit saw the attacks as part of a plot by the government and the Jews to impose on unsuspecting citizens a "New World Order" that would ultimately lead to the destruction of the United States. He encouraged people who were "serious about fighting the Zionist/Bush plans for World War III" to contribute to his campaign.

Condit ran 13 different ads, many of them dealing with the role of the Jews and the government in the 9/11 attacks. One ad discussed the possibility that government traitors operated remote control planes that destroyed the World Trade Center: "9-11 was an inside job, pulled off most likely by well placed pro-Israeli, pro-New World Order traitors right here at home, using remote control technology." Another ad explained that 9/11 was just a prelude to a second attack that would allow the Jews to control Arab oil and create a "world tyranny," including a police state in the U.S.:

Many competent researchers believe that pro-Israeli, pro-New World Order traitors pulled off the 9-11 terror attacks, and that these same traitors are also planning a 2nd COMING terrorist attack — this time a nuclear or biowarfare attack on an American or European city — designed to enrage Americans against the Arab world, trigger a massive war in the Middle East to destroy all the Arab states, grab Arab oil, greatly expand Israeli territory, lay the groundwork for a world tyranny headquartered in Jerusalem, and begin instituting police state rule here in the USA.

Condit was by no means the only person promoting the involvement of the Jews in the 9/11 attacks as its one-year anniversary passed. The U.S. media reported, in December 2002, that the Saudi interior minister, Prince Nayef Ibn Abd Al-Aziz, told a Kuwaiti newspaper that "we put big question marks and ask who committed the events of September 11 and who benefited from them. Who benefited from the events of 11/9? [sic] I think they [the Jews] are behind these events." In the same interview, Prince Nayef told the newspaper that it was impossible for 19 young men to "carry out the operation of Sept. 11." The interview with the prince was later reprinted in *Ain-Al-Yaqin*, an online Saudi publication.

#### Israeli art student 'spy ring'

The conspiracists' preoccupation with Israeli intelligence forms the basis of many conspiracy theories, including those in which the Mossad is not the culprit but rather the knowing bystander who does nothing. In this regard, the theory that has received the most attention in

far-right publications and the Arab press, as well as in the mainstream media, claims that an Israeli spy ring had been tracking the 9/11 hijackers but did nothing to stop their attack. The theory implies that Israel would allow thousands of innocent people to die rather than compromise its operations in the United States, a notion that reinforces stereotypes of the inherent evil of the Jews, the disdain they feel for non-Jews, and their perception of the U.S. used simply as a tool for Israel. Many far-right and white supremacist magazines cited as precedent the case of Jonathan Pollard, the an American Jew convicted for sharing intelligence secrets with Israel.



The white supremacist newspaper The Truth at Last alleges that Israel was behind the 9/11 attacks.

However, the first reports of an alleged Israeli spy ring came not from an extremist source but a mainstream one, inspiring other reports in both mainstream and extremist media outlets. In December 2001, Carl Cameron of Fox News reported that over 100 Israelis who had been detained or arrested in the U.S. both before and after 9/11 had claimed to be students from an art school in Jerusalem. He implied that the students were possibly spies who had gathered intelligence about the 9/11 attacks and had not shared it with the U.S. government. Cameron was quick to add that there was no indication that the Israeli government was involved in the attacks. In addition, he reported that federal agents with whom he spoke were reluctant to talk about the "spy ring" out of fear of committing "career suicide," thus implying a cover-up was underway.

Soon after Cameron's reports, both the Arab media and far-right press in the U.S. began reporting that an Israeli spy ring operated in this country, and might have had pertinent infor-

mation about the 9/11 attacks which it did not share with the U.S. government. In March 2002, an Internet-based French publication, *Intelligence Online*, claimed that it had exclusive access to information proving that an Israeli spy ring had tried to infiltrate the U.S. Justice and Defense Departments. As evidence, the Web site referred to an alleged Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) report circulating before 9/11 that had warned agents about young Israelis posing as art students. According to *Intelligence Online*, this report said that the students had acted suspiciously and may have tried to gather intelligence at federal installations, and had also appeared at federal agents' homes. In addition, the DEA report supposedly said that most of the Israelis that had been detained and questioned by authorities "acknowledged having served in military intelligence, electronic signals interception or explosive ordnance units in the Israeli military."

Articles about the Israeli spy ring also began to appear in the mainstream press — including on the Associated Press wire; in Le Monde, the French newspaper; in Insight On the News — The Washington Times magazine; the Forward, a New York-based Jewish newspaper; and elsewhere. In the wake of these reports, the Washington Post investigated the story and concluded that it was apocryphal, quoting officials who called the spy ring story nothing more than an "urban myth." The FBI, the Department of Justice, and Israeli authorities also denied that a spy ring existed, but said that a number of young Israelis who had violated their visas had been deported from the U.S. Some authorities attributed the story to a disgruntled DEA agent convinced that Israel had been spying. A few mainstream publications speculated that the Israelis were not tracking Muslim extremists but instead DEA agents on behalf of a criminal syndicate involved in the drug trade. According to articles in Insight and the Forward, some authorities also thought that there may have been two different groups trying to infiltrate federal installations: the Israeli group, which may have had a "legitimate money-making goal," and "a non-Israeli group" that "may have ties to a Middle Eastern Islamic fundamentalist group." Conflicting and confusing accounts like these fueled theories that the Israelis may have been trailing and even controlling the Islamic militants who carried out the 9/11 attacks.

Reports that Israelis had tracked the hijackers were enhanced by allegations that the Israeli "art students" had actually resided in the same areas as the hijackers. The French Web site *Intelligence Online* reported that many of the students lived in the same cities as the hijackers in order to track them, and therefore may have known what they had planned for 9/11. *Le Monde* also raised the possibility that the Israelis had trailed Al Qaeda operatives without telling the U.S. government.

White supremacist, far-right and conspiracy-oriented publications quickly picked up the idea that Israeli spies kept knowledge about the imminent attacks from the U.S. government. William Pierce, the now-deceased head of the National Alliance, claimed in a March 2002 American Dissident Voices (ADV) radio broadcast that "if these Israeli spies had been charged with espionage and put on trial, what almost certainly would come out of the trials is that Israel knew about September 11 ahead of time and deliberately withheld the information from us so that the attacks could be carried out as planned." In his newsletter, David Duke agreed with Pierce's

"Not only did the Israeli spies penetrate American law enforcement and military facilities, they also conducted intensive surveillance of al-Qaida operatives in the United States."

assessment, telling readers, "Not only did the Israeli spies penetrate American law enforcement and military facilities, they also conducted intensive surveillance of al-Qaida operatives in the United States, including the ringleader of the September 11 attacks, leading government agents to believe that Israeli intelligence had prior knowledge of the details of the 9-11 attack and treacherously did not give American officials information that could have easily prevented the attack and resulted

in the capture of the terrorists." Michael Hoffman, a Holocaust denier and anti-Semitic conspiracy theorist, also implied that the Israelis knew about 9/11 in advance when he alleged that Israeli "spies" and the ringleader of the 9/11 attacks, Mohammed Atta, lived on the same street in Hollywood, Florida.

Some conspiracy theorists claimed that the CIA had worked closely with the alleged Israeli spies. An article in *Criminal Politics* claimed that the Israeli spies actually worked for the CIA. The magazine's editor wrote that the activity of the spies "was probably organized by the CIA,"

\*WHY THE ZNO WAR IN A DECADE IS REQUIRED TO SAVE THE LEWISH STATE... PG. 1

\*MULLINS ON THE NEXT WAR TO SAVE ISRAEL... PG. 15

CRIMINAL

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Exploring the World's Scoret Power Structure September, 2001

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The September 2001 issue of the anti-Semitic, conspiracy-oriented magazine Criminal Politics claims that Israel and the U.S. knew about the 9/11 attacks.

and that they had likely let the CIA in on the "exact planning activity...and whereabouts of the 20 hijackers and their associates."

In May 2002, journalist Christopher Ketcham wrote an extensive article on the Israeli art student "mystery" for the online magazine Salon, in which he attempted, by summarizing the different theories about the students, to reach a plausible conclusion. Ketcham traced the history of the alleged spy ring, from alleged reports emanating from the DEA starting in January 2001 to the numerous arrests of the students after 9/11. He reported that the first media outlet to publicize the Israeli art student spy story was actually KHOU-TV in Houston, which "told viewers about a 'curious pattern of behavior' by people with 'Middle Eastern looks' claiming to be 'Israeli art students,'" who had appeared at federal facilities in Houston. The station reported that these students had been at sensitive government sites in eight other states. According to Ketcham, one analyst told the station that "such activity suggested a terrorist organization 'scouting out potential targets and...looking for targets that would be vulnerable."

Shortly after the Houston TV station's report, Cameron presented his reports on the Israeli art students on Fox News. It was Cameron's report that most likely inspired the follow-up stories in *Intelligence Online*, *Le Monde*, *Insight on the News*, and Ketcham's report in *Salon*.

Ketcham made a number of assertions in his report that appeared to verify the existence of a spy ring. He claimed that he had been contacted by a secret source named "Stability" who told him that a number of federal agents believed that the art students were spies. However, "Stability" said that certain government officials were putting pressure on the agents to drop the case, and that those who pursued it were subject to "direct and indirect smears." Ketcham also stated that the U.S. government has released reports revealing that Israel regularly spies on the U.S., but because of the two countries' "strategic alliances" the U.S. does not publicly object.

Ketcham not only wrote about conspiracies around the Israeli art students, he also generated conspiracies involving the media's treatment of the story. Ketcham wrote that Cameron's Fox News reports were removed from the Fox network's Web site and could not be accessed anywhere on the Internet. He also said that other news organizations were denied access to the reports when they requested a copy. Ketcham made these points in his article after he had discussed the power of "various pro-Israel groups" in the U.S., and their ability to keep both media and government officials from criticizing Israel. Ketcham seemed to be implying that the removal of Cameron's reports was due to the pressure put on Fox News by the "Israel lobby" to kill this story, and perhaps prevent the truth from getting out about the spy ring — why else would Fox go out of its way to get rid of the transcripts of Cameron's report?

Ketcham finally theorized about the possible motivation behind the alleged Israeli art students. He speculated that the Israelis could be an actual espionage ring; a group acting on behalf of a crime syndicate involved in Israel's drug trade (which is why DEA agents were targeted); a "smoke screen" intended to "create confusion and allow actual spies" to do their work; or merely art students selling artwork, albeit illegally. Ketcham did not come to a conclusion.

For anti-Semitic conspiracy theorists, however, a conclusion was easy to reach: the alleged spy ring was "proof" of Israel and the Jews' inherent treachery and utter disregard for non-Jewish human life. The mainstream media's focus on the issue validated it for many on the far-right, and led anti-Semites to hope that audiences beyond their own circle might be more willing to accept the theory as true and realize that Jews deserved blame for the 9/11 attacks.

## Israeli companies 'spying'

The Israeli art student conspiracy theory created speculation about another conspiracy theory — that Israeli high-tech companies were spying on the U.S. government and had a role in the 9/11 attacks. After reports of an Israeli spy ring began circulating, far-right publications started to focus on Israeli companies that they claimed controlled the U.S. telecommunications industry. An article by Christopher Bollyn in the *American Free Press* stated that "American intelligence services have become worried by the dominance of Israeli companies in sensitive areas of telecommunications." Bollyn mentioned two companies in particular — Comverse Infosys, which he said provided law enforcement agencies with computer equipment for wiretapping, and Amdocs, which reportedly records "virtually every call placed through the 25 largest U.S. telephone companies." In the article, Bollyn tied the Israeli art students to these companies, and

implied that the there was an Israeli spying operation in the U.S. that was better organized and more sophisticated than previously realized. Other conspiracy theorists echoed Bollyn. David Duke, for example, claimed that Israel had made hundreds of attempts "to penetrate American federal law enforcement agencies, military bases, and even the Justice Department and judicial system."

Other far-right anti-Semitic sources reported that another Israeli company, ICTS, controlled security at the airports involved in the 9/11 events. Ingrid Rimland, who runs the Zundelsite, a Web site devoted to Holocaust denial, wrote in a message to her followers that "one company had automatic access to all of the airports from which hijacked planes departed on 9-11....An Israeli company. One that Mossad agents could easily find employment with without the man-

"One company had automatic access to all the airports from which hijacked planes departed on 9-11....An Israeli company."

agement knowing who they were or what their purpose really was." ICTS is, in fact, an actual company, an Israeli-owned enterprise whose U.S. subsidiary is one of various companies involved in airport security at Logan International Airport in Boston, from which two of the hijacked planes departed. Rimland's assertions were soon picked up by other publica-

tions. Because ICTS is an Israeli company, the conspiracy theorists unsurprisingly connected it to the Mossad; ICTS's involvement in airport security offered more evidence that Israel was behind the attacks since, it was speculated, ICTS would have been able to prevent the hijackers from getting on the planes or, on the other hand, would have purposely allowed them to come aboard.

Some of the assertions about Israeli companies controlling telecommunications in the U.S. and misusing that information seem to have stemmed originally from Carl Cameron's report on Fox News. In that report, he said claimed that certain Israeli suspects in the 9/11 terrorist attacks managed to stay ahead of surveillance conducted against them because they worked for Amdocs, which was able to monitor every phone call generated by the largest phone companies in the U.S. He also reported that U.S. authorities had investigated Amdocs a few times. Although the company denied any wrongdoing, Cameron claimed that U.S. intelligence agencies were still worried that Amdocs' information could get into the wrong hands. Although he admitted that U.S. intelligence did not believe that the Israeli government was involved in the possible misuse of information, Cameron's story seemed to imply that these companies might have been conducting operations with the help of Israeli intelligence.

Once again, Cameron's report was cited by many on the far right and in white supremacist circles. In one of his American Dissident Voices broadcasts, for example, William Pierce claimed that it was "information of this sort, hinting that the Israelis not only knew about the September 11 attack in advance but now are doing everything they can to hinder the American investigation into the attack, that the Jews don't want the American people to have. They don't want the American people to know that they have been betrayed by Israel."

#### 'Jewish ownership' of the World Trade Center

Conspiracists focused not only on Israeli-owned companies' alleged involvement in the 9/11 attacks but also on what the "Jewish owners" of the World Trade Center stood to gain from

its destruction. This conspiracy theory goes to the heart of the myth of the greedy Jew, who will do anything to get rich. According to this theory, Jewish businessmen, in an effort to obtain millions of dollars in insurance money, plotted to destroy the World Trade Center. The implication is that their inside attacks but also on what the knowledge of the complex allowed them to help the Mossad execute the plan to destroy it.

Conspiracists focused not only on Israeli-owned companies' alleged involvement in the 9/11 "Jewish owners" of the World Trade Center stood to gain from its destruction.

It was only a few weeks before the 9/11 attacks, in July 2001, that Larry Silverstein, a real estate developer who already owned 7 World Trade Center, signed a 99-year lease on the World Trade Center complex. Silverstein Properties, his company, partnered with Westfield America to oversee the WTC complex, as well as the shopping concourse underneath the complex. This was the first time that the WTC had changed hands since the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey (PA) created the complex in the early 1970s.

After the WTC attack, far-right publications were quick to see something sinister in this business deal. The Gospel News Alert, a conspiracy-oriented publication, claimed that Silverstein wanted the building destroyed so that he could collect millions in insurance money. The



Cartoon from the white supremacist Nationalist Movement depicts Jews influencing the government's actions.

American Free Press reported that Frank Lowy, described as "an Israeli businessman from Australia" in charge of Westfield America, had insured the shopping concourse against terrorist attacks and now stood to gain a tremendous amount of insurance money because of the attacks. The article implied that the attack on the WTC resulted in a huge profit for Lowy since he was "fully insured for both capital and loss of income." Like any commercial business owners, Lowy and Silverstein had indeed insured their World Trade Center property, but the anti-Semitic conspiracists saw this standard business practice as an act of "Jewish greed."

Writing in the *American Free Press*, Christopher Bollyn also reported that Lewis Eisenberg, the former chairman of the PA, arranged Silverstein and Lowy's 99-year lease, and that both Eisenberg and Silverstein "are key supporters of Israel who have both held high positions in the largest Israeli fundraising insti-

tution in the United States." Both men did hold positions with a key Jewish organization, the UJA-Federation, that raises money for Israel, but Bollyn makes the sinister implication that these two men were somehow involved in or desired the collapse of the World Trade Center because it would benefit them financially and would benefit Israel, politically.

# 'Corroborating' Conspiracy Theories

#### Four thousand Israelis told to stay home

Of the many conspiracy theories about Jewish/Israeli involvement in the 9/11 attacks, none has received more attention than the allegation that 4,000 Israelis who worked at the World Trade Center were warned by Israeli intelligence to stay home on 9/11, thus implying, at the very least, that Israel had foreknowledge of the terrorist attacks. This story reportedly began on Al-Manar, a Lebanese TV station, and, within a very short time, spread to newspapers and the Internet, from Saudi Arabia to Pakistan, and was then picked up in white supremacist and far-right circles in the United States. The conspiracy theory about the 4,000 Israelis was repeated in many far-right publications, including *The David Duke Report*, *The Aryan Eagle*, David Irving's on-line *Action Report*, and *The American's Bulletin*. Even though there isn't a grain of truth in this theory, for many conspiracists, the story became "proof" that Muslims were not involved in the WTC attack, but were being blamed by the "Zionist" press in order to provoke an attack against the Arab and Muslim world.

Anti-Semites quickly tried to capitalize on the "4,000 Israelis" hoax. When conspiracists realized that it was unlikely that 4,000 Israelis actually worked at the WTC, many transformed the story to include American Jews being warned about the attacks. An article posted to the Islamweb site claimed that "another extremely important information [sic] leaked out was that around 4,000 Israelis working in the World Trade Centre [sic] had been issued a secret directive before the incident not to report for duty on September 11 which they complied with. This is evident from the fact that not a single Israeli or American Jew working in the WTC was reported killed or missing." *The Tehran Times* and the Islamic Republic News Agency reported that the Syrian Ambassador to Tehran, Turki Mohammad Sagar, said that there is "reliable evidence to

"No Jewish employee was present in the World Trade
Organization [sic] buildings on
the day of the attack."

prove that the Israelis have been involved in these incidents, and he "added that no Jewish employee was present in the World Trade Organization [sic] buildings on the day of the attack, and Sharon's visit to the U.S. was postponed before the incident." Saqar's last point was in reference to another story circulating about the 9/11 attacks — that Ariel Sharon had

cancelled a planned trip to New York on September 11 because he knew what would happen that day. Sharon was scheduled to visit New York on September 23 to participate in a pro-Israel rally being held by various Jewish organizations. Like many New York events, the rally — and Sharon's trip — was cancelled in the wake of 9/11.

Anti-Semites at home also exploited the "4,000 Israelis" rumor. To demonstrate the authenticity of this conspiracy theory, David Duke claimed that on September 12 the *Jerusalem Post*, a well-known Israeli newspaper, had reported that 4,000 Israelis were missing in the WTC attack. Yet, according to Duke, only one Israeli had died in the attack. (The Israeli Consulate later confirmed that 7 Israeli citizens died in the 9/11 attacks.) The actual article in the *Jerusalem* 

Post was quite different from Duke's characterization of it; it simply reported that worried Israelis had contacted the Israeli Foreign Ministry with about 4,000 names of relatives and friends from whom they had not heard and who might have been in the area of the WTC and the Pentagon on

9/11. Subsequent reports in the paper noted that many of the relatives and friends who could not be reached in the first hours after the attack were later located. Distorting facts from the September 12 Jerusalem Post article, Duke sent a letter to his followers to let them know that he had "convincing evidence" that Israel knew about the attack in advance: "Logic alone would tell you that there would be many hundreds, if not thousands of Israelis in the World Trade Center at the time of the attacks," he wrote, given that "the international Jewish involvement in banking and finance is leg-



Cartoon from the Arabic newspaper Al Watan (Qatar) implies that Ariel Sharon and Israel were responsible for the 9/11 attacks.

endary." The small number of Israeli deaths cited by Duke was irrefutable proof for him that the Israelis who worked at the World Trade Center had received a warning to stay home on 9/11.

Since these reports first appeared in the days and months after the 9/11 attacks, the theories involving the missing 4,000 Israelis/Jews and Sharon's cancelled trip have continued to gain currency and, more disturbingly, even to seep into mainstream discussions. For example, in October 2002, Amiri Baraka, the African-American former poet laureate of New Jersey, recited a poem, "Somebody Blew Up America," at a poetry festival in New Jersey, which repeated the claim that 4,000 Israelis stayed home from the WTC on 9/11 and that Ariel Sharon also stayed away from New York City that day. The stanzas ask, "Who knew the World Trade Center was gonna get bombed/ Who told 4000 Israeli workers at the Twin Towers/ To stay home that day/ Why did Sharon stay away." Despite criticism from community leaders, politicians, and Jewish organizations, Baraka refused to back down from this claim, saying that he had verified the allegation by checking the Internet. In defending his allegations, Baraka used arguments similar to the ones David Duke offered to his followers. In an interview with The Times (London) Baraka said, "We know 81 nationalities died. But tell me why the conspicuous absence of Israeli workers." He rejected charges of anti-Semitism by asserting that Israelis were not the only party with foreknowledge of the attack: "And the point I'm making then is not that I'm saying Israel planned it, but that Israel knew, just like Bush knew, and that will obviously come out."

Other prominent personalities repeated the 4,000 Israelis hoax in mainstream venues. According to the JTA [Jewish Telegraph Agency] Daily News Bulletin, Yorgos Karatzaferis, the leader of the far-right Popular Rally Party and the owner of a Greek TV station, also propagated the theory. Karatzaferis sent a letter to the Greek Parliament "asking the foreign minister if he was aware that the Israeli press had published articles claiming that Jews had not gone to work on Sept. 11 after they were forewarned about the attacks on the Twin Towers." A number of rightwing publications in Greece subsequently published Karatzaferis' remarks without any comment.

In addition, editorials citing the 4,000 Israelis rumor were even printed in the official magazine of the Technical Chamber of Greece, a government body that oversees the work of Greek industrialists. This magazine is handed out to thousands of Greek businessmen.

Some anti-Semites combined the 4,000 Israelis rumor with other, similar ideas to generate more "evidence" of Israeli involvement. Far-right conspiracist Michael Collins Piper, for instance, conceded that it was unlikely that 4,000 Israelis were warned not to come to work, but suggested in the *American Free Press* that the story "may have been deliberate disinformation to muddy the waters and distort the big picture." He went on to say that the Zim Israel, "a shipping concern founded by long-time Mossad figure Shaul Eisenberg," abandoned its offices at the World Trade Center just weeks before the attacks. In addition, Piper claimed that Israeli employees of Odigo, a New York-based software design company with offices in Israel, received e-mail messages warning of an impending attack two hours before the airplanes crashed into the WTC.

Both of these stories were in fact reported in the mainstream media. The Israeli press reported that Zim Israel Navigation Company moved out of its offices on the WTC two weeks before the 9/11 attacks, and employees of the company said afterwards they felt lucky to have escaped the disaster. Employees at Odigo's Israel office did receive e-mail messages on 9/11 warning of an impending attack but the messages were vague and made no references to the World Trade Center or the Pentagon. Nor were the employees familiar with the sender of the e-mails. Odigo passed the information on to Israeli authorities and the FBI, which investigated the messages (their origin was never explained). Nonetheless, other far-right publications, including *Media Bypass*, cited the circumstances of these two companies as evidence of Israel's fore-knowledge of the 9/11 attacks.

#### Five Israeli 'spies' found taping the WTC disaster

In addition to the story of the 4,000 Israelis/Jews absent from the World Trade Center, another conspiracy theory that circulates widely involves five so-called Israeli "spies" caught videotaping and celebrating the destruction of the Twin Towers. In the days after the attacks, the mainstream media was filled with reports of five Middle Eastern-looking men who were seen documenting and celebrating the burning Twin Towers either from their van or the roof of a building in New Jersey, depending on the source. According to these reports, onlookers reported the incident to the police, who later arrested the men. Part of these accounts is factual: five men, who later turned out to be Israelis, were indeed arrested after they drove their van toward Manhattan hours after the World Trade Center attack. Inside the van, police reportedly found multiple passports, box cutters and a large amount of cash. In addition, one of the men had a camera that contained newly taken photos of the men standing and allegedly smiling as the Twin Towers burned in the background. As reported, the incident was mysterious, at the very least. For conspiracy theorists, the fact that five Israelis were arrested for allegedly documenting and celebrating the WTC attack became yet more "proof" of Israel's involvement in the attack. The incident was widely reported in the Arab/Muslim press and in far-right publications.

A few weeks after the arrests of the Israelis was reported, the FBI announced that it had investigated but found no connection between the five men and the World Trade Center attack. Authorities did discover, however, that all of them had worked illegally for a moving van company, Urban Moving Systems, and had violated their tourist visas. According to various newspapers,

including *The New York Times* and the *Forward*, after being held in prison for over two months all five signed papers acknowledging their immigration violations and were then deported back to Israel. The FBI also cleared them of any involvement in the terrorist attacks. Nonetheless, far-right publications continued to promote the story, or exaggerated versions of it, as evidence of a greater plot.

The American Free Press was one of the most energetic exploiters of this theory. Writer Christopher Bollyn reported that, according to New Jersey and New York newspapers, "At least three different groups of Israelis — some of whom may have ties to Israel's intelligence agency, the Mossad — were taken into custody after eyewitnesses reported seeing them celebrating in several locations across the river from lower Manhattan in New Jersey." Bollyn, basing his article on a report in the Bergen, New Jersey-based Record, also reported that the five Israelis arrested "were found carrying maps linking them to the blasts," and that

THE ARYAN

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The white supremacist publication Aryan Eagle claims that the Jews and the U.S. government are hiding the truth about 9/11.

"bomb-sniffing dogs reacted as if they had detected explosives," although none were found, according to unnamed sources "close to the investigation." Even though the information in The Record and Bollyn's article was later debunked, months after the Israelis' deportation, Michael Collins Piper of the American Free Press was still promoting the theory: Piper said that the Forward, "America's oldest and most prestigious Jewish newspaper," had reported that the FBI "came to the conclusion... that the five Israelis arrested in New Jersey last September were conducting a Mossad surveillance mission and that their employer, Urban Moving Systems of Weehawken, N.J., served as a front." The Forward claimed, according to Piper, that while the FBI considered two of the five Israelis to be Mossad operatives who had been spying on local Arabs, they were allowed to leave because they knew nothing about the 9/11 attacks. Piper said the Forward also reported that "the names of two of the five Israelis showed up on a CIA-FBI database of foreign intelligence operatives." In fact, Mark Perelman, writing for the Forward in March 2002, did indeed make the claims that Piper reported to his readers. Perelman based his information on talks with an unnamed "former high-ranking American intelligence official." Because the Forward reported the story, people on the far right asserted that it had to be true because the Forward was a paper of record in the Jewish community.

In June 2002, ABC News picked up the story of the five Israelis again via an investigative report on its newsmagazine show, "20/20." According to Vince Cannistraro, a former chief of operations for counterterrorism with the CIA and later a consultant for ABC, the FBI and CIA allegedly believed that the men were part of an Israeli intelligence operation. The "20/20"

report stated that after the FBI questioned the owner of Urban Moving Systems, he quickly fled the U.S. and went back to Israel, leaving behind phones, equipment, and clients' furniture, thus implying he had something to hide. Even though "20/20" made a case that the men were probably spies, the show also stated admitted that "there was no evidence to conclude they had advanced [sic] knowledge of the terrorist attacks of 9/11."

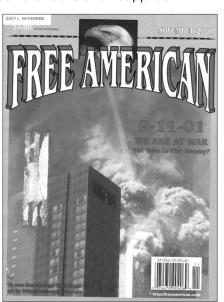
These stories in the mainstream press media gave legitimacy to the claim that the five men were spies, although the deported Israelis continue to deny it, as do both the Israeli and U.S. governments, and no one involved in the investigation has connected them in any way to the events of 9/11. Yet, anti-Semitic conspiracy theorists seized on the press accounts as validation for their theories of Israeli involvement in the attacks. The various rumors of espionage surrounding the five Israelis deepened the conviction of many anti-Semites that Jews were behind the 9/11 tragedy, reinforcing the canard that Jews are innately treacherous and evil.

## **Anti-government Conspiracy Theories**

Anti-Semitic conspiracy theories were not the only conspiracy theories advanced to explain 9/11. Fringe anti-government activists from both the far right and the far left circulated conspiracy theories that implicated the U.S. government in the attacks. Most theories focused on the government's alleged desire to create a war in the Middle East in order to seize or control oil supplies

there; others alleged that the government had foreknowledge of the 9/11 attacks, but permitted them so that it would be able to suspend or curtail civil liberties in their wake. A strengthened central government — and a general public more supportive of it — would pave the way for the rapid installation of the "New World Order."

The most common anti-government conspiracy theory, emanating from both the left and the right, is that the U.S., working with oil companies, wanted to build an oil pipeline through Afghanistan in order to control energy resources and maintain world hegemony. This could only be achieved through a war with Afghanistan, followed by another war with Iraq to seize that country's oil supplies. Writer Gore Vidal promoted this theory at length in an article for a London newspaper, *The Observer*, in October 2002 and later, in a book. Vidal claimed that the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan had nothing to do with Osama bin Laden, that the Islamic leader was "simply a pretext for replacing the Taliban with a relatively stable government that would allow Union Oil of California to lay its pipeline for the profit of, among others, the Cheney-



The cover of the conspiracy-oriented magazine Free American asks who the real enemy is behind 9/11.

Bush junta." Another set of conspiracy theories focused on the Carlyle Group, a private equity investment firm, which had employed George Bush, Sr., and invested in defense and telecommunications

companies on behalf of the bin Laden family. These theories, in essence, asserted that the Carlyle Group wanted to create a war in the Middle East to reap profits for the Bush and bin Laden families.

The far right focused more on the U.S. government's alleged plot to use a catastrophic event like 9/11 to stifle any kind of dissent in America. For example, *The Free Press*, a Texas-based farright conspiracy-oriented newsletter, printed articles that highlighted an intentional plan by the Bush administration to establish a repressive government. It stated that the anti-terrorist measures adopted by the Bush administration after 9/11 were "in part intended to silence the millions of people who suspect that Bush and other top leaders were involved in some way in making 9-11 happen."

Many other conspiracy theories have appeared in publications and on the Internet. They include an alleged CIA meeting with bin Laden at a hospital in Dubai in July 2001; the government's use of remote-control devices to guide the planes that crashed into the WTC and the Pentagon; and the government's use of bombs or missiles to carry out the 9/11 attacks.

## The 9/11 Conspiracy Theory Industry

Both anti-government and anti-Semitic 9/11 conspiracy theories have grown to such an extent that they form a whole new industry that includes books, pamphlets, videotapes, Web sites and speakers who fill halls with people eager to hear new "evidence" about 9/11. Numerous books focusing on the various conspiracy theories have been published since the attacks, and they orig-

Both anti-government and anti-Semitic 9/11 conspiracy theories have grown to such an extent that they form a whole new industry... inate from groups and individuals all along the political spectrum. There are also Web sites solely devoted to 9/11 conspiracy theories.

Works about 9/11 conspiracies range from small tracts to books with encyclopedic detail,

including diagrams explaining how the government was able to carry out the attacks. Sometimes an anti-Jewish agenda is obvious. The Creativity Movement (under their former name World Church of the Creator), for instance, published "The Truth about 9-11: How Jewish Manipulation Killed Thousands." Unsurprisingly, the premise of the book is to prove that Israel "and their Jewish cohorts abroad" knew about the attacks in advance. The American Free Press published a 60-page report with a similar theme, entitled, "Did Israeli Spies Have Advance Knowledge of the 9-11 Attacks?" However, many of the 9/11 conspiracy books that have been published stem from more mainstream sources. Thierry Meyssan, a French left-wing activist, wrote a best-selling book entitled L'Effroyable Imposture, published in English as The Frightening Fraud. In the book, Meyssan claimed that the dam-



American Free Press, an anti-Semitic, conspiracy-oriented publication, released its own report on 9/11.

age done to the Pentagon on 9/11 was from a truck bombing or missile strike made to look like a plane crash. Meyssan argued that U.S. military officials plotted the attacks. He has been invited to speak about his views around the world, including in the United States. Another book, also written by French authors, Forbidden Truth: U.S. Taliban Secret Diplomacy and the Failed Hunt for Bin Laden, made the claim that former U.S. diplomats at a U.N.-sponsored meeting stated that the U.S. would threaten the Taliban with war if talks about building an oil pipeline broke down. The book theorized that the 9/11 attack may have been a preemptive strike against the U.S. by bin Laden, who believed that the U.S. was about to wage war against Afghanistan.

Books focusing on 9/11 conspiracy theories continue to be published at a rapid rate and have gained a sizable audience around the world. In fact, these books are part of a conspiracy theory industry that rivals that of the John F. Kennedy assassination.

## **Conclusion**

Anti-Semitic conspiracy theorists have gone beyond just alleging that Israel was behind the 9/11 attacks. They have focused on Israel as an evil force ready to destroy anyone who gets in the way of its interests. In their conspiracy theories, the Mossad is akin to the fabricated Elders of Zion, a secret, powerful group that carries out illicit, deceitful action to gain power. Israel's involvement in the attacks is seen as a centuries-old continuation of the Jews' alleged desire to control and manipulate world events. In this sense, the 9/11 conspiracy theories represent the most modern manifestation of some of the oldest and most-repeated anti-Semitic attacks.

But if this reasoning is not new, theories about the 9/11 attacks are novel in that they have united disparate groups of Jew haters. In an unprecedented and very disturbing way, white supremacists, far-right extremists and Muslim and Arab propagandists are exchanging and echoing information, ideas and con- tion, ideas and conspiracy theospiracy theories regarding the attacks, particularly through the ries regarding the attacks, partic-Internet. Their increased communication may lead to more cooperation between groups which have previously had very little in common except for a shared hatred of Jews.

Far-right extremists and Muslim and Arab propagandists are exchanging and echoing informaularly through the Internet.

Moreover, the 9/11 conspiracy theories show no sign of losing their unifying power in the near future. These ideas will continue to be used to demonize Jews and Israel, and will allow anti-Semites to blame Jews for terrorism on a massive scale; they might even be used as justification for future acts of violence. Although anti-Semitic conspiracy theories have not been widely accepted by the mainstream population, particularly in the U.S., their repetition can eventually allow them to seep into the mainstream and be accepted as having some validity. This has already happened on a fairly large scale in Arab/Muslim countries where there is considerable belief that Israel and the Jews were behind the 9/11 attacks. Exposing the falsehoods behind these theories is the best way to prevent them from gaining more acceptance in other parts of the world.