

*L'homme n'est ni ange ni bête et le
malheur veut que qui veut faire
l'ange fait la bête*

Blaise Pascal

The release in March 2011 of a new *Report on Anti-Semitism in Spain in 2010* provided substantial new data and revealed an increase in antisemitic acts compared to the previous year.¹

Of particular interest in the report is the analysis of the previous, first study on antisemitism carried out by an official Spanish organization and presented in September 2010. According to the Casa Sefarad-Israel, which initiated the survey, “its results rigorously contradict the opinion that Spain is strongly antisemitic, anti-Israel or pro-Arab.”² This led then-Foreign Minister Miguel Ángel Moratinos to declare that: “Public opinion in our country is neither antisemitic nor anti-Israel.”³ The authors of the *Report on Anti-Semitism in Spain in 2010*, however, considered the new data “highly alarming”: 34.6% of the Spanish population has an unfavorable or completely unfavorable opinion of Jews; and 58% believe that “the Jewish people are powerful because they control the economy and the mass media.” This second percentage reaches

¹ The Report is available at http://observatorioantisemitismo.fcje.org/wp-content/uploads/wpcf7_uploads//2009/10/informe_observatorio_2010.pdf (accessed 28 Apr. 2011). All translations from Spanish are by the author. Unfortunately, the documentation and compilation of the data began only in 2009, with the establishment of the Observatorio de Antisemitismo by the Federación de Comunidades Judías de España (Spanish Federation of Jewish Communities) and the Movimiento contra la Intolerancia (Movement against Intolerance); thus we cannot yet assess long-term trends.

² http://www.casasefarad-israel.es/es/virtual/Miguel-Angel-Moratinos-presento-la-primera-encuest_2223.aspx (accessed 28 Apr. 2011).

³ <http://www.libertaddigital.com/sociedad/moratinos-la-opinion-publica-espanola-no-es-antisemita-ni-antiisraeli-1276401321/> (accessed 28 Apr. 2011).

62.2% among university students and 70.5% among those who declared themselves to be “interested in politics.”⁴

These data are particularly alarming when one takes into account the small size of Spanish Jewry — about 0.1% of the total population.⁵ Thus, in Spain one finds “deep-rooted classically anti-Semitic stereotypes” and the phenomenon of “anti-Semitism without Jews.”⁶

Other worrying trends are cited in the *Report*. It notes, for example, lectures given at the Faculty of Sociology at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid by “recognized ultra-fascists” and neo-Nazi representatives. In addition, the *Protocols of the Sages of Zion* is being sold by “one of the largest, oldest and most prestigious chains of bookstores in Spain.”⁷ This data reinforces the findings of the 2009 survey, which indicated that in Spain “the most anti-Semitic people are supposedly the most educated and well-informed.”⁸ If we add this to the fact that those in the center-left hold a more unfavorable opinion of Jews (37.7%) than the extreme right (34%), we must conclude that the country suffers considerably from *bien-pensant* antisemitism.⁹

This Spanish particularity seems to be born of the combination of variables which include the Catholic tradition, Arab-Spanish “friendship,” former Soviet influence in the context of the Cold War, and the relative lack of any memory

⁴ See Report, p. 30.

⁵ There are substantially varying estimates of the population figures for the Spanish Jewish community. Demographer Sergio DellaPergola gave a figure of 12,000 in 2006. See S. DellaPergola, “World Jewish Population 2006,” *American Jewish Year Book 2006*, edited by D. Singer and L. Grossman, (New York: American Jewish Committee, 2006), 586. The Federation of Jewish Communities published a figure of 48,000 Jews in Spain in 2007; See M. R. Sahuquillo, “La inmigración cambia el mapa religioso,” *ELPAIS.com*, 31 Mar. 2007.

⁶ Robert S. Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession* (New York: Random House, 2010), 457.

⁷ See Report, pp. 18 and 22.

⁸ Quoted from Report, p. 30.

⁹ *Ibid.*

of the Holocaust. These elements were catalyzed by the institutionalization of silencing and denial, which has been one of the main pillars of Spain's successful transition to democracy. Despite the many benefits it granted to Spanish society as a whole, the strategy of avoiding painful or unpleasant aspects of history, especially recent history, has also had a heavy price.

The polemic that arose around the first official survey on antisemitism in Spain is a good example of the counterproductive outcomes of enforced oblivion. We saw that the results considered “highly alarming” by the Observatorio de Antisemitismo were cited positively by the government as proof of the lack of anti-Jewish sentiment in Spanish public opinion. According to Robin Stoller and Alejandro Baer, “the government-sponsored study [of 2009] proved to be an effort to address anti-Semitism by simply denying its existence.”¹⁰ These scholars noted that the survey was initially divided into a qualitative and a quantitative phase. Yet in light of the results of the qualitative phase,

which confirmed the existence of a large variety of anti-Semitic stereotypes,... Casa Sefarad-Israel shifted gears halfway through the study and, disregarding the qualitative part, produced a questionnaire that not only does not measure anti-Semitic bias, but contained questions drafted in a way that would elicit positive answers.

Moreover, results from the qualitative part of the study were not disclosed to the public. The authors concluded bluntly: “The institutional denial of anti-Semitism in Spain exists and everyone — not only the Jewish community — should be concerned.”¹¹

¹⁰ See Robin Stoller and Alejandro Baer, “A survey to deny a problem,” *jpost.com*, 19 Oct. 2010, http://observatorioantisemitismo.fcje.org/wp-content/uploads/wpcf7_uploads//2010/10/Jpost--Article_17_10_2010.pdf (accessed 28 Apr. 2011).

¹¹ *Ibid.*

ANTISEMITISM À L'ESPAGNOLE

Since the beginning of the 21st century, various reports have ranked Spain among the European countries having the highest percentage of antisemitic prejudice and stereotypes. Such findings are not new, since the roots of the phenomenon go deep into history.¹²

Given the identification of Spain with Roman Catholicism, Spanish antisemitism is strongly allied to historic accusations against the Jews of deicide.¹³ A survey carried out in December 2006 showed that 77.1% of Spaniards viewed themselves as Catholic.¹⁴ Four months later, 19% of the total population agreed that the Jews were responsible for the death of Christ.¹⁵

Without a doubt, Christian antisemitism, strengthened by modern antisemitic movements from other European nations also continues to influence the image of the Jew in Spain.¹⁶ In October 2002, a survey

¹² Portions of this analysis have been published in Raanan Rein and Martina Weisz, "Ghosts of the Past, Challenges of the Present: New and Old 'Others' in Contemporary Spain," *A Road to Nowhere?*, edited by Julius Schoeps and Olaf Glöckner (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011): 103–20.

¹³ For a more detailed analysis on the relationship between Christian theology and antisemitism, as well as on the implications of the accusation of deicide against the Jewish people, see Jules Isaac, *L'enseignement du mépris: vérité historique et mythes théologiques* (Paris: Fasquelle Éditeurs, 1962); and Robert S. Wistrich, *Antisemitism. The Longest Hatred* (London: Methuen London, 1991).

¹⁴ See the Barometer (Dec. 2006), CIS, question no. 28. http://www.cis.es/cis/opencms/Artchivos/Marginales/2660_2679/2666/e26600.html (accessed 3. Nov. 2008).

¹⁵ See the ADL report (May 2007), http://www.adl.org/anti_semitism/European_Attitudes_Survey_May_2007.pdf (accessed 3 Nov. 2008).

¹⁶ On the influence of modern antisemitism in Spain, see, e.g., Isidro González, "El antisemitismo moderno llega a España: el *Affaire Dreyfus*," in *El antisemitismo en España*, edited by Gonzalo Álvarez Chillida and Ricardo Izquierdo Benito

determined that 34% of the interviewees in the country held beliefs that were mostly antisemitic, a higher percentage than the figures registered in France, Germany, Italy, and Poland.¹⁷ Since then, Spain “has been among the countries with the most negative views of Jews.”¹⁸ Such prejudices, whose traces remain in popular culture, also affect the Spaniards’ opinion of the Jewish State, Israel.¹⁹

(Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2007); and Álvarez Chillida, *El antisemitismo en España* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2002).

¹⁷ See ADL: *European Attitudes Toward Jews: A Five Country Survey* (Oct. 2002), http://www.adl.org/anti_semitism/EuropeanAttitudesPoll-10-02.pdf (accessed 10 Nov. 2008).

¹⁸ See ADL: *Polluting the Public Square: Anti-Semitic Discourse in Spain* (Sept. 2009), http://www.adl.org/main_Anti_Semitism_International/discourse-in-spain.htm?Multi_page_sections=sHeading_5 (accessed 29 Sept. 2009). This tendency has been confirmed by a Spring 2008 Pew Research Center report which found that 46% of Spaniards rate Jews unfavorably; and a July 2008 survey from an organization dependent on the Spanish Ministry of Education, according to which more than half of the country’s high school students would refuse to share their school desk with a Jew. See the Pew Global Attitudes Project, *Unfavorable Views of Jews and Muslim on the Increase in Europe* (Washington: Pew Research Center, Sept. 2008); <http://pewglobal.org/reports/pdf/262.pdf> (accessed 29 Sept. 2009). See also Antia Castedo and Anaís Berdié, “El racismo cala en las aulas,” in *ELPAIS.com*, 18 July 2008.

¹⁹ See José Manuel Pedrosa, “El antisemitismo en la cultura popular española,” in *El antisemitismo en España*, edited by Álvarez Chillida and Izquierdo Benito (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2007) ; and Pere Joan i Tous and Heike Nottebaum, “El olivo y la espada: introducción,” in *El olivo y la espada: Estudios sobre el antisemitismo en España (siglos XVI–XX)*, edited by Pere Joan i Tous and Heike Nottebaum (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2003); see also Alejandro Baer, “*Tanques contra piedras*: la imagen de Israel en España,” *Real Instituto Elcano*, ARI no. 74/2007 (July 2007); and Jacobo Israel

There are, certainly, other important variables in explaining this phenomenon. Spain has had a strategic alliance with the Arab states since the end of the Civil War in 1939. The country was also influenced by the virulent antisemitic campaign used by the former Soviet Union (USSR) after 1967 in its struggle against the United States and its ally Israel during the Cold War (1947–1991). Moreover, Spanish neutrality during the Second World War, and the fact that it did not go through the traumatic experience of the Holocaust like other European countries adds to the particularity of the Spanish case.

During the period 1948–1986, Spain’s lack of diplomatic relations with the State of Israel was transformed into an important political, economic, and cultural asset. In the international context in which Arab countries touted the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as their primary concern, Spain’s strengthening of a strategic Spanish-Arab “friendship,” encouraged the dissemination of negative stereotypes against Jews and the State of Israel.²⁰ One example of the influence of Arab attitudes in Spanish culture can be seen in protests voiced by various Arab embassies to the Francoist government against the activities of the Amistad Judeo-Cristiana (Judeo-Christian Friendship), a Catholic institution founded in 1962 with the purpose of countering Christian theological antisemitism and bringing Jews and Catholics closer.²¹

Also, the broader context of the Cold War and the alliances formed around the two superpowers had a lasting impact on the mutations of antisemitism since the end of the 1960s. The Israeli victory in the Six-Day War of 1967 inflicted a painful blow to the global aspirations of the Soviet Union and its Arab allies. Despite its early support for the Jewish State and the official proscription of antisemitism, the “Six-Day War transformed the periodic but isolated diatribes into a long and intensive anti-Semitic campaign without

Garzón et al., *El estigma imborrable: Reflexiones sobre el nuevo antisemitismo* (Madrid: Hebraica Ediciones, 2005).

²⁰ The roots and scope of Arab antisemitism have been thoroughly examined by Robert S. Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession*.

²¹ See Álvarez Chillida, *El antisemitismo en España*, 445–50.

parallel in the history of the Soviet Union.”²² At the heart of this campaign was the work of intellectuals loyal to the régime who adapted the old antisemitic tropes previously used in tsarist times in their counter-revolutionary efforts, now made to fit Soviet ideology. The narrative accuses the Zionists of duplicating Hitler’s crimes, controlling the capitalist economy, culture, and politics. Together with the manipulation of the Jewish concept of being a “chosen people”—presenting it as the religious justification for Jewish world domination—such misrepresentations have significantly influenced Leftist intellectuals up to this very day.²³

Another element that has favored the persistence of Spanish antisemitism is the country’s relative lack of public memory of the Holocaust, which in Spain is entangled with that of the “Spanish tragedy” of the Civil War. Alejandro Baer has suggested that the memory of the Shoah is, indeed, “uncomfortable” for a Spanish society that led a successful transition to democracy by relying on the voluntary silencing of the Francoist régime’s victims, who are “inexorably related to the history of Europe’s fascism.”²⁴ Franco’s insurrection against the Spanish Republic in 1936, supported by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, was an early success for the authoritarian movements that challenged European democracies in the 20th century. In the words of the historian Julián Casanova, “Franco’s victory was also a victory for Hitler and Mussolini. And the Republic’s defeat was also a defeat for the democracies.”²⁵ Yet unlike his allies, Franco remained in power until his death in 1975, at the head of a dictatorship that did its best to adapt to the changing circumstances without losing its authoritarian and repressive character. It is therefore extremely difficult to face the memory of the Shoah in a political context in which Francoist crimes suffered from institutionalized silencing.

²² Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession*, 138–39.

²³ *Ibid.*, 140–41.

²⁴ Alejandro Baer, *Holocausto. Recuerdo y Representación* (Madrid: Losada, 2006), 237–39.

²⁵ Julián Casanova, “Setenta años de la victoria de Franco,” *El País*, 29 Mar. 2009.

One of the examples of this Spanish particularity is the first non-commercial screening of Claude Lanzmann's "Shoah" in Spain in 1986. According to the director, extreme right militants had put a stand with negationist publications at the entrance to the event, and the police presence at the event was passive. When Lanzman entered, together with a socialist deputy who accompanied him, they realized that "all the people in the audience were French."²⁶

Spain became part of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1986. Part of the process for acceptance involved changing its approach to the memory of the Holocaust, for in the period 1950 to 1989, the collective memory of Europe centered on anti-Nazism and anti-fascism. Following the breakup of the Communist bloc after 1989, public debate was renewed on the role played by many European countries that led to Auschwitz.²⁷ As a result of this collective *examen de conscience*, the Holocaust became a "negative apotheosis of European history," which reached "the importance of a founding act."²⁸

This centrality of the Shoah in the construction of the New Europe has also been highlighted by Diana Pinto: "the Holocaust [is]...becoming the filter through which a new reading of European identities is being fashioned."²⁹ In her opinion, for the first time in 2,000 years of European history, "Jews and their collective history are thus entering into a dialogue with the various national pasts.... The 'Jewish space' has penetrated into the heart of European national identity."³⁰

²⁶ Quico Alsedo, "Claude Lanzmann. Director de cine. 'Todavía hoy no sabemos lo que fue el Holocausto,'" *El Mundo*, 27 Apr. 2003, 53.

²⁷ See Lothar Probst, "Founding Myths in Europe and the Role of the Holocaust," *New German Critique* 90 (Autumn 2003): 54.

²⁸ Dan Diner, quoted in Probst, "Founding Myths," 53–54.

²⁹ Diana Pinto "The New Jewish Europe: Challenges and Responsibilities," *European Judaism* 31, no. 2 (Autumn 1998): 6.

³⁰ Diana Pinto, *A new Jewish identity for post-1989 Europe* (London: JPR/Policy Paper 1, June 1996), 11.

Spain, naturally, was influenced by these developments. From 1997 the Holocaust has been commemorated in the Spanish public space and in 2005 the Spanish government officially declared January 27 as the “Official Day of the Memory of the Holocaust and the Prevention of Crimes against Humanity.” In 2006, one of the two official programs was led by the Spanish Monarchs and the Prime Minister.³¹ In parallel, during the 1990s films and documentaries about the Holocaust were more widely diffused on Spanish television and in movie theaters.

To understand both the achievements and limitations of such developments, we must take a closer look at the interconnection of the Shoah and the “Spanish tragedy” — the 1936–1939 Civil War. On the one hand, one could argue with Alejandro Baer that “the memory of the Holocaust opened the door for the institutional acknowledgement of the Republican victims.”³² This acknowledgement is embodied in the Law for the Victims of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism, passed by the Spanish Parliament in December 2007.³³ On the other hand, the limitations of the Spanish commitment to the Memory of the Holocaust and Prevention of Crimes against Humanity is evident in the fact that Judge Baltasar Garzón was temporarily suspended over his attempt to open an investigation of alleged crimes against humanity carried

³¹ See Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación. *Commemoración del día oficial de la memoria del Holocausto* (Madrid: Dirección General de Comunicación Exterior, Sept. 2006).

³² Baer, *Holocausto*, 248. This influence has been confirmed by Isabel Estrada, “To Mauthausen and Back: The Holocaust as a Reference in Spanish Civil War Memory Studies,” in *The Holocaust in Spanish Memory. Historical Perceptions and Cultural Discourses*, edited by Antonio Gómez López-Quñones and Susanne Zepp (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2010), 37–50.

³³ See José Álvarez Junco, “La ley de víctimas de la guerra civil y el franquismo,” in *Historia Contemporánea* 38 (2009): 145–61.

out by the Franco régime. The Spanish Supreme Court charged Garzón with distorting the law for this initiative.³⁴

It should be emphasized that political, religious, and cultural factors are deeply intertwined with existential and social-psychological ones. Changing circumstances force both individuals and the collective to construct new systems of meaning able to make sense of a new state of affairs. In the case of the Other, its traits could be considered as the complementary opposite of what the Self wants to make of itself. The Other is, indeed, constructed as a projection of the Self, as its Jungian shadow. In that sense, the study of antisemitism would consist metaphorically in putting a mirror showing the inverted image of how the different societal groups are constructing their own collective identity, in a specific social and historical context.

A helpful means for understanding Spanish antisemitism is content analysis of its most popular newspapers. As both the product and co-creators of Spanish culture and politics, the main Spanish dailies are a sort of porthole through which the evolution of the Spanish people's perceptions of themselves and their Jewish Other can be viewed. In the period 1998–2006, important developments took place in both the Spanish and international fronts, compelling the Spanish leadership to adopt changing and sometimes even contradictory positions on the Self/Jewish Other dichotomy.

The content analysis for this paper was based on Ole Holsti's *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities* (1969), in which Holsti maintained that "every-sixth-day samples provided sufficiently accurate results for most

³⁴ See "Cronología: Garzón y la causa por los crímenes del Franquismo," ELPAIS.com, 28 Apr. 2010 (accessed 2 May 2011). For further insights on the paradoxes and limitations of the 2007 law and the Spanish "historic memory" in general, see José Brunner, "Ironía de la historia española: observaciones sobre la política pos-franquista de olvido y memoria," *Historia Contemporánea* 38 (2009): 163–83; and José Álvarez Junco, "Respuesta de José Álvarez Junco a José Brunner," *Historia Contemporánea* 38 (2009): 185–88.

research purposes.”³⁵ In general terms, the coding was done by exclusively considering paragraphs of articles in which the word “Jew” (Judío) appeared.

El País

El País was established in 1976 and is currently “Spain’s largest circulation daily,” being “a source of reference for the most influential sectors of society.”³⁶ It is a liberal newspaper which played an important role in the consolidation of Spanish democracy. In 1983, the daily became the recipient of the prestigious *Príncipe de Asturias* award for its “committed contribution during the Spanish transition to the definitive consolidation of constitutional democracy in Spain.”³⁷

Since the 1980s, *El País* has followed an ideological line close to the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE), a social-democratic party that governed the country during the crucial years 1982–1996 (Felipe González served four successive mandates as Prime Minister), and from 2004 until the November 2011 elections.³⁸ Thus any analysis of anti-Jewish prejudice in its pages must take into account leftist antisemitism.

³⁵ Ole R. Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969), 133.

³⁶ See LexisNexis Academic. According to data from the *Oficina de Justificación de la Difusión* (OJI) for April 2007, the average circulation was 432,204 copies for *El País*; 330,634 for *El Mundo*; and 240,225 for *ABC*. http://www.elpais.com/elpaismedia/ultimahora/media/200705/25/sociedad/20070525elpepusoc_3.Pes.PDF.pdf (accessed 28 Feb. 2011). This data was confirmed in an official report for the period July 2009–June 2010, http://www.introl.es/Introl/Portal/novedad_desarrollo/_GN1nDmFOMzO68MOYaWzenHjx6KyU1h-8 (accessed 27 Jan. 2011).

³⁷ From the website of the *Fundación Príncipe de Asturias*: <http://www.elpais.com/corporativos/elpais/elpais.html>.

³⁸ See María Arroyo Cabello, “La prensa española en la democracia (1982–2006),” *Sala de Prensa* 103 (May 2008), <http://www.saladeprensa.org/art731.htm> (accessed 2 Mar. 2011).

Like most of the world's left, Spanish socialists went through a thorough change in their attitude toward Jews and the State of Israel in the wake of the Six-Day War of 1967. As explained above, the Arab defeat triggered the adoption by its Soviet allies of a virulent antisemitic rhetoric that became embedded in subsequent leftist discourse. Spanish socialists were no exception, although in their case the relationship with the Jewish world were not only nuanced by memories of the early socialist character of the State of Israel, but also by the awareness of the significant Jewish presence among the Brigadas Internacionales (International Brigades) who fought on the Republican side during the Spanish Civil War.

Between 4,000 and 8,000 Jews volunteered in the International Brigades, a significant percentage of some 40,000 total. This remarkable Jewish participation in the defense of the Spanish Republic reinforced the antisemitic tendencies of the ultimately victorious Nationalists, but it also strengthened the ideological affinity between the Republicans and most of the Jewish *Yishuv* in Palestine.³⁹ These shared memories were nurtured in the aftermath of the war by the participation of both the Spanish Socialist Party and the Israeli Labour Party in the Socialist International.

In 1977, ten years after the Soviet Union stepped up its anti-Zionism campaign, the future leader of the Spanish democratic transition Felipe González recalled in a press conference in Tel Aviv that the Spanish Socialists, the Jews, and the State of Israel had often been in the same struggling camp: “we lay in the same trenches together, we fought together for the same principles. We are tied to the Israeli Labour Party.”⁴⁰ In the same spirit, Carmen López Alonso highlighted the fact that Israel

was a model for the Left wing,... for the whole group of “progres,” the common label given to the people who, however inarticulate, were against Franco’s dictatorship. Some of them were those in the

³⁹ See Raanan Rein, *In the Shadow of the Holocaust and the Inquisition* (London: Frank Cass, 1997), 59–68.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 217.

sixties and the seventies who traveled to Israeli *kibbutzim* in a kind of peregrination... Among this group we can find many of those who later became very active in the establishment of diplomatic relations between Spain and Israel in 1986.⁴¹

These contrasting elements can be detected in *El País's* approach to Jews, Judaism, and the State of Israel. Articles by well-known liberal Israeli writers such as David Grossman and Amos Oz, as well as by Israel's former Foreign Minister and Labour Party member Shlomo Ben-Ami have appeared in its pages. It sporadically reports on the political and cultural activities of Israeli liberals, leftists, and/or pacifist groups.⁴² On July 28, 2002, it even published an article by the scholar Paul Kennedy harshly critical of the academic boycott of Israeli universities, noting the important role played by Israeli liberal intellectuals in the struggle against the "intolerant" politics of Israel's former Prime Minister Ariel Sharon.⁴³

Yet a systematic analysis of articles published between 1997 and 2006 by *El País* finds predominantly pro-Palestinian interpretations of the Arab-Israeli conflict, often wrapped in antisemitic motifs and stereotypes. According to Alejandro Baer, this trend has crossed ideological boundaries and become the

⁴¹ Carmen López Alonso, "Changing Views of Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in Democratic Spain (1978–2006)," *Center for European Studies Working Paper Series* 149 (2007), 3–4, <http://www.ces.fas.harvard.edu/publications/docs/pdfs/alonso.pdf> (accessed 25 Jan. 2010).

⁴² See, for instance, David Grossman, "Últimos estertores de vida desde un barco hundido," *El País*, 4 Apr. 2002; Amos Oz, "La espalda y la pared," *El País*, 24 Oct. 2003; F. S. "Miles de pacifistas israelíes piden en Tel Aviv la salida del ejército de los territorios palestinos," *El País*, 12 May 2002; and "Las mujeres de Israel," *El País*, 29 Apr. 2002; see also <http://www.elpais.com/todo-sobre/persona/Shlomo/Ben/Ami/296/> (accessed 7 Mar. 2011).

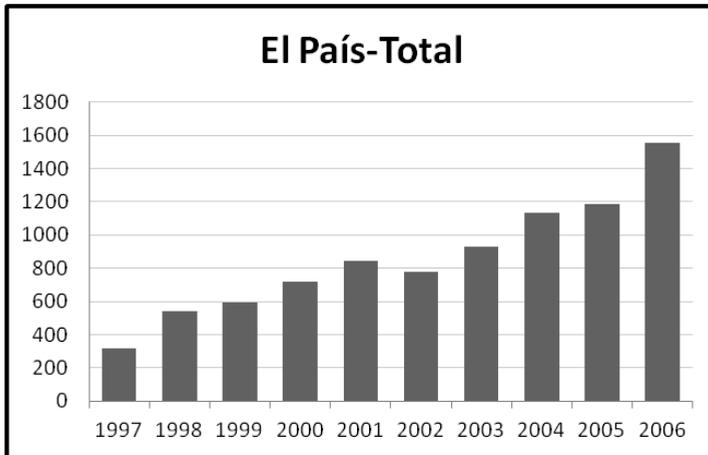
⁴³ Paul Kennedy, "Una fiebre estival afecta a los académicos europeos," *El País*, 28 July 2002.

common denominator of the mainstream Spanish press.⁴⁴ He estimates that “Beneath the excuse of ‘criticism’ of Israel is an explosive cocktail, including the delegitimizing of the State, the relativising or minimization of terrorism and the use of antisemitic conspiracy theories, mainly in relation to the United States.” These opinions, he adds, “are not exclusive to the Spanish media, but they are more mainstream ideas, more emphatic and recurrent here than in other European countries.”⁴⁵

Despite these general tendencies, there have been some important changes in the way *El País* approached issues like Palestinian terrorism, the delegitimizing of the State of Israel, and conspiracy theories related to the alleged control of world affairs by an extremely powerful “Jewish lobby.”

The periods 1997–2001 and 2003–2006 marked an increase in the daily’s interest in the Jews (see chart 1). To an important extent, this concern was related to the developments taking place in Israel, particularly in relation to the Palestinians (see chart 2, next page).

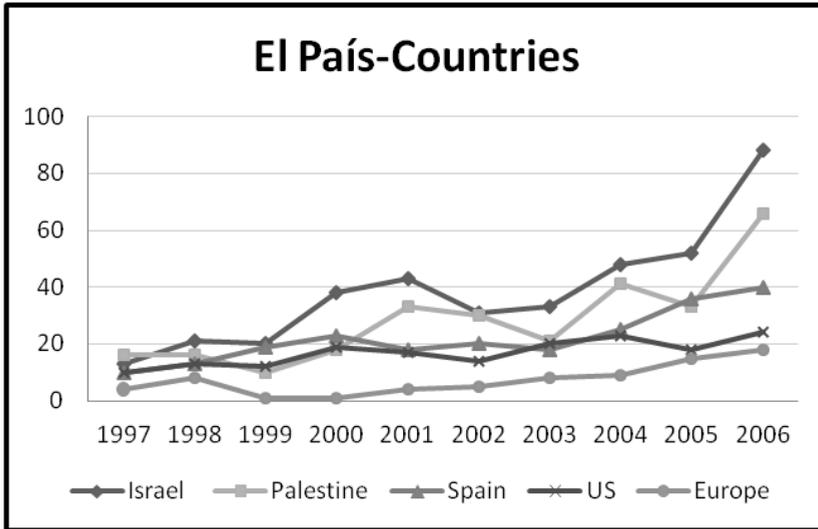
Chart 1



⁴⁴ Alejandro Baer, “Spain’s Jewish Problem,” *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 18 (2009): 98.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 95–97.

Chart 2



The analysis of the appearance of the words “terror” and “terrorism” (terrorismo) in the same paragraph as the word “Jew” during the years 1997–2000 in *El País* shows that these two concepts (terror-Jew) were connected in order to link Nazi crimes to those of the Basque terrorist group ETA. These associated words have also been linked to the opinion that Palestinian leader Yassir Arafat should not be called a terrorist, since Palestinian terrorism was held to be a direct consequence of Israeli policies.⁴⁶

However, from the period 2001 we can also read references to the “terrorist attacks” of Hamas, al-Fatah, and Islamic Jihad, probably triggered by the harsh images that filled the world news in the first months of the Second

⁴⁶ Javier Tusell, “El reproche y la tenacidad,” *El País*, 19 July 1997, 14; Antonio Elorza, “Ante un conflicto lejano,” *El País*, 4 Apr. 1997, 16; Carlos Mendo, “La difícil paz,” *El País*, 25 Oct. 4; and Fernando Savater, “La crispación,” *El País*, 7 July 2000, 15.

Intifada that began in October 2000.⁴⁷ This acknowledging of the existence of Islamist and/or Palestinian terrorism was catalyzed by the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States, and to a greater extent by the terrorist attack of May 18, 2003 against the *Casa de España* (Spanish House) in Casablanca, Morocco.

The Islamist attack in May 2003, directed simultaneously against European and Jewish objectives, put the Spanish anti-terrorist police on maximum alert. Even though *El País* emphasized the role played by Spanish involvement in the Iraq war (participation in the war had been decided by the conservative government of José María Aznar) as the main trigger of the Islamic anti-Spanish rage, the fact that both Spaniards and Jews shared the same dramatic fate undoubtedly affected the newspaper's approach to the issue of terrorism.⁴⁸

Probably the most eloquent example of this change was the opinion piece by Yaacov Cohen, who was the Israeli ambassador to Spain between 1992–1995, published on November 19, 2003. Cohen opens with a reference to the killing of his parents at the hands of the Nazis and their Polish and Ukrainian collaborators. “After the war,” he wrote, “I decided to leave the Europe of persecution and death and begin a new life in a Jewish State.” Cohen then brought arguments to challenge the predominant approach toward Palestinian terrorism:

Those who put into question Israel's right to existence, those who equate Zionism to racism and consider legitimate putting a bomb in a bus, a restaurant, a synagogue or a Jewish school, *those who call the terrorists guerrilleros, resistance members and kamikazes, hide yesterday's anti-Semitism under today's anti-Zionism.* The anti-Semites transfer today

⁴⁷ “Un ‘comando’ Palestino mata a 10 israelíes en una emboscada. Israel bombardea Gaza y Cisjordania como represalia,” *El País*, 13 Dec. 2001, 1; and Ferrán Sales, “Un misil del ejército israelí mata a cuatro dirigentes del grupo integrista Palestino Hamas,” *El País*, 18 July 2001, 2.

⁴⁸ See Jorge A. Rodríguez, “España pone en ‘máxima alerta’ a los grupos policiales que combaten al terrorismo islámico,” *El País*, 18 May, 2003, 4.

their former hate to the individual Jew to a collective Jewish entity, represented by the State of Israel [my emphasis, MW].⁴⁹

Other articles published that year defended Israel's right to fight the "terrorist menace," at the time that it denounced both the antisemitism of al-Qaeda and that which is covered by an "anti-Zionist" façade.⁵⁰

Important domestic and international considerations, however, moderated this trend. In March 2003, Spanish Prime Minister José María Aznar of the center-right Partido Popular (PP), became one of the leaders of the U.S.-led military intervention in Iraq. This initiative, allegedly aimed at fighting global Islamic terrorism, was severely criticized by broad sectors of the Spanish population and by *El País*.

The March 11, 2004 terrorist attacks in Madrid reinforced these contradictions. As with the 2003 attacks on the *Casa de España* in Morocco, the blame for the 11/3 atrocities were put on Prime Minister Aznar and his Iraq policy, particularly (but not exclusively) by the political left and center-left. The Iraq invasion, as the main front in a "war on terror" declared by Aznar and his American and British allies, was perceived as a counter-productive and even barbaric way of dealing with terrorism. Even if the existence of Islamic terrorism was both acknowledged and condemned, the ideological use of the concept in the international context of the "war on terror" was severely criticized.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Yaacov Cohen, "El antisemitismo hace 60 años y ahora," *El País*, 19 Nov. 2003, 14.

⁵⁰ See, for example, Javier Valenzuela, "Hitler con turbante," *El País*, 18 Nov. 2003, 4; Javier del Pino, "El lugarteniente de Bin Laden anuncia nuevos ataques contra Occidente," *El País*, 22 May 2003, 5; Alain Finkielkraut, "Una nueva forma de rechazo," *El País*, 28 Dec. 2003, 17; Berna Harbour, "'Si los palestinos no cambian, entraran para siempre en el bando del terrorismo,'" *El País*, 7 Dec. 2003, 10.

⁵¹ See, for example, "Seguridad y terrorismo," *El País*, 26 Oct. 2003, 14; Sami Nair, "En nombre de la civilización, la barbarie," *El País*, 28 May, 2004, 16.

El País's approach to Palestinian terrorism should be understood in this political context, since the "war on terror" in general, and the Iraq invasion in particular, were widely perceived in Spain as responding to the interests of the United States, Israel, and the American "Jewish lobby."⁵² That is why, at the time that the term "terrorism" was gradually being incorporated into the assessment of Palestinian violence, its use was nuanced with reference to "Israeli State terrorism," or by suggesting that Palestinian terrorism serves mostly Israeli, rather than Palestinian interests.⁵³

So, despite the changes, Palestinian terrorism was still presented in relatively affable terms. For example, while the characterization of Palestinian leader Yassir Arafat as a "terrorist" was systematically disqualified, the daily did not hesitate to describe former Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin as such.⁵⁴ In a similar vein, in an article analyzing different definitions of "terrorism," the columnist argues that the attack of "Palestinian radicals" against Jewish settlers in the Occupied Territories might not be considered terrorism.⁵⁵

Insistence on the "terrorist" character of the State of Israel, combined with relativizing or even justifying Palestinian and/or Islamist terrorism was especially blunt during the Second Lebanon War (July 12–August 14, 2006) and its aftermath. In that period, the usual references to Israel's "State terrorism" and to Jewish terrorism during the British Mandate in Palestine were

⁵² See, for example, "La horma de mi sombrero 'Shoah' Joan de Sagarra," *El País*, 4 Apr. 2002, 2; Norman Birnbaum, "Un Estado cliente," *El País*, 17 Mar. 2002, 10; and "Precisiones," *El País*, 19 Mar. 2002, 13.

⁵³ Some examples: Henry Siegman, "La guerra ficticia de Sharon," *El País*, 10 Jan. 2004, 9; "La sombra de una sospecha," *El País*, 25 Aug. 2002, 8; and Gema Martín Muñoz, "Palestina y el juego de la manipulación," *El País*, 25 Jan. 2006, 14.

⁵⁴ "La sombra de una sospecha," *El País*, 25 Aug. 2002, 8.

⁵⁵ I. C., "Discrepancias en la definición de terrorista," *El País*, 10 Mar. 2005, 7.

“upgraded” to include well-known antisemitic motifs.⁵⁶ On July 26, 2006 an opinion article held that the Old Testament is an “emblematic terror story,” which “helps to understand the millenary poison that runs through the veins of Jewish integrism.” Hoary antisemitic tropes like “Jewish vengefulness” and a distorted interpretation of Jewish “chosenness” were combined in order to establish an unequivocal association between Jewishness and terrorism. As usually the case in this kind of article, its author nevertheless concedes that not all Jews are malevolent.⁵⁷

A few months before the publication of this antisemitic diatribe, an article by Juan Miguel Muñoz quoted a Hamas representative to convey the message that the “bad image” that the Islamist political party has in European eyes is merely a consequence of Israeli propaganda: “I am convinced that as soon as they [the Europeans] get in touch with us they will change their perception.... [T]hey will realize that we are not extremists.” This favorable gesture toward an Islamist group identified as terrorist by both the European Union and the United States was not enough for Muñoz. His article continued with a demonization of Israel, stating that the Jewish State wished Hamas success in the Palestinian election, because it would guarantee a “return to violence” after a one-year truce.⁵⁸

Thus, we see the process undergone by *El País* relating to the notion of “terrorism” is directly associated with both internal Spanish and international political developments. At the same time, the newspaper’s ideological and cultural approach to Jews and Judaism also played a role in this change, thus explaining why this process was to some extent paralleled in the daily’s approach to the issue of antisemitism.

⁵⁶ See Manuel Rivas, ““Stand by,”” *El País*, 22 July 2006, 80; and Tom Segev, “El espíritu del hotel Rey David,” *El País*, 1 Aug. 2006, 13.

⁵⁷ “El pueblo elegido y los demás,” *El País*, 26 July, 2006, 14.

⁵⁸ Juan Miguel Muñoz, “Los radicals de Hamas protagonizan el cierre de la campaña electoral Palestina,” *El País*, 24 Jan. 2006, 4. This positive perception of Hamas is also evident in Gema Martín Muñoz, “Palestina y el juego de la manipulación,” *El País*, 25 Jan. 2006, 14.

A first look at the number of times the issue of antisemitism appeared in *El País* articles containing the word “Jew” shows a steep increase in coverage of the topic in the period under analysis (see chart 3)

Chart 3

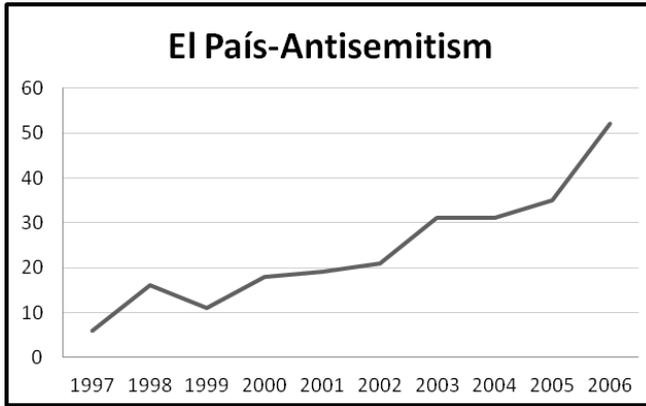
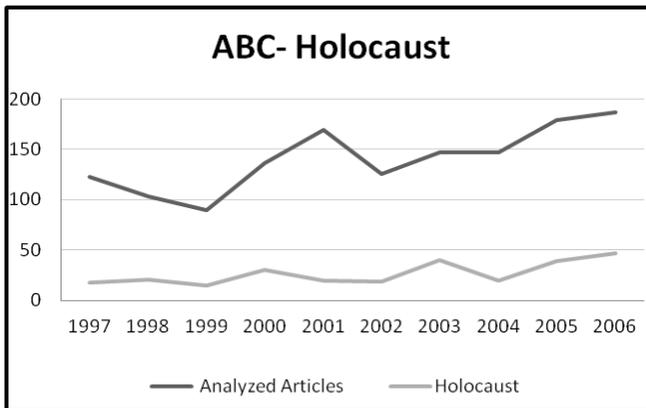


Chart 4



The Spanish center-left has seen increased interest in the topic of antisemitism, possibly because Spanish society has become more open to discussing the Holocaust, parallel to the construction of a new democratic and European identity. This is eloquently reflected in the number of times the Holocaust appeared as a topic in articles that also included the word “Jew” published by *El País* in the period 1997–2006 (see chart 4). Although this

presence varied in relative terms during the period under analysis, the relevance of the subject is evident throughout those years. In 1997, 37.74% of all the analyzed articles included the topic; in 2006, it appeared in 20.46% of them.

The Holocaust, as the “negative apotheosis of European history” is intrinsically linked to the issue of evil. As the most extreme expression of the continent’s age-long antisemitic tradition, it is considered a paradigmatic and horrifying example of the dangers involved in racism, xenophobia, and hatred of the Other. Yet, as we have seen, since 1967 the negative aspects of the Holocaust came to be increasingly associated, especially by the political left, with Zionism and the policies of the State of Israel. *El País* was no exception. According to Baer, the newspaper, like most of the left and center-left, “at the same time that it dilutes, minimizes or relativises the suffering of Jews during the Holocaust, it also refers to the Holocaust as a paradigm of absolute evil, projected onto the Jews of today, embodied by the State of Israel.”⁵⁹

The most prominent example of such an approach was the article by José Saramago published in *El País* on April 21, 2002. Saramago asserted that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the catastrophic result of the Jewish people’s belief in its own condition as “chosen people,” as well as its “mental intoxication” with the “messianic idea of a Greater Israel.” Overlooking the heterogeneity of Jewish political life, the Nobel Prize winner argued that “the Jews” incessantly scratch their own wounds in order to obtain from a world immobilized by guilt the absolute impunity for any possible crime: “From the point of view of the Jews, Israel could never be brought to trial, because it has been tortured, gassed and incinerated in Auschwitz.”⁶⁰

That the inclination to demonize Israel is particularly strong in *El País* can be observed in the differing reviews of the play, “Conversación con Primo Levi” (Conversation with Primo Levi), in this daily and the conservative *ABC* in January 2006. Launched on the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz and International Holocaust Victims’ Day, the play, according to *El País*, “not

⁵⁹ Baer, “Spain’s Jewish Problem,” 100.

⁶⁰ Saramago, José. “De las piedras de David a los tanques de Goliat,” in *El País*, 21 Apr. 2002.

only addresses the horrors suffered by the Jews during Nazism,” but also “shows other horrors in other scenarios and with other victims, according to its director.”⁶¹ The sober article concludes with a quote from one of the actors, who considers that the most attractive trait of the Jewish writer Primo Levi is “his courage to criticize without any grudge what his fellow men—the Israelis—do in Palestine, after all what he has suffered in Auschwitz.”⁶²

In contrast, *ABC*'s editor, José Antonio Zarzalejos, presents a very different perspective. Eloquently titled “Conversation against Primo Levi” (*Conversación contra Primo Levi*), his editorial denounces the play for its “satanization of the State of Israel, current mirror of Nazi Germany, where the victims have become victimizers.”⁶³ The play is characterized as a “staged infamy” (*villanía teatral*), nurtured by the resurgence of the antisemitic belief that the Jews and Israel incarnate an enemy that conspires in favor of wickedness, injustice, heartlessness, and war.⁶⁴

This projection of the Holocaust onto the State of Israel as a paradigm of evil is particularly prominent among the political left and center-left, although it is not exclusive to them. Despite this general tendency, there has been since the end of 2003 a growing awareness of specific characteristics of today's antisemitism and its associated dangers. Since then, the issue has been associated more often with Islamist terrorism in general and al-Qaeda in particular. Islamic antisemitism is no longer relativized or perceived as a mere response to Israeli policies, but rather interpreted as part of a dangerous worldview which threatens the very core of Occidental democracy.⁶⁵

⁶¹ K. C., “Manuel Galiana lleva la voz de Primo Levi al escenario,” *El País*, 11 Jan. 2006, 37. In Spanish in the original.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ José Antonio Zarzalejos, “Conversación contra Primo Levi,” *ABC*, 29 Jan. 2006, 3.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ See, for example, Javier del Pino, “El lugarteniente de Bin Laden anuncia nuevos ataques contra Occidente,” *El País*, 22 May, 2003, 5; and Carlos Mendo, “El enemigo en casa,” *El País*, 12 Aug. 2005, 2.

It is important to note that although Spain disengaged from the Iraq intervention, the Socialist government of Zapatero actually increased Spanish participation in the international force established in Afghanistan. In that sense, the association between Islamic terrorism and antisemitism reinforces the perception that the government is participating in a legitimate struggle against evil forces. As we saw in previous pages, this association has not always been unequivocal in the case, for example, of Hamas terrorism.

Of course, this selective awakening to the perils of antisemitism did not succeed in erasing age-old anti-Jewish prejudice. Preconceptions do not vanish into the air, but rather resurface when the occasion is ripe. One occasion was the Second Lebanon War, whose images horrified the worldwide public. As we have seen, during that conflict *El País* unleashed some of the antisemitic prejudice it had been countering in the previous two years, in order to match the anti-Israel rage found in important parts of the Spanish public and government.⁶⁶

Yet this time something had changed. The interest displayed by *El País* in the “new antisemitism” joined a broadening European concern with the explosion of anti-Jewish hatred since the beginning of the Second Intifada.⁶⁷ This political and intellectual atmosphere, together with the dramatic Spanish experience of Islamist terror, contributed during the Second Lebanon War to the formation of a critical mass in socialist ranks against the persistent delegitimizing of the Jewish State by the political left. This led to the signing of

⁶⁶ For an additional example of the resurgence of antisemitic motifs during the Second Lebanon War, see the illustration published in *El País* on 25 July 2006, reproduced in Alejandro Baer and Paula López, “Israel en el callejón del gato,” in *Israel en los medios de comunicación españoles (2006–2009)*, edited by Estrella Israel et al. (Madrid: Hebraica Ediciones, 2010), 42.

⁶⁷ See Robert S. Wistrich, *European Antisemitism Reinvents Itself* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 2005).

a manifesto on “Israel and the Defense of Democratic Progress in Spain” presented to the public in April 2007.⁶⁸

No less important, the Socialist Government’s harsh criticism of the Israeli response to the Hezbollah attack during the Second Lebanon War was condemned as antisemitic by the conservative PP.⁶⁹ The issue of antisemitism had been put at the center of Spanish public discourse.

ABC

ABC is the third largest daily of Spain.⁷⁰ It began publication in 1903 as a weekly journal, becoming a daily newspaper in 1905.⁷¹ It is known for its conservative political and religious views, close to the Partido Popular (PP); as well as for its emphatic defense of the Spanish Monarchy.

The newspaper combines persistent references to traditional antisemitic themes of Catholic origin with a more sympathetic approach to Israel and the Spanish Jewish community than *El País*.

Despite the longstanding anti-Jewish tradition of Catholic Spain, there have been some historic precedents for sympathy toward Sephardic Jews among prominent Catholics even before the changes introduced to Christian-Jewish relations by the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). There was, for example, the pro-Sephardic activism of Dr. Ángel Pulido Fernández at the turn of the

⁶⁸ <http://www.movimientocontralaintolerancia.com/html/admin/verNoticia.asp?cod=1035&esBusq=True> (accessed 14 Mar. 2011). Alejandro Baer refers in fact to the “outing” of broad sectors of the Spanish society, not only the left. See Alejandro Baer, “‘Tanques contra piedras’: la imagen de Israel en España,” *ARI* 74/2007 (Madrid: Real Instituto Elcano), 6–7.

⁶⁹ This episode will be analyzed at length in the section on *ABC*.

⁷⁰ See n. 36, above.

⁷¹ See the webpage of their owners: <http://www.vocento.com/ Castellano/prensa/abc.html>.

20th century, and one even finds a certain philosemitism displayed by the late dictator Francisco Franco, although such examples are the exception.⁷²

In the period 1997–2006, it was mainly the fear of Islamist terrorism and the global alliances forged in the “war on terror” in the aftermath of 9/11 which brought Spanish conservatives closer to Israel and the Jews. It should be remembered that the “Moor,” no less than the mythic Jew, played a key role in the construction of Spanish Catholic identity. Just to give an example, Spain’s patron saint is Santiago Matamoros (Saint James the “Moor Killer”). In that sense, the “Islamic menace” touches very sensitive fibers of the Spanish Catholic self.

This explains why, unlike *El País*, *ABC* had already made reference to Palestinian and Islamic terrorism in 1997, and continued to do so throughout the period under analysis. Nevertheless, the conservative newspaper also referred to Israel’s “state terrorism,” and delegitimized the Jewish State.⁷³ As with *El País*, *ABC* equated the Warsaw Ghetto with Gaza and Israelis with Nazis.⁷⁴ *ABC* drew on biblical references or historic Christian themes such as

⁷² Alisa Meyuhas Ginio, “Reencuentro y despedida. Dr. Ángel Pulido Fernández y la diáspora sefaradí,” in *España e Israel Veinte Años Después*, edited by Raanan Rein (Madrid, Dykinson, 2007); and Rein, *In the Shadow of the Holocaust*; see also Andrée Bachoud, “Franco y los judíos: filosemitismo y antisemitismo,” in Joan i Tous and Nottebaum, *El olivo y la espada*, 379–90.

⁷³ See, for instance, Carmen Ruiz Bravo-Villasante, “El Estado Palestino,” *ABC*, 5 Apr. 2002, 30; Luis Ignacio Parada, “¿Adónde mira Bush cuando enloquece Israel?,” *ABC*, 11 Aug. 2003, 2; and Luis Ignacio Parada, “Terrorismo contra Terrorismo,” *ABC Sevilla*, 14 July 2006, 8.

⁷⁴ See, for instance, the caricature by Martín Morales in *ABC*, 28 Jan. 2005, 8; and Inmaculada Navarrete, “Pececitos de colores,” *ABC Sevilla*, 7 Apr. 2002, 54. Another example of a more “mainstream” way of demonizing Israel is the phrase “We live in a sick world, and one of the main causes of the infection is the war between Israelis and Palestinians,” in Miguel Torres, “Guerra entre profetas,” *ABC*, 20 Mar. 2002, 66.

the accusation against the Jews of “deicide” in a way that denigrated Judaism and the Jews, and served to delegitimize the State of Israel.

In an article titled “The ‘round’ won by Jesus in his Passion,” Francisco Gil Delgado describes the conflict between Jesus and the Jewish High Priest before his crucifixion. Jesus is portrayed as a fighter against Jewish Orthodoxy and its leader Annas (“Anás.”) The Jewish High Priest is described as a skillful negotiator with the “Roman Imperial Eagles” which had “occupied the promised land,” and managed to “keep for himself and his people these emblems of the supreme *Israeli* prestige” (my emphasis, MW).⁷⁵ The choice of the word “israelí,” which clearly refers to citizens of the State of Israel, unlike “israelita” which refers to the ancient Jewish nation/Jews, establishes an unambiguous correspondence between the wrongs fought against by Jesus (which in Christian theology is One with God itself), and the “arrogance,” and “cunning” of present-day Israeli leaders who have “occupied the promised land” thanks to their “skillful negotiations” with the American “Imperial Eagles.”⁷⁶

In a similar vein, another article titled “From thee, Bethlehem, will come the ruler of Israel...” reminds readers that the Hebrew prophet Micah had foretold that Jesus, born in Bethlehem, would rule over (“dominar”) Israel. This explains why “as if attacked by a biblical curse, the city has since a long time ceased to be the capital of peace.”⁷⁷ Thus we might infer that, had the

⁷⁵ Francisco Gil Delgado, “El ‘round’ que ganó Jesús en su Pasión,” *ABC Seville*, 28 Mar. 1999, 54.

⁷⁶ The electronic version of the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* gives two meanings for the word “israelí”: 1—“Natural de Israel” and 2—“Perteneiente o relativo a *este país* de Asia” (my emphasis, MW). In both the reference is to Israel as a country and not to the Jews as a people or as believers in a certain religion. http://buscon.rae.es/draeI/SrvltConsulta?TIPO_BUS=3&LEMA=israeli (accessed 15 Mar. 2011).

⁷⁷ Manuel Leguineche, “De ti, Belén, saldrá el dominador de Israel,” *ABC*, 5 Apr. 2002, 30.

“true messiah” (Jesus) been acknowledged by the Jews, this “biblical curse” would not have taken place.

These articles are part of a wider corpus of references to Jews and/or Judaism that appear in *ABC* tainted with anti-Jewish Spanish Christian motifs. Torcuato Luca de Tena, a member of the *Real Academia Española* wrote about the Jewish convert to Catholicism, Edith Stein, describing her as a “tireless searcher of Truth, unhappy and disappointed by the *rituals deprived of spirituality of the Torah*, or book of the Law of the Jews practiced by her parents and eleven brothers (and the *absence of Hope and Charity together with Faith*)....” (my emphasis, MW).⁷⁸ In another example, an interview in April 2004 with the Spanish head of the world wide Franciscan Order declared that the sexual abuse scandal unleashed on the Catholic Church of the United States was the result of the “vengeance of certain groups,” among which he “underlined the Jewish circles.”⁷⁹

Significantly, a 2004 article on the “Jewish vote” in the United States concluded that “the split between the two great world Jewish communities [U.S. and Israel] is big, but not enough to silence, in case of need, the *call of the race* when it feels endangered once again” (my emphasis, MW).⁸⁰ It should not be forgotten that in Spain, unlike the rest of Europe, the Church participated in the institution of Blood Purity statutes (*Estatutos de limpieza de sangre*) which preserved the supremacy of the “Old Christians” between the 15th and 18th centuries.⁸¹ This was done on the base of race considerations contrary to the official Vatican doctrine.⁸²

⁷⁸ Torcuato Luca de Tena, “Edith Stein,” *ABC*, 9 Aug. 1998, 3.

⁷⁹ Jesús Bastante, “Rodríguez Carballo: ‘Todavía no ha llegado el momento de abolir el celibato obligatorio en la Iglesia,’” *ABC*, 24 Apr. 2004, 54.

⁸⁰ Francisco de Andrés, “El extraño voto judío,” *ABC*, 4 Nov. 2004, 49.

⁸¹ According to Léon Poliakov, “les Espagnols furent anti-juifs d’abord, et racistes ensuite.” In *Histoire de l’antisémitisme. De Mahomet aux Marranes* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1961), 288. See also Stallaert, “Etnogénesis y Etnicidad,” 32–36.

⁸² See Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession*, 92.

Another, more subtle, example of the persistence of antisemitic motifs can be seen in “The Birth of the Truth,” published on Christmas Eve, 2005. Ignacio Sánchez Cámara argues that what is commemorated in Christmas is in fact the birth of Truth. The article criticizes Europe’s secularization in terms which have serious anti-Jewish connotations. “Christianity is not only one of the pillars of the *European* culture, but also its *essential* spirit.” The “*de-Christianization*” of Europe, he argues, means in fact its “*dehumanization*.” The argument goes even further: “Auschwitz...recreated the theology (or a-theology) of ‘God’s silence.’ Where was God then?... It is paradoxical that *those who refuse to listen to his voice speak of God’s silence*, but perhaps we should make an inversion and think that *Auschwitz does not proclaim God’s silence, but its previous oversight or refusal by men*”(my emphasis, MW)⁸³ These clearly discriminatory statements are directed not only against non-Christians in general, but also against Jewish believers who were particularly (but not exclusively, of course) shaken by “God’s silence” during the Shoah.

As with *El País*, *ABC*’s approach to Jews, Israel, antisemitism, and terrorism is conditioned by internal and international factors independent of the daily’s perception of Judaism itself. Concerning terrorism and its linkage to Jewish issues, the contrast between the chart showing the number of times the issue appeared in the same paragraph as “Jew,” and the one indicating the number of Israeli victims of terrorist violence shows the existence of more factors in the link “terrorism-Jews” than a simple interest in developments in the Middle East (see charts 5 and 6, page 29.)

⁸³ Ignacio Sánchez Cámara, “El Nacimiento de la Verdad,” *ABC*, 24 Dec. 2004.

Chart 5

Based on data from the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs⁸⁴

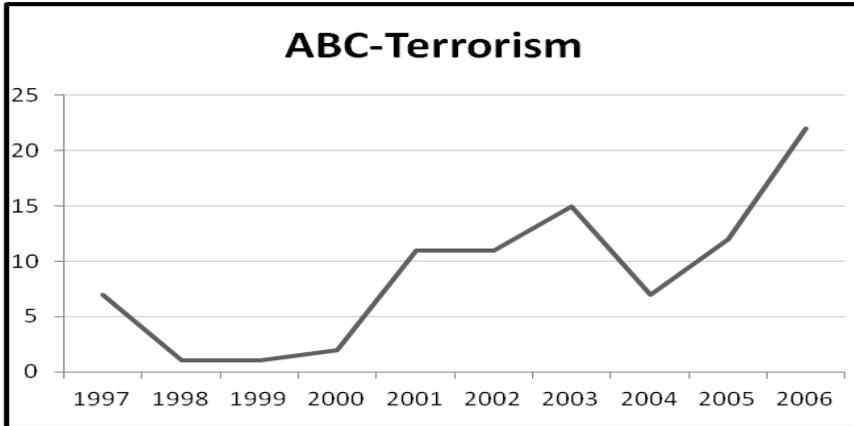
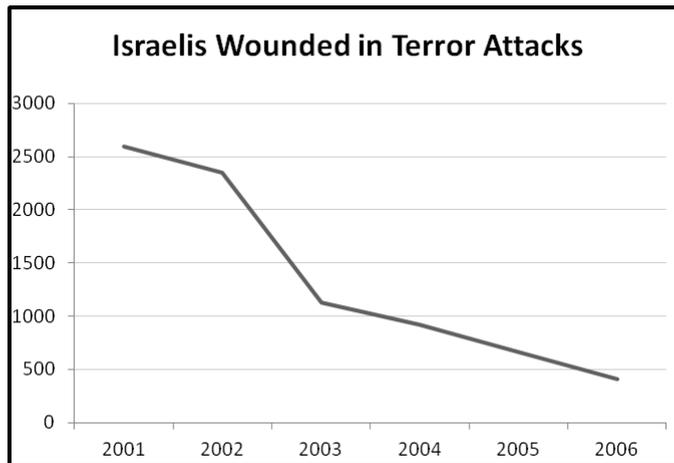


Chart 6



Indeed, if the relatively high number of references to the issue of terrorism in 1997, 2001, and 2002 could be correlated to the violent events taking place in

⁸⁴ <http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Terrorism-+Obstacle+to+Peace/Palestinian+terror+since+2000/Victims+of+Palestinian+Violence+and+Terrorism+sinc.htm> (accessed 16 Mar. 2011).

Israel and the Occupied Territories, the increases of 2003, 2005, and 2006 unquestionably reflect other variables.⁸⁵ As noted, the year 2003 marked a turning point in Spain's own experience of Islamist terrorism. In that year, the Casablanca attacks against (among others) the Casa de España, and the leading role played by the conservative Spanish Prime Minister José María Aznar in the Iraq intervention triggered a division of the Spanish polity into those who believed in Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" and those who proposed an "Alliance of Civilizations."

In this dichotomized atmosphere, *ABC* showed a preference for Aznar and his strategic allies — the United States and Israel — in the global "war on terror." This seems to explain why the number of references to terrorism in the same paragraphs with the word "Jew" increased significantly during the years 2003, 2005, and 2006. Interestingly enough, since 2003 we perceive a process through which *ABC* criticized the groups opposed to the Iraq intervention, as well as the perception that the Iraq war is "a Texan caprice from George Bush, Jr., an imposition from the Jewish 'lobby' or a strategy of the American petrol industry."⁸⁶

At the same time, the newspaper expressed the belief that manipulations of the "Jewish lobby" in the United States were behind what is perceived as the superpower's tolerance of Israeli "excesses." For example, in an article from June 2003, Eduardo San Martín argued that "Peace in Palestine...depends on whether or not the United States exerts over Israel the same pressure that they had used on the Palestinian leaders."⁸⁷

This contradiction between the adoption of an ideological discourse favorable to those perceived as important allies against Islamist terrorism and the direct or indirect support of antisemitic mythologies can also be found in

⁸⁵ According to the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, forty-one deaths were caused by terrorism in 1997; sixteen in 1998; and eighteen in 1999. http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFAArchive/2000_2009/2000/1/Terrorism+deaths+in+Israel+-+1920-1999.htm (accessed 16 Mar. 2011).

⁸⁶ Valentí Puig, "Un ajedrez en tres dimensiones," *ABC*, 25 Mar. 2003, 3.

⁸⁷ Eduardo San Martín, "Vigilar al piloto," *ABC*, 15 June 2003, 40.

the narrative of prominent members of the Spanish conservative camp like José María Aznar.⁸⁸ Belief in the existence of a powerful “Jewish lobby” lying behind the design of U.S. policies is particularly interesting, as its customary negative connotation has sometimes been transformed into an incentive for friendship with the United States, Israel, and the Jewish communities.

This inversion was particularly evident during the Second Lebanon War and its aftermath, when the issue of antisemitism obtained an unusual prominence in the Spanish political scene. The socialist government of José Luis Zapatero adopted an intensely critical attitude toward the Israeli government, and the relationships between Spain and Israel went through some turbulence. In correspondence with this attitude (as we already saw in previous pages), *El País* tended to emphasize the “terrorist” character of the State of Israel and at the same time relativize Palestinian and/or Islamist terrorism.

The conservative PP reacted by accusing Prime Minister Zapatero of “antisemitism, anti-Zionism and Israelophobia.”⁸⁹ *ABC* only partially supported these charges, publishing articles accusing the socialist Prime Minister of

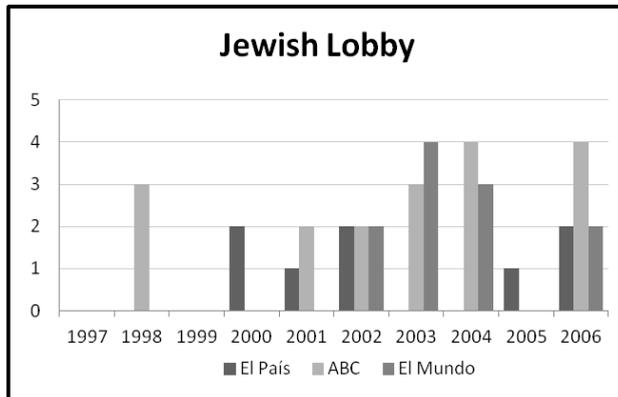
⁸⁸ For example, in *Cartas a un joven español* (*Letters to a Young Spaniard*), a book published by Aznar in 2007, the former Prime Minister strongly recommends the reading of Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz’s *España. Un enigma histórico*. The book, which includes an entire chapter dedicated to establishing the “Limits of the Judaic Contribution to the Forging of Spanishness” (“Límites de la contribución judaica a la forja de lo Español”) based on blatant antisemitic prejudices and stereotypes, is hailed by Aznar as “the best explanation of the origin of our country, in an erudite book, passionate and enlightening, especially now that the multi-cultural caprices are coming back...” In *Cartas a un joven español* (Barcelona: Planeta, 2007), 199. See also Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico* (Barcelona: EDHASA, 1973; 1st ed. 1956), 2: 163–297, esp. 227.

⁸⁹ L. Ayllón/G.López Alba, “El PP acusa a Zapatero de ‘antisemitismo e israelofobia’ en la crisis del Líbano,” *ABC*, 20 July 2006, 32.

contributing to anti-Jewish hate, but not of being an antisemite.⁹⁰ Yet the most revealing piece published in this context is, in my eyes, an article by José María Lassalle, a PP member of the Spanish Congress. Lassalle accused Zapatero of assuming “anti-Zionist semantics” for electoral purposes, and also of adopting a dangerous conciliatory approach to Islamist terrorism. “With his inadmissible gesture towards Israel,” he argues, “he achieved two things: that the transatlantic shores between the *United States and Spain* move some hundreds of kilometers away from each other, and that we unnecessarily *lose the support of the powerful Jewish North American lobby*” (my emphasis, MW)⁹¹

This typical antisemitic myth of a “powerful Jewish North American *lobby*” pivotal in international affairs is nevertheless taken as an entity to be befriended and even respected. Paradoxically, this is done in the midst of an argument against the “new antisemitism,” with a quote from Pierre-André Taguieff’s work “La Nueva Judeofobia” (The new Judeophobia).⁹² In chart 7, we see furthermore that *ABC* and *EL Mundo* are more explicitly concerned with the “Jewish lobby” than *El País*.

Chart 7



⁹⁰ Juan Manuel de Prada, “Que sea la última vez,” *ABC*, 22 July 2006, 5; and Valentí Puig, “Falacias de la paz perpetua,” *ABC*, 22 July 2006, 3.

⁹¹ José María Lassalle, “Paloma antisionista,” *ABC*, 19 July 2006, 7.

⁹² *Ibid.*

Lassalle's article is also revealing in that it establishes a clear division between two camps in Spanish politics in which Jews and Israel play a predominant role: the socialists are associated with the Alliance of Civilization, are against the Iraq War, are perceived as anti-Zionist, and have been accused of being "new judeophobes." The conservative PP and its allies, by contrast, are fighting a global war against Jihad; have Israel, the "Jewish lobby," and the United States as allies; and are supposedly aware of the dangers of anti-Jewish hate.⁹³

In today's Spain, antisemitism has become a political tool both for the delegitimization of the political opponent, and for increasing one's own camp's legitimacy, with the approach to the subject often superficial and instrumental. That is, while the accusation of antisemitism is perceived as an injury, classic antisemitic myths like inherent Jewish wickedness (often projected on the State of Israel), and extraordinary power are often considered as a given in the local political scene. These contradictory trends create awkward results. One example of this ambiguity is an article published a few days before the abovementioned polemics in *ABC*, in which the columnist accused Israel of acting as a terrorist when facing Lebanese terror. The author denounced U.S. support of Israel, as well as Western tolerance for Israel's supposedly indecent behavior. It closed on this note: "the Jewish lobby that dominates US finances and contributes to the funding of the electoral campaigns will in the following days accuse as antisemites those who, like the one that is signing these words, dare to touch the untouchable."⁹⁴

El Mundo

Launched in 1989, *El Mundo* is currently the second largest newspaper in Spain.⁹⁵ It is politically center-right on the economic front, but holds a liberal-

⁹³ Ibid. Further references to the Iraq war as well as to the connections between Nazi antisemitism and the "new judeophobia" are also made in the article.

⁹⁴ Luis Ignacio Parada, "Terrorismo contra Terrorismo," *ABC Sevilla*, 8.

⁹⁵ See LexisNexis Academic. According to data from the *Oficina de Justificación de la Difusión* (OJI) in April 2007 *El Mundo* had an average circulation of 330,634,

secular perspective in social and cultural affairs on issues such as gay marriage and laicism. Despite being the “youngest” of the three main Spanish newspapers, it has succeeded in replacing *ABC* as the leading center-right daily.⁹⁶ To some extent, its success reflects the transformations of the moderate right camp during the consolidation of Spanish democracy.

Unlike its competitor *ABC*, *El Mundo* displays a militant secularism highly critical of the Roman Catholic Church and its antisemitic past.⁹⁷ It perceives Spain as a heterogeneous society with a rich inheritance of ethnic and cultural diversity, rather than an essentially Catholic country.⁹⁸ In contrast to *ABC* — viewed as favoring the Jewish State — *El Mundo* is critical of Israeli policies.⁹⁹

The newspaper combines the different attitudes towards Jews and Israel detected in *El País* and *ABC* in a particular way. One antisemitic motif often found in *El Mundo* is reference to the “Jewish lobby,” portrayed as a powerful

compared to 432,204 for *El País*, and 240,225 for *ABC*: http://www.elpais.com/elpaismedia/ultimahora/media/200705/25/sociedad/20070525elpepusoc_3.Pes.PDF.pdf (accessed 28 Feb. 2011).

⁹⁶ For an analysis on *El Mundo*’s competition with *ABC*, see Elena de Regoyos, “El plan secreto para acabar con ABC,” http://blogs.periodistadigital.com/periodismo.php/2006/09/14/el_plan_secreto_para_acabar_con_abc (accessed 31 Mar. 2011).

⁹⁷ See David Torres, “Zoom. Cuadrando círculos,” *El Mundo*, 26 Aug. 2005, 2; Martín Prieto, “El purgatorio de los libros. La obra declinante de Juan Pablo II,” *El Mundo*, 13 June 2004, 4; Justin Sparks/John Follain Christopher Morgan, “Un pastor para el siglo XXI/Los protagonistas. Sombras en el pasado del ‘cardenal Panzer,’” *El Mundo*, 18 Apr. 2005, 30; and Raúl del Pozo, “Vicios de la corte,” *El Mundo*, 15 June 2005, 5.

⁹⁸ See, for example, Francisco Umbral, “Los placeres y los días. El pesimismo,” *El Mundo*, 6 Oct. 2004, 64; and Fernando García de Cortázar, “España, deja que te nombre,” *El Mundo*, 4 Sept. 2004, 2–3.

⁹⁹ Alejandro Baer and Paula López, “Israel en el callejón del gato,” in *Israel en los medios de comunicación españoles*, edited by Estrella Israel et al. (Madrid: Hebraica Ediciones, 2010), 37.

global entity with a dominant influence in Hollywood, the U.S. government, and Israel, along with considerable power over important international actors like the Vatican and the European Union.¹⁰⁰ Of special interest is an article by Rafael Navarro-Valls, who holds a Chair at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid and is Secretary-General of the *Real Academia de Jurisprudencia y Legislación* (Royal Academy of Jurisprudence and Legislation). Citing the reasons for George H. W. Bush's unsuccessful re-election in 1992, he explains that "It seems that part of the guilt lies with the Jewish lobby that withdrew its support [for Bush] in the elections when he decided, against Jewish interests, to support the efforts of the Madrid Peace Conference."¹⁰¹

As with *ABC*, belief in the extraordinary powers of the "Jewish lobby" also contributed to the development of more positive perceptions of Jews and Judaism by *El Mundo*. The daily's positive valuation of financial success and of the U.S. capitalist model contributed to some extent to this limited metamorphosis, thanks to the popular association of these topics with Jews and Judaism.

The newspaper did not support Prime Minister Aznar's decision to involve Spain in the Iraq invasion of 2003, but it did welcome rapprochement with the United States. An editorial on Aznar's visit to the United States in July 2003 underlined the "opportunity" created by such closeness, as well as the need to make it "fructify" through giving "substantial content" to the "political,

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, Luis María Anson, "Canela Fina. Bush ante las guerras colgantes de Irak," *El Mundo*, 10 Nov. 2006, 2; Pedro J. Ramírez, "La era post-Sadam/ Un año después de la invasión," *El Mundo*, 20 Mar. 2004, 34–35; José Manuel Vidal, "Los obispos relanzan la causa de beatificación de Isabel la Católica," *El Mundo*, 23 Apr. 2003, 18; "Spilberg 'rodara' la matanza de las Olimpiadas de Munich '72," *El Mundo*, 22 Apr. 2004, 53; and María Ramírez, "La Eurocámara, en contra de limitar la libertad de expresión," *El Mundo*, 17 Feb. 2006, 25.

¹⁰¹ Rafael Navarro-Valls, "Tribuna Libre. Los presidentes y la guerra," *El Mundo*, 11 May 2004, 4–5.

economic and cultural relations between our country and the United States.”¹⁰² Jews, perceived as an ethno-national group which had succeeded in achieving a substantial degree of financial power and influence in the capitalist world led by the United States, are sometimes portrayed as positive role models for *El Mundo*.

José Antonio Pérez-Nievas Heredero, businessman and co-founder of the *Consejo España-EEUU* (Spanish-U.S. Council), used this approach when arguing that Spain should learn from the “Jewish” and “English” powers in the United States in order to secure the superpower’s “preferential treatment” in international affairs, just like the United Kingdom and Israel.¹⁰³ In a similar token, an article published during the Second Lebanon War contrasts the prosperity and influence of the U.S. Jewish community that “has confronted marginalization inside the country and genocide abroad” with the powerlessness of the massive Lebanese diaspora in the United States.¹⁰⁴ A final example of this trend, also published during 2006, is an article on the leading American investment bank, Goldman Sachs: “What runs the world...is The Firm, which is the informal name given to the venerable investment bank founded in 1869 by the Jewish-German immigrant born Marcus Goldman.... To the disappointment of the lovers of conspiracy theories, Goldman’s power isn’t based on any Judeo-Masonic-Globalizing complot. If the investment bank is a seedbed of world leaders, it is because of its profitability and efficiency.”¹⁰⁵

These mutations took place under the influence of the September 11, 2001 and March 11, 2004 terrorist attacks in the United States and Madrid. Like the ideologically close *ABC*, *El Mundo* adopted the perception of a global “clash of

¹⁰² “Editorial. Aznar explota el lado positivo de su apuesta por EE.UU,” *El Mundo*, 14 July 2003, 3.

¹⁰³ José Antonio Pérez-Nievas, “Tribuna libre. El poder hispano en EEUU,” *El Mundo*, 3 May 2006, 4–5.

¹⁰⁴ Pablo Pardo, “Salma Hayek... Los otros rostros de el Líbano,” *El Mundo*, 30 July 2006, 15.

¹⁰⁵ Pablo Pardo, “Internacional. Goldman Sachs, semillero de líderes mundiales,” *El Mundo*, 4 June 2006, 53.

civilizations” between the “West” and “radical Islam.” From that point of view, Israel and the Jews share with the Spaniards a common fate in their fight against Islamic extremism both inside and outside Spanish borders.¹⁰⁶ This perception of a common threat led *El Mundo* to develop a more empathetic perception of Israel’s policies, contributing therefore to a re-humanization of the Jewish State.

Perhaps the most eloquent example of these changes is the interview by Esther Esteban with Enrique Mugica, a Spanish ombudsman (Defensor del Pueblo) of Jewish origin, which took place in the first days of the Second Lebanon War. This article is particularly relevant, first because it amplified the voice of a highly respected personality whose contribution to Spanish society is widely recognized. Second, Mugica supported Israel’s “right to self-defense” at a critical period in which anti-Zionist and antisemitic themes were prominent in the Spanish press.¹⁰⁷ Lastly, knowing that he had lost his only brother in an ETA terrorist attack, his closing remarks warning of the relationship between antisemitism in the Spanish press and naïveté about the dangers of Islamist terrorism become especially compelling.¹⁰⁸

As we have seen, this changing ideological context also favored the development of an interest in the “new” antisemitism that is often associated with Islamism and the political left.¹⁰⁹ In the summer 2006 episode in which PP

¹⁰⁶ See Fernando Mas, “La amenaza terrorista,” *El Mundo*, 13 Apr. 2004, 1, 8; Roberto Centeno, “Petróleo,” *El Mundo*, 7 Aug. 2005, 28; and Magdi Allam, “Choque de civilizaciones. Miedo, el enemigo en casa,” *El Mundo*, 4 Feb. 2006, 32.

¹⁰⁷ See, for instance, E. Israel, *Israel en los medios de comunicación españoles*.

¹⁰⁸ Esther Esteban, “Enrique Migica. “A mi hermano lo asesinaron brutalmente por ser socialista y defender el Estado de Derecho; ni perdono, ni olvido.” *El Mundo*, 18 July 2006, 12–13.

¹⁰⁹ See for example, David Gistau, “Al Abordaje,” *El Mundo*, 8 Feb. 2006, 5; Sergio Romano, “Guerra contra el terror/La opinion. ¿Existe un ‘fascismo islámico?’” *El Mundo*, 13 Aug. 2006, 23; Federico Jiménez Losantos, “Comentarios liberales. Cuestión moral,” *El Mundo*, 7 Feb. 2003, 4; and

representatives accused Prime Minister Zapatero of antisemitism, *El Mundo* published an editorial criticizing the government's war policy, characterizing it as "an exhibition of antisemitism" organized at least in part by the governing PSOE.¹¹⁰

Despite these changes, the demonization of Jews, especially in regard to their supposed relationship with finance and political power, as well as references to an alleged "Palestinian holocaust" being executed by Israel, are also to be found in the newspaper's pages.¹¹¹ Such blunt charges are found especially, although not exclusively, in Antonio Gala's opinion pieces, as noted by Alejandro Baer and Paula López.¹¹²

The greater empathy towards Israeli and Jewish suffering did not prevent the daily from providing a platform for legitimizing terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians. Three days after publication of the Enrique Mugica interview, *El Mundo* printed an interview with Zaki Saad, Secretary-General of the Islamic Action Front (Frente Islámico de Acción), who argued that "The Zionists are a colonial force that came to throw the Palestinians from their land. The very existence of Zionism in Palestine is terrorism, and resisting and attacking its occupation is legal."¹¹³

References to the "Palestinian holocaust" are of particular interest in view of the Spanish situation regarding the memory of the Shoah. Moreover, both *El*

Umberto Eco, "Tribuna libre. ¿Dónde está el antisemitismo?" *El Mundo*, 28 Dec. 2003, 5.

¹¹⁰ "Editorial. Manifestaciones contra Israel," *El Mundo*, 21 July 2006, 3.

¹¹¹ See e.g. Antonio Gala, "La Tronera. USA e Israel," *El Mundo*, 17 Aug. 2006, 3; Antonio Gala, "La Tronera. Oriente Próximo," *El Mundo*, 22 May 2003, 3; Miguel Ángel Mellado, "Tránsitos. Ocho preguntas," *El Mundo*, 16 July 2006, 11; and "Impresiones. Expulsar a Arafat no soluciona nada," *El Mundo*, 5 Oct. 2003, 5.

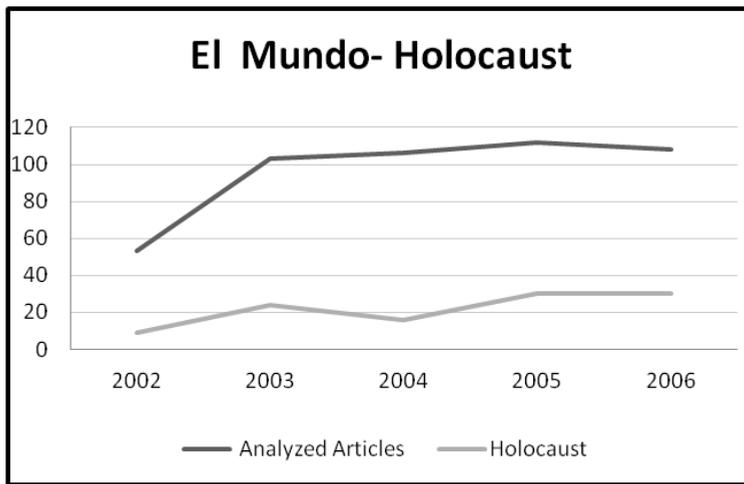
¹¹² Baer and López, "Israel en el callejón del gato;" Baer, "Spain's Jewish Problem."

¹¹³ Javier Espinosa, "El Mundo que viene/Zaki Saad," *El Mundo*, 22 July 2006, 8–9.

Mundo and *ABC* did publish numerous articles in the period in which the word “Jew” appeared connected to issues related to the Holocaust (chart 8, page 39 and chart 9, page 40). Even though the proportion is lower than what was found in *El País*, it shows that the issue has been incorporated into the image of Jews and Judaism transmitted by these important Spanish newspapers.

The Holocaust, as “a paradigm of absolute evil” has not only been associated by *El Mundo* with Israeli policies towards the Palestinians, but also with the Castro régime in Cuba, extremist Basque nationalism, and U.S. military abuses at Abu Ghraib.¹¹⁴ In the case of *ABC*, Nazi policies are sometimes portrayed as similar to those current in Israel, as well as to those of Basque nationalists.¹¹⁵

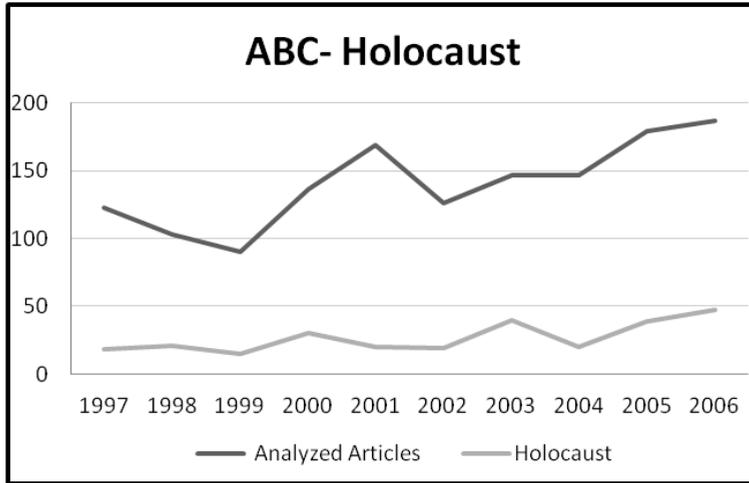
Chart 8



¹¹⁴ See for example, David Torres, “Zoom. Los listos útiles,” *El Mundo*, 26 Aug. 2004, 2; “Testimonio/Las víctimas del castrismo,” *El Mundo*, 24 Dec. 2006, 10; Federico Jiménez Losantos, “Comentarios liberales. Verdad y política,” *El Mundo*, 31 Jan. 2005, 4; Antonio Gala, “La Tronera. Cipayos,” *El Mundo*, 9 Apr. 2005, 3.

¹¹⁵ For instance, see Inmaculada Navarrete, “Pececitos de colores,” *ABC Sevilla*, 7 Apr. 2002, 54; and Fernando García de Cortázar, “Vuestros padres mintieron,” *ABC*, 8 Oct. 2002, 3.

Chart 9



CONCLUDING REMARKS

Content analysis of the three main Spanish newspapers in the period 1997–2006 reveals the persistence of antisemitic motifs. Within the period, the emphasis varied according to internal Spanish or external circumstances, the ideological allegiance of the paper, and the historic memories and concerns of the Spanish public.

This persistence of antisemitic themes is particularly striking in light of the exposure of the Spanish public to open discussion of the Holocaust and the “new” antisemitism, evidencing the fact that Spanish society as a whole had never addressed these important issues with the necessary depth and reflection. In Spain especially, anti-Jewish hatred and the Shoah are intrinsically connected to the issue of evil and the concept of crimes against humanity. Confronting these issues implies, therefore, a willingness to transform the age-old projection of “evil” upon the individual and collective Jew (i.e., world Jewry, or the State of Israel), into a conscious introspection into the roots of “evil” inside one’s own individual and collective (i.e., Spanish) Self.

Spain is unique in the European context, especially concerning its transition to democracy and the “pact of silence” on which it was based. This led to the closing of the gates that maintain in separate “drawers” the worlds of the conscious and the unconscious, the self-image of goodness and the projected image of evil, Man and his shadow (in Carl Jung’s terms). This separation explains the contradiction between the rational acknowledgements of the existence of Jews and the State of Israel as complex entities with essentially human characteristics and the phantasmagoric, demoniac perception of a Jewish Other that keeps resurfacing in the three dailies’ pages. This stubborn reemergence of monstrous images associated with the Jews are therefore symptoms of what Sigmund Freud calls the “return of the repressed,” and they will not disappear unless the material that forms it is made conscious and elaborated.

Three specific elements are being projected onto the Jews. These are, first of all, the memory of Francoist crimes; along with the memory of the history of Spanish colonial expansion, and the desire to return to the “glorious” days during which Spain was at the head of an empire on which Phillip II asserted, “the sun never sets.”

In his article, “Ironies of Spanish History,” José Brunner signaled that “Spanish democracy was consolidated through the adoption of Francoist means for democratic ends.”¹¹⁶ The political “pact of oblivion” on which the transition was based was, in his opinion, based on the self-censuring political culture that has been imposed during Franco’s dictatorship.¹¹⁷ The brutal crimes of Francoism, which according to the Spanish Judge Baltazar Garzón fall into the definition of “crimes against humanity,” were committed with the active or passive complicity of broad segments of the Spanish population. The emotional and psychological suffering that the acknowledgment of such facts would normally generate has been avoided by expelling those memories from the Spanish public space. But it resurfaces in the shape of ghostly figures of Spain’s Others.

¹¹⁶ Brunner, “Ironías de la historia española,” 173.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 171.

The same happens with the memories of the Spanish colonial expansion on the American continent and in the Maghreb, spiritually supported and legitimized by the Catholic Church. While the “unpleasant” aspects of these historical memories have been banished from the official historical narratives, the “benefits” brought by these expansionist policies, especially in terms of international influence and economic prerogatives, are often celebrated.

This “glorious” imperial past has been interpreted, especially since the 1990s, as a proof of the Spanish nation’s “natural” leadership of the Occidental world. This has been especially evident in the conservative camp, where the will to transform Spain into a world power with outstanding global influence has been particularly popular.

The main demoniac features attributed to the Jew and/or the State of Israel in the Spanish press are grotesque representations of these repressed elements: the cruelty, racism, greed, lust, and desire for world influence are mirrored in the comparisons between the Nazis and today’s Israelis, in the associations between Jewishness and greed, inhuman cruelty, a materialistic approach to the Divine, and all-powerful lobbying. In Henri Zukier’s words, “In his congenital blindness, the imaginary Jew is the externalization of insight.”¹¹⁸ Indeed, it is the blindness vis-à-vis their own “dark side” that causes the Spaniards to project their shadow onto a mythical Jewish Other.

If we add to these elements the external variables given at the beginning of this essay, we can conclude that *El País* (particularly in what concerns antisemitism) has been shaped, at least in external matters, by Soviet antisemitism. On the social-psychological side, the enforced silence imposed about Francoist crimes, to which the PSOE has greatly contributed despite itself having been prosecuted during the dictatorship, appears as a particularly painful historical memory in desperate need of projection onto an Other.

Anti-Jewish prejudice of Catholic origin is especially strong in *ABC*’s pages. In what concern the repressed elements, the memories of Francoism and of

¹¹⁸ Zukier, Henri, “The essential ‘other’ and the Jew: from antisemitism to genocide,” *Social Research* 43, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 1151.

past colonial expansion, in which the most conservative and Catholic elements of Spanish society played a crucial role, seem to be predominant. So is the belief in a providential Spanish leadership of Western European civilization. This last aspect is mirrored in the particular approach of the daily to a presumed “Jewish lobby,” which is both admired and condemned. In this case, the megalomaniac fantasies of Spain’s destiny are projected into a fearsome and all-powerful Jewish collective. *El Mundo* shares with *ABC* this emotional, paradoxical approach to an imagined “Jewish lobby,” based on a similar unconscious element.

Despite these different emphases, all of these variables, including Spain’s particular relationship with the history and memory of the Holocaust, are reflected in differing degrees in each of the three newspapers’ approach to Jews and Judaism. Notwithstanding the increasing awareness in Spanish society of the potentially dangerous consequences of prejudice, the force of anti-Jewish beliefs does not seem to recede. It probably will not unless the Spaniards find the necessary strength to look evil in the eye and realize that what they see is a monstrous reflection of their denied Self.