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DAIA | Argentine Jewish Associations Delegation

Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina 2006

By

Marisa Braylan

DAIA

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for his unconditional
support and encouragement*

This publication is sponsored by the “Task Force” for International Co-operation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research, of which Argentina is a full member.

It is impossible to present the Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina 2006 without mentioning Adrian Jmelnizky z'L, who was one of the driving forces of this work, which was born in 1998, and today enjoys an important place in the field of academics and Social Sciences, and is required by the main political, communitarian and State organisms, The CES has had the honour of counting on his professional and human quality and capability, which will be hard to replace. "Project Testimony" (Impact of the Nazism in Argentina), the CES Booklets, "Indice" Review, the courses for the "Training of Teachers and Leaders of the Jewish community", the "Archive on the role of the DAIA during the military dictatorship 1976-1983" and the book of the "65th Anniversary of DAIA" treasure the way of thinking, writing and work of Adrian. He is gone, and in silence. Just as he was, an advocate of a low profile, who spoke slowly. With the pain of having lost him and the privilege of having known him.

DAIA: Mission and Objectives

DAIA is Argentina's Jewish Community's representative entity. 140 social, sport, educational, cultural, religious and professional Jewish organizations throughout the country are affiliated to DAIA. It also has local offices in each of the Argentinean Provinces where there is a Jewish community.

DAIA's objectives are to defend the dignity of Argentinean Judaism, fighting against any act inspired in Anti-Semitism and Nazi ideas; struggling against anti-Judaism, ethnic, social or religious discrimination and xenophobia. It also fights against the permanent threat of terrorism

DAIA is a Non-Governmental Organization engaged in important contributions to building Argentinean society and strengthening the concepts of law and justice.

DAIA's task is essentially political and educational, therefore it carries out its mission by interacting with all public authorities and all sectors of Argentinean civil society, as well as by establishing relations with other Jewish communities and/or representative entities worldwide, continuously emphasizing its links with the State of Israel, spiritual centre of Jewish Life.

Centre for Social Studies

DAIA's Centre for Social Studies was created in 1967 with the aim of studying, analyzing and researching, from a social sciences' perspective, issues relating to discrimination, prejudice, human rights, modern Anti-Semitism, immigration, cultural identity and Jewish people's contemporary history.

On its 40th year anniversary, there are numerous of ongoing projects which, linked to reality and the needs of the Argentinean Jewish community, reveal its goals and principles.

CES is in contact with local and foreign scientific institutions and universities, for the development of projects, in some cases in collaboration with those institutions of higher learning.

Currently, CES is developing the tenth Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina, the Third and Fourth Booklet to be distributed in all mid-level public education establishments depending on the government of the city of Buenos Aires titled *The impact of Nazism on Argentina's graphic Media*, respectively.

It also possesses a documentary record on DAIA's role during the last military dictatorship (1976-1983) in connection with Jewish detainees-disappeared.

Another publication in the making is the Centre for Social Studies Review called *Indice*, whose numbers 24 and 25 will deal with Anti-Semitism and Shoah, respectively.

In fulfilment of its pedagogic mission, CES offers a Teachers' Training Seminar addressed to teachers of primary public schools and mid-level schools to work educative contents in the official curricula.

In 2007, the Political Seminar for Leaders of Jewish institutions will commence its sixth year, and the first long distance-Seminar for communities of the interior of the country, organized in conjunction with AMIA will make its debut.

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Presentation

Discrimination and prejudice are two closely related terms regarding their semantic field, they are both present in a devaluating judgment which is not based on a real experience, but on preconceived ideas which curtail the liberty. In both sides there is a negative feature in the consideration of the other, a careful attitude against an individual or a group just because they belong to what is strange to us and to what negative qualities are imputed to them.

PROF. ANTONIO SALONIA

The United Nations Organization defines discrimination as “*a behaviour based on distinctions made on the basis of natural or social categories, regardless of their relation with the capacities or individual merits, or with the concrete behaviour of the individual person.*”

Discrimination begins when we deny other individuals or groups of persons the equality of treatment which they deserve due to their human condition, when there is unequal recognition before the law, denial of the rights of a particular groups, inequality insofar as personal safety, freedom of movement and residence, etc

Discrimination in all its forms constitutes a social pathology which leads to the alteration of the functioning of the society itself, and therefore our institution assumes, as a Non Governmental *Organization representing the Argentinean Jewish Community* committed in the struggle against all forms of prejudice and discrimination, anti-Semitism and xenophobia, the elaboration of this *Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina and discrimination of other minorities* –the only work of its type in Latin-American-, to express its concern, denunciate what is going on in our country, in a society which loses its humanization on a daily basis, and in which solidarity and respect are values in danger.

The Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina is a tool which we provide in fulfilment of our mission, and at the same time, it is the voice

warning about the absence of the State in the execution of active and permanent policies of investigation on the phenomena of discrimination present in Argentina. **Once more we affirm** that discrimination ought to be fought with legislative and regulating measures, with direct and explicit efforts, with scholastic and urban policies. There is a National Plan against Discrimination approved by the Presidency of the Nation in the year 2005. Its profundization is unpostponable and its continuity is the necessary guarantee beyond electoral processes.

Through this Report on Anti-Semitism we make the reader face the anti-Semitic events which occurred in the year 2006, both the ones which had more public diffusion and those of the private sphere –which constitute the majority of the events– those events took place in working, study, residence and entertaining realms.

The year 2006 shows the crudeness of the importation of the conflict between Israel and Hezbollah with a strong increase of the anti-Semitic paintings on public spaces –mainly in the Capital City–, journalist editorials and public acts with alarming expressions displaying a prejudiced culture and feelings underlying in the depths of the society

The historical experience of this century is eloquent enough to show that the concept of civilization and democracy lack rigour when an ethnic minority or a certain way of thinking are held responsible for all social faults. In the desecration of graves, in the entrance to a discotheque, in the selection criteria for working positions, in the chants of the football supporters, in the seemingly harmless social gossip, prejudice and discrimination are constantly, daily and painfully present in our social tissue.

On the basis of what has been said, the *Report on anti-Semitism* reveals the situation of discrimination suffered by persons with disability, those suffering diseases, the Afro-Descendants, the members of the native peoples, the Latin-American immigrants, the Chinese community, the Korean community, Gypsies, HIV positives, homosexuals and Muslims, and the discrimination generated on the basis on genre, poverty and physical aspect; it also provides as a novelty an important work on the situation and the problems related to Reli-

gious Freedom, a chapter written by the Argentinean Council for Religious Freedom. DAIA is honoured to share this work of research.

DAIA, created in 1935, was born as a clear and brave response to warn our society of the danger when the principles of Nazism were beginning to be imported from Europe, without imagining the catastrophe lingering over the Jewish people and over humanity as a whole, with the execution of an extermination plan carried out on the basis of racial hatred which condensed the anti-Jewish feeling of the 2000 year old history of the Western world.

The Shoah, the extermination of the Jewish people in the hands of the Nazi regime, has been for the last 60 years, the central topic of the institutional actions. Committed with the work of the *Argentinean Chapter of the International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research*, we warn in this Report about the absence in education of the experiences of Argentina during the Second World War and the Holocaust. It is an obligation to save the systematic omission in the educative programmes of the restriction to Jewish migration policies, the anti-Jewish movements, the segregationist policies in education and in the Armed Forces, among others. It is imperative that the State trains and educate the educators so that the education on the Shoah ceases to be just an item in the scholastic curricula and the transmission of information becomes a habitual practice.

After more than seven decades, DAIA is nowadays one of the organizations which has cooperated the most in our country in the construction of a truly plural society, respectful of the identities. The Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina and the discrimination of other minorities is the first work we present in the year of the 40th anniversary of the Centre for Social Studies.

The CES is a democratic space, created for the reflection and the search of modes and styles of behaviour which allow us to reach the highest levels of peaceful living and social developments, and today it enjoys great prestige in the national and international academic world as a result of its important intellectual and research works, and the professional and academic work provided by great personalities of the intellectualism, Jews and non-Jews, Argentineans and foreigners.

At the time of the celebration of this anniversary, we recognize those leaders who gave the entity, four decades ago, a qualitative leap of enormous transcendence. In this sense, we wish to honour M.A. Adrian Jmelniczky Z”L, who recently passed away, and who was co-responsible for the Centre of Social Studies and maker, since 1998, of the Report on Anti-Semitism.

The Report on Anti-Semitism on Argentina 2006 is the product of a long compilation, classification and analysis which is only possible thanks to team work in order to fulfil our common goal. Our gratitude to all the professionals, researchers and areas of DAIA who have collaborated in this edition, and specially to Mr. Mario Feferbaum, inspirer of this Report, alma mater of the Centre for Social Studies and owner of a profound thinking and an enormous sensitivity to permanently exercise the memory and warn about the dangers of forgetfulness, indifference, silence and lack of knowledge.

CLAUDIO AVRUIJ
Executive Director

Introduction

DAIA's Centre for Social Studies presents this time its ninth annual *Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina*, accounting for discriminatory and Anti-Semitic events which took place in the year 2006. The uninterrupted follow up that this research study performs enables us to obtain a solid judgment on the development of the Argentinean society in the face of the negative otherness, and the alternatives which could be offered for the identification and prevention of such attitudes.

Within the National field, this work continues to be the only systematic research and already forms part of the academic realm, establishing itself as a mandatory reference for consultation for those seeking updated and organized information on the discriminatory behaviour that stems from the interplay of our daily life.

This *Report* is published together with an English version for it to be circulated beyond the borders of Argentina and the Spanish-speaking countries.

In the international context, the most representative works on the subject are the *anti-Semitism World Report* elaborated by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research, the *Annual Report on International Religious Freedom* of the U.S. State Department, and *Anti-Semitism Worldwide* of the University of Tel Aviv. The last two use this *Report* as a source to describe the situation in Argentina.

The anti-Semitic incidents which form part of this edition are the ones which occurred during 2006 in the territory of the Republic of Argentina. The following sources have been consulted: Mass Media –graphic, TV and radio-; news agencies; complaints brought before

the DAC-DAIA (Department of Community Assistance); before DAJ-DAIA (Department of Legal Assistance), and those facilitated by INADI (National Institute against Discrimination, Xenophobia and Racism).

The total amount of incidents in the 2006 period ascends to 586, which compared to last year's figure makes evident a worsening of the situation.

The majority of these events are writings or spray-paintings done in public places, in institutions or in the private property of members of the Argentinean Jewish community. Once more, this reiterated and unpunished aggression becomes a habitual and worrying practice. A detailed analysis on this question can be found in the following paragraphs.

For the first time, this Report presents a detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis of the recurring topics expressed in public places and private property through this violent anti-Semitic practice.

Every year, certain aspects or issues relevant to the period under analysis are added to the main body of this Report. This year, the following are included: a chapter dedicated to the intense conflict between the State of Israel and Lebanon, and its repercussion in Argentina, and another chapter dealing, for the first time, with the situation of the constitutionally recognized right to religious freedom, developed by the Coordinator of the CALIR Observatory of Freedom of Religion and Conscience, *Dr. Gustavo Grancharoff*.

As annexes: 1) Table of anti-Semitic events, 2) The Daily Look: the impact of the topic of anti-Semitism on some Mass Media, and 3) Historical Essays: *a) Dangerous Language. The Use of the Nazi Discourse by two Argentinean Dictatorships (1930-1943 y 1976-1983)*, *b) Educative Reforms in Fascism: Mussolini, Peron and the educative policy*, *c) Pro-Nazi Social Organizations in Argentina: the cases of the Argentinean Civic Legion, the National Youth Alliance and the Argentinean National Union*, and *d) Portrait of an Anti-Semitism*, by *Jean Paul Sartre*, edited by ADIAEN in 1962.

Regarding the chapter dedicated to "Other discriminated groups" which describes the state of affairs of the discrimination mechanism

and prejudice against other subjectivities, either numeric minorities or not, the following groups have been added in this occasion: 1) Mental diseases, and 2) Physical aspect. This chapter is the result of collaboration work of CES' external researchers. In every opportunity, the name of the author will be appropriately indicated.

As always, this task would have not been possible without the selfless collaboration of, first of all, the technical assistance of Alejandra Rosenfeld, Mr. Darío Brenman, researcher of CES, who was in charge of the elaboration of the chapter on the international context of anti-Semitism, the chapter on Nazi publications and parties in Argentina, and Ms. Verónica Papa Constantino who was in charge of the coordination of the chapter on other groups and the problem of anti-Semitic violence in football. Secondly, the collaboration of Mr. Mariano Fridman, Director of the Legal Assistance Department and Ms. Débora Kott from the same department, Mr. Víctor Garelik, DAIA's Communication Department Press Director, Mr. Nicolás Goldschmit, Executive Director of the Community Assistance Department, and Eleonora Zechin, from the same area.

We would like to offer our special gratitude to Ms. Luisa Galli of the Legal Area of INADI, and its president, Ms. María José Lubertino.

We would also like to show our appreciation to those who have selflessly given their time and knowledge to enrich a publication which has as its principal mission protective and promoting democracy in Argentina.

Anti-Semitism background in Argentina

In the first *Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina* elaborated in 1998, we presented a brief historical development on the “background of anti-Semitism in Argentina”. We do not intend to present this chapter again in this ninth report. For those interested in approaching the historical dimension of anti-Semitism in the country, we refer to the *Report on anti-Semitism in Argentina of 1998*¹. A more comprehensive work on this issue may be found in: “*En torno a la representación de los judíos en la sociedad argentina. Entre la inclusión pluralista y la exclusión antisemita.*”²

Other researches dealing with relevant historical aspects of anti-Semitism in the country, albeit in a deeper and more segmented way, are presented in Annex 3 of this volume.

¹ Braylan, Feierstein, Galante y Jmelniczky, “Informe sobre Antisemitismo en Argentina 1998” [Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina 1998] published in *Indice, Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, N° 20, Centre for Social Studies [Indice, Social Sciences Magazine, No. 20, The Centre for Social Studies], DAIA Buenos Aires, April 2000.

² Galante Miguel y Jmelniczky Adrián, “En torno a la representación de los judíos en la sociedad argentina. Entre la inclusión pluralista y la exclusión antisemita.” [On the representation of the Jews in the Argentinean Society. Between Pluralist inclusión and anti-Semitic exclusion] in Feierstein Daniel y Noufuri Hamurabi (Ed.) *La cuestión del otro: representaciones y prácticas frente a la alteridad* [The sigue of the Ohter: Representations and Practices Facing Alterity]. Editorial Universidad de Tres de Febrero (EDUNTREF), Buenos Aires. For more details on this study, see Erdei Ezequiel, Jmelniczky Adrián “La Población Judía de Bienos Aires, estudio sociodemográfico”. Ed. AMIA, Bs. As., 2005.

Demographic aspects of the Jewish community in Argentina

As regards the demographic determination of the Argentinean Jewish community, in the *Report* elaborated the previous year (2005) there is a chronologic description which had its systematic beginning during the 1960s. Further, the content of the probabilistic study designed by the Joint Distribution Committee through its Centre for the Latin-American Jewish communities “Meida”³ during 2003 and 2004 is described. Those interested in a more profound analysis of these aspects should refer to the Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina of 2005, edited by the Centre for Social Studies of DAIA.

³ This research work has been produced by Gerardo Adrogué, Mariela Strusberg, Ezequiel Erdei and Adrián Jmelnizky, under the general direction of Diego Freedman.

On the term “to discriminate”¹

This short essay does not pretend to be anything other than some notes to discuss certain topics which, without diving into an academia coherence, every so often are in need of refreshing, allowing them to be a trigger of our own discussions.

Just as Ajad Haam, the renowned intellectual and Zionist leader used to say, assimilation is not a bad thing² (and so many annoyances stemmed from that article caused by those who did not understand it), in the same way, with humbleness and without getting caught in linguistic nonsense, I would like to provoke reflection by saying that discrimination is not a bad thing. Allow me to present these short reflections until the end before accusing me of being a discriminator!

By definition, discrimination is the act which enables us to distinguish and differentiate one thing from another. This is true, of course while such attitude does not hide any value judgment. On the contrary, to discriminate the positive from the negative is what in a complete form the most elemental sense of reality demands. For example, he or she who wants to have children obviously needs to discriminate, distinguish and differentiate a man from a woman. Moreover, in any religious tradition, the act of “sanctify” is the result of discrimination. The sanctification represents the event of discriminating, separating and distinguishing the sacred from the profane. When a man “sanctifies” a woman in the act of matrimony, he discriminates her from the rest of the women.

And certainly, in certain contexts the discrimination demands a profound value judgment. The unforgettable and distinguished Italian philosopher, Norberto Bobbio³, advanced the difference between

¹ This article was elaborated by Rabbi Daniel Goldman.

² Ajad Haam, *En la encrucijada* ed. Amia 1962.

³ Bobbio Norberto, *Igualdad y libertad [Equality and Liberty]*, Paidós, Barcelona 1993

“positive” and “negative” discrimination, stating that the Law only prohibits the latter, which he denominates “unjust inequality” or “arbitrary discrimination”, that is, a discrimination brought by or not eliminated without justification (in this sense “unjust”). Other philosophers consider that it is enough to differentiate between “distinction” and “discrimination” so the words remain clear, by definition the first one would be just; the second one, always unjust.

Accepting the linguistic conventions, and in order to understand what we are talking about, certain social groups, to be lax, put off our problems and get trapped between the real “distinctions” and “discriminations” (not the linguistic ones). Infinite times, in the name of the “good conscience”, which is nothing other than an optimal domination tool, we determine “distinctions” which produce a negative discrimination about which is not convenient to talk, and “discriminations” which are positive distinctions. What I want to underline is that we must be honest, and with dignity and intellectual courage not disguise the “anti-discriminations” under certain acts of good deeds, playing with alleged justified “distinctions”, since no linguistic dance avoids facing the profound conflicts, the indomitable discriminations, which are always unjust. To be clearer, let us think about the example of being horrified about the racial segregation (an obviously valid thing), however, living with the implacable economic and social class-related segregation is what is “honestly acceptable”, because it is only a miserable and undignified “distinction”. Anti-discrimination is a political, social, economic and cultural process. In sum, any anti-discriminatory policy has to be clear, battling and has the obligation to make people uncomfortable, so as not to transmute into a tool which calms the “holy souls” of those who claim not to discriminate but exercise the “Bobbian” negative form as a daily tool when real discrimination attacks their own powers and interests.

Identity and Discrimination

It is worth revisiting briefly the question of identity, such a useful thinking in 1960s. Identity is a much utilized concept in logics, philosophy and psychology, which designates the character of eve-

rything which remains unique and identical in itself, despite having different appearances or maybe being perceived in a different way.

The identical opposes the different and always entails a feature of permanence and invariability. From Parmenides to Heraclites, just to take certain philosophers, they worked on this idea of identity and its connection with the variability of the being.

Identity has a universalizing and disciplinary character which exhibits the acceptance of the individuals, of values, either ethical or moral or referential supports, in order to preserve a certain order, as well as to help orienting our memory, constituting an ideology which allows the projection of future responsible and creative actions. In this sense, the function of the ideology, in the words of Paul Ricouer⁴, is to serve as a post of the collective memory, with the goal that the inaugural value of the founding events becomes the object of belief of the entire group. Identity constitutes us and differentiates us from the others. And it is the identity itself which limits, classifies, and segregates. The difference –according to Lacan⁵- must be regarded not as an ontological affirmation, but as a variation over the human substrate. The “other” is the different, but it is also what is threatening, what must remain in the place the “power” assigns to it. Other races, other genre, other sexual options, other ways of looking the world. When the other identity seems threatening, discrimination (the negative one, of course) implies the incapability to accept the ways of being of other persons, and the incapability to respect the cultures, being this discriminative attitude what can turn into genocide. Under a representation system, what covers and conceals the axis of differentiation is a “distinction” based only on discriminatory, concrete and articulated social and political class’ practices. Therefore, if race, ethnic, class and genre are central social constructions for the identification of the own identity and its differentiation of others, the culture is the result of the way that difference is interpreted, being the situation of how the other, the dissimilar, the allegedly different, the one with strange skin, the fattest one or the skinniest one is assumed as dan-

⁴ Ricœur Paul, *Hermenéutica y acción* [Hermeneutic and Action], Ed. Docencia, Bs. As. 1985

⁵ J. Lacan. *Ecrits*. Ed. Seuil.

gerous and what as is on stake, to lead to other types of differences, the sexual, the religious or the political ones. Therefore, the combination of identity and power in the culture, if not transmitted with a broad spirituality and criteria, may turn into a lethal game leading to genocide⁶.

Discrimination, memory and education

Rabbi Marshall T, Meyer, in an act organized by the Jewish Movement for Human Rights in 1984, held that “we have decided to resort to our memories, because as Argentinean Jews we believe that the collective memory of the Jewish people can entail invaluable teachings for Argentina as a whole, an action which can be learnt, must be learnt. Nobody can live in freedom or security or comfortableness while his or her fellow man is banned from those privileges.”⁷ These words allow us to understand how the memory makes the roots of the discrimination have a profound sense in real practice and the conceptual, since embedded prejudices in our society stem from the lack of social modification; that from the Jewish particularity is held as a value of change through the prophetic and rabbinic tradition. And that in every collective memory there is an act of denunciation.

In this sense, the Bible itself proposes an essential dialectic, where its frontiers are precisely, on the one hand, the act of remembering, and on the other hand, its opposite, which is not amnesia, but the action of not forgetting. The “memory” as an active practice and the “not to forget” as a passive action. Biblical pedagogy, as the exercise of transmission, assigns us an all-embracing mission which indicates that it is not possible to live remembering all the time, but at the same time, that it is obscene to exercise oblivion. Professor Jaim Iosef Yerushalmi, in his famous book *Zakhor*⁸, offers a superb development on this topic. As an illustrative fact, Yerushalmi tells us that the word “zajor” (remember, memorize, remembrance), in all its Hebrew variations, appears 273 times in the Hebrew Bible. The reiterated use of this con-

⁶ Lamas Marta, *Cuerpo, diferencia social y género*, Debate Feminista año 5 [Body, Social Difference and genre, Feminist Debate, year 5] vol.10 set.94-Mexico

⁷ Majshavot, año XXIII, num.2, 1984

⁸ Yerushalmi Yosef Hayim, *Zachor*, University of Washington Press, 1982.

cept shows the symbolic insistence of the message. At the same time, the other central axis of the Bible is deep-rooted in the practice of denunciation as a permanent activity, in opposition to the subjugation of the human being to mediocre conformism exercised by certain powerful men of history who, through the authoritarian mechanism of corruption and the instrumentation of the prejudice obstructed the people's capacity to scandalize. It was the word of the prophets, from the model confrontation of Moses with the Pharaoh until Jeremiah's accusation to the power on earth, and from the tension exercised by Samuel before the king until the shout of discomfort of Amos in the face of the opulent material obscenity of his time, which impregnated the challenge of responsibility in periods of decadence and in times of crisis so that the dignity be exercised among individuals⁹.

In this sense, I am convinced that the insistence on a pedagogy of the memory in this cross between the particularity of the Argentinean and the Jewish as well as in general in each collectivity, should be a part of an official teaching including the origin and the contribution of the diverse immigrations to this country, which would collaborate in an extraordinary way to overcoming the discriminatory paradigms that cause so much damage. Together with this subject, the topic of the Shoah should be one of the significant points, since the dimension which this event had in the universal conscience, together with the topic of the National version of Nazism and its implications in the fateful days of the military dictatorship, should own an important place in the curricular space.

It occurs to me that "a general plan of the distant and close memory" would enable in a present time to develop the social energy so that the individual and collective denounce may echo in the society itself, and so that those harmed by the profound prejudices may occupy the community space they deserve.

⁹ Goldman Daniel, AMIA la lección de la memoria [AMIA, the lesson of memory]- Clarín Bs.As. julio 5. 2006

Religious Freedom¹

Who is CALIR?

The first lines of this presentation are of gratitude towards the **Centre for Social Studies (CES)** of **DAIA** for inviting the **Argentinean Council for Religious Freedom (CALIR)** to make its purposes and activities known. The pages of this renowned Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina published by CES year after year constitute a valuable opportunity for communication and dialogue

CALIR is a non-profit private entity established to defend freedom of religion and conscience in the Republic of Argentina.

It is formed by people who profess different religions. Teachers, workers, businessmen, professionals, diplomatics, retired people, young people, mothers, fathers, each one with his or her own well-defined religious identity, they form a group which, due to its plurality, offers a complete mosaic of the opinions of the Jews, the Muslims, the Catholics, the Orthodox, the Methodists, the Baptists, the Pentecosts and other evangelic denominations, albeit none of them officially represent their communities or creeds.

The purpose of its existence is to promote religious freedom, contribute to its effective protection, harmonious living and peace. **CALIR** positively values the religious fact and the diversity of its expressions as part of the rich and plural culture of the Argentineans. It encourages dialogue and mutual knowledge among religions, and cooperation among them for the promotion of the common good.

We value **CALIR** as an instrument of the civil society to partici-

¹ This chapter was elaborated by Mr. Gustavo A. Grancharoff.

pate in the elaboration of a democratic response to the fact of religion. Assuming religion has never been easy (in the XIXth Nietzsche announced the death of God); however, it has been even more difficult to provide an adequate answer. The history of the oscillating relationship between religion and politics proves so, from the extreme of absolute identification of both spheres to the extreme of war, passing through various forms of peaceful living and hostility.

CALIR shares and adheres to the principles of the **Declaration on the elimination of all forms of intolerance and discrimination based on religion or in convictions**, approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations on November, 25th, 1981.

This paramount document of the international community has declared that religion or convictions, for those who profess them, constitute one of the fundamental elements of their conception of life, and thus, the acknowledgement of freedom of religion has as a primordial justification the dignity of the human being.

Therefore, the United Nations have approached the question of religion by overcoming the individualist paradigm of the Liberal constitutions of the XIXth Century (among which we find the original text of the Argentinean Constitution of 1853) understanding it from the viewpoint of human rights: freedom of religion is more than the right of an individual, it is the right of a person in relation with the community. The breach of freedom of religion does not only affect the direct victim, but also offends the community where he or she has developed and lives the personality of the subdued subject.

Placing freedom of religion in the context of human rights made it easy for the General Assembly of the United Nations to make explicit the close relationship between the religious phenomenon and the ideal of pacific living among the peoples of the world. Both the violation and the manipulation of freedom of religion have been the direct or indirect cause of wars and grave sufferings for humanity, which are tantamount to hatred among the peoples and the nations and hamper freedom of religion from producing its normal effect: to contribute to the materialization of the goals of world peace, social justice and friendship among the peoples, and

the elimination of the ideologies or practices of colonialism and racial discrimination.

Aside from sharing the principles of the Declaration on the elimination of all forms of intolerance and discrimination based on religion or in convictions, **CALIR** promotes its dissemination. In this sense, it has actively supported the declaration of **November 25th** as the **Day of Religious Freedom**, for this date to be spread throughout the country. To the date on which this presentation is being written (January 2007) the bill has been passed and adopted as a law by the Parliament of the City of Buenos Aires and of the provinces of Buenos Aires and Cordoba. A similar bill will be discussed in the near future by the National Congress.

One of the current projects of **CALIR** is the creation of an **Observatory on Practices of Freedom of Religion and Conscience**. There are some previous examples in the country (like the complaints centre of DAIA), but none of them has as its specific objective freedom of religion of all people, those who believe and those who do not believe, and those who believe in their own way. We purport to make known and disseminate the state of affairs of the topic in the Republic of Argentina and the way in which the exercise of this freedom contributes among us to the sustenance of a plural, solidarity and peaceful society. The success of this enterprise depends on the fact that the civil society accepts it and appreciates it as an effective means of democratic participation.

The materialization and support of congresses and seminars on general and specific topics relating to the freedom of religion and conscience is another one of the frequent activities of **CALIR**. The materialization of an **International Congress on Freedom of Religion** has been planned to be held in **Buenos Aires, on April 2008**, with the participation of renowned speakers.

CALIR encourages the reform and update of the legislation so that it guarantees the full recognition of Freedom of Religion and Conscience, maintaining an adequate separation between the religion and politics, and promoting cooperation between both spheres. **The derogation of the current law 21.745 on the registry of non-Cath-**

olic creeds is a measure promoted most emphatically by CALIR. The bill of reform which the National Executive Power has decided to send to the National Congress has been subject of observations from **CALIR** which can be consulted on its website

On **www.calir.org.ar** it is possible to find more information on **CALIR**, its members and its activities. The email address is **info@calir.org.ar** and it is available to keep in touch with all the readers who have been interested in this presentation.

Advent of a discourse: Israel, the Middle East conflict and contemporary anti-Semitism¹

“The conflict between Israelis and Palestinians is a clash between what is fair and what is fair, not between what is fair and what is unfair. This means that it is a tragedy, not a cow-boys film”

AMOS OZ
Israeli writer

“Language brings to light what a person wants to deliberately hide, in front of others and in front of him or herself, and that what he or she has unconsciously inside”

VÍCTOR KLEMPERER
(1880-1960), German Jewish philologist

It is probable that the year of 2006 will be remembered as the year when, after a few years of “calm”, a pronounced ascending curve in the chart of “anti-Semitic incidents” which occurred in Argentina started to appear. Nevertheless, the quantitative data, lose its sense if it is not placed in the service of a superior theoretical construction, able to relate both instances of research and to offer answers to a problem (the current expansion of the symbolic and physical violence against the Jews or their institutions) which, I dare affirm,

¹ This section was elaborated by Carlos G. Segalis.

is intrinsically related to complex interactions regarding the political and ideological realms, and the particularities of the *semantization*² of the Arab-Israeli conflict in our country and in the world.

This process, extremely complex and exempted from uni-causalisms, found, nonetheless, a paradigmatic case in the armed conflict between the State of Israel and the Islamic group Hezbollah last July. Like never before in recent history, was it possible to observe (read, listen to, feel) social discourses (taken over by the media or not) in which a new type of anti-Semitic discourse was played, which it is expressed in the utilization of symbols and images associated with the traditional anti-Semitic discourse (accusations against the Jews of having killed Jesus, drinking children's blood, the utilization of the cancerous metaphor, for example) in order to criticize the State of Israel; the expansion of anti-Zionism (which includes the non-right to existence of the Zionist movement³); the denial or banalization of the Holocaust (accusations against the Jews insofar as people or against Israel insofar as State, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust); the accusation against Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel or to "world Jewish interests" than to their own countries and allegations about the power of the Jews (the control myth) over mass media and over the policies of certain governments regarding their relation with Israel and the countries of Middle East in general; the "nazification" of the State of Israel and the Jews; the justification of the murders or attacks to Jews worldwide, among others.

Just as violence cannot be comprehended "outside the significant matrix which begets it"⁴, the phenomenon of contemporary anti-

² The neologism "semantization" refers to the "process whereby a fact «x» which has occurred in the social reality is incorporated under the form of significations, to the contents of a mass media". Verón, E., *Prensa escrita y Teoría de los Discursos Sociales: Producción, recepción, regulación*, [Written Press and Theory of the Social Discourses: Production, reception, regularization] Didier Erudition, Paris, 1984.

³ "Death to Zionism", graffiti signed by the Revolutionary Communist Youth on de Mayo Avenue and 9 de Julio Av.

⁴ Verón, E. y Sigal, S., *Perón o muerte: Los fundamentos discursivos del fenómeno peronista*, [Peron or Death: The discursive grounds of the Peronist phenomenon] Legasa, Bs. As., 1988.

Semitism cannot be comprehended outside the analysis of the cumulus of significant contents in which the State of Israel, its policies, its citizens, its relation with the Jewish institutions of the Diaspora and their members, particularly the mass media and the fictional and non-fictional genres which they hold (daily information, interviews, debates, pamphlets, posters, etc. and the image, the soundtrack insofar as expression topics), are “*subjectivized*”. Far from being an isolated or fortuitous fact, the presence of a graffiti proclaiming the “Destruction of the Zionist Fascist State of Israel” on the wall of the Philosophy and Letters School (just to quote an example of high media repercussion⁵) represents the manifestation of a communicational process that has existed for decades (re)producing itself both in the political, journalistic and intellectual field, which has seen its semiotic performance field grow in an extraordinary way since the beginning of the second Palestinian *Intifada* in the year 2000. This fact, one of the most violent and rending facts in the history of the tragic conflict between the Palestinian and the Israeli peoples, represents also one of the most complex recent international events, whose analysis is simplified in the exercise of the *fast-thinking* characteristic of the mass media or the abuse of the “illusions of the immediate knowledge (...), the common language and the common notions”⁶ of the spontaneous sociology.

The contemporary anti-Semitic discourse –which in many cases presents itself as a non-anti-Semitic one, and relentlessly appeals to quotes of Jewish personalities who share its postulated to manifest it has, nonetheless, as a production condition a social imaginary in where the current Middle East conflict (by virtue of it reinterprets its whole past) represents and principal event of a uni-polar world subsequent to the fall of the Soviet Union, in which the dominant actor of the international scene of the United States of America, and upon which the figure of imperialism and the advance of the globaliz-

⁵ Other (anonymous) graffiti were: “Jews are invaders, let us kill the Jews, do something for your country”, “Jews are Fascists”, “Jews are murderers”.

⁶ Bourdieu, Pierre, Chamberdon, J-C. and Passeron, J-C., *El oficio del sociólogo [The craft of a sociologist]*, Siglo XXI, Bs. As., 1975.

ing capitalism in all its forms has fallen. Under this simplistic scheme of analysis and Manichaeism, the State of Israel is represented as the military power supported by the “Western Empire”⁷ and theocratic regimes, such as the one ruling Iran and fundamentalist groups such as Hezbollah and Hamas (who do not accept the existence of the former nor the peace treaties signed until today) are represented as models of the cultural and political resistance, those who rise in arms against it (occupying the empty space left by the USSR). This is a symbolic order where different extreme leftist sectors⁸ knew, among other things, how to hoist the flags of Hezbollah in public demonstrations (“How is it possible that the Left is supporting the Party of God? Many wonder) and they vindicate the Iranian President, despite the fact that he denies the Holocaust⁹.

In this process, we find many actors and productions stemmed from the journalistic and intellectual field fulfilling a fundamental role, who reproduced this “displacement of the aggression” (symbolic) from the Jews in the Diaspora (a *politically incorrect* attitude) towards one of their ideological central axis, the constitution of a state of their own (the current State of Israel), which is incorporated by vast sectors of the political spectrum and of the “public opinion”.

In an analogous way, vast sectors of the political spectrum (both the Nazi-like “nationalist patriotism” Nazi of “New Triumph” first, as the “tough” Left –albeit for different reasons- afterwards) have placed the State of Israel as the sole target of the verbal aggression in their political discourse about the Arab-Israeli conflict, even deny-

⁷ Controlled by the “Zionist international lobby”, “American-Jewish”, etc.

⁸ Leftwing parties such as the Socialist party, the ARI and the Humanist Party, on the contrary, confronted this discourse, issuing posters with the slogan “no to anti-Semitism” and denouncing both the “Israeli Armed Forces in Gaza and in Lebanon” and the “Hezbollah and Hamas attacks against the people of Israel”, in the Humanist European Regional – *International humanistic, Position and Proposal in the face of the events in the Middle East*.

⁹ The fact that some call for the “erase of Israel from the map” or the non-recognition of its right to exist is not problematic as long as both parts agree in the belief of such postulate.

ing its right to exist¹⁰. In this sense, in the enunciation taken as an example (“For the Destruction of the Fascist Zionist State of Israel”), the paradigm becomes discourse: to the inexistence of the distinction between State/government/civil society (this is a fundamental invariant when distinguishing between the legitimate critic to a State policy and an anti-Semitic enunciate), it is added the intrinsically (an essentialism) “Fascist” component to the state level and the utilization of the term “Zionist” as a synonym of perversion or evil (by a game of transaction with the term Fascism, which justifies the appeal to its “destruction”).

Confronting this type of polarizing discourse is not a simple task, particularly due to the enunciative positions it offers. If Israel is in its essence “Fascist” and has become “genocidal”¹¹ (two figures of absolute otherness), discussing this belief turns someone into one who defends the Fascist and genocidal “desirable order”. Reproducing it, i.e., placing against a genocidal or even Nazi state, presents oneself as the exact opposite of this type of scourges (this is the option claimed to be followed by that who tries to persuade the enunciation, the “undecided”).

It means that we are facing a “humanist” anti-Semitism. Or, do they not present themselves as contrary to Nazism those who manifest themselves in favour of the destruction of Israel or against the Jews because they are “Nazis”? Here is the main paradox of the contemporaneous significant matrix. The armed conflict with Hezbollah, for the Argentinean case, incorporated two fundamental novelties¹²: the introduction of the disappearance of the Jewish

¹⁰ “The Party New Triumph does not recognize the existent of the Zionist entity self-denominated ‘Israel’ (...) We think is auspicious the late but positive awakening of other political sectors, which were until recently allies of the international Zionism, and today seem to understand the true nature of the enema of the free peoples” (<http://pnt.libreopinion.com/novedades/nov20060720>) in Stiglitz, D., *Antisemitismo, Medio Oriente y Política Argentina [Anti-Semitism, Middle East and Argentinean Politics]*, Nueva Sion, Buenos Aires, 2006.

¹¹ “Let us stop the genocide of the State of Israel”, ad Publisher in the newspaper *Página/12* on 25/07/2006.

¹² The conflict with Hezbollah introduces new elements and expands the phenomenon, but both the symbolic structures and the rhetoric and enunciative

State as a hegemonic enunciation and its manifestation in the public space as a legitimate activity at the social level. This has not always been like this: until July 2006, the main discussion turned around the withdrawal of the Israeli settlements in Palestinian territory and the reestablishment of the frontiers prior to the 1967 War (legitimate position both in the Israeli political field and in the local community; the promised unilateral reestablishment had led Ehud Olmert –for the Kadima party- to the Primer Minister office). This new phenomenon, nonetheless, jeopardizes the “pacific” relationship proposed by the model of the Argentinean Diaspora: firstly, because if one is a Jew and supports Israel (its existence, we remind you) then one supports an intrinsically “Fascists” state, practices a “double loyalty”, etc. And every demonization of a social group comes together with the call for “a decrease of their individual or collective rights”¹³: the attack against the AMIA building, for example, began to be depicted as another episode of a foreign conflict in which the local justice should not interfere, a “Jewish” problem (in opposition to the “Argentinean”) and in many cases, a justified act¹⁴. Secondly, if the Israelis’ essential character which is presented is their absolute evil, and “the Israelis are Jews”¹⁵, these represent the justification of the stigma, i.e. they allow the corroboration of every latent anti-Semitic prejudice which by “transitive” character existed about such social collective (the same happens with the relationship between the action of the Jewish State and the collective

postures supporting it lack originality. They are present, nonetheless, as discursive invariants worldwide and reaffirm the fact that several current categories of analysis with respect to the phenomenon which represents the anti-Semitic discourse have become expired, just like the methodology to combat it.

¹³ Elbaum, Jorge, *El lado izquierdo de la historia y el prejuicio [The left side of history and prejudice]*, in *Controversias/1*, Buenos Aires, 2007.

¹⁴ The affirmation about the materialization of a “self-attack” are also highlighted.

¹⁵ In the recognition of the general public, Israel has represented a collective subject particular of what is “Jewish”, precisely because it is a Jewish State, presents a majority of citizens who profess such religion (80%) and use many elements of its symbolism. 19% of the Muslim population in Israel is commonly designated as “Arab-Israeli” by the mass media.

character of the people¹⁶). Therefore, the generalizations which include the “Nazification” of the State of Israel (or catalogued it as “genocidal”) are not innocuous: they revive anti-Semitic discursive structures of historical character, and give meaningful coherence to the growing wave of attacks to institutions and individuals of the Jewish community worldwide. That is to say, if the Israelis are (insert the stigma here) and the Israelis are Jewish, thus, the Jews are (repeat the stigma here). Or, in other words, if the Israelis (Jews) are Nazis, if the Palestinian territories “are Auschwitz”¹⁷, then, “Maguen David = Swastika or show otherwise”¹⁸.

Current violence stocking the Jewish community, I interpret, is not a “sudden return to the irrational or a pathologic rupture, but an element resulting from the significant mechanisms which determine the nature of the conflict and the positions occupied by the leading characters”¹⁹. The physical threat against a group of Jewish demonstrators, in this sense, does not oppose the discourse as action opposes diction: it does not begin in the fluctuation of the menacing cudgel. The anti-Semitic violence, just like in the discourses, “is articulated to the significant matrix which had given it sense, and, which definitely begets it as the rooted behaviour in the symbolic order and producer of the imaginary”²⁰. At the end of the end, the concern arises not only from the analysis which can be carried out about the “anti-Semitic fact”, but from the social consensus which it can eventually enjoy.

¹⁶ Just like in the semantization of the Middle East conflict can mediate an anti-Semitic discourse, a mediatization which does not present it, but is openly anti-Israeli in its rhetoric and enunciation, can also generate an anti-Semitic “break-out” in all its forms.

¹⁷ José Saramago, press conference at the Palestine Press Centre, 26/03/2002

¹⁸ Anonymous graffiti painted with a stencil on the corner of the AMIA building, located on Pasteur St. and Tucumán.

¹⁹ Verón, E. and Sigal, S., *Perón o muerte: Los fundamentos discursivos del fenómeno peronista*, [Peron or death: the discursive grounds of the Peronist phenomenon] Legasa, 1988, Bs. As.

²⁰ Verón, E. and Sigal, S., *Perón o muerte: Los fundamentos discursivos del fenómeno peronista*, [Peron or death: the discursive grounds of the Peronist phenomenon] Legasa, 1988, Bs. As.

Legal Aspects¹

To fulfil DAIA's mission to fight against anti-Semitism in the courts, during 2006 the Legal Assistance Department has specially acted through the complaints and/or criminal suits brought against Judges and lawyers who, in the exercise of their functions, have violated the Anti-Discrimination Law.

This is what happened in the case of the of Judge Julio Cesar Davolos, a magistrate of the civil courts, who was hearing a case of damages filed by a Jewish couple against the owner of an apartment who refused to rent it to them because they were Jewish. In this decision, the judge held that:

"(...) The psychological expert's opinion requested by the parties on pages 200/27, on the personality of the respondent, to which I refer (pages. 224/27), chiefly states that her personality is basically neurotic... the fears which she manifests are multiple, in general to everything "strange", "odd", "unpleasant", and mainly towards everything "uncontrollable" (...). The expert goes on to say that the respondent "...shows generalized fears towards everything which becomes uncontrollable. In this context, the catastrophes can turn, for her psyche, into something which assails the most basic integrity of her psyche, reacting in a hyper defensive way, in favour thereof, and not to deliberately harm the other". The expert concluded by saying that the attack against the Twin Towers, in what specifically relates to the psychological health of the individual under analysis, can affirm that such episode has surely had an incidence over her psyche,

¹ This section was elaborated by Ms. Débora Kott, attorney –at –law.

due to her paranoid tendencies and her totalizer thought, a strong but particular episode, has surely been lived in a generalized way, with a degree of drama and an exponentialized catastrophic effect. Consequently, I have to consider that the sayings attributed to Mrs. Santafuentes Fernández have stemmed from a universally moving and dangerous circumstance, as the attack to the Twin Towers was, with the series of safety measures which were taken thereafter (...) Further, the attacks to the Israel Embassy and the AMIA building have to added, which caused that, at the request of their own authorities that all institutions of the same origin were surrounded by special safety measures. I also believe that the fact that the respondent asserts that the only true religion is the Catholic religion, does not constitute a discriminatory act, but forms part of her intimate conviction; it is her belief (article 14 National Constitution). Mrs. Sanfuentes Fernández has never prevented the plaintiffs from practicing their religion On the other hand, I have to take into account that each proprietor who rents an apartment to live in, assumes a risk which is activated over his or her property, because every man is responsible for the activity they perform and its consequences. The prohibition to discriminate on religious grounds has a limit, which is the right to enter into a contract with someone suitable for one's own interests, (...). In consequence, I have to have special care when valuing a discriminatory act, it has to be done in a restrictive way, because we choose daily what is more convenient for us, assessing the most various facts which form the personality and interest of each one of us, which can easily be catalogued as a discriminatory act, thus freedom of choice runs the risk of being restricted. At the end of the day, it is one thing to discriminate and another different one to exercise freely one's right to property (article. 17 National Constitution). Discrimination is not found in the norms, but in the facts, this agrees with the conduct displayed throughout the years by the respondent, who has had friends of Jewish origin for more than thirty years, without any resentment and/or con-

*troversy arising between them. There is no discrimination if a distinction in the treatment is legitimately oriented and if it does not lead to situations contrary to justice, to reason or to the nature of things, reasons why I **decide to reject the claim**".*

In sum, when the couple resort to the Judicial Power for the damage which had been caused to them to cease and so they be compensated, they run into the reviewed decision which regards as a natural thing that someone refuse to enter into a renting contract with Jews after the attack to the Twin Towers in New York, or after the attacks against the Israel Embassy or the AMIA building. It is not about an individual who is discriminated by another individual; it is about a Judge of the Nation, who is in charge of guarding the constitutional force, who justifies through his decision a violation of human rights. Thus, it seems that the magistrate holds that taking into account the special characteristics of the personality of the respondent, is reasonable and even justified that she is afraid of the "strange", the "odd", the "unpleasant", and mainly of everything "uncontrollable". Are those characteristics exclusive of the Jews? The danger element of the reasoning is that discrimination is understood by those who are supposed to guard the supreme interest of the constitutional force, as the product of reasonable fear to the unknown, and not as an asystematic and disvalued behaviour, whereby denial of the humanity of the different becomes a concrete possibility of the legal system in force, depicted in the challenged decision. This is the relationship established by the magistrate between the attack to the Twin Towers, the AMIA/DAIA building and the Israeli Embassy: "the attacks to the Israel Embassy and the AMIA building have to added, which caused that, at the request of their own authorities that all institutions of the same origin were surrounded by special safety measures". Here it is clear that according to the Judge, they are a dangerous being from whom it is best to get away. He even seems to go beyond the author of the discrimination. Thus, we submit that it is possible to see that the plaintiffs have resorted to the Judicial Power to end the discrimination they suffered and have their damaged repaired; however, they

were unfortunate enough that they found an even more discriminating person than the respondent, because the latter only refused to enter into a contract, whereas the judge held that nobody would enter into a contract with them anywhere in the world. It seems that in that case, the shepherd has trusted the “sheep” to the “wolf”. This case caused DAIA to bring an action against the said magistrate for **misconduct** before the Magistrates’ Council, requesting the dismissal from office and/or any other disciplinary measure that such body considers fit. I should mention that subsequently to DAIA’s claim, the Chamber of Appeals reversed the decision of the Judge under investigation and ordered the proprietor of the apartment to pay damages to the tenants.

Another member of the legal profession, who works as a lawyer—Mr. Héctor Oscar Perez Vidal—was recently **convicted** by the Disciplinary Tribunal of the Bar Association of the city of Buenos Aires, following DAIA’s Legal Assistance Department’s complaint. He was ordered to pay a fine for having labelled the Jews as snakes in a brief submitted to the court in the context of a foreclosure proceedings. Thus, when referring to usury, he reproduced all definitions of anti-Semitic dictionaries where the Jew was defined as “usurer”, “belonging to a highly speculative financial groups”, “true locusts of other people’s budgets”, “deservers of hatred and disdain”, “vampires”, “a speculator”, “deserver of a sentence of endless fire rain”, among other equally negative expressions. We celebrate the application of the laws which rule the exercise of the legal profession, which agree with the parameters offered by the Anti-Discrimination Law.

In this exemplifier sentence, Chamber I of the Disciplinary Tribunal held that: “the lawyer could not have been ignorant about fact that the content of the phrases written (...) could become offensive” *“he could not have been ignorant about the fact that his saying could generate, as it happened, a devastating effect on the animus of the Jewish community in general and in the opposing party in particular”*. *An obscure, provocative and discriminatory vocabulary cannot be admitted to cover groundless arguments and that seek the sole objective of denigrating the opposing party in a lawsuit*” *“the defence argu-*

ments that Mr. Pérez Vidal tried to advance did not need to include discriminatory expression, which, in the context under analysis, appear to have the sole goal of disturbing and mortifying the opposing party”. (Sentence 103 of 20/04/06, Chamber I, Bar Association of the city of Buenos Aires).

The third case of member of the legal profession under trial, involves Ms. C, attorney-at-law (her personal information will remained omitted until a final decision has been rendered), who had sought a recusal against a magistrate of the Disciplinary Tribunal of the Bar Association of the city of Buenos Aires based on the fact that the magistrate was Jewish, contending in her brief that “(...) **4. recusal: I seek recusal, pursuant to article 6 of the Rules on Procedure of Disciplinary Tribunal of the Bar Association of the city of Buenos Aires, with respect to Ms. Matilde Scaletzky, requesting its granting, in the terms of article 19, 1st part of the National Code on Civil and Commercial Proceedings. The recusal of Ms. Matilde Scaletzky is based on the fact that my learned colleague, just as Mr. Selig Séller, a proposed witness in this case, belongs to the same religion as the claimant, Mr. Savransky –attorney-at-law- and Mr. Finkelberg, also attorney-at-law. Consequently, there is prima facie, an enmity, hatred or resentment, which manifests itself by known facts...**” towards the respondent. Moreover, she held that “**her condition as a person belonging to the Jewish collectivity (towards which I do not have any kind of mistrust, as I will prove in the present case) will predispose her against me, because I am a Catholic woman, and because she is a friend, belonging to the Jewish collectivity, as the claimant**”. Also in this case, the Legal Assistance Department has filed a complaint against the author of this legal brief for violation of the Anti-Discrimination Law, which is at the investigation stage. It is apparent that the goal pursued by Ms. C was to disqualify the Judge from the Disciplinary Tribunal based solely on her religion, and that constitutes beyond question, a discriminatory act. She seems to be saying that because the judge belongs to the same religion as the claimant, she does not have enough capability to handle the case, and thus, she requests her disqualification. The respondent did not hesitate to present her segregationist expressions in a legal brief,

which is a public instrument, in the context of a disciplinary action, thus, we consider that they were destined to publicly transcend, a fact that as representatives of the Argentinean Jewish community, absolutely cannot permit.

Another case currently being handled by the Legal Assistance Department is the L.W. case, a Jewish woman, whose neighbours set up a blog spot (a website) where they published photos of her children and then, they allowed a space for stigmatizing and discriminatory remarks. The Legal Assistance Department has acted as legal representative of the victim and it will soon be decided whether the author of such website will be tried for violation of the Anti-Discrimination Law.

Furthermore, the case of three young men found in fragranti drawing swastikas and handing anti-Semitic pamphlets at the headquarters of the Ramos Mejía club, to which we referred in the previous *Report*. The case continues and a series of probatory measures have already been instructed in order to make the inquiry go forward.

Report on the salient facts occurred in the year 2006 in the Case of AMIA/DAIA²

When we refer to the case of AMIA, as it was already argued in previous *Reports*³, we have to refer, in rigour, to a multiplicity of cases which due to the dynamics of the investigation and the several procedural stages have detached from the “main case” or have constituted new independent proceedings.

The Case of AMIA, in the broad sense, is crossed basically by three axes: 1) *Local Connection*; 2) *International Connection*; and 3) *Irregularities of the Case*.

1) Local Connection

This is the name given by the media to the part of the investigation linked to the responsibilities of Argentinean citizens who had allegedly assisted in the logistics necessary to complete the attack.

² This section was elaborated by Mariano Fridman, attorney-at-law

³ See “*Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina 2005*”, CES-DAIA, pp. 32-35.

This stage was the core of the oral trial which ended with the acquittal of the five persons accused as necessary participants in the attack: Carlos Alberto Telleldín, Juan José Ribelli, Anastasio Leal, Raúl Ibarra y Mario Barreiro.

After the sentence of acquittal, the civil prosecution, formed by DAIA, AMIA and Relatives and Friends of the Victims of the attack, decided to challenge the decision of the Federal Oral Tribunal No. 3 and filed an appeal which was granted in 2006, the extraordinary appeal opens the competent of the National Supreme Court of Justice, so this tribunal is allowed to decide with respect to the arguments advanced by the unified complainant's group.

2) International Connection

Since practically its beginning, the investigation of the attack to the AMIA/DAIA building has had a *de facto* separation between the national and international responsibilities. Thus, this part of the investigation continued to be examined, even after the local connection was sent to trial, by the Federal Court in Criminal and Correctional Matters No. 6, in charge of Judge Canicoba Corral, who delegated the investigation to the Prosecution Unit, specially created for the investigation of the attack.

In October 2006, that Prosecution Unit issued a legal opinion analyzing the evidence collected in the summary and requesting the international apprehension of eight Iranian citizens, among them, the former president of that country at the time of the attack, as authors of such attack and also holding the Iranian State responsible.

Further, last November Judge Canicoba Corral, in the face of the said legal opinion, decided to declare the attack against AMIA/DAIA building a crime against humanity, and issued the national and international apprehension orders requested by the Prosecution, including the attaché of the Iranian ambassador in Buenos Aires at the time of the attack and formalize the request to Interpol.

3) Irregularities of the investigation

This investigation is currently being carried out by the Federal Criminal Court in charge of Judge Ariel Lijo, and does not focus on

the attack, but in the irregularities committed during the investigation carried out by former Judge Juan José Galeano.

The central point of this investigation is related to the payment of U\$S 400.000 made in favour of Carlos Alberto Telleldín when he declared in 1996 about the delivery of the van to the police of the province of Buenos Aires.

During 2006, the investigating judge ordered the declarations of former Judge Galeano, former prosecutors and former head of the SIDE (State Intelligence Headquarters), Telleldín and his lawyer, and former president of DAIA at the time of attack, among others. Subsequently, and with different degrees of responsibility, he indicted most of them, a decision which is currently under appeal.

Anti-Semitic events in Argentina in the year 2006

The chart presented in Annex 1 contains a description of the anti-Semitic events that took place in Argentina in the year 2006.

As in previous *Reports* of the years 1998⁴, 1999⁵, 2000-2001⁶, 2002⁷, 2003⁸, 2004⁹ and 2005¹⁰ several sources were consulted. These cannot encompass the whole phenomenon; however, they offer a rather broad and comprehensive outlook.

In order to develop this chart, we counted again on the support

⁴ See *Indice, Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, N° 20, *Informe sobre Antisemitismo en la Argentina [Indice, Social Sciences Magazine, Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina]*, Buenos Aires, 2000, pp. 155-195.

⁵ See *Indice, Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, N° 21, *Informe sobre Antisemitismo en la Argentina [Indice, Social Sciences Magazine, Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina]*, Buenos Aires, 1999, pp. 131-168.

⁶ See Braylan Marisa, Jmelnizky Adrián, *Informe sobre Antisemitismo en la Argentina [Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina]*, Buenos Aires, 2002, pp. 53-96.

⁷ See Braylan Marisa, Jmelnizky Adrián, *Informe sobre Antisemitismo en la Argentina [Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina]*, Buenos Aires, 2003, pp. 70-97.

⁸ See Braylan Marisa, Jmelnizky Adrián, *Informe sobre Antisemitismo en la Argentina [Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina]*, Buenos Aires, 2004, pp. 130-154.

⁹ See Braylan Marisa, Jmelnizky Adrián, *Informe sobre Antisemitismo en la Argentina [Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina]*, Buenos Aires, 2005, pp. 166-188.

¹⁰ See Braylan Marisa, Jmelnizky Adrián, *Informe sobre Antisemitismo en la Argentina [Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina]*, Buenos Aires, 2006, pp. 237-281.

of DAIA' Community Assistance Department and the Legal Affairs Department, which are the recipients of the complaints on anti-Semitism incidents.

In addition, some cases were gathered by the National Institute against Discrimination, Xenophobia and Racism (INADI).

Other consulted sources for this work are the print media, national, provincial and local radio stations news agencies and national and international websites. The material was provided by the Communications Department of the institution, and it is detailed as follows.

It is highly probable that several anti-Semitic episodes were neither reported nor covered in any way by the media, and thus, the information we offer can be extended. With the above-mentioned limitations, this *Report* continues to be the only one that has been systematizing a vast amount of information linked to the presence of anti-Semitism in the country.

Print Media

Clarín	Perfil
Página 12	Uno de Mendoza
La Nación	La Mañana de Córdoba
La Prensa	El Liberal de Santiago del Estero
Crónica	La Arena de La Pampa
El Cronista	El Incasto de Catamarca
Ambito Financiero	El Día de La Plata
La Razón	El Eco de Tandil
Diario Popular	Norte del Chaco
Buenos Aires Herald	El Patagónico de Chubut
La Voz del Interior	El Litoral de Corrientes
El Tribuno de Salta	El Diario de Entre Ríos
La Capital de Mar del Plata	El Independiente de La Rioja
Río Negro de Gral. Roca	El Territorio de Misiones
La Nueva Provincia de Bahía Blanca	El Diario de Cuyo
Los Andes de Mendoza	El Zonda de San Juan
La Capital de Rosario	La Mañana del Sur de Neuquén
La Gaceta de Tucumán	La Opinión Austral de Santa Cruz
Infobae	El Sureño de Tierra del Fuego

Radio Stations

América	Aspen
Mitre	FM HIT
Del Plata	Buenos Aires
Radio 10	Ciudad
Continental	La Red
Splendid	Nacional
Rivadavia	Mega
Nacional	Metro
Ciento Uno Punto Uno	

News Agencies

DyN
N.A.
Télam

Television

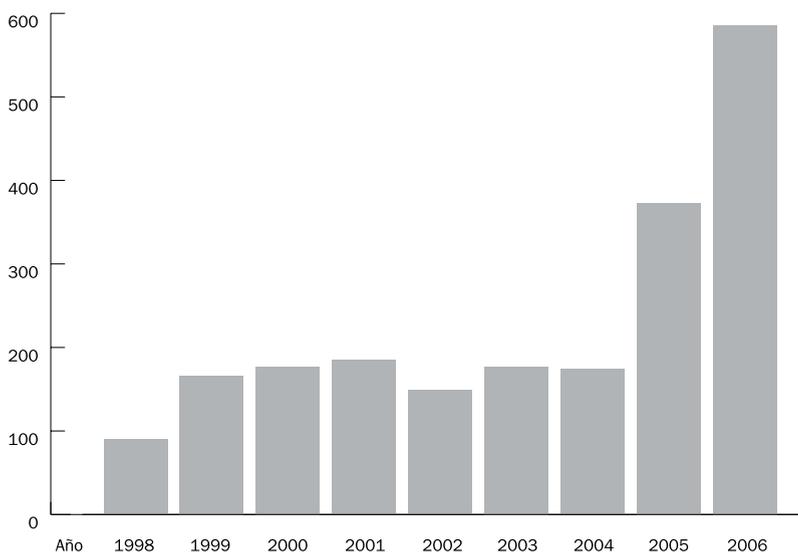
T.N.	Telefé
Canal 13	Canal 9
Crónica TV	CVN América 24
Canal 7	

Internet Links

INFOSIC	El Mundo (España)
Noticias Urbanas	La Vanguardia (España)
El País (España)	

The characterization of the facts reflects objective criteria, regardless of the gravity levels they may present. In all the cases, the reported facts are based on the subjective perception of the injured party, whether or not they were heard in a court.

Each of the facts included in the chart identifies its source of origin. In the cases where the date of the incident is unknown, the date of the report or its publication by the media is included.

Anti-Semitic incidents in the 1998-2006 period.

On the other hand, we have omitted the persona data of the claimants, victims and offenders, except in the cases which were publicly known. The complete data of all reports are filed at the DAIA's Centre for Social Studies, Department which prepares the present *Report*.

Geographic distribution of the anti-Semitic events which occurred during the year 2006

Total amount: 586

City of Buenos Aires: 412 (70.4%)

Greater Buenos Aires: 59 (9.9%)

Province of Buenos Aires: 13 (2.2%)

Other Provinces: 102 (17.4%)

Non-specified: –

With the aim of expanding even more the record of events that many times are not reported or do not become publicly known, we

include our email addresses: ces@daia.org.ar, ces2@daia.org.ar and ces3@daia.org.ar.

NOTE:

The high concentration of anti-Semitic incidents reported as having occurred in the City of Buenos Aires and to a lesser extent in Greater Buenos Aires and the rest of the provinces, is due to the greater possibility this sector of the population has to file a report with DAIA's Legal Affairs Department at the Capital City of Argentina, as well as to the important the national media give to anti-Semitic incidents in those jurisdictions. This situation continues despite having consulted, in the development of this study, an important part of the provinces press, and receiving information from the different local DAIA offices in the Argentinean territory.

Anti-Semitic parties and publications in Argentina¹¹

The balance of the last years in **Argentina** does not show an increase of the anti-Semitic publications, however, the year 2006 shows that spaces for virulent anti-Jewish criticism have been opened and deepened, specially, since the conflict between Israel and Hezbollah. The website "*Ciudad Libertad de Opinion*" [*City Freedom of Opinion*], of the *Partido Nuevo Triunfo* [*Party New Triumph*], "*Patria Argentina*" [*Argentina's Motherland*], the bulletins of the "*Patriotic Civic Centres*", "*Cabildo*", *the Electric Bulletin*, "*El Traductor Grafico*" [*the Graphic Translator*], were the *corpus* analysed by the Community Assistance Department (DAC) for this Report on Anti-Semitism 2006.

With relation to the **political parties with a Nazi-Fascist orientation**, the investigations carried out last year show an atomization, **without any gravitation in the public sphere**. For more information, please refer to previous *Reports*.

¹¹ This section was elaborated by Mr. Darío Brenman.

Website City Freedom of Opinion

This website (www.libreopinion.com) is run by the Neo-Nazi leader Alejandro Biondini. It hosts several Neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic websites. It also disseminates communiqués of Party New Triumph (PNT)¹², of which it acts as a broadcasting organ. In addition, this portal possesses its own news agencies called Kalki Network¹³, which, besides elaborating a daily news summary, it periodically issues its own editorial articles.

In **April**, the Kalki Network issued a special report of its own about the “*massacre*” of Der Yassin¹⁴. Its version was done in a virulent anti-Semitic terminology. According to this agency, the inhabitants of Der Yassin “were peaceful farmers who dedicated themselves to the harvest of grains, vegetables, fruits and olives”, while the Zionists were “*terrorists*” led by the “*ruthless*” Menahem Begin who “*wanted to usurp their territory to found a new State*”. In this manner, “*under the express instruction of the Jewish Agency, the Zionist guerrilla entered Der Yassin and unleashed a carnage in which they killed more than half of the population*”.

The article continued affirming that “*Der Yassin was a ‘victory’ for Zionism*” and that “*it bragged about having massacred a helpless people, it took pride on having killed children and women, and of having left in ruins the hard work of a farmers’ village whose only ‘crime’ was being Palestinian*” and then it finally asserted that “*this Barbarism was the genesis of Israel*”.

Subsequently, it included a biography of Menahem Begin about who it was stated that he had “*a ruthless spirit, nourished by a criminal hatred*” and that “*his methods were so violent and aberrant that he even clashed with Ben Gurion, another infamous Zionist author of countless crimes against humanity*”.

During the presentation of the “*Report on Anti-Semitism in Ar-*

¹² Neonazi movement led by Alejandro Biondini himself.

¹³ Pseudonym used by Alejandro Biondini.

¹⁴ Alleged massacre which took place on April 9th, 1948 when Irgun militias entered a Palestinian village.

gentina 2005” done by DAIA and CES¹⁵, Alejandro Carlos Biondini published a communiqué on his website. The title was “My answer to the obsessive and permanent attack of the Zionists against the PNT”, and its content consisted of a virulent rejection of the “persecution” on the part of DAIA, of which he considered himself a victim. It is worth mentioning the following paragraph:

“The Zionist pamphlet titled “Report on Anti-Semitism and Discrimination in Argentina” as it has been happening since 1998, when they set in motion this monster of lies and slander, does not only focus on the Party which I represent, but it concentrates with a sickly hypocrisy and a complete nonsense about yours truly (...) Everybody has been a witness of the insane ideological and propagandist terrorism which was unleashed against my own family because my wife and son were included in the list of candidates of the Citizen Action Party [Acción Ciudadana]. While DAIA unleashed its fury and pressed in the best mobster style at the courts and at the Pink House¹⁶ to request new bans, its favourite spokesperson, Página/12, made official the assault with headlines such as “The Biondinis will be banned” (...) the president of DAIA himself, Jorge Kirzenbaum and other Zionist media, call for a boycott which consisted on nothing less than “make the ballots of List 179 disappear or destroy them” on the day of the elections. And so did thousands of Zionist and allies in each table and in each school of the Capital City (...) he or she who chooses to believe all the nonsense DAIA says in its crusade of hatred, is free to do so. He or she who wishes to offer a blank check to the government, do so (...) DAIA’s leadership, who also tried to ban the projection of the film “The Passion of the Christ” -nothing seems to be outside their inquisitive interest-, should remember the Evangelic

¹⁵ It was presented at the Book Fair on May 8th. The section dedicated to the PNT consists only of 4 pages.

¹⁶ N.of T.: The term “Pink House” refers to the governmental house, where the President and the National Executive Power work.

paragraph which warns us by saying “to see the mote in another’s eye and not the beam in one’s own”.

On June 15th, 2006 an interview with Alejandro Biondini was published¹⁷ in a publication from Tucuman called “Ayohuma”. It was reproduced on the Kalki Network¹⁸, and it presented virulent aggressions against the world Jewish community through criticisms to the State of Israel. Biondini began the interview commenting on the bad management of the country wondering “...*what other thing can be expected of a country run by former terrorists of the 1970s which gained power through death, kidnappings and corruption in all its forms*”.

He then rescued the ideological line of San Martín, Rosas, Perón and highlighted the National Socialist and Fascist heritage of the *Justicialist* Nationalist movement, because, according to him

“... General Peron explicitly says that in his opinion, Italian Fascism and German Nationalism represented the third position during the conflict mentioned and identifies as the tentacles of the international sinarquy, as the principal imperialist forces, the Capitalism, Marxism, Masonry and Zionism. Therefore, it is not me but the ruling party the one who should explain whether it is influenced or not by the National Socialism, or better said, if those who qualify themselves as Peronists own the thought of the founder of the Justicialism”. Besides, with respect to the National Socialism doctrine, Biondini denounced that it exists an “ideological terrorism whereby each one who does not think the same or similar to what the ruling powers have dictated, should be silenced, destroyed or marginalized in any way. It is curious and absurd that today a person can question the existence of God, but that nobody can think differently with respect to certain issues, and as an example, we can mention the persecu-

¹⁷ President of the Party New Triumph, of National-Socialist, anti-Semitic and Pro-Palestinian ideology.

¹⁸ Biondini’s News Agency.

tion and jail that many remarkable figures of the revisionism suffer”.

Afterwards, answering a question about the determinant influence of sectors linked to the Embassy of Israel in Argentina who **“treats our politicians as moping clothes”**, Biondini made clear that he is not anti-Semitic or a racists, but that he is anti-Zionist and then stated that:

*“Our repudiation to international Zionist, makes us coherent with what was established in several resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which have classified it as a ‘genocidal and racist’ doctrine. And the **regimen in Israel is genocidal and colonialist**, and has taken a land that does not belong to it, applies systematic killings over the Palestinian people, and has legalized torture and **keeps thousands of innocent citizens in concentration camps**. The Murderous Zionists want to have us believe that repudiating them makes us anti-Semitics. Then, the UN would be anti-Semitic, and prestigious human rights organizations in the world which have condemned them would also be anti-Semitic. It is a nonsensical thing that does not deserve any more comments. On the other hand, one cannot serve two flags. Either one is Argentinean or is another thing. Local Zionists’ structures which even persecute or cast out any Jew who does not submit or think according to their designs, are organized under the same names that the political parties in Israel have. In other words, they do not consider themselves as Argentineans, but as Israelis, and act consequently. Therefore, we identify international Zionism as an anti-Argentinean activity, and its local members as traitors to the motherland, and as I already said in several opportunities, if one day, the people bestow upon us the responsibility of running the country, one of our first measures will be to expel from our territory the Israeli ambassador and the rupture of relationships with that criminal “State”. Something similar to what we will do with the British ambassador and his island of pirates.*

Subsequently, he called for the construction of a “*Federal Nationalist Front*”, and explained that due to the banning and persecution they suffer, they are forced to act like in times of Resistance. He explained that “*that is why we have requested our leaders and militants of the PNT from the provinces to keep on silently moving forward in the organization, to make the tactical alliances needed, but not to reveal the map of references and delegations until the situation allows it*”.

Finally, in a message to the Argentinean youth, Biondini said that “*freedom is not conquered by the triumph of fortune, but by the triumph of the will*¹⁹... *our message is that every one who is determined to fight for our Motherland, our Flag, the Dignity of the People, is our comrade. The Argentineans have only one thing to lose: our chains*”.

In July, through a press communiqué, the Board of the PNT repudiated again the “*criminal actions*” and the colonialist and genocidal policy of Israel, reaffirming the support to the Palestinian armed struggle and the non-recognition of the State of Israel. The Board denounced the degree of influence that the representatives of that country has had in Argentina, **achieving the control of presidents, judges and political officers**. In addition, agreements signed by President Kirchner with the World Zionist Congress were mentioned, and the will to demand the government the rupture of relationship with Israel and the expulsion of its ambassador was expressed.

The communiqué ended by lamenting the electoral ban the PNT is suffering and expecting that “**the enemies of mankind and their allies receive the corresponding punishment for all the innocent blood**”.

On the other hand, an article referring to the Middle East conflict was published on the Kalki Network, which informed about the presence of a “*foreign people usurpating lands*” as the principle motive of the successive wars in that zone. Israel was condemned for “*killing civilians, destroying Arab homes, keeping thousands of Palestinians jailed and accused of practicing State terrorism with the complicity of the international community, especially the United States*”.

¹⁹ A clear allusion to the film of the same name where Hitler’s regime was glorified.

With respect to the origins of the Jewish presence in Israel, the article catalogues as “*ridiculous*” the argument which submits that God gave the land of Palestine to the Hebrews in the desert, and it was asserted that the existence of David and other Hebrew kings has never been proved. In addition, the “*killings*” of Der Yassin was mentioned as an example of the “*forced imposition on the part of the Zionists*”.

On **August 15th** an article was published where it was denounced that at the Ezeiza airport an Israeli diplomat was surprised carrying explosives on his way to Chile. The article stated that the diplomat’s goal was to perform an attack either in Chile or in Argentina, with the objective of accusing the local and international Arab-Islamic community. Moreover, it highlighted an order stemming from the *Kirchnerist* government to immediately release the diplomat and to prevent the news from becoming public.

On September 21st, *City Freedom of Opinion* celebrated its seventh anniversary through an announcement signed by Alejandro Biondini, in which he told the story of how the internet portal was created. Biondini commented about the persecutions his endeavour suffered on the part of the government, “*multinational entities of hate*”, “*people from the British Masonry*” “*local and international Zionists*”, and “*genocidals*” and at the same time, he showed his satisfaction for the growth of the Network.

At the time of the *Conference on the Revisionism of the Holocaust held in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, the Kalki Network Agency published: “*With delegations from tens of countries and remarkable lectures, the meeting dedicated to study the falsehood of the ‘holocaust’ was closed yesterday in Teheran. It is the first triumph of the revisionist doctrine world wide*”.

“*Patria Argentina*” and the Bulletin of the Patriotic Civic Centre

This publication, which used to have a higher degree of anti-Semitism, since the transfer of the direction from the hands of *Elías Rafiaa* to *Santiago Roque Alonso*, left aside that discourse. However, the references against the power of money and usure, subtly compared to Judaism and Zionism, constitute the current axis thereof, as well as the adscription to every conspiracy theory inculcating the

Jews about something. Moreover, to directly criticize the Jews, some articles written by people of that origin with virulent anti-Semitic ideology,²⁰ as Israel Shamir and Henry Makow, as well as the anti-Zionist sect Neturei Karta were published.

During **January**, the axis of the publication consisted on a critique to Kirchner's government for his payment to the International Monetary Fund. On the other hand, as always, an article by Henry Makow was included where he explained how the illuminist bankers led by the Rothschild seek total power to dominate the world.

In the *February* edition, the focus was placed on the Masonic essence in Argentina. Alonso explained that *"the Masonic-Liberal origin reigning in Argentina rules since 1852, when Urquiza defeated Rosas, thus ending the Hispanic and racially-mixed traditional Argentina"*, and that *"since 1861, from the battle of Pavon, which faced the Massons Urquiza and Mitre, a new system oppressing Argentina with a Masonic-Liberal agenda expressed in all orders of the country was established"*.

Furthermore, an article written by a Russian General was included, where it was asserted that international terrorism does not exist and that 9-11 was a montage done by the Intelligence Services *"to trigger the completion of the agenda of a certain oligarchical power"*.

At the time of the 30° anniversary of the 1976 coup, the publication highlighted that the *"subversives"* of that time are those who currently pay the IMF, just as it was reflected on the cover of the periodical. On the subject, *Santiago Roque Alonso* strongly criticized the government for taking sides with the *"30.000 disappeared"*²¹ in detriment of the civilian and State agents victims in the hand of the terrorists, and taking advantage of this event with political ends.

On the other hand, the present number included a series of anti-Semitic comments which turned around the condemnation suffered

²⁰ It is worth clarifying that it is not contradictory that a person with Jewish origins has anti-Semitic feelings.

²¹ It was affirmed that the figure of disappeared is less than 30.000, and at the same time, the "innocent" character of them was questioned, asserting that they were most probably terrorists.

by *David Irving*. For example, in an article by *Israel Shamir*²² and in an introduction by *Santiago Alonso*, an *absolute rejection to the sentence suffered by Irving* was shown, classifying it as a grave restriction to freedom. Shamir's article also mentioned some studies confirming the "*inexistence of the Jewish Holocaust*". In relation to this topic, the existence of an agreement between Adolf Eichmann "*himself a Jew*", the National Socialist German Party and the international Zionist leaders was revealed. The real motive of Irving's sentence, according to Shamir, "*is the fact that he had questioned the superiority of the Jews*". In this sense, he asserted that "*this feeling of supremacy stopped being nightmare to turn into a reality*", and that its final manifestation will be the "*destruction of the churches and the construction of the Great Temple on the ruins of the Al-aqsa mosque*"; and that "*this will be the time of the anti-Christ or the false Jewish Messiah*".

On the other hand, the *Bulletin of the Patriotic Civic Centre* included a series of articles where it was described what is hidden behind the Masonry and which are its anti-Catholic goals. In an article by **Cornelia Ferreira** about the book "*Blood on the Altar*", it was affirmed that an example of an attack against the Catholic Church was the celebration of the Vatican Council II, which would provoke "*the Judaization of the Church on the part of the Order of the Eastern Templaries*" (the highest secret society for the elite of the Masonry). Both the Massons and the Jews –through *Kabalah*, the Talmud and through their own "Jewish Masonry", the B'nei B'rith" – were inculpated of "*fomenting the adoration of Satan, the black magic, sexual depravations and paedophile*". All this system "*would be supported by the Orwellian concept of the dual mind, encouraged by the Kabalah*".

Additionally, "*the responsibility of the Jews in the creation of the New World Order*" was manifested, "*which is supported by the mental control of the Jews across the planet, where neither Israel nor the United States, "the great Jewish State", respect the sovereignty of the rest of the peoples*". This situation is the "*culmination of the road*".

²² Russian writer, formerly Jewish who converted to Christianity, with a virulent anti-Semitic ideology.

initiated by the French Revolution, the Communism, and the Jewish-Bolchevique promises of equality and freedom”.

In *Patria Argentina* edition of April, an article by Alberto Buela²³ was published under the title “*The only truth is the reality*” where the death of six Bolivian workers due to a fire in a textil workshop “property of some Jews named Fisherman who had them in a state of slaveness...” was regretted, questioning the work of the media that did not make public the information of the owners of the workshop for fear of being accused of anti-Semitism. Buela also denounced that “*the textil industry is in the hands of the most unscrupulous satraps of the human genre*”.

Continuing with Jews-related topics, the publication included an article titled “*The American Neo-conservatives*”, by the French researcher, *Emmanuel Ratier*²⁴, in which these characters, also denominated “*neo-Zionists hawks*” are the ones running American foreign policy. Ratier held that for these people, the normal state of the world is war, looking for the supremacy of the sole world superpower, the United States. Among other claims, Ratier linked the military intervention in Iraq with the “*reorganization plan for the Middle East*” elaborated in 1996 by the *Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies*. This institution was also in charge of the making of a document named “*A clean Iraq: a new strategy to guarantee this kingdom*”, which foresees an “*alliance among the USA, Israel and Turkey, aiming at weakening the Arab world and favouring the creation of a Great Israel*”. Additionally, Ratier included in the article a detailed description of the entities representing the Israeli “*lobby*” together with a biography of some of its members.

The **May** edition included an article by *Pablo Ledesma* where an array of accusations of “*treason to the Nation*” against *Jorge Teler-*

²³ Alberto Buela: Philosopher. He has denominated himself as belonging to the Organizad Workers’ Movement for more than 30 years.

²⁴ The publication thanked Eduardo Louro from Portugal for facilitating the material and Ana María Padín De Brandalise for the translation work of the article written originally in French.

man²⁵ and the progressivism in general were made. Ledesma linked Telerman with the Masonry due to some sayings of the Head of Government of the City of Buenos Aires who defined himself as “*a practicing Jew, progressive and Masson*”. According to Ledesma, the Masonry favours the Left and the Kabalist or progressive Judaism of the school of Marshal Mayer. He also argued that Telerman worked without a doubt for some secret service, as the CIA or the Mossad.

On the other hand, an article by *Hernán Capizzano* titled “*The Nationalism must not fail*” was published where he called for the unity among Nationalists in the face of the grave situation they confront nowadays and asked for a more pragmatic and less idealist attitude. Capizzano used different quotes by the priest *Julio Meinvielle*²⁶ naming him one of the most important authors of the Nationalist Movement. He manifested that he had learnt from his words, among other subjects, the “*Christians advices on Judaism*”. Capizzano regretted the lack of participation in acts of commemoration of historical dates, such as **August 12th**²⁷ commenting, incidentally, that “*in recent times we attended a memorial of Francisco Franco, or we have news about a meeting held some days ago to commemorate the anniversary of the birth of Adolf Hitler*”.

At the international plane, Santiago Roque Alonso wrote an article titled “*The conquered Empire*” where he made reference to a document²⁸ which explains “*the strong influence of Israel’s lobby in the policy of the United States*”. On the subject, Alonso showed his full support to this academic work where Israel is accused of controlling American foreign policy. Moreover, Alonso stated that the United States has become an empire conquered by Israel’s “*lobby*”. Given the little dissemination this document had in the local press, Alonso

²⁵ The article presented an image of the cover of the magazine *La Nación* featuring Jorge Telerman under the headline “*Massonery, spionage and seduction*”.

²⁶ Priest of an anti-Semitic ideology, who was the ideologist of the Nationalist Movement Tacuara.

²⁷ “*Mass in appreciation for those who died and fought in the reconquest and Defence of Buenos Aires*”.

²⁸ “*The lobby of Israel and the foreign policy of the United States*”, by John Mearsheimer y Stephen Walt.

pointed out that there had been a “*censorship operation*”. Finally, he linked the situation in Argentina with the axis of this article, mentioning the importance of “*regaining our lost independence*”.

In the bulletin of the *Patriotic Civic Centre*, according to what was announced in the publication *Patria Argentina*, a summary of the academic work done by two American professors, *John Mearsheimer* and *Stephen Walt* was included, where the “*strong influence of Israel’s lobby in the policy of the United States*” was explained. The document asserts that the economic and political support of the United States for Israel does not have an explanation from a strategic viewpoint. At the same time, it accuses Israel of treating Arabs as *second class citizens* and underlines the influence of the Zionist “*lobby*” in the war against Iraq and in the policy of the United States vis-à-vis Iran and Syria. According to the work of these “*academics*”, the actions of the Zionist “*lobby*” “*increase the danger of terrorism against all States*”. An introduction and a conclusion (with no signatures) were added to this article, whereby a call for the fight and the surrender for God and the Motherland was made, “*in the face of the siege and domination of the Power of Money and International usure*”, and for the rescue of the society from “*the Liberal-Masonic system*”.

In **June**, the periodical *Patria Argentina* included an article titled “*DAIA lies again (III)*”. In it, *Patria Argentina* criticizes DAIA’s CES for having classified its publication as “*anti-Semitic*”. On the subject, it was indicated that the last *Report* dedicated less space to the publication than previous editions. Moreover, it was criticized that the articles by Henry Makow were regarded as anti-Semitic because he has Jewish origins. Subsequently, it was asserted that “*Patria Argentina is classified by the ‘thought police’ exercised by DAIA as anti-Semitic for defending the Argentinean people from speculation or for considering the purchase and sale of noxious money*”. On the subject, they indicated that they will continue to make this claim, but that that does not entail any attacks against any race or religion. Further, the director of the publication stated that the classification of “*anti-Semitic*” towards his publication has the objective of eliminating them from the cultural and political national scenario, and added that “*with its words and actions, DAIA purports to quash and silence Patria Argentina*”.

The, he stated that Patria Argentina is a victim of the “*Great Silencer*” consisting in accusing of being anti-Semitic any one who criticizes Israel or affects Jewish or pro-Israeli persons. Finally, he called his readers and fellow country men “*not to let themselves be intimidated or terrorized by DAIA nor to fall into fruitless ethnic disputes which distract from the real fight against the conqueror of the Motherland*”. Lastly, he invoked Virgin General to guide them in the “*reconquest of the surrendered and occupied Motherland*”.

At the international plane, in an article published in **July** about the Arab-Israeli conflict, **Horacio Boló** exposed the importance of the Mount Temple –the author pointed out that the construction of the Temple of Jerusalem has a deep link with the Masonry- for the Jewish and Muslim religions. With respect to the war in Iraq, Boló indicated that it was motivated by the Israeli “*lobby*” in the United States. The article included a special part with the declarations of *David Ben Gurion* foreseeing a world peace with Jerusalem as the centre of the union of the nations. Also, Santiago Alonso referred to Israel, criticizing its policy of nuclear development and the confrontation of the Anglo-American alliance which exercises the hegemonic world power. Finally, despite expressing that he has nothing in common with the Iranian people, Alonso vaticinated that in the future Argentina could find itself in the same situation as Iran is today.

In the **August** issue, Alonso explained that the rupture of the national establishment with Kirchner’s government was due to the fact that the opposition responds to geopolitical needs of the *Anglo-American-Zionist axis*. On the subject, Alonso mentioned his suspicions regarding the trip to Israel of directors of Jewish institutions, saying that “*they moved to the opposite field due to the negative of the government to agree to the requirements of the World Jewish Congress*”.

On the other hand, Alonso published an article in **amends** for *Walter Beveraggi Allende* in response to an article published in *Página/12* about the Catholic meeting in *Luján*²⁹ and where *Patria Argentina* was mentioned saying that it still pays homage to *Beveraggi*

²⁹ During July *Página/12* published a series of articles about the Catholic meeting in *Luján* convened by the magazine *Cabildo* for August.

Allende, who was classified as a “*furious anti-Semitic*”. Although Alonso distinguished the Semitic from the Zionist, he indicated the connection between the Jewish leadership and Zionism and rescued the figure of *Beveraggi Allende*, glorifying his Nationalism and his knowledge on Economics. In the same line, an article by the latter written in 1988 was included where he criticized Milton Friedman, and accused the Jewish collectivity and Zionism of the downfall of the country “*for using it as a laboratory of tests for Friedman’s monetarism*”.

Afterwards, Alonso made an analysis of Israel’s war in Lebanon saying that it was to be expected as a first step of a future war against Iran. In this manner, he underlined Hezbollah’s resistance, endorsed by the testimonies of Israeli soldiers, stating that their strategy should be taken into account by Argentina to reformulate the theory of National war.

Lastly, an article written by *Jose Petrosino* was included where he denounced the irregularities in the case of AMIA and where he assured that the lead against Iran and Hezbollah is a “*fabrication*”.

The **September** edition of *Patria Argentina* distinguishes itself for the important space it dedicated to the conflict in the Middle East (cover story), and the inclusion of explicit references about the Jews.

With regards to the conflict between Israel and Hezbollah unleashed by a kidnapping operation of two Israeli soldiers by the terrorist organization, an article by *Israel Shamir*³⁰ was included where the war actions of the Israeli Army were strongly criticized, addressing his accusations to “*the Jews*”. Therefore, for example, the author affirmed that “*the Jews bombarded civilians in Lebanon*” and indicated that “*the Jews*” used the cease of fire to rearm and attack again. Shamir also pointed out that the “*American Jews*” promoted war and referred to the “*Jewish-American Empire*” as the leading character of the conflict.

Next, *Guillermo Rojas* presented the current relation between the Left and the Jews in an article titled “*What is going on between*

³⁰ Author of Jewish origins. Article published on August 13th 2006 on <http://www.israeleshamir.net/Spanish/Sp26.htm>.

the Left and the Jews? In it, Rojas established the natural relations between the Left and the Judaism like the feeling of “*chosen people*” and the defence of the proletariat, as well as stressing the participation of the Jews both in the beginning of the Bolchevique movement and in the Marxist guerrilla of the 1970s in our country. Besides strongly condemning Zionism, the author held that the promoters of what is called today “*Progressivism*” were the “*Jews paranoid with the religion of Holocaust*”. Despite the close relation presented by Rojas between the Jews and the Left, he underlined the opposite situation found today as a result of the international state of affairs, highlighting the relations generated by sectors of the Left and the local Arab-Islamic community. Lastly, Rojas warned about the “*danger that the Zionism represents for the Argentinean National integrity*”, referring to the book “*The Jewish State*” by *Theodoro Herzl*. Another comment worth underlining is the reference to a “*divine punishment*” consisting in the sanction to the “*Jews who did not recognized Christ wandering in a world without a motherland*”.

During the same month, in the *Bulleting of the Patriotic Civic Centre* a partial compilation was made by *Dr. Octavio Sequeiros*, corresponding to the book “*Two centuries together 1775-1995 – Jews and Russians during the Soviet period*”, by *Alexander Soljénitsyne*. Even if the text presents various opinions, it is possible to observe “*references to the deicide committed by the Jewish people*”, accusations to the Jews for taking advantage of the “*autochthonous*” people, and at the same time, the importance of the Jews within the Bolchevique movement was stressed, including violent acts, and whose participation in those events has never been revealed. Further, *Sequeiros* referred to the Jew as a “*rival*” and as an “*adversary*”.

On the other hand, *Roland de Gaucher*³¹ protested for the “*wall of silence*” which prevents people from knowing about the active participation the Jews had during Stalin Government.

³¹ French author. Article found on http://www.voxnr.com/cogit_content/etranger/soljenitsyneetlemurdusilen.shtml

Cabildo Magazine

Anibal D'Angelo Rodríguez in its habitual section "Prosecution's witness" used as the axis of his comments the religious war that Progressivism has declared to Christianity. Within this context, he commented on a letter written by *Claudio Avruj*³² published by *Clarín*, analyzing the alleged contradictions in it about the need to ban Holocaust revisionism.

Regarding the incarceration of the revisionist historian *David Irving*, an article by *Israel Shamir*³³ was published titled "For whom the bells toll?" where he affirms that the British Neo-Nazi was incarcerated in Austria for denying the Jewish superiority and ended by saying that "the obscure prophecy of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion is already reigning in Europe".

On the other hand, the magazine included an article of the Zenit agency about an act of the *Wallenberg Foundation* in a chapel in La Plata in honour of the inter-religious dialogue. *Cabildo* named the article "News on the Israelite flock: Admirable tribute to its shepherds". Next to it, there was a small piece wondering "when will the B'nai B'rith do something in amends for the attack with petards belonging to Jews over the Basilio of the Annunciation in Nazareth".

In **April**, regarding the 30^o anniversary of the 1976 coup, both the cover and the back cover of the publication reinforced the ideas presented in the editorial signed by *Antonio Caponetto* where he shows a profound indignation for the blessing given by Cardinal Bergoglio to the disappeared during the dictatorship in detriment of the Catholics murdered by the "Marxist guerrilla", which, in his opinion, shows that Kirchner is looking to transform the Church to place it next to men of the Left. The said act took place at the *Saint Patrick's Church*, which Caponetto considered a "shelter for sinister organizations" and "a podium for Pharisees". Referring to the multiple religious events celebrated, Caponetto showed his disdain

³² Executive Director of DAIA.

³³ Writer of Jewish origins living in Israel, who writes virulent anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli articles.

for these arguing that in them “*Jews, Masson, heretics and vulgar uncouth converge*”.

On the other hand, *D’Angelo Rodríguez* wrote an article congratulating the Jewish French historian, *Pierre Nora*, for having expressed that the “*Gayssot Law, which banned the questioning of the Holocaust, should be repealed*”. He also opposed the declarations made by *Eduardo Pavlosky* who asserted that *Adolf Hitler* effectively destroyed the German society because the Jews who lived there were also Germans. Nevertheless, the author explained that by representing only 1% of the German society, the death of the German Jews could not be regarded as the destruction of the German society. Next, he continued his references to the Holocaust, contradicting *Mariano Grondona*, who had chosen what happened in post-war Germany, together with Spain after Franco and post Caseros Argentina, as examples of *national reconciliation*, unlike what is happening with the last dictatorship. *D’Angelo Rodríguez* refuted each of those examples, and mentioned that the case of Germany was the saddest of all because the official version remains “*thanks to a universal brainwash*”.

In another article, the same author expressed himself in a stronger way affirming that the main current conflict is the confrontation between **Progressivism and Christianims**. In this manner, he explained that the situation in the Middle East was caused chiefly by the “*presence of Israel in an Arab-Islamic Sea*” and asserted that “*historians of the future will have a tough time believing the creation of the Jews’ Motherland through a process which conflicted with all the norms the owners of the world claimed to respect*”.

Finally, it is worth highlighting that in an article by *Juan Olmedo* a non-signed piece was included where it was declared that *Telerman* “*after spaciouly contributing to the conspiracy thesis expressing his triple condition as a Jew, a Masson and a Communist*”, when questioned about his sexual preferences, he stated that he was not “*gay*”, but had “*French manners*”.

The central point of **Cabildo**’s issue of **May-June** was, as *Caponnetto* made explicit in his editorial, the accusations against the government for being a “*Montonero and ERP series who took over power*”

and who in order to impose their points of view, despotically exposed their false view of history. Further, the director of the publication called President Kirchner a coward for the measures he took against the military who attended the act at *San Martin Square* in memory of the victims of the subversion

Moreover, *Juan Olmedo* criticized the *Argentinean Catholic University (UCA)* for meeting with Jewish institutions in a symposium. The author regarded this event as a capitulation of the Church before the Judaism for having embraced its positions. Subsequently, the author criticized the dogmatization of the Jewish causes while the desecration of Catholic symbols was accepted. After a quote by *Marcos Aguinis* where he denounced the Church for carrying out a theology which did not recognize the Jewish spiritual development, Olmedo named with disdain Jews who were “renowned” Catholics like *Sofovich*, the politicians of *Alfonsin* and *Menem*, *Mauro Viale*, “Chiche” *Gelblung* and at the international level, *Marx*, *Trotsky*, *Freud* and *Rothschild*. Then, he stated that the dogmatization of the Jewish Holocaust offered a cover of silence over other massacres carried out by the allies during World War II, and suspiciously wondered why during the time of war nothing was heard from *Churchill’s* or *Roosevelt’s* mouth about what was going on with the Jews, since it would have surely been an important war propaganda to incite the population. Furthermore, he affirmed that many of the testimonies of the *survivals*³⁴ of the Holocaust were “fixed up and fabricated with opportunism”. Finally, he argued that in these times of “extreme humiliation of the Catholic Church in the hands of the Jews (...) it is incoherent that they want to blame the whole of Germany and the entire Christendom”³⁵, *the Jews themselves who reject all responsibility for the death at the cross of Our Divine Redeemer*”.

In July, the publication counted with an informative article by *Juan Olmedo*. He asserted that the Minister of Education, *Daniel Filmus*, was taking education towards disaster and corrupting the children. In the same line, he affirmed that there is a need for moral and

³⁴ The Italics belong to the original version.

³⁵ He is talking about the Holocaust.

religious education. Regarding DAIA, “*nobody convinced this Jewish social entity (non-religious) to desist from the impugnation to religious education in Catamarca*”.

In reference to the study being done to determine whether the victims of the attack to AMIA would be compensated, *Olmedo* held that there was not a car acting a bomb which tore down the headquarters of the institution, and the Israeli Embassy, according to the broadcasting of an Israeli radio the day following the explosion, blew up because of the ammunitions stored in it. On this subject, *Olmedo* indicated that the attack was politically used by the community leadership and accused Judge Galeano of trying to please AMIA/DAIA.

On the other hand, in response to an article published by *Página/12* where the magazine *Cabildo* and its activities were allegedly criticized, **Caponetto** replied in a combative tone disqualifying the paper, accusing it of being part of the official anti-Catholic policy and a tool of the terrorist structure. In this sense, **Caponetto** affirmed that, unlike *Página/12*, *Cabildo* does not count on the favours of the synagogue. In the religious realm, in a non-signed article, there was a warning about the attacks the Church is suffering in Argentina and the *Institute for the Inter-Religious Dialogue*, led by *Father Guillermo Marco, the Rabbi Daniel Goldman and Professor Omar Abboud* was questioned for regarding it in conflict with the idea of holding the exclusive truths of Catholicism.

In the same line, a non-signed article defended the sayings of a member of the **Chaplaincy of the Police of the Province of Corrientes**, who declared –in an act of transfer to the municipal orbit the installations of the former club Hebraica- that “*what is important of this act is that this institution ceases to be in power of those contrary to Christ to pass into the hands of the real Christians*” and added: “*the Jews are far from our mind and our heart*”. In the face of these declarations the **Archbishop of Corrientes** had sent an apology letter to DAIA. Nevertheless, the article advanced that the speech is merely a faint echo of the reference to the Jews in the **New Testament** and in other texts. Furthermore, he affirmed that the **Talmud** defined Judaism as contrary to Christ. The article denounced the “*systematic physical*

and moral attacks that the Jews carry against the Christians”, clarifying that the Argentinean Catholics are not exempted from them, challenging the political power for naming Jews in key posts.

In addition, *Anibal D’Angelo Rodríguez* in his traditional article “*Prosecution Witness*” included two sections dedicated to the Jews. In them, he affirmed that, despite the denial of the progressive clergymen, the **Gospel of Christ** asserts that the Jews are “*a people chosen by God that rejects such choice*”. Nonetheless, the author manifested that due to the treason imputed to *Judas*, the Jews were unjustly persecuted. The author argued that endogamy allowed this people to survive for two thousand years with no language or common territory. Nowadays, held the author, the Jews have achieved invisibility, giving as an example therefore, “*the actions of Israel who mocks the UN, it occupies territories, practices tortures and State terrorism, and nobody sees them*”. Next, he added that despite the fact that some Jews accept the existence of a pressure group in Washington, those who denounce it are considered anti-Semites, and argued that were not for this pressure group, there would be no explanation for the fact the United States unconditionally supports such a minuscule State as Israel. According to D’Angelo, this support dragged the Northern country to a conflict that led to the Twin Towers attacks.

The same author referred to the polemic triggered by an article published in *Clarín* about the book “*My Struggle*” by Adolf Hitler. On the subject, he expressed that its sale could not be prohibited and that DAIA’s position would be: “*books cannot be banned, but if they are, then the dogmatic and defining arm are the Jews*”.

Juan Olmedo in one of his habitual reports on current events began the September issue by doing a critique on all the new expressions of modernization and di-sacralization of Catholic rites. Then, clarifying that he was no an anti-Semitic, accused the leadership of the Jewish community of using the attacks against AMIA/DAIA and the Embassy of Israel to gain political profit. Further, he recalled other events involving the community leadership was the try to censor the film “*The Passion of the Christ*”, the attack against the **military Bishop** and DAIA’s opposition to **religious education in the province of**

Catamarca. Regarding the 1992 attack, Olmedo defended the theory of the existence of explosives inside the Israeli embassy, which would have provoked the blowing of the building. Connecting domestic reality with the crisis in the Middle East, Olmedo protested about the hiding of the truth about the terrorist actions during the 1970s. That disinformation, the author accused, is practiced nowadays in the coverage of the conflict between Israel and Hezbollah, being the media those who show a distorted image making the public opinion believe that Israel is the victim and has to defend itself. *Olmedo* warned that this state of affairs means a risk to all nations cornered by this new world order, and taking as an example the Patagonia region, he indicated that under the excuse of being occupied by the Mapuches people, they try to justify the occupation of the powers who had already noticed the region. The author closed the article by attacking *Marcos Aguinis* for “*being anti-Christian and a defender of the State of Israel*”.

At the international realm, Olmedo also criticized the Israeli military actions in the Gaza Strip as well as in the Lebanon, while defending Hezbollah in its right to exercise resistance. At the religious level, he commented that the existence of Israel in peace with its enemies would be something very positive, because the Jews would recognize Jesus Christ. In addition, *Olmedo* opposed “*the dialect of the Left, who associates the genocidal actions of Israel to Nazism, and not to Judaism*”. He also declared that in the armed conflicts of today, it is hard to identify war criminals because of the secret societies ruling the world which operate in the shadows without being detected.

Aníbal D'Angelo Rodríguez also referred to Israel in an article titled “*The international shamelessness*”. In it, he affirmed that the defence of Israel on the part of the Jews is a slogan, sarcastically clarifying that he does not refer to a “*conspiracy*”. Further, he manifested that the hatred on the part of the Islamic world towards that country was born with the creation of the Zionist State and the subsequent expulsion of the Palestinians and the occupation of their lands. The author held that Israel murders civilians, occupies territories and exercises State terrorism without anybody doing an-

anything to prevent it, but *“that will cease the day the United States take away their support, or the Muslims united in order to defeat the common enemy”*.

El Traductor Gráfico [The Graphic Translator]

The bulletin *“El Traductor Gráfico”* published on line on **February 18th** presented an article signed by *Adrian Salbuchi* titled *“Argentina in the Oil war”*. In it, the author explained the functioning of the geopolitics of oil vis-à-vis the scene in which the year 2005 was the world production peak. Next, as a conclusion stemming from the explanation of the *“imperialistic geopolitics over Argentina”*, *Salbuchi* affirmed that *“the sad part is that we are trapped by some sort of tweezers between two geopolitics of different styles and dynamics, but solidly complementary in the face of common goals. On the one hand, the short-term strategy and the United States’ cudgel which pressures and pushes imposing its inequalities in the region; on the other hand, the much more subtle, slow, but determinant British strategy, able to take a quarter of century as long as it keeps Argentinean oil. To that, we should add a third complementary factor: the appetite of the International Zionist over the Argentinean Patagonia which takes advantage of its influence over the United States and Great Britain to move forward its centennial territorial objectives in the South of our country”*.

In the **March** issue, two virulent anti-Semitic articles were included. The first of them, signed by *Adrián Salbuchi* titled *“The democracy... is dead”* criticized the excessive power and influence the Jewish community has over the world.

The article began by explaining the faults of the existent democratic system, which is not a true democracy since those who have the power are the ones who have more money and their interests are contrary to the interests of the peoples. In this sense, *Salbuchi* affirmed *“It is about a total war between the Gold, the usure or the Blood of the Peoples. Both sides are absolute irreconcilable antagonistic and enemies”*.

Then, he gave an example of the great concentration of money

using the millionaires “Forbes” list, drawing attention to the number of Jewish people in it. Salbuchi affirmed on the subject that:

*“it is necessary to point out that another minority who has gained an enormous and dangerous amount of power worldwide and in our country, who are the ones **promoting the interests of the International Zionism worldwide...**we refer to a tiny minority which possesses an enormous power, which turns it deeply anti-Democratic...the power some minorities have has transformed into something unmasked and shameless”*

The same author made a demographic description of the Jewish people:

“The population data offered by the Zionist official entities are very eloquent regarding the unusual power that this ideological, messianic and racist doctrine displays. We add that in a very complex and perverse manner, the international Zionism takes advantage of the particularities of the Jewish communities around the world, often achieving mimicry with them (...) These official figures also indicate that in the Republic of Argentina there are 195.000 Jews (of which 175.000 live in the city of Buenos Aires); that represents 0,52% of the population of our country with approximately 39 millions of persons (...) Remarkably, it seems that there is a lack of accurate demographic information, which is surprising because it is a very compact and closed community which counts with absolutely all the resources and infrastructure necessary to perform an exact demographic census.” Salbuchi made clear that the differences among the demographic Jewish data are based on the **“growing impossibility of the official historiography to justify the figure of 6.000.000 of deaths between 1939 and 1945 (...)** Clearly, the figure of 6 millions would have to be initially reduced to 2.5000.000 to 3.000.000, which takes all veracity and seriousness to the official historiography of the **“6.000.000 Holocaust”**.

Let us remember that it is precisely the myth of the Holocaust one of the most important factors which has enabled the State of Israel to receive financial, political and irrestrict military support from most of the Western countries, mainly the United States of America”.

Finally, after outlining these data, Salbuchy affirms that “*without a doubt, it deserves a broader public debate to asses if, in the light of the concrete results, the insertion of such a small minority in key posts of the World and National Power is healthy and if it preserves the Common Good of the peoples and the interests of the Nations, or the exact opposite*”.

The second article, signed by *Alberto Tosti* and titled “*The punishment to David Irving and the question of the Holocaust*”, argues that after the incarceration of the famous revisionist historian which violates the most elemental rights of freedom of expression, underlies “*the ‘democratic’ intolerance to the questioning of the new dogma of faith, which is the Holocaust*”.

Subsequently, regarding the Holocaust, he asserted that it is not proven that 6 millions Jews have died nor that the Germans have performed massive industrial-type killings in the concentration camps or that there has been a Nazi plan to exterminate the Jews.

Afterwards, he insulted the “*financial and political interests of the Jews in the dogmatization of the theory of the Holocaust*”, since he deducted that “*the Jewish People from biblical times has a cruel and vindictive tradition, regardless of their deep spirituality and their capacity to socially adapt (...) Taking into account the important background of the Jewish collectivity throughout History and particularly its determinant role in modern times given their participation in the Power Structure developed till our days, the Jews –as a defined and organized people- are not precisely strangers to what happened world wide.*”.

Finally, he explained that “*the mythic conception of the Holocaust is destined to cover a twofold objective: on the one hand, to constitute an internal agglutination factor of the Jewish collectivity itself, joining it under one “vital common interest” vis-à-vis real or alleged*

exogenous threats; and on the other hand, to set up an institutional preponderance of the Jews before the Nations, so it could also constitute the bases of a new syncretic universal religion imposed over the traditional Christianity, where the figure of Jesus martyrdom would be progressively displaced by the image of millions of Jews; and where all the peoples –starting by the Christian national– tend to gradually assume a ‘new original sin’ product of their historical discrimination against the Jews”

On **May 19th**, another article by *Adrian Salbuchi* titled “*Israel will attack Iran*” was published, where he explained how and why it is convenient for Israel and the United States, “*run by the Zionist lobby*”, to attack the Persian country. In the first place, because it is considered that Iran constitutes the only opposition to “*Israel using its military force to forge the millenary biblical dream of rebuilding Eretz Israel: the Zionist empire which will go from the Nile to the Euphrates. Thus, its prioritaire need to annihilate Iran*”. Regarding the United States, he explained that their interest in attacking Iran consists in “*not only the need of oil from the whole region, but also because it is immensely preoccupied about the inauguration of the ‘Iranian Oil Market’ which will enter into direct world competition with the three main markets monopolizing the purchase and sale of oil, located in New York, London and Dubai. It is worth highlighting the particularity that those three markets operate almost exclusively in American Dollars, while the Iranian Market will do so in Euros, Yunas, Rubles and other currencies but the American Dollar*”, in this way it will cause a collapse of the American economy. As a conclusion, Salbuchi stated that “*today, we foresee an Israeli attack to Iran as a trigger to a new and catastrophic crisis in the Middle East, because the Government of George W. Bush does not currently have the political and popular support to take that initiative. On the other hand, he would have that political and popular support to intervene ‘in defence of his main ally in the Middle East, the State of Israel, once the war has begun*”.

The **July** issue of “*El Traductor Gráfico*” counted with two publications, one on **July 2nd** titled “*Keeping silence is immoral in the face*

of the horror Palestine is living”³⁶ and the other one, on the **16th** titled “*The International Zionism has just begun the Third World War*”.

Adrián Salbuchi in both articles referred to the situation in the Middle East which stemmed from the “*captures*” of the Israeli soldiers in the hands of the Palestinian “*armed resistance*” and the Hezbollah group. On the subject, he held that Israel’s final objective, supported by the United States –whose government he argues has been kidnapped by Zionism- and Great Britain, is to attack Iran, warning that due to the Israeli military offensive the Third World War has already begun. He presented a catastrophic panorama in this new scenario, with the intervention of Russia and China, and the usage of weapons of mass destruction. In the face of this situation, Salbuchi underlined the state of helplessness in which Argentina is because “*for more than thirty years now, the rulers have imposed the forces of money*”.

In this context, Salbuchi protested for the impartial manner in which the conflict is being covered by the media of the New World Order, always favouring the Israeli position, and added that it seems that there would be “*chosen peoples who are worth much more than the rest of the humanity*”. Furthermore, he requested the government and the “*powerful and influential Jewish organizations in our country*” to express themselves against the “*murderous craziness of the State of Israel*”. It is worth mentioning that Salbuchi made a point in clarifying that “*not every Zionist is a Jew and not every Jew is a Zionist*”

Salbuchi also referred to the attacks against the Israeli embassy in Argentina and the AMIA building, expressing his rejection towards them and stating that they were the result of an internal power struggle in Israel, undermining the so-called Iranian and Syrian leads.

On **August 2nd**, an open letter from the M.S.R.A to *President Nestor Kirchner* was published in this media outlet. In it, it was demanded that the President interrupts diplomatic relations with Israel; that he denounces what Israel is doing in Lebanon is not a war, but an attack against the civilian population and that he cuts all Israeli and

³⁶ This was a special issue disseminated both by the Right and the Left media.

American interference in the investigation of the AMIA case. The last request was for him *“to call on the Jewish Collectivity in Argentina to condemn these barbaric acts committed by the State of Israel, and warn about the danger that the whole community be dragged by the Zionist Fundamentalism in the World”*. It is worth mentioning that in the introduction of the letter published in the bulleting, **Salbuchi, Labake** and Giuliano *“called on the wide majoritarian dignified and peaceful sector of the Jewish community in Argentina, who shares our horror and rejection, to join this request and demands its important social organizations to also adhere to this rejection against the terrorism that this genocidal State is committing against men, women and children in Palestine and Lebanon”* and ended by affirming that *“the Anglo-American-Israeli Empire has aligned itself in an unrestrictive and coarse manner behind the **International Zionism**, whose geopolitics objectives will not stop in the Middle East, since it also has **medium-term objectives in our continent and our country”***.

In the first of the M.S.R.A.’s communiqués, dated on **September 8th**, a letter to President Kirchner was analyzed. In it, the M.S.R.A reiterated the request to the National government to take a series of concrete actions regarding State Terrorism evidenced by the State of Israel in its attacks against the Lebanon and Palestine. Among the measures, they included the request for the interruption of diplomatic relations with Israel, the denunciation of the Israeli military actions in the Gaza Strip and Lebanon, and the avoidance of the interference of United States and Israel in the investigation of the attacks against the Israeli Embassy and the AMIA building. **It was also suggested that the Argentinean Government call on the Jewish Collectivity of Argentina “so it condemns these barbaric acts committed by the State of Israel”**.

In the second communiqué of **September 13th**, the M.S.R.A. requested the President to order the Government to publish the roll of the 30.000 disappeared during the last military dictatorship in Argentina with the intention of confirming that such number is accurate.

The third communiqué (**September 18th**) was issued in response to the denunciation of an *“anti-Semitic”* campaign and of an *“anti-*

Semitic rebirth” in the country, registered in a document signed by political leaders and personalities of different fields. The M.S.R.A. affirmed that there is no such situation, but it is about an operation of psychological action framed in the conflict between Israel and the Islamic world. This fact was related to the expulsion from Chile of an Israeli diplomat for acts of violence and to the rumours of an alleged interception by the Airport Security Police of Ezeiza of “*an Israeli agent who purported to travel to Chile with a great amount of explosives which was assessed as an indication that Israel might be planning a new attack either in Argentina or in Chile*”.

Finally, on **September 28th**, a communiqué was issued in which the **denunciation initiated on September 4th** by *Adrián Salbuchi*, *Juan Gabriel Labaké* and *Enrique Romero* against the leaders of AMIA, DAIA and OSA due to their support to Israel in the recent warlike confrontation in the Middle East was explained. Through it, they requested that the legal personality of the organizations be reviewed. The cause of the denunciation was the alleged interference in the foreign policy of a Nation by defending a war against a friend country as the Lebanon; for instigation and apology of crime for supporting the bombardments against Lebanese civilians; for encouragement of hatred for religious and ethnic causes, for the identification of the Islamic and the Arabic as terrorist, and finally for unlawful intrusion in political questions and for following the instructions of a foreign power as Israel.

On the other hand, in the September issue of the bulletin of the *El Traductor Gráfico*, an article by *Adrian Salbuchi* named “*The war in the Middle East: A warning to Argentina*” was included. It referred to the war between Israel and Hezbollah and the author warned about the possible consequences that such conflict could have in Argentina. The report of Salbuchi presents tough criticisms to the Israeli actions against the Palestinians and Lebanese, and at the same time, he questioned the legitimacy of the Jewish State, criticized the terrorist actions on the part of Zionist groups which gave origin to the State of Israel, and anticipated a war between that country and Iran, with unforeseeable consequences.

The attacks of Salbuchi did not limit themselves to Zionism and the State of Israel; it is worth mentioning the declarations about:

“the struggle that a tiny minority of the humanity, which numerically barely represents the 0.2% of the human beings living in the world is threatening to drag the whole world to an unprecedented hecatomb”; and the following questioning about the revisionism of the Holocaust: “Who are we so afraid of? A serious study which will maybe show that the figures of the “Holocaust” do not quite make sense?”.

Going back to the local repercussions that a war in the Middle East scenery might have, Salbuchi stated that in such case, *“the plan prepared by Hertzl for the creation of a Jewish State in Patagonia will then achieve more relevance”*. Regarding this issue, Salbuchi mentioned, among other factors, the presence of Israeli backpackers in the south of the country, and the massive purchase of land in Patagonia on the part of Zionist interests as another sign of the fact that the plan for the domination of that region of the country should be seriously considered.

Also at the local level, Salbuchi held once again his theory of the **“self-attack” (!) on the part of Israel against its own embassy in 1992 and against the AMIA building in 1994**, denouncing the existent of a *“plan to drag Argentina into the American and Israeli side in a coming conflict against Iran, Syria and other anti-Zionist Muslim countries”*.

Anti-Semitic Paintings¹

This section will deal with the issue of anti-Semitic paintings. On this subject, in the Report of 2005, a first approximation of the topic was done. Nevertheless, in this edition we pretend to carry out a deeper analysis of this phenomenon. To this end, it will be studied from a predominantly quantitative approach, starting from the definitions of what we are about to measure.

In the first place the denomination “*paintings*” is a colloquial term used here to refer to a broader phenomenon, which is not limited to the usage of paint. It can also take the form of carvings or be written in posters, among other techniques. In this sense, the modality used is not a defining factor. More specifically, the term refers to the writings with anti-Semitic content done with the aim of being visible and permanent both in public and private spaces. The pretension of visibility refers to the cases in which the painting is found in a place that allows for the message to be received by third parties. On the other hand, the pretension of permanence consists in that, because of the way is displaced, it requires a specific action to take it out, erase it or cover it, regardless of the difficulty that each case represents.

According to Gino Germani, “*anti-Semitism is an attitude, i.e. a psychic disposition of character relatively permanent (albeit modifiable), whose content consists on the hostility towards the Jews*”². Despite the psychological character of the definition, from the perspective of the author, the phenomenon is not limited only to this plane,

¹ This section was elaborated by Mr. Santiago Santermer, who dedicates it to the memory of Adrián Jmelnizky (z’l).

² Germani, Gino. *Antisemitismo tradicional y antisemitismo ideológico [Traditional and Ideological anti-Semitism]*. Cuaderno de COMENTARIO N°1. Instituto Judío Argentino de Cultura e Información. Buenos Aires 1963.

but it can also translate into action. In this sense, in the phenomenon of paintings is clear that this has effectively happened. Thus, even if in the majority of the cases, a painting does not presents a more serious fact, it can be quantitatively distinguished from a passive acceptance of stereotypes, for example.

Regarding this subject, it is important to highlight that the term “*Semitic*” is a category that is not limited to the Jewish people, but it also includes the Arab people. Nonetheless, even if semantically the term is not accurate enough to refer to the phenomenon under analysis, its generalized utilization to this end, both in the academic and non-academic language, has led us its use in this sense.

Further, it is worth mentioning that the unity of analysis used here are the complaints on anti-Semitic paintings³. This entails, in the first place that it is not about the totality of the writings done during 2006, but only about those which have been included in the complains received by the different sources of information, as the INADI, the **mass media** and different DAIA’s departments, among others. In the second place, it means that we will take into account complainths, and not facts per se, given that the former might contain one or more paintings.

At the same time, if there are two complains about one writing, they will be counted twice. This is because a particular characteristic of the phenomenon, which consists on the fact that a painting or writing which is not erased, covered or taken away, constitutes an omissive action on the part of the corresponding actor or actors, according to the case, which demonstrates the lack of effective will to stop the aggression.

Next, the complaints about anti-Semitic writings registered during the year 2006 will be analyzed. Firstly, of the 584 **complaints on anti-Semitic facts**, 392 belong to paintings, which constitute **67.1%**. Furthermore, we observe an increase both in the absolute and relative values with respect to 2005, when 241 complaints of this type of writings were registered, constituting 64.46% of the total amount. The in-

³ See annex 1.

creases mentioned may mainly respond to two factors. The first would be a possible increase of the amount of anti-Semitic facts, which will be seen then, in the amount of complaints. The second one would be a probable increase in the propensity to denounce these cases on the part of the victims or third parties. Also, because these factors are not mutually excluding, it could be a combination thereof.

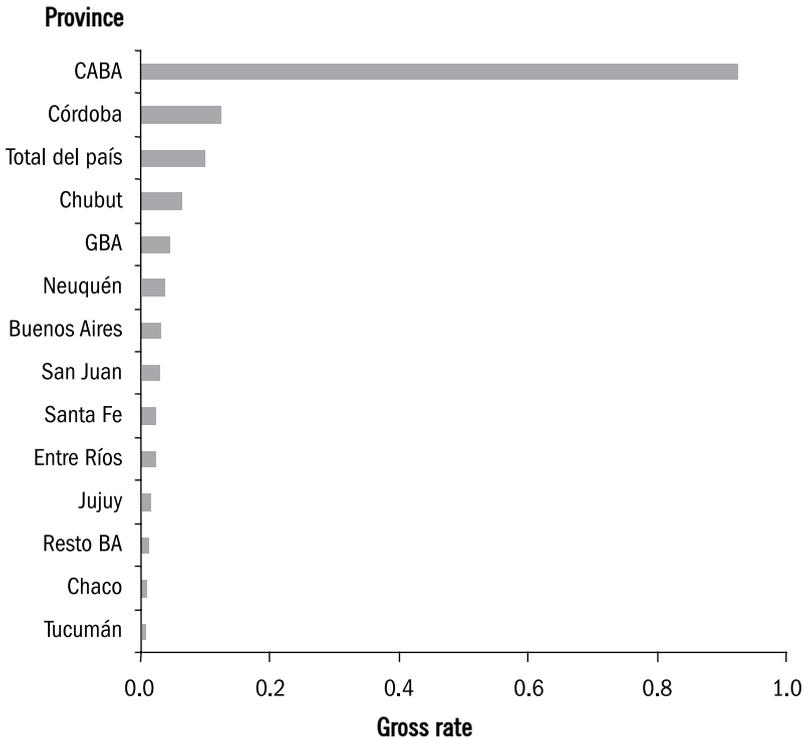
It is possible to make several readings from their analysis. If one considered only the first factor, one would be facing a negative context in which the increase of anti-Semitism in Argentina should be worrying. Nonetheless, the second factor opens the possibility that one faces a positive context, characterized by a great disposition of the population to bring complaints and thus a possible loss of fear might be experienced in some cases. Nevertheless, there are not, for the moment, enough elements to conclusively determine the cause of this increase in the number of complaints.

On the other hand, the situation is not the same throughout the country. This is because the number of complaints differs from one province to another. As it is possible to observe in Graphic 1, the majority of the complaints about anti-Semitic writings per each 10.000 inhabitants is found in the city of Buenos Aires (CBA). Even if a high number of complaints should be expected from a densely populated district, when comparing the rates regarding the number of complaints to the number of inhabitants, we have to rule out the possibility of establishing the size of the population as the cause of the great number of complaints.

Even more so, the Province of Buenos Aires possesses the highest number of inhabitants and yet, it presents a smaller rate than the one corresponding to the city of the same name. Indeed, the value obtained for CBA is 9.2 times bigger than the one for the total of the country. At the same time, we observe that the value increases for the case of the Greater Buenos Aires with respect to the total of the Province. On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that there are not complaints about writings registered in the provinces of Catamarca, Formosa, La Pampa, La Rioja, Santa Cruz, Santiago del Estero, Tierra del Fuego, Mendoza, Salta, Misiones, Río Negro, Corrientes and San Luis. In fact, the first six do not register any complaints on any other kind of anti-Semitism facts.

GRAPHIC 1.

Gross rate (*) of complaints on anti-Semitic paintings per province.



(*) Rate expressing the number of complaints per 10.000 inhabitants

Source: own elaboration on the basis of Annex 1 of this publication and on the basis of the projections elaborated by INDEC for 2006, produced on the basis of the results of the National Population Census of Homes and Dwellings 2001.

In order to separate Great Buenos Aires from the rest of the Buenos Aires, the percentage distribution of the National Population Census of Homes and Dwellings 2001 was used.

In this sense, just as in the case of the above-mentioned analysis of the increase between the years 2005 and 2006, it is difficult to establish here only one definite cause to explain the variation among the different points of the country. Furthermore, the two possible explanations presented *supra* would also be applicable to these cases.

In this way, it could be that some provinces present a higher number of anti-Semitic facts every 10.000 inhabitants, or a higher propensity to denounce them. Nevertheless, there could be other causes to explain the phenomenon of CBA, as a higher disdain for the public space, which would lead to a more frequent utilization thereof for the publication of messages. Another one could be that, due to the density of the population, a feeling of anonymity would generate, which could lead some individuals and groups to act with a greater sense of impunity.

On the other hand, the absence of complaints, both referred to paintings and facts, should not be construed as the absence of anti-Semitism. This is not only due to the possibility that the cases were not reported, but also, as it was argued in the beginning of the section, anti-Semitism is not limited to concrete facts, but it encompasses, among other things, a series of stereotypes and beliefs which do not necessarily lead to an action. On the basis of the above, one should also take into account that for every province, different explanations can be found, even some not examined here.

What follows is an analysis of the content of the complaints on anti-Semitic paintings. With that end, different topics were established, as it can be observed in Table 1. For its reading, it should be kept in mind that one complaint might contain more than one fact and that each writing might refer to more than one topic, thus, the sum of the percentages of the table exceeds 100%.

In this manner, during the year 2006, the 66.6% of the complaints on paintings presented a content related to **Nazism**. Here we include the vindication of National Socialism, as the Neo-Nazism, its symbols and practices. Some examples are paintings such as “*Long live Hitler*” “*Jews are soap*”, Stars of David painted on the house or store of a Jew, and Swastikas, among others. On the other hand, the 26,5% of the complaints on paintings are related to the **Middle East**. On this subject, it draws our attention the monthly distribution of these writings as it is observed in Graphic 2. In this sense, between January and June 2006, the values were between 0 and 2 complaints per month. Subsequently, with the beginning of the armed conflict between Hez-

TABLE 1.
Complaints on anti-Semitic paintings per Topic.

Topic	Writings	
	Absolute	Percentages (*)
Total	392	100,0
Nazism	261	66,6
Middle East	104	26,5
Greed and/or exploitation	9	2,3
Domination of the world	6	1,5
Deicide	1	0,3
Nationalism	3	0,8
Threats	15	3,8
Marginalization	12	3,1
Other affronts and calumnies	24	6,1
Others	10	2,6
Non-specified	3	0,8

(*) A complaint might contain more than one fact and each writing might refer to more than one topic, thus the sum of the percentages exceeds 100%

Source: own elaboration base don the Annex 1 of this publication.

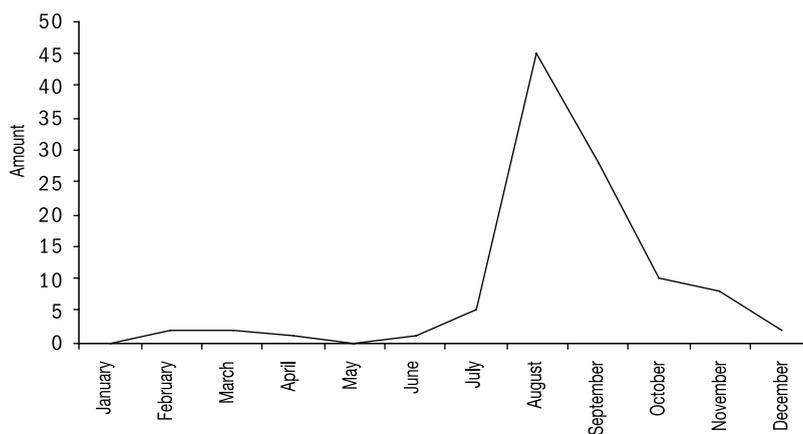
ollah and the State of Israel in mid-July, the complaints ascended to 5 that month. Then there was a leap in **August** with **45 complaints** and 28 in September, progressively descending in October and November and returning to the values of the beginning of the year in December. In this way, during the critical months, between **July and November**, there were 96 complaints registered with these character-

istics, which could partially explain the **increase of 151 writings with respect to 2005**.

On the other hand, complaints about paintings regarding other subjects were registered, albeit in smaller percentages. **Firstly**, the category “*Domination of the world*” includes those which express the fallacy that the Jews concentrate a determinant power at a national, international and/or Transnational level, both in the political, economic and media plane, or in one of them. **Secondly**, the category of “*Deicide*” encompasses all the cases relating to accusations towards the Jews regarding the crucifixion of Jesus or of being “*detractors*” of him. **Thirdly**, “*Nationalism*” entails those complaints on the paintings which explicitly or implicitly consider the Jew as a stranger or harmful to Argentina. **Fourthly**, “*Other affronts and calumnies*” includes insults and accusations not included in previous categories. **Fifthly**, “*Threats*” covers all the complaints regarding messages which explicitly or implicitly, encompass a danger to an individual, a groups or their belongings, as well as cases where there is a defense of these actions. **Sixthly**, the category “*Greed and/or exploitation*”

GRAPHIC 2.

Complaints of paintings referred to the Middle East per month.



Source: Annex 1 of this publication

includes all the complaints of writings which associate these characteristics with the Jews in general, or with an individual in particular, mentioning his or her condition as such. **Seventhly**, -and lastly- the category "*Marginalization*" includes all the complaints of messages defending segregation of the Jews, both collectively and individually from certain field.

In sum, **an increase in the number of the complaints** between the years 2005 and 2006 has been registered, which could respond to an increase of anti-Semitic facts, in the case of the paintings, or to a greater propensity to denounce them. However, in the last year, the outbreak of the conflict between Israel and Hezbollah possibly has played an important role in the increase under analysis. Nonetheless, the content par excellence in the **phenomenon of paintings** is related to **Nazism**. On the other hand, a variation among the different provinces has been registered with respect to the amount of complaints registered per 10.000 inhabitants, presenting CBA a rate 9.2 times superior to the corresponding to the total of the country. Here, other factors might intervene, such as different valorisation of the public space or a feeling of anonymity, product of, perhaps, the density of the population.

In sum, **an increase in the number of the complaints** between the years 2005 and 2006 has been registered, which could respond to an increase of anti-Semitic facts, in the case of the paintings, or to a greater propensity to denounce them. However, in the last year, the outbreak of the conflict between Israel and Hezbollah possibly has played an important role in the increase under analysis. Nonetheless, the content par excellence in the **phenomenon of paintings** is related to **Nazism**. On the other hand, a variation among the different provinces has been registered with respect to the amount of complaints registered per 10.000 inhabitants, presenting CBA a rate 9.2 times superior to the corresponding to the total of the country. Here, other factors might intervene, such as different valorisation of the public space or a feeling of anonymity, product of, perhaps, the density of the population.

Anti-Semitism in Football¹

When we speak about the relationship between football and discrimination we found ourselves in the face of a dual situation. On the one hand, we find a sport which represents us as a space of social integration of differences, through a team game and the union of the supporters. However, on the other hand, we find in this sport an important channel of discrimination and violence fomented by the competitive mechanisms entailed in this game.

Physical and verbal aggressions stemmed from an excessive competition are present in the different spaces and in the actors who participate in this sport.

In this context, it can be held that during 2006, the Argentinean football stadiums were not exempted from anti-Semitic manifestations. Once more, this game has echoed prejudices and xenophobic acts.

On November 21st during a game of the Division “B” between “Defensores de Belgrano” and “Atlanta” it was possible to hear the supporters of the former, signing chants with discriminative contents towards the Jewish community.

It is not the first time that in a match between those two teams, the supporters of “Defensores de Belgrano” exhibit xenophobic behaviour against “Atlanta” club. In 2000, its supporters received the players of “Atlanta” with a shower of soap bars, since that club, due to its location and history is identified with the Jewish community.²

¹ This section was prepared by Verónica P. Constantino.

² Braylan Marisa, Jmelnitzky Adrián, informe sobre antisemitismo en la Argentina 2005 [Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina 2005], Centro de Estudios Sociales, CES-DAIA, Buenos Aires 2005. P. 59.

Since that event, the referees have been granted the power to temporarily or permanently suspend the games should discriminatory manifestations take place. Nevertheless, this is not what Alejandro Derevain, referee of that match, did in the face of the events occurred on November 21st 2006. Subsequently, as a result of such omission, a member of “Atlanta” filed a complaint against the referee before the Contraventions’ Prosecution Office No. 8.

Aside from Derevain, the Chief of police operations, Rodolfo Alí and the President of

the club “Defensores de Belgrano”, Marcelo Achile were also jointly sued. Nonetheless, after what happened in the match, the board of the club repudiated the behaviour of their supporters, apologized and undertook the obligation of intensifying the security measures so that similar events will not happen again.

Furthermore, the club undertook to investigate whether the authors of the racist chants were members, and if so, they would sanction and expel them from the establishment.

Different institutions intervened after the episode: The National Institute against Discrimination (INADI), in charge of Ms. Maria José Lubertino held meetings with the head of the Argentinean Football Association (AFA), Julio Grondona, who was requested to intensify the measures against discrimination in stadiums. That would include the suspension of matches and the subtraction of points.

The INADI launched the slogan “Let’s play not to discriminate”, and the free line: 0800 – 999 – 2345 which would appear on the screens of the stadiums with the end of getting the participants to sympathize with the suffering caused by discriminatory behaviours

DAIA, on the other hand, requested the AFA to apply the necessary disciplinary measures to punish those events. Furthermore, it continued holding the seminars on anti-Semitism and xenophobia addressed to members of the Referees Union which DAIA has been developing since several years ago.

Moreover, a new agreement was signed between the Ministry of Education of the City of Buenos Aires and the Ministry of Interior of the Nation, under whose jurisdiction functions the Sub-Secretariat of

Security of Football Events. The goal of this agreement is that public schools work on topics which enable the creation of spaces of reflection over the problem of violence and discrimination in football, as well as in the rest of the sport events.

Additionally, since the first months of the year, the Sub-Secretary of Security of Football Events, supported by the United Nations Programme for Development (UNPD) Argentina, developed “the National Programme of Preventive Policies on Security for the Construction of a Football in Peace”.

In that context, the “National Campaign against Violence and Discrimination in Football Events in the Republic of Argentina” was launched, and was supported by AFA and Relatives of Victims of the Argentinean Football (FAVIFA). The campaign included the display of messages against discrimination and violence in football through different media and the performance of activities in sport and educative institutions around the country.

International Context

The 2006 World Cup in Germany brought about the intensification of the measures aiming at preventing discriminatory incidents. In this context, the International Federation of Football Associations (FIFA) modified the Discipline Code, foreseeing tougher sanctions against discrimination acts, encompassing not only the players, but also the leaders, the clubs, and the supporters. The changes foresee both the subtraction of points and the disqualification of the teams involved.

Nevertheless, the discriminatory incidents world wide could not be avoided. In the beginning of the year, an ultra-Rightwing organization developed a defamation campaign against the German player of Ghanaian origin, Gerald Asamoah, with stickers carrying the phrase: “*No, Cheetah, you are not German, you are a monkey*”

In our continent, during a match of the “Apertura” Tournament Chile between “Palestino” and “Santiago Morning”, the Jewish forward, Rodrigo Goldberg complained about receiving racist insults regarding his origin.

Pablo Alabarces affirms that “*football is the greatest phenomenon of masses’ communication in the world*” and “*one of the strongest identification practices of the popular sectors in most of Latin-American countries*”.³

If we assume the veracity of this statement -which highlights the social role embodied by football- and we also take into consideration that it is the most popular sport in Argentina, the segregating social practices generated therein deserve a special attention.

If football is the chief mass media in our societies, the discriminatory practices generated around this sport cannot be assumed as part of “the football folklore”, on the contrary, these practices must be denounced in order to unmask and get rid of them. To deepen this road, education of the citizenship in democratic values is paramount. Further, it is primordial that the existing regulations and the planned programmes to punish and avoid segregating behaviours be executed in an efficient and continuous manner.

³ Alabarces, Pablo, *Cuestión de Pelotas* [A question of balls], Buenos Aires, ED. Atuel, 1996. P. 20

Anti-Semitism on the Internet¹

On the issue of freedom of expression, John Stuart Mill wrote in his book *“On Liberty”* that *“if an opinion is not fully, frequently and fearlessly discussed,” it is transformed into a “dead dogma, not a living truth”*. In a democratic society in which the circulation of the worst opinions should be allowed, it is our responsibility to keep alive the memory of a history that many deny and other prefer to forget. This is necessary because anti-Semitism is transforming and finding new channels to propagate. With the spectacular growth of the Internet, the latter has become a relevant space for the dissemination of discriminatory material.

There are not doubts that the Internet is a world phenomenon which has come to stay, and as that, it should be analyzed to observe its different aspects. Since its origins, in the DARPA Project, the Internet has been continuously mutating. With out any objections, it is safe to affirm that we are facing the tool per excellence of the globalized world. It has revolutionized the communication, information and entertaining areas to the extent that we could never get rid of it. Indeed, it has penetrated so much in our lives, that certain Chilean representatives have proposed that access to Internet be a constitutional right. Not only that, but the well-known American magazine “Times”, which each December features the character of the year on its cover, has dedicated its last one to the **Internet user**. Moreover, another topic of discussion which has not yet being dealt with is the debate on the *“Internet addiction”*. On the one hand, some scientists consider exaggerate to talk about addiction, but on the other hand, the Chinese Government is debating the approval of a norm to be

¹ This section was elaborated by Ariel Seidler.

included in the Minors' Protection Act to prevent this addiction by prohibiting the entrance of minors into the cyber cafes. Doubtless, Internet is setting a line between a before and an after in our era.

Despite this ongoing debate, Internet is generating certain suspicious in renowned personalities. For example, in various interviews given to European media, such as the German cultural magazine "*Cicero*" and Madrid's newspaper "*El País*", the intellectual *Umberto Eco*, an Italian writer and semiologist, reflected on the changes Internet is bringing about in our society. He argued that the net of nets is not only generating a loss of knowledge over the history in the European population, but also that the dissemination of great amount of information of little relevance, which can be as dangerous as the lack thereof, contributes to accelerate the loss of historical perspective. Finally, he did not hesitate in assessing that "*Internet tells everything without saying whether this or that piece of information is reliable. Even if the Internet has changed our lives, this technological process could lead us to a cultural regression. The function of the memory is not only to preserve, but also to filter... The culture is also a process of preservation and filtration as well, through which we know who Hitler was*"². Eco was not the only one who displayed this concern, Web's creator, *Tim Berners-Lee*, who can be regarded as an authority on the subject, shares the idea that currently the Net is providing wrong information and creating non-democratic forces. At the same time, he affirms that the quantitative expansion of the Web is not directly proportional to its qualitative benefits.

Another aspect of this debate is the **freedom of expression**. In **November**, the organization of the defence of the freedom of press, *Journalists Without Frontiers*, published its annual report, where they highlight Cuba, China, Iran, North Korea, Egypt, Belarus, Saudi Arabia, Burma/Myanmar, Uzbekistan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkmenistan and Vietnam as countries who are "*enemies of the Internet*". As a form of protest against censorship on the Internet, they organized a "*cyber-demonstration*" on the 7th of the said month, which consisted in visiting their portal during the day in order to get acquainted with

² <http://www.clarin.com/diario/2006/10/25/sociedad/s-03707.htm>

the topic. Until today, there are not restrictive measures on the Net of Nets to be applied in our country. On the other hand, human rights and freedom of press defenders' associations started to elaborate, together with large technology companies, such as *Microsoft*, *Yahoo!* and *Google*, a series of regulations on Internet behaviour. The initiative for the project emerged with the goal of promoting freedom of expression and privacy of the Internet users.

Constant growing

As it was said, Internet is a world phenomenon which is constantly growing. Those who understand figures are no longer surprised by the ones presented by Internet. In **November 2006**, the company **Netcraft** censured **more than 101 million websites**, being the portals addressed to young people and the weblogs, or simply blogs, the main propellants of the growth. To leave all doubts about its current size aside, it has doubled the amount of sites with respect to 2004 and it has widely exceeded the 10 millions registered in **February of 2000**, the million registered in **April 1997** and the barely 19.000 sites of **1995**. However, as it was said, the weblog is a paramount element of this substantial increase. It offers the same features as a traditional website, but also presents two advantages: it is free and easier to use. A blog might be explained as a personal binnacle, where apart from writing on it; sounds, photos, animations and videos can also be added. Another aspect is that it provides the possibility of feedback: the visitors are allowed to leave and read commentaries, and give their contribution. A communication among the Internet users is established. **The 57 millions weblogs** existing today on the Web are explained in a very simple manner: 100 thousands are created per day. This figure matches the ones of Argentinean origin, which represents 0.17% of the total amount.

Racist Defence

The **Simon Wiesenthal Centre** has reported more than six thousand websites with contents dealing with the **defence of Racism**,

Xenophobia and terrorism, featuring an **increase of 20%** compared to the year **2005**. Superiority of white race, manufacturing of bombs and violence against homosexuals are also some of the topics denounced.

As regards **Argentina**, *Clarín* and **D'alessio IROL** made public a report elaborated in June 2006 which revealed that Argentina has more than **10.320.000** users, showing an increase of **36%** with respect of last year and greatly exceeding the million users of March 2000. This means that **28%** of the population has access to the Web, causing that more than half of the Internet users to be under 25 years old. At the same time, young people with fewer resources were one of the social groups whose access grew the most during last year due to the increase of the amount of cyber café, where it is possible to go on line for very little money. This reports adds that four out of five users claim to go on line everyday and the average daily connection lasts about one or two hours. Lastly, the main motives to use Internet do not differ to those already mentioned: information, communication and entertaining.

Concern

Different cases made the news in the media which relate to this topic. Regarding our current national situation, in different articles published by various media, **DAIA** has manifested its concern on the growth of anti-Semitic groups located in our country who vindicate the Nazi regime on the Web, where this type of circulation runs free. It was highlighted that thanks to the connection of these racist groups -through the Internet- with its peers in Europe, indoctrination material and neo-Nazi propaganda is being exported to Argentina, to Latin American and the United States. At the same time, the Jewish entity received a great amount of complaints about anti-Semitic sites. Among them it was notified that in July the website of the "**Agudam Dodim**" Community was attacked by hackers and in its place, a message of protest against Israel was found.

In **November**, the **INADI** (National Institute against Discrimination, Xenophobia and Racism) and the **COMFER** (Federal Committee of Radio broadcasting), signed a **Frame Agreement** for the creation of an **observatory of discrimination** in the media. The **INADI**

undertook to collaborate and advise the **COMFER** in the follow-up of the contents of the radio broadcasting services. The constitution of this observatory seeks to *“exercise the effective State follow-up and control over the forms and contents of the State, private and communal media, as well as the Internet, which may include any type of discrimination, prejudice, mockery, aggression and/or stigmatization to different groups or sectors of the population whose rights may be violated or who are victims of discrimination”*³.

Thus, it did not come as a surprise the complaint brought in October by the **Argentinean Chamber of phonograms and videograms (CAPIF)** against twenty two Argentinean citizens for downloading music from the Internet. The entity had already brought twenty legal actions in 2005 and the accused were sentenced to pay four thousand Argentinean pesos as compensation. In **France**, the **Representatives’ Chamber** passed a law aiming at combating piracy with fines of up to 150 Euros. On the contrary, according to a decision of the Spanish Justice, downloading music is lawful as long as it is not done for a profit. These cases show the viability of establishing a framework for the application of the **Anti-Discrimination Law**.

Nazis on the Net

During the year, the National Socialist group *Militia* sent via e-mail propaganda on their activities, its magazine and material related to its ideology. By the end of **January**, it recalled that: *“On January 30th, 1933 Adolf Hitler takes over as Chancellor of Germany and with him, it is shown that the enemies of everything good are not invincible and that this memory should encourage us in our struggle. Greetings for you in our Romanic and militant style”*. Among its activities, they foment the learning of organic agriculture, they practice martial arts and surviving methods, *“Closed Order”*, and they study *“Doctrine”*, among other things. Further, in its magazines it is possible to read biographies of Nazi leaders, opinions on current events and poems dedicated to the Fuhrer.

³ http://www.inadi.gov.ar/newsletters/02/info_inadi_2.htm#secreo

In the international realm, particularly in **Spain**, for the first time in history, a young man was convicted for inciting racism via Internet. *Ivan M.J.* was sentenced to two years in prison and received a fine of Euros 1.600 by the Criminal Court No. 2 from *Lleida*; whereas his twin brother *Sergi* was sentenced to a year in prison and received a fine of Euros 1.000 for disseminating racist messages through “*fan-zines*”. In November 2004, the police from Catalonia arrested *Ivan M.J.* in his home in Tarrega and seized technological material, knives, propaganda against migrants, flags and T-shirts with neo-Nazi, anti-Semitic and xenophobic symbols. The website hosted positive articles on *Adolf Hitler*, *Mussolini*, *Franco* and the *Ku Klux Klan*, and it was possible to find phrases such as “*the Holocaust is a holostory*”. The authorities issued their decision pursuant to article 510 of the Criminal Code, which punishes the incitement to hate and violence against groups or associations for racist motives.

Durban Programme

In its resolution **2005/64**, the Human Rights Commission requested the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR) that, in the context of the fourth period of sessions of the **Inter-Governmental Working Group** on the effective application of the **Durban Declaration and Programme of Action**, organize a high level seminar on Racism and Internet and on complementary international norms to fight racism. Such seminar was held between January 16th and 20th 2006, and in its first stage the use of the Internet to disseminate a racist message and foment hatred, and violence for racial motives was discussed. It was emphasized that the struggle against the dissemination of hate expression and racist material on the Internet faces legal, preceptive, technical, financial and practical challenges. Despite that the Internet can effectively be a means to fight racism; it became noticeable in the deliberations that there is **not only one way of opposing the transmission of racist topics in the Internet which is totally effective**. Due to the global and decentralized character of the Internet, the government’s control and even the judicial investigation have limited effect and applicabil-

ity, especially if the racist message is transmitted from outside the jurisdiction where is considered unlawful. On the other hand, some panellists explained the difficulty of the developing countries to fight against criminal activities on the Internet, since they do not have the technical capability to control the content of certain websites, nor do they have the capability or the regulation mechanisms, and there is not a long-term strategy to foment tolerance or some kind of association at the national and international plane. In order to combat racism on the Internet, it was put forward that the providers be integrated from the beginning in the measures to be adopted, to request the industry to create an intelligent software to watch and filter, to concentrate in the search engines, since they are the access point for most the users of Internet in the world and to push for the an autonomous combined regulation with better conceived mechanisms and sanctions.

Simultaneously, several participants shared the idea that legislative binding dispositions, national and international, are necessary for fighting incitement to racial hatred. The delegates also indicated that they supported the idea of establishing adequate educative programmes in the face of hate expressions, whereas the participants also admitted the positive role of the Internet in the promotion of human development and in the foment of a culture of tolerance, as well as a means of assisting in the fight against racism. Therefore, they called for the promotion of the use of the Internet to form networks of sensitizing and creating consciousness against racism, as well as its potential to promote universal respect of human rights and human development, foment a culture of peace and tolerance and respect cultural diversity. The **Working Group** reached the conclusion that perhaps the most effective way to mitigate the problem be by combining measures as independent preceptive initiatives with the sensitizing of racism precisely transmitted via Internet and the foment of tolerance.

Precedent

A decision of the **California Supreme Court in the United States** might set a precedent insofar as discrimination cases on the

Web. Whereas before, vis-à-vis the dissemination of slander, both the author of the slander and the responsible for its dissemination were held accountable. In one opportunity, towards the end of **November**, the Tribunal considered that he or she who publishes some kind of defamation cannot be accused simultaneously for that crime as the material responsible of the publication.

“Fight Dem Back”, an Australian website which combats racism, requested the **Google** Company to eliminate the almost 30 binnales located in Blogger (the weblog of the company) with neo-Nazi content. Until now, the portal only warns that those sites have been qualified as “hateful” by certain users.

Internet does not only serve to disseminate and express hate but also to organize acts. **“Brotherhood 28”** was the name of the act which took place in **Zaragoza on November 18th**, the same date as the thirty first anniversary of the death of Spanish dictator, Francisco Franco, and of the passing of three young men of the same ideology when they were returning from a Fascist-type celebration in Madrid. The call, which had been promoted via the Internet, has been denounced by neighbours’, young people’s and unions’ associations, as well as by political parties which demanded the **Government Delegation in Aragon** to prevent such celebration because they considered that those type of events degenerate in aggressions to persons of different ideologies and aesthetics.

In **Poland**, the local police managed to disarm the neo-Fascist organization **“Blood and Honour”** after arresting the administrator of the web site of the group, thanks to the assistance of American Internet administrators in whose server the group’s web site was located. According to the sheriff, the members of the organization could be accused of crimes which are punished by the Polish Criminal Code with up to three years in prison

In response to the Mohamed’s cartoons exhibited in the European press in **February**, the Internet portal of the **House of Caricatures in Iran⁴** together with the Iranian newspaper **“Hamshari”** (The people), launched a contest called **“Where is the limit of freedom of**

⁴ <http://www.irancartoon.ir>

expression in the West?” to observe whether the Western countries use the same principle of freedom of press over the Holocaust than over images of the Muslim prophet. Simultaneously, a cartoon on the Holocaust featuring two vignettes was published. In the first one, titled “*Auschwitz 1942*”, it is possible to see a Jew wearing a Star of David and a package while entering the concentration camp whose door reads: “*Arbeit macht frei*” (“Work shall set you free”). The second one, titled “*Israel 2002*”, features the same person, this time with a gun in his hands, going to what it seems to be a battle field, whose entrance reads “*war brings peace*”. According to the portal, the first cartoon on the Holocaust was sent by **Michael Leunig**, from **Melbourne (Australia)**, in solidarity with the Muslim world to exercise freedom of expression. In a short while, the contest offered prizes of up to U\$S dollars and received more than 700 cartoons by 200 “artists” from 35 different countries.

In **Austria**, a tribunal sentenced to 18 to 24 months of conditional freedom three supporters of a football club in Branau (home city of Adolf Hitler) for publishing on the Internet a photo where they execute the Nazi saluted inside the old concentration camp of **Mauthausen**. That image, together with other similar ones, was disseminated on the Website of the “*Bulldogs of Branau*” supporters, remaining there until December 2005, when the Communist Party (K.P.) of High Austria informed the local press thereof and demanded legal consequences. Those involved recognized the facts and denied having an extreme Rightwing ideology.

The German citizen Germar Rudolf will be prosecuted for denying the Holocaust and using the Internet as a means to disseminate its documents in the city of **Mannheim**, after being deported from the United States. Among other things, he questions in his writings the existence of the Gas Chambers and the amount of people murdered. In sum, he regards the Holocaust as a myth. Rudolf was living in the United States after having escaped from Germany where he had been sentenced to 14 months in prison for a similar case in 1995.

After the request of the Jewish Students’ Union of France (UEJF), the **Great Instance Tribunal of Paris** ordered in September the clos-

ing of the website of the leader of a small black radical anti-Semitic group called **Ka Tribe, Kemí Seba**, opened in **July** as a response to the prohibition of the group by the French Ministry of Interior. Seba affirms that the prohibition offered them publicity and support on the part of the population.

Threats

After the complaint about the links between neo-Nazis and the military in **Chile**, the former threatened different public personalities of Jewish origin through the Internet. The accusation was brought by the Prosecution after the seizure of photos, guns, military uniforms and ideological literature.

In **Moscow**, Alexander Koptsev attacked eight people at a religious service in a synagogue with a knife. According to preliminary police data, this Russian citizen was inspired in several digital newspapers with anti-Semitic content, in neo-Nazi and ultra-Nationalist brochures. In order to control the dissemination via the Internet of messages with similar characteristics, the **Forces of the General Direction of Interior** and specialists of the **Federation of Jewish Communities of Russia** agreed to work together.

If, after the agreement signed between the **Brazilian Federal Police** and **Microsoft** in November, Brazil becomes the first Latin-American country to have software to detect and fight child pornography and paedophilia on the Internet, a programme already working in **Great Britain, Italy and Indonesia**, it will not be preposterous to think that a **similar system could be developed** to apply the **Anti-Discrimination Law** on the Internet.

The famous Irish writer, Oscar Wilde used to say “*to restrain the look to half of the life that can be lived calmly is to pretend that because we are blinded we could walk safer through a land of holes and cliffs*”. Therefore; we should not back down in our struggle against discrimination. This scourge continues to hit our society in a strong manner and it is indispensable to keep on working on the global integration of the societies. Fortunately, many things have been achieved already, but we still have the task to struggle for many more.

Discrimination of Different Groups in Argentina¹

Other Groups

“...that rare thing we are, numerous and one”²

JORGE LUIS BORGES

La luna

The existence of anti-Semitic behaviours in our society accounts for the presence of **prejudices, stereotypes and discriminatory rules** within itself, of which other minority groups are not exempted.

The present chapter exceeds the analysis of anti-Semitism. It purports to illustrate the experience of different minorities in our country. This enables us, on the one hand, to provide the **Report** with a wider and broader look of the levels of discrimination which exist in our society. And, on the other hand, it enables us to study anti-Semitism in a comparative way.

Historically, the discrimination processes have embodied the denial of the human condition; and the affirmation of the relative equality of men, which affirms the existence of an “*us*” in essence differentiated from “*the others*”. Thus, in the face of a universal equality of men, we find the affirmation of the existence of relative equalities which turns around the “*us-others*” dichotomy

Equality

The **principle of equality** consists in accepting that men are similar to each other, regardless of the differences that might emerge

¹ This section was elaborated by Ms. Verónica P Constantino.

² Borges, Jorge Luis, *Obra poética 1923-1985*. [Poetic Work 1923-1985] Buenos Aires, Emecé Editores, 1989 (20^a).

in social and biological spheres where their lives are reproduced. Equality, as an ideal to attain encompasses treating other people as **equal in dignity, rights and in the deserving of access to opportunities.**

When men are exposed to discriminatory situations, it is their condition as human beings what is on stake. As **Emmanuel Levinas** indicates, discrimination “...*is not only opposed to Liberal culture. It is not this or that dogma of democracy, of parliamentarianism, or dictatorial regime or religious policy which is on stake. It is the Humanity of men itself*”.³

Only by denying an individual or a groups their human condition, is their segregation and the violation of their rights possible.

Discrimination has been, and still is today, a central component of the forms of organization and structure of the society. The forms adopted have varied in the different historical times, reaching, in many situations, to inexplicable levels, such as those where the partition of “*us-others*” was parallel to the development of the formula “*friend-enemy*”, and certainly these processes have had a close connection with the conformation of segregation, persecution and extermination of human groups. Thus, they reflect the social and cultural impossibility to account for and coexist with alterity

In our country, persons with disability, with diseases, immigrants, Gypsies, poor, women, Muslims, old people, homosexuals, Afro-descendants, as well as those individuals who do not conform to hegemonic aesthetics rules, suffer on a daily basis from segregation, which prevents them from fully enjoying their rights as human beings and as citizens of our State, which should guarantee them. The street, school, stores, and other public spaces, as well as the media usually function as scenarios where discriminatory behaviours develop.

³ Lévinas, Emmanuel, *Algunas reflexiones sobre la filosofía del hitlerismo [Some reflections on the philosophy of Hilterism]*. Buenos Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001. P. 20-21.

The role of the media

It is necessary, in this occasion, to mention the special role that the **mass media** play around this topic due to the fact that various cases of discrimination described in this section are related to this sector. We must take into account that nowadays, the mass media constitute the channel through which most of the population is informed. This is not a minor detail if we take into consideration that the times in which questions regarding identity and discrimination might develop do not agree with the available media to approach them, then, this situation will cause imprecise or erroneous information. Furthermore, the lack of specialists in these sensible questions causes that the information produced be charged with prejudices characteristics of those who produce it and of the world communication centres that transfer the information to the local media.

The role of the State

On the other hand, we must not forget the **role of the State** in the topic under analyses. It is undeniable that in the last years, the question of discrimination has been present both in the national political agenda and in the agenda of the international organisms. Legislation has advanced in this subject, as well as the adoption of educative and palliative policies. Nevertheless, we should consider, and the role of the State is paramount in this aspect, that only from a **deep cultural transformation** can the bases of a democratic and social society be strengthened.

To that end, it is primordial to acknowledge that our country is far from being that idilic melting pot and that nowadays, there is practically no group or individual that is not a victim of situations of discrimination

During 2006, important discrimination incidents involving individuals belonging to the groups under analysis have been identified; they encompass various events, from derogatory allusions to the murder (whether or not intentional) of their members. Nevertheless, we cannot place the responsibility of these acts only on the executors, because

social disdain and exclusion towards what is different, the otherness, are rooted in our society. Discrimination cannot be treated only from the individuality, but together with the punishment of individual actors, it is necessary to adopt **collective forms** of approaching the subject.

Disability⁴

In order to approach the subject of discrimination on the basis of disability, we will start by refereeing to the definition of “person with disability” pursuant to our existing legislation, and observe that we find our first obstacle in it.

Article 2 of the **National Law of Integral Protection System of Persons with Disability** (Number 22.431), reads:

“For the purpose of this law, a person with disability is every person who suffers a functional alteration, permanent or prolonged, physical or mental, which, in relation to his or her age and social environment entails considerable disadvantages for his or her familiar, social, educational or working integration”.

The **WHO (World Health Organization)** defines disability on the basis of the International Classification of the Functioning of Disability and Health (hereinafter **CIF**): *“The functioning and disability in the (and not of the) persons is conceived as a dynamic interaction –which can be seen as a process or as a result depending on the user– between the health states (diseases, disorders, injuries, traumas, etc) and the environmental and personal factors. The basic constructor of the environmental factors is the facilitating impact*

⁴ This section was elaborated by Ms. Ana Dorfman, general coordinator of the area of disability of AMIA. It contains part of the declaration of the year 2006, elaborated by the Committee of Assessment and Follow Up of the Inter-American Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities (Law 25.280) formed by AMIA, area of disability, direction of social programmes; Archbishop of Buenos Aires; Commission on Disability; CTA, department of disability; PRO Forum (Forum for the promotion and defence of the rights of persons with disability)

or the barrier of the aspects of the physical, social and attitude-wise world”.

The CIF does not use persons as unities of classification, that is, it does not classify people, but describes the **situation** of each person as a problem of the domain of health or some health-related state. Further, the description always takes place in the context of environmental factors.

As it can be observed, the definition pursuant the National Law implies that disability is the product of the person (“a functional alteration...”) whereas the more universally accepted and modern definitions (OMS) affirm that disability is a product of a **dynamic interaction** between the person and its environment, that is to say that it is not only the responsibility of the person with the disability, but also that a **social responsibility** exists to the extent that the environmental factors can be either facilitators or obstacles for the person.

Therefore, how can we expect that some kind of social change, a change in the behaviours or in the non-discrimination policies take place if, already from the legislation itself we are taking away the responsibility of the State? Thus, it happens that the families with persons with disabilities accept as a natural fact their responsibility to take care of every aspect of their relative with special needs. Moreover, it is important to highlight that only a small percentage of people are born with special needs; the rest are acquired either by accident or diseases. Many of them are preventable.

It is also alarming the number of accidents which take place on the streets and that involve vehicles in the last years. The rate of dead is usually registered. However, we must not forget that there are more people who survive these accidents and who then go through life with the physical and psychological consequences.

Accidents at working places due to the lack of conscience about the use of protective elements or healthy habits, excess of working hours, contact with hazardous products and others.

Accidents at home, produced by the lack of information, the use of inadequate spaces, etc.

With regards to disability as a consequence of a disease, we can

name the ones product of lack of vaccination, medicines, rehabilitation, consultation with a physician, either for being far from them or for the lack of financial resources.

There are also the ones which are inherent to the disease itself.

A salient point which we should underline refers to the concern over the increase of those diseases associated to poverty. A fact which four years ago was denounced by the **SAP (Argentinean Society of Paediatrics)**.

We are referring to the diseases stemmed from bad mother-child nutrition.

The SAP denounces that damages brought about by deficient nutrition in children from their conception until they are three years old are **irreversible**. This causes that more and more children suffer from intellectual deficiency associated to physical diseases. It is worth pointing out that even if explaining the causes of poverty in our country –which are not always related to the economic and political scenario- exceeds the scope of our article, we know that the decision to provide basic nutrition to the vulnerable population of a society is indeed a political decision. There is a direct responsibility of the State on this subject.

Other aspects

Following this axis of thought, we will describe other aspects which facilitate the discrimination against persons with special needs.

These are education and work. Two important axis of social insertion. One of especial importance during childhood and adolescence and the other during adulthood.

The idea that every boy or girl has the right to be educated in the general schools if his or her family wishes so –and his or her disability allows so- is not yet installed in the educative community. Schools must be equipped with all those technological, human pedagogical resources needed, so these are not obstacles to achieve their integration. If the latter cannot be achieved, most of the children with disability will not be able to attend a conventional school. And, if a boy or a girl does not have the opportunity to share the space of the classroom with a different student, in the future, when they are both

adults, the different person will be a stranger whom the former will fear and ignore.

And, if during his or her adult life he or she has never been through such an experience, it will be hard for them to share the working field as well.

Further, we state that he or she who becomes a person with disability while working or who has not achieved sufficient school preparation to compete in equal conditions for a post, is not allowed or assisted in his or her **reinsertion** under their current possibilities; this is not a product of the disability itself, but of whether the society in which he or she must live more or less facilitates his or her insertion. **There is a large debt regarding this situation.**

It is important to be aware of the fact that the “*other*” has the same right to develop and grow in the fields that the society provides for everybody. This is what we call “*equality of opportunities*”.

The joint elimination of all barriers –architectural, urban, transportation and communication-related, and the existence of accessibility will favour what we call “*the chain of accessibility*”, which is the sequence of elements of accessibility, which starts in the own home and ends, through the public space and transportation, in any destination wished or needed by the persons.

This is beginning of **non-discrimination**, given that in order to be educated, work, rehabilitate, etc. is necessary to develop the chain of accessibility, which will enable opening the door of all spaces of participation for those who the environment has been conceived. Unfortunately, in Argentina this concept is not taken into consideration.

So far, a small token of why it is important to accept as valid the definition of the WHO on disability. Should this not happen, the next step will be to proceed in consequence.

Distant

The survey carried out by **ENDI (National Survey of Persons with Disability)** shows the existence of **7.1% of persons with special needs**. This figure does not express the reality, because many people do not identify themselves as “*persons with disability*”, and even less

does it reflect those who are far away from any source of information which can create awareness of their situation and inform them of their rights.

Thus, they do not apply for the **Certificate of Disability**, an access tool, a health, education, rehabilitation coverage, access to medicines, and free passes for the National land transportation, etc.

The legislation is generous and abundant inasmuch as the protection of the rights of persons with different capabilities, but it does not guarantee its respect per se. It is only through **active policies** that a change can be achieved.

Nevertheless, in the last years, there has been a strong ascendant tendency to deal with the problem of disability in the media, either in TV report shows, in articles in important national newspapers and on radio shows.

Furthermore, and perhaps as a consequence of public dissemination of the topic, it seems that there has been a slight change in the behaviours of persons with disability and their families when demanding what is theirs by law, especially things relating to health cover, starting by written applications and then followed by legal actions. Before, these behaviours were an exception, given that they were afraid of being expelled of the sanitary entity.

The State has not initiated any type of campaign for the dissemination of the Rights of Persons with Disability, or for the visualization of this social collective; everything still remains on the hands of the good will of the endeavours of the civil society.

Nowadays, it seems that there is a growing conscience in the urban populations about the need to obtain the certificate of disability.

What still remains practically without significant changes is the educative sphere, both in primary and secondary schools regarding the incorporations of boys, girls and teen-agers with special educative needs to general schools. When the school explains that "*it is not prepared*" to received their sons or daughters, there is no demand on the part of the parents to force the authorities of the school to accept them.

Working spaces

A thornier question is the **working sphere**. Here, several axes which make the labour insertion difficult converge. We will only enumerate them since a more profound study would be needed to assess which of these reasons are the most difficult to solve.

The **economic situation of the country** renders difficult the labour insertion of many people, with or without disability, given that, despite the economic improvement of the last years, the unemployment rate still ascends to 11% of the total population.

Those privileged who enter or remain within the labour market are the ones who receive new formal and non-formal training.

As we have mentioned before, the lack of access to education and especially to university studies hinders the access to a dignified job and eventually the promotion to hierarchical posts, thus to better salaries.

The lack of access to the means of transportation as well as to buildings and communicational systems are also strong obstacles for the incorporation of persons with special needs.

The lack of work irremediable connects disability with poverty, and thus, with the access to the most elemental human rights; this perspective is far from being taken into consideration both by the citizenship and the State. And yet, **it is the responsibility of the State** to promote social change.

Accepted Topic

It has been years since the Associations and Foundations of persons with disability or dedicated to this collective have been making great efforts to install the topic in the political agenda of each government.

There have been periods of great standstill and others with some advances.

Nowadays, we can observe that the topic has been little by little installed in the governmental areas, creating departments dedicated to it; yet, in the practice of the implementation of policies, there are few positive results, which are not sufficient. It lacks the convincing

of the application of an integral policy for the solution of such a vast problem.

There are multiple reasons for these results. Among them, we can mention the fact that ours is a very large country and is organized through a Federal system, whereby any national policy requires the acceptance of all provinces, which creates a troublesome bureaucracy causing that most of the projects end closed.

On the other hand, the budget for disability is very low, and it is clear that with no money there are not any possible actions, just intentions.

Moreover, even if there is what is called a **National Plan**, in my opinion, it is simply a **working programme** which has been developed in a gradual way. To date, there is no monitory or statistics of impact or prognosis studies for each zone according to their particularities, but there is an offer for all provinces and municipalities which can partial or totally take it, depending of the interest of the competent authority.

As regards the labour insertion, the impact of the policies is very low. Of all registries of applicants created at the State level, despite being perceived as a possibility of hope, only few of them succeed.

At the end of 2006, the new **National Law of Education** was passed, which includes articles on the inclusion of boys and girls with special educative needs in general schools, but the material to examine it is not yet available.

During the same period, the **ANSES** launched the incorporation programme for persons with disability in order to attain the 4% of incorporations required by law for the national organisms.

Further, the **City of Buenos Aires** proposes **Free Accessible Tourism** for persons with special needs, as well as the initiation in different sport disciplines, routes of accessibility in public spaces, etc.

2007 is an electoral year...we hope that these actions and others to be taken in the near future be the product of the awareness of those in power about the imperative need of taking this relegated topic regarding a vulnerable and violated population. And not with electoral goals.

Nevertheless, there are debts which still persist despite the prom-

ises which year after year continue to repeat themselves, and whose actions borders the lack of fulfillment of the duties of a public servant. The gravest of all is the one referred to public transportation regarding the lack of incorporation of accessible unities

Decentralization

Another proposal launched more than two years ago –and still not implemented- refers to the **institutional decentralization** for the granting of the **Certificate of Disability** in order to avoid delays and the damages stemming from it. It is not necessary to clarify that should this be materialized, the proceedings to obtain the certificates would be faster and would cover more people per day, who could benefit with the respect of their rights.

Currently, this certificate of national scope is issued by only one organism: the National Sanitary Services of Rehabilitation.

AMIA/Jewish Community, together with other organizations of the civil society and representatives of organisms of the public sector which intervene as adherents or observers, have formed the **Committee for the Assessment of the Follow-Up of the Inter-American Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Persons with Disability** (Law 25.280).

These organizations elaborate each year a report on the situation of the persons with disability in our country.

And, in 2006, they wrote the “*Declaration*” presented below.

The representatives of the Areas of Disability of:

AMIA/Jewish Community
Central of Argentinean Workers CTA
Archbishop of Buenos Aires
Forum-Pro

Manifest our deep concern about the situation affecting persons with disability and agree on the text of the present Declaration, despite maintaining our independence of action and of criteria in our communal work.

We also point out our recognition to the areas of the State which during the year 2006 have supported the Committee for the Assessment of the Follow-Up of the Inter-American Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Persons with Disability (Law 25.280) of which we are members

Declaration: The situation of persons with disability

Buenos Aires, November 2006

Introduction

Once more, we manifest ourselves on the grave situation affecting persons with disabilities, many times prevented from exercising their rights, in the face of the indifference with which this reality is dealt in many non-governmental levels and certain spheres of the society.

For the United Nations, people with disabilities are found within the so-called vulnerable groups (some specialists speak of violated or vulnerable rights), since there are certain disadvantages which curtail, in a greater or lesser degree, their performance in the society.

Nevertheless, if a favourable socio-economic and cultural context with access to rehabilitation, education, medical treatment and/or adequate support is achieved, these disadvantages can be reduced. Therefore, to improve the reality in which people with disabilities live is absolutely possible and requires the development of public policies and government's actions needed to reduce to the minimum the unbalanced and unequal situations.

National reality

Argentina is located in an intermediate space between those countries with a strong political positive action and those where invisibility and denial of the rights of people with disabilities reign.

We count on relatively adequate governmental structures to deal with the issue, with highly capable technical teams and with a vast legislation

Nevertheless, reality of recent year reveals that not much has changed regarding the objective situation of people living with

disabilities, to the point that it is possible to assert that nowadays the issue lacks political priority.

Despite the fact that some positive actions have been carried out, their effects are not as broad as one could assume. The few advances are sadly overcome by the significant setbacks, ending with a negative balance

It hurts us to affirm that we have gone backwards in terms of abiding by existent legislation and in other meaningful subjects. We could bring up many other issues which reflect the discrimination, invisibility and often mistreatment affecting persons with disabilities, and in parallel some few areas where we recognize certain advances. We are referring to key areas such as sports, art, culture, recreation, social communication, whose lack of analysis entails an important void of this Declaration.

They require to be seriously assumed, as well as a detailed analysis of the national situation and a critical review of the important data of the National Survey on Disability, which we recognize as a positive sign even when the certainty of its methodological formulation it raises certain doubts which, in our opinion, partially affects its contributions.

We would like to outline certain proposals for change:

1. Revitalization of the Advising National Commission for the Integration of Persons with Disabilities, promoting also some structural changes which modify its advising character and reaffirm its inter-sector nature.
2. Effective Decentralization of the granting of the Certificate of Disability, guaranteeing its validity throughout the National territory.
3. Prioritize at the National, Provincial and Municipal level, an effective action to eliminate architectonical barriers, starting by public buildings, but also paying attention to the reform of the private ones for the construction of ramps and adapted restrooms.
4. Take adequate measures to eliminate throughout the country communicational and cultural barriers hindering the integration of persons with disabilities.
5. Form commissions in the different jurisdictions with a broad integration and resolving capacity, which regulate the reno-

vation and adaptation of the public transportation, having as a final goal the year 2010, that is the celebration of the Bicentenary.

6. Build a national map of the public and private rehabilitation centres' distribution and propose a plan for their creation in those cities with more than 50.000 inhabitants in which they do not exist, having as a goal to overcome such void before the year 2010
7. Eliminate the architectural barriers and bestow adequate equipment, technological devices building wise to educative establishments throughout the country before the year 2010. Study the educative problem of the persons with disabilities in all levels and propose goals to be fulfilled before 2010.
8. Work efficiently for the fulfilment of the existing norms regarding work integration of the persons with disabilities, considering discriminatory any culpable delay of any public servant with respect to work posts quota established by law. Apply a similar measure regarding small businesses and protected workshops. Dictate in the shortest time the decree regulating Law 23.689, which broadens the concept of vacancy to all types of personal recruitment in the public administration and in the companies of privatized public services.
9. Facilitate the granting of non contributive pensions to the persons with a level of disability which hampers them from working, and prioritize the persons with disability over 70 years old to receive the pension for old age. Eliminate those legal requirements that prevent the access of foreign people with legal residence and those which transfer the support of persons with disabilities unable to work to the families.
10. Work for the creation of a culture of respect of the rights of people with disability at the governmental and non governmental levels. To that end, dictate in the shortest time possible, a decree or a regulating law on the efficient application of the Inter-American Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Persons with Disability (National Law 25.280), on the basis of the pre-project elaborated in the sphere of the Secretariat of Human Rights.

Final words

The indications and proposals which form this Declaration respond to the objective of achieving the sensitization of the State's powers, the non governmental organizations and the public opinion as a whole, with respect to the grave problem of disability in Argentina, where indifference and invisibility reign.

If the governmental areas assume in the May 2007-May 2010 period, that is the celebration of the Bicentenary of our birth as a Nation, the public policies on disability as a political priority, the result would be the contribution for the strengthening of live quality and human development of many citizens.

To say yes, to opt for the building of the human face of Argentina, particularly if that were to be accompanied by a decisive action for the overcoming of poverty and social exclusion, and the effective work of other popular sectors whose rights are violated.

We believe that utopias are possible and that we can build a Motherland of brothers together.

Mental diseases and discrimination⁵

There are historical myths which generate rejection and unjustified fears around mental diseases. Patients with psychiatric disorders are situated in the place of what is strange and violent, which generates a stigma around them. Through this stigma, negative attitudes are associated to people suffering from a disease with these characteristics, without knowing the person or checking the veracity of these attitudes. This leads to discrimination of even those who are already recovered or under treatment.

The stigma is then, a mark, a label; it is a means of social control, which defines the social norms and punishes those who do not abide by them. The crux of the stigma is fear that those who are stigmatized threaten the society. The basis of this fear is usually ignorance⁶.

⁵ This section was elaborated by Juliana Axenfeld. I would like to thank the collaboration of Ms. Mariana Tezón.

⁶ Martin Foreman, Paulo Lyra and Cecilia Breinbauer, *Comprensión y respuesta al estigma y a la discriminación por el VIH/SIDA en el sector salud* [Comprehension

Persons with mental diseases were, throughout history and in different ways, stigmatized. In the Middle Age they were considered as possessed by the demon, then, they were regarded as beasts controlled by passions and insensitive to pain and suffering. More recently, and during a long time, it was erroneously considered that mental diseases were character's or will's flaws. Today, it is known that they are real and treatable sufferings, a confluence of three dimensions: physical, psychical and social.

Many of the persons suffering a mental disease can perform their functions, and should not be kept isolated or under restrictions. Precisely, one of the main challenges to attain mental health is integration.

Nevertheless, the marginalization of this type of patients is produced more by the social stigmatization than by the own symptoms of the disease. That is to say that apart from the disability and integration difficulties these patients endure that directly stem from the disease, the consequences of social prejudice existing regarding this type of diseases and those who suffer them, determines and amplifies the difficulties in social and work integration.

Among the most frequent stereotypes which they entail one finds: dangerous and related to violent acts, lack of responsibility, incompetence and incapability to perform basic tasks, unpredictability of character and reactions, lack of control and belief that someone displaying signs of mental disorder will never recover.

In the history of Psychiatry there have been many reasons which could have led to negative opinions on mental disease. However, nowadays, many of these motives have disappeared and currently it is possible to provide an efficient treatment and protect the rights of the mentally ill.

Nonetheless, this rejection persists and causes a low-quality life of the mentally ill, who end up assuming the social stigma as true, limiting their social relationships and generating self-stigmatization and self-isolation.

and answer to the stigma and discrimination on HIV/AIDS basis in the health sector], Organización Panamericana de la Salud, 2003

Moreover, the stigma of the disease affects an optimal assistance. The access to assistance will depend on the perception the authorities and the population in general have of the disease. If mentally ill persons are perceived as dangerous, lazy, informal, useless for work, and not easily recoverable from their condition, there will be a high opposition when locating mental health services in neighbourhoods with low criminality rate, in good quality buildings, in easily accessed places by means of transportation and operating, for example, during nightshifts. The access also depends on the capability to pay; the stigma of the mental disease reduces the consent of the authorities to provide financial resources which would allow for the supply of good quality assistance to all people suffering from a mental disease, and who do not often count with enough money to get the best treatment possible. The consequence thereof is that they are denied access to the best assistance and they are offered less quality services, often entailing a considerable administrative fee.

This sub-optimal assistance has meager results, which confirms the myth of intractability of the mental disease; it also increases the feeling of not receiving a just treatment with respect to the patients and professionals responsible of supplying such treatment. Bad working and salary conditions also affect the quality of those who request collocations within the mental health system.⁷

In the City of Buenos Aires, the Legislature passed the Law on Mental Health in the year 2000, which promotes the progressive de-institutionalization and the passage from a model centralized on the hospital to a one centralized on the community, and at the same time, it obliges the State to create intermediate establishments to hold psychiatric patients with medical discharge which they cannot complete due to social issues. Nevertheless, the law is not respected in any of the four neuro-psychiatric centres of the city: The Jose Tiburcio Borda for men; the Braulio A. Moyano for women; the Carolina Tobar

⁷ Prof. Norman Sartorius, "Uno de los últimos obstáculos para mejorar la asistencia en salud mental: El estigma de la enfermedad mental" ["One of the last obstacles to improve mental health assistance: The stigma of the mental disease"], in *Avances en Salud Mental Relacional*, July 2003.

Garcia for children and adolescents and the Torcuato de Alvear for urgencies.

According to Angel Barraco, one of the representatives of the Social Movement for “*Deasyluminazation*” and Institutional Transformation, and member of the General Counsel on Mental Health of the City of Buenos Aires “*the neuro-psychiatric centres are a funnel where the problem, not treated in other devices, plummets to become permanent: the law requests for beds to be open in general hospitals, and this is not done. Many professionals do not want to commit patients with mental health problems; they continue to follow the obsolete criterion of the ‘danger’, and this is discrimination*”⁸.

In Barraco’s words “*...mental health assistance is not performed in the majority of the Health and Community Action Centres (CESAC), and day and night hospitals and protected areas for externalization of patients requested were not created. The latest city budget does not foresee any resources to these devices and in turn includes 150 million pesos just for the remodeling of the neuro-psychiatric centres*”⁹. The latter causes that the therapeutic device fails due to the impossibility to find a “*mid-way*” place for those patients who are compensated and could be externalized.

The 30% and 50% of those committed in the neuro-psychiatric centres of the City are able to live outside but they do not do that due to absent families, lack of resources and closed doors as a result of the illness¹⁰ On the other hand, many compensated patients relapse again shortly after they leave the institution, because there are not any transitional places required by the treatments to generate immediate support.

There is also a grave edifice problem, because despite the existence of the decree which declared the system in emergency in May 2005,

⁸ Página12, “Ya tiene interventor el hospital de las denuncias” [The hospital of the complaints already has an intervener], 23/12/05.

⁹ Idem 3

¹⁰ Clarin, “Casi mil internados psiquiátricos tienen el alta, pero igual se quedan” [Almost a thousand psychiatric confined patients are discharged but they stay in nonetheless], 14/1/06.

the works continue to be delayed. The majority of the questionings fall onto Hospital “Moyano”, which has almost half of its pavilions closed down due to a judicial order because the deterioration jeopardizes the women confined therein. This hospital was intervened in December 2005 by the Government after complaints about the alleged sexual abuse and prostitution of the confined women.

It is simple to note then how the stigma and discrimination universally represent one of the most important barriers for a successful treatment.

According to a study carried out by the Psychology School of the Complutense University of Madrid, Spain, presented in 2006, 44% of persons with mental or permanent disease feel discriminated in the work environment; and among their friends, the 43%; and 38% stated that they feel the rejection of their own family.

To the Pan-American Health Organization, in America, patients, members of their families, workers of mental health, lawyers, judges and other people involved in the protection of mental health have a very limited knowledge of the international norms and conventions' clauses which protect the rights of persons with mental diseases. Moreover, in the majority of the cases, these norms and clauses have not been incorporated to the internal legal order.

With regards to discrimination at work, the benefits which it would entail for people recovered from a mental disease, such as the opportunity for community life, adoption of habits and mental structure, are neutralized by social prejudices. These usher in grave consequences since, as Sigmund Freud asserts in “*The Malaise in Culture*”, no other action links the individual so strongly to “reality” as “work”, activity which solidly incorporates him or her to the “*human community*”. Freud refers to the importance of the fact that mental signification (individual) of work agrees with the communal significance. Thus, the “*working activity*” relates to “*social integration*”, to the possibility for a person to own his or her life and assume a leading role, using his or her initiative and, consequently, also at the social level: “*utility*” (Fainblum, A. 2004)¹¹.

¹¹ “Trabajo e integración social” [Work and Social Integration] in *Discapacidad-perspectiva clínica del psicoanálisis*. Buenos Aires Tekné Publishers. 2004, chapter VIII.

According to the World Health Organization, the care of mental health is one of the most important problems of public health for the population of America. Nevertheless, it occupies a very modest place in the hierarchical organization of our priorities. Despite all the progress achieved in many other aspects of health, mental health does not still receive all the attention and resources it deserves. Well-developed programmes on mental health could help those who are mentally ill and their families: currently neither the treatment nor the assistance is available for the majority of persons who could benefit from them.

There are not concrete causes which determine the stigmatization and intolerance. In Professor Norman Sartorius' opinion, former president of the World Psychiatric Association, many factors can be responsible, like urbanization which, while increases the density of the population in the cities, makes it more probable that people are not capable (or do not wish) to tolerate in their immediate neighbourhood someone who might have a disturbing behaviour; the growing complexity of the work, which makes it less probable that persons poorly qualified or who lost their qualification due to deteriorations caused by a disease find jobs; the media which have for many years and in an intruding way, presented a negative image of those suffering from a mental disease (the mental health services are presented in the media and in art with a strong bias underlining its their obscure and negative features); or the inter-penetration of cultures worldwide, which seems to be finding its expression in an astonishing and growing similarities in clothes, preferences of music and food, entertaining ways and leisure time activities, which makes life more difficult for those who are somewhat different¹².

Many treatments have been elaborated in order to reduce the suffering and disability which might be provoked by this type of diseases. Further, methods and guidelines for the families and the entourage to help with the process of recovery of these patients have been generated. However, while society continues to create barriers and excluding them, it is difficult for them to reintegrate by themselves.

¹² Idem 3

Afro-descendants¹³

Afro-descendants are not discriminated in Argentina. *To my teacher Adrian Jmelnizky who watched me grow, my eternal gratitude. So long, my dearest!*

“While, within their frontiers, the Nation-State and the ideological structures at its service tirelessly work to create and reproduce the pureness of the people, in the exterior the Nation-State is a machine which produces Others, which creates racial differences and establish frontiers which limit and maintain the modern subject of sovereignty”¹⁴.

M. HARDT AND A. NEGRI

The year 2006 turned out to be particularly special in terms of discriminatory events regarding the afro-descendant community, due to the very low amount of cases which were media relevant. However, in order to understand the situation of the group during this period, it is essential to carry out a brief historical review of the community on Argentinean soil

The first Africans who arrived in the country did so from the XVIth century onwards, as slaves of the Spanish Crown to serve in some form its interests. The slave period in Argentina continued till 1853, when definite abolition of slavery was approved in the National Constitution, and with it, the human traffic of black people coming from Africa was curtailed. It is worth highlighting that the American continent was the centre of a terrible genocide, perpetrated against African slaves during the Colony times.

The second migratory African wave towards Argentina occurred in the end of the XIXth century and lasted until the first half of the XXth century, but acquired very different features from those of the

¹³ This section was elaborated by Daniel Konigsberg.

¹⁴ HARDT, M. and NEGRI, A.: “Imperio” [Empire], Bs. As., Paidós, 2002. P. 115.

colonial times, basically because people arriving in the country were free men and women looking to improve their quality of life. Lastly, we can mention as one of the most recent African migrations to Argentina, those which began in the 1990s (of the XXth century) and last until today.

In order to continue with the historical contextualization, which derives on what was described in the first paragraph, it is important to focus on the socio-political project planned by Domingo F. Sarmiento (Argentinean president between 1868 and 1874), whose influence lasts until our times.

Sarmiento, focusing on the Argentinean problem, finds a strong political justification for the implementation of a Liberal State in the National territory in the dichotomy civilization/barbarism. Both societies, by definition, could no coexist. Civilization prevailed, settling the ideological and material bases for the national future. On the barbarism side, we found the black, the Indians, the “*gauchos*” sentenced to disappear. While on the side of civilization, we found the white Europeans” energetically invited to populate the de la Plata River zone. Sarmiento proposed the elimination of the barbarians, with the consequent white European immigration.

The dichotomy civilization/barbarism, and the positioning of the Afro-descendants in this scheme (which with a certain re-adaptation lasts in the XXIst century), is the first axis of this approximation to the problem of *invisibility* of the group.

Another emblem directly associated to the figure of Sarmiento is the common, free and mandatory education law: Law 1420. In its time, it represented a mega-project, inspired in the American positive pedagogic doctrines as a way towards progress. However, such progress turned its back to the particularities of the individual, favouring the social normalization.

Sarmiento came up with an educative plan which had as its final goal the normalization, indoctrination and homogenization of the individuals. This model persists until today in a very pronounced way. In order to understand it, suffices to remember our school days; all of them with a high component of the above-mentioned elements.

The average citizen, which has attended primary school, learns (through textbooks, the teachers' stories and the patriotic acts) that Afro-descendants existed during the phase of the conformation of the Nation-State. In some cases, it is mentioned that they integrated part of the revolutionary army, and in others, it is only taught that the women sold warm "*empanadas*" during the May Revolution.

This is the teaching usually given in respect to the relationship between the Afro-descendants and Argentina (or the conformation thereof). The continuity of the group up to today is not transmitted. It seems that Argentina only received migrants from: Italy, Spain, Russia, Poland, etc. but never people from the African continent. This is one of the reasons why the average citizen believes that there are no Blacks in Argentina. This can be taken as a second axis of approximation to the problem of invisibility of the Afro-descendants, from a "*Samientesque*" matrix with a pronounced incidence on today's situation.

However, conceptually, in order for the phenomenon of invisibility of a constitutive group of the Argentinean society to happen, there is a prior discriminative/racist process¹⁵ an extreme that in the concrete "*Afro*" case is framed in one of the moments of its genocide. That is to say that the phenomenon of invisibility represents a more advanced degree than racism, because invisibility is not tantamount to rejection of an otherness considered negative, but it represents the action of ignoring the fellowman. Ignoring the other's presence entails acting and adopting policies without taking him or her into account. "Simply put"... there do not exist. Probably, the phenomenon of invisibility to-

¹⁵ "UNESCO has adopted the definition provided by Albert Memmi: "Racism is the generalized and definitive valorisation of the biological differences, either real or imaginary, in benefit of the accuser and in detriment of his or her victim, in order to justify an aggression". (...) Racism constitutes an ideological mechanisms of domination and exploitation based on semantic differences of human groups (colour of the skin, texture of the hair, shape of the eyes, etc..) and the presumption that those differences have their consequence in mental and behaviour differences" (DI TELLA, T., CHUMBITA, H., GAMBA, S., GAJARDO, P: "Diccionario de Ciencias Sociales y Políticas" [Dictionary of Political Sciences], Bs. As., Emecé, 2001. P. 588)

wards this group has profound significations which act in the direction that Sarmiento wanted for our Motherland: to whitening it.

Continuing with the heritages of the meaning, we can find that the uses of the language have turned in the direction of white superiority over the Blacks. What is Black is usually charged with negative representations: black work, to have a black day, being black, when one acts outside the social parameters, etc. That is to say that from the discursive side (from where the meaning is built) one starts from the premise that black=negative. In contraposition of what is white which is presented as the ideal, the desired, the positive, etc.

Now, let us focus on 2006. A salient event linked to Afro-descendant community occurred that year: the publication of the Pilot Test for Appraising the members of the Community on Argentina. The initiative came from the local organizations of African origin and was carried out by the National University of Tres de Febrero (UNTREF), with the advice of the National Institute of Statistics and Census (INDEC) and the financing of the World Bank (WB).

Although the results were not surprising, because the directives already handled similar figures (beforehand), it is illustrative to take the quantitative dimension to comprehend the magnitude of such community in the National territory

“The Pilot Test of Afro-descendants marks the first time –since 1887- that a measuring instrument is used to appraise the presence of Afro-descendants in the country, and it is estimated that the number of Afro-descendants ascends to 4 and % of the total population of the country, about two million people”.¹⁶

Insofar as the definition of Afro-descendants, it is worth explaining that the broadest criterion was used. A criterion which exceeds the colour of the skin. The criteria adopted was: *“to be descendant from the Africans brought as slaves to Argentina; be African or descendant*

¹⁶ STUBBS, J. and REYES, H.: “Más allá de los promedios: Afrodescendientes en América Latina. Resultados de la Prueba Piloto de Captación en la Argentina” [Beyond averages: Afro-descendants in Latin America. Results of the Pilot Test for Appraising in Argentina], UNTREF, INDEC and BM, 2006. P. 11.

of Africans; have black ascendants or consider oneself black or afro-Argentinean; and be African in the Diaspora, among others".¹⁷

On the basis of the difficulties in the field work, connected to the sensitivity of the society in general and the Afro-descendant community in particular, the report concludes with two suggestions: promoting a dissemination process and a conscienceness raising process. The former aims at making the population know the national historical processes with the inclusion of the Afro-descendants to make their current existence public. The latter is targeted at members of the community for they do not feel the belonging to the group as a stigma and as something to be ashamed of. In sum, so they can affirm their identity from taking pride on their condition and not from self-rejection.

During 2006 two relevant pieces of news were published, directly related to the Afro-descendants. The first one is linked to the results of the above-mentioned Pilot Tests¹⁸. The article summarizes many of the data of the Report.

The second one published by the print press, refers to the creation of a space whose main objective is to "*promote social and cultural pluralism and the fight against discrimination*".¹⁹ The act to make this public took place in the Dorrego Square and was organized by INADI and by the Federation of Afro-descendants and Africans in the Republic of Argentina Organizations (FOAARA).

Now, it is worth wondering why the INADI and the FOAARA would create a space whose one of its main objectives is the fight against discrimination when during 2006 no discriminatory events linked in some way to the community were known to happen.

It would be reasonable to assume that if no discriminatory act against members of a community which is formed by approximately

¹⁷ STUBBS, J. and REYES, H.: "Más allá de los promedios: Afrodescendientes en América Latina. Resultados de la Prueba Piloto de Captación en la Argentina" [Beyond averages: Afro-descendants in Latin America. Results of the Pilot Test for Appraising in Argentina], UNTREF, INDEC and BM, 2006. P. 14.

¹⁸ <http://www.clarin.com/diario/2006/06/09/sociedad/s-03801.htm>

¹⁹ <http://www.clarin.com/diario/2006/10/10/sociedad/s-03906.htm>

two million people acquired media relevance, then the level of discrimination towards that group is, in relative terms, very low.

In order to come near a broader explanation of the situation, we must pay attention to a series of factors. In the first place, we cannot leave aside the phenomenon of *invisibility* (described above), either on the part of the civilian authorities or the media. It is logical that if we take as a premise the “*non existence*” of a group of people, then the reasoning follows with a logical impossibility of discrimination towards its members. What does not exist, cannot be discriminated. In order to discriminate, one has to acknowledge the presence of an otherness.

The second factor to be taken into account in order to come near an explanation about the correlation between the discriminatory events (against Afro-descendants) published and the density of the population is the naturalization of the stigmas referred to what is black. Therefore, if we observe the negative charge which some uses of the language have against Afro-descendants, we incorporate to the daily vocabulary prejudices against this minority, almost inadvertently. What this begets, is potential danger of being transferred to practices exceeding what is verbal.

Moreover, the naturalization of a stigmatizing vocabulary entails that many racist acts may be underhanded. And when they are not perceived as discriminatory events, they are not denounced and they do not transcend.

Another item which can represent a possible contribution to the phenomenon is to take into account the life conditions of the members of the community. To present it briefly: “In every country, the Afro-descendants drop out of school early; only a reduced percentage reaches intermediate school and an even more reduced group reaches the universities. They enter early the work market –commonly the informal work market– with low salaries and limited benefits. In the limited occasions in which they reach the work market in equal educative conditions, they receive a smaller salary and obtain low-ranking posts”.²⁰

²⁰ STUBBS, J. and REYES, H.: “Más allá de los promedios: Afrodescendientes en América Latina. Resultados de la Prueba Piloto de Captación en la Argentina”

Such positioning in the social structure prevents (most of the times) their topics and worries from transcending the frontiers of the group. Therefore, there is a possibility that discriminatory events against members of the community do not acquire media relevance, given that the group does not count with political and media influences.

Another consequence of the socio-economic positioning of the community is the lack of knowledge and the managing of formal institutions. This has usually led (among many other things) to the non-complaint of personal discriminatory events.

The above-mentioned contributions are certainly incomplete and partial. This is a highly thought-provoking phenomenon which requires multiple explanations in order to begin to comprehend it. The debate on the topic is open to be retaken, deepened and completed.

Native Peoples²¹

“The lands are never understood as a business. We hold the concept that we borrow them for the generations to come”.

INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES
IN THE SECOND “MALON” OF PEACE.

Indigenous Peoples are native human societies of the territories where they live, and thus they are the ancestors of the successive conquest and colonization processes of those territories.²²

From the colonization and Christianization period of America to the conquest and extermination campaign of the “barbaric” peoples, to the hegemony of the dominant culture over their cultural and social identities, to the imposed assimilation, the native peoples of Latin America have suffered a permanent violation of their rights which leads to lasting conflicts and actions destined to defend their roots and identity.

[Beyond averages: Afro-descendants in Latin America. Results of the Pilot Test for Appraising in Argentina], UNTREF, INDEC and BM, 2006. P. 8.

²¹ This section was elaborated by Ms. Romina Silbermanas.

²² National Plan Against Discrimination 2005 I.N.A.D.I.

The native people, who did not benefit much from the economic and social development of the country, have usually been the target of clear, persistent and frequently violent forms of discrimination. Their mother tongue, their religion, their culture and forms of life are perceived as inferior by the dominant society, ushering in endless social discriminatory practices and violations of their rights recognized in the National Constitution.

History has taken upon itself to erase our aboriginal origin building the idea of a white and European nation. Even today, the Argentinean society holds the idea that there are no indigenous people in our country because they are extinct or on the verge of extinction. This invisibility is built on the idea of the “*melting pot*”, in which the different origins of the population lie under an alleged racial, cultural and linguistic unity of the Nation.²³

Nevertheless, a recent study carried out by the Digital Genetic Fingerprints Service of the University of Buenos Aires, shows a totally different path; it revealed that 56% of the Argentineans have indigenous ancestors.

On the same line, the National State carried out the first census on racial belonging. Its data showed an indigenous population of 400 thousand persons who recognized themselves as belonging to 22 different peoples, among them, some which were not visible or were considered extinct like the *Comechingones*, *Charruas*, *Huarpes* and *Onas*.

The people carrying out the census, who should have been aboriginals, visited between the years 2004 and 2005 57 thousands homes throughout the country. Thus, they obtained an ethnic map in which *Mapuches*, *Kollas*, *Tobas* and *Wichis* represent 66.2% of the total, being the *Mapuche* the largest of the peoples, with a 26%.

The data of INDEC also revealed a remarkable and ignored presence in the City of Buenos Aires and in the Greater Buenos Aires.

According to Rosalia Gutierrez, one of the regional coordinators of the census, “*the survey helped uncovering many provinces who claimed that there were no indigenous people there*”, even some Sta-

²³ Idem 1

tistics Directions did not know of the existence of indigenous people living in their own province, *“and also there were some who knew but who had a hard time understanding that we still exist and that we were and are able of being the surveyors”*.

On the basis of this false idea of history, racial, social, cultural and economic discrimination premises suffered by the native peoples of America were built.

The incorporation of this presence to the official statistics and demographic records will enable the retrieving of the forgotten and denied side of our history. It is also a form of reparation for the primitive inhabitants of this land and their descendants, which still recognize themselves as heirs of the identity of their ancestors and defend their rights and particularities.

Ten years after the constitutional recognition of the native peoples through a series of National and Provincial laws, the progresses at the legal level are far from being a reality.

Since 1973, date of the first proposals for a National Law on Indigenous Peoples, which was achieved through the “National Law 23.302 on Indigenous Policy and Support to Aboriginal Communities” in 1985, to the reform of our Magna Carta in 1994, whose article 75, clause 17 recognizes the right of ethnic pre-existence, Argentina begins to circumscribe a new subject of law. In 1992, it ratified the Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization, approved by law 24.071, thus recognizing the traditional use of the lands they occupy; conceived in terms of collective property on the basis of the definition of territory understood as the totality of the habitat of the regions they occupy or utilize.

Nevertheless, our country presents the difficulty of setting in motion what the Law prescribes. Discrimination towards the native peoples is twofold, insofar as inequality in the access to the same services and benefits enjoyed by the population as a whole and insofar as respecting the specific rights recognized the National Constitution.²⁴

Law No. 23.302 created in 1985 the National Institute on Indige-

²⁴ Idem 1.

nous Affaire (INAI), the state agency for implementation of the policy on indigenous peoples, whose goal is to give “*protection and support to the aboriginal communities*”. Through the INAI, the States undertake to instrument the pertinent measures with the goal to recognize communal property of the lands to the indigenous communities.

Nonetheless, the situation of the INAI is ambiguous. It only counts with the Assistance and Development of Indigenous Communities Programme, but the indigenous leaders affirm that since its creation, it has only performed assistentialism and it has not recognized any rights, as indicated in the Programme. After 20 years it has not been able to integrate the Coordinator Council of Indigenous Peoples, through which indigenous people could participate in all every affair of their competence. In addition to this, the Indigenous People do not have representatives in the organs of the State, but the public servants and State agencies are the ones who are in charge of planning the policies without any consultation on their needs and priorities. And while all citizens have diverse organisms where to bring their complaints, the indigenous people can only address the INAI. On the other hand, the budges assigned for its functioning is not enough to fulfil its objectives.

In 1994, the constitutional reform incorporates for the first time, in its article 75(17), the recognition of the ethnic and cultural pre-existence of the indigenous people and enumerated their rights on the “*communal property of the lands traditionally occupied by the*”, to be given “*other apt and sufficient lands for human development*”, the recognition of the “*existence of authorities and diverse organizative forms*”, the right to “*bilingual and inter-cultural education*”, and to the “*participation in the management of their natural resources and every other affair in relation to them*”.

The right to possession of the native peoples of the land they inhabit is constantly doubted. Every year, the conflicts between indigenous peoples and persons who, backed by the Provincial governments, try to evict them worsen. The land is not only the place where they live, but fundamentally a social space which define their culture, their forms of livelihood and the source of health. Therefore,

recognizing their property over the ancestral land where they live is tantamount to recognizing their existence.

During 2006, the property of the land has not only been discussed and protested on the part of those who endure its plundering, but it has also become subject of debate for other sectors, such as the ecclesiastical.

In September 2006, the Episcopal Conference presented a book titled "*A land for everybody*" in which it stated its position on the social function of property and land ownership. The report denounces "*a process of concentration and 'foreignization' of the land which has been taken place for almost three decades, and indicates the limited political will of the State to balance the distribution of the rural and productive terrains of the country, and also regrets that the different Provincial governments will not settle the historical debt with the native peoples despite the constitutional rank that the right to the lands traditionally occupied has since the last reform*". In this sense, the document requires "*the implementation of regulating programmes for the ownership of the lands and the approval of a National Law which establishes summary proceedings for communal title deeds of the lands traditionally occupied by the aboriginal communities*".

Cases from North to South

From North to South, ancestral lands in Argentina are caught in the midst of economic and business power, and foreigners who enjoy our resources through corruption in some of the provinces. In some way or another, the natural resources and those who historically inhabit those lands, are in danger.

One of the causes has been the *boom* of the agricultural area which triggered the interest in marginal populated lands. And as some may say "*the soil they inhabit is worth too much to be wasted in their customs*".

The Sub-Secretariat of Lands for the Social Habitat has assured that there are about ten million hectares under dispute in the country between farmers who have owned them for decades and businessmen or landowners who claim them so they can grow soy, cut down wood or raise cattle in large scales.

In the North, the problem are the business who cut down the virgin mount to sow and who want to evict the farmers; in the South, the foreigners who close the access to rivers and lakes.

In the province of Salta, two indigenous communities, *Kollas* and *Tupi Guaranies* have been resisting the attempts of eviction of the San Martin of Tacacal sugar mill, with which they hold a controversy over the possession of 130.224 hectares. Of that surface, 130.000 hectares belong to the San Andres Farm, where 2.800 *Kollas* live; the other 224 are inhabited by the *Tupi Guarani* community who had to endure the destruction of their banana plantations by bulldozers, and also the beating of their cacique who had to be hospitalized in intensive therapy.

In **Santiago del Estero** the conflict about the land is between the farmers and the company *Madera Dura del Norte*. The governor of the province, Gerardo Zamora warned about problems regarding the ownership of the land, but said that they are about to “*regulate a registry of persons wanting to normalize their ownership situation*”. By the end of 2005, the State recognized the communities *El Retiro* and *Tusca Bajada* from Santiago del Estero the ownership of 7.188 hectares.

In **Jujuy** the conflicts over the land of native inhabitants, have increased and gotten worse since *Tilcara* has been declared “*Heritage of Humanity*”. The conflict also reached sports, affecting dozens of children who played in a little football ground of Huasamayo. This land was divided into lots by the alleged owner of the lands. Close to ten families resisted losing the land where children and adults get together to play football. In 2005, Cesar Vitte arrived in town with title deeds which attributed him the ownership of the lands and the right to build fences around them. Although the conflict was positively resolved for the inhabitants who managed to retrieve the little football ground with the support of Mayor Feliz Perez, the ownership of the land is a daily problem. After *Tilcara* was declared “*Heritage of Humanity*”, every hectare has seen its value increase, and since then, almost daily people appear saying they own the lands, mentioning family ties with the old inhabitants of the zone or assuring that the bought them from the Natives.

On the 60th anniversary of the first *Malon* of Peace, in August 2006, aboriginal communities of Jujuy organized a march to demand the observance of the Law.

In that opportunity, they rejected the filing of an unconstitutionality brief on the part of the provincial government against a judicial decision which recognized their rights over the lands they occupy and established a 15-month deadline to make the distribution of the title deeds effective.

In 1949, the National government, in response to the First *Malon* of Peace had expropriated some pieces of land in the *Puna* and in the *Quebrada de Humahuaca* regions in order to restore them to their original occupants, a decision which after 50 years was never carried out. And despite the fact that the reform of the National Constitution of 1994 legitimates their ancestral claims, the government of Jujuy has never executed the distribution of the collective title deeds. In fact, since 1996, the Nation has been sending funds to the province for the execution of 123 proceedings to obtain the title deeds, but only seven of them have been bestowed.

In 2003, the Commission for the Indigenous Participation brought a legal action and obtained a favourable result in May 2006, which demands the province to distribute communal title deeds over 1.5 million hectares to *Kollas* and *Guaranies* within fifteen months.. The provincial government of Eduardo Fellner has appealed this decision causing a profound discontent among the native communities.

In **Neuquen**, the lawyer of the *Mesas Campesinas*, Mariano Mansilla, assures that there are about 100 legal cases and claims attempting to evict the ancient inhabitants, despite the fact that the title deeds of approximately 2.700.000 hectares have been regularized and that 60% of the *Mapuche* people already possess their title deeds.

In **Chubut**, the well-known conflict between the *Mapuche* family of Atilio Curiñanco and Rosa Nahuelquir de Leleque and the Benetton Group over the Land of Santa Rosa, 90 km. from Esquel continues. After several conflicts and the intervention of the Nobel Prize of Peace winner, Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, the Benetton Group pledged to donate 2.5000 hectares to the Argentinean State so it gives

them back to the couple. Nevertheless, the couple has rejected the proposal because they were only interested in their 535 hectares of the Santa Rosa land, and made clear that it was not about donating lands, but about “*restitution or restoration*” since “*one cannot donate what one does not own*”.

In November 2005, Benetton donated the government of Chubut 7.500 hectares for the aboriginal communities of the province with the intention to complete a sustainable project in benefit of the families of the region with whom it had conflicts. However, the donated lands do not possess the same productive resources of expropriated lands.

In December 2006, a delegation representing the *mapuche* community travelled to Italy to claim once more the 250 hectares of lands still in the hands of the Benetton. The conflict which began in 2002 is far from being resolved yet.

In **La Pampa**, the bulldozers also tried to destroy the dry soil of 7.000 hectares, 300km, from the city of Santa Rosa, where seven families of the Ranquel Epumer aboriginal community live. And in the West side of the Pampa region, the Salustiano Suarez family is being evicted by a company assuring to have bought the lands in 1982, through a contract signed by Salustiano with his thumb because he is illiterate.

In **Chaco**, the Association of Producers “*Fuerza Criolla*” affirms that there are 1.700.000 hectares with title deeds problems, and has registered 278 irregular adjudications of land. According to Aldredo Guzam who has been demanding the restoration of his land from a company from the province of Corrientes for 5 years, every week about 7.500.000 hectares are being delimited with wires, taken by investors. There are several cases in which the fiscal land of the province has been passed to the hands of private investors.

According to the lawyer of the Aboriginal Institute from Chaco, Walter Zanuttini, a million hectares worth 500 million US dollars have been irregularly transferred. The stripping of lands caused that thousands of farmers, aborigines and rural workers have emigrated to the cities (it is estimated that every year around 8.000 to 10.000 people arrive in the city of Resistencia from the interior of the province)

constituting today, the poorest group, suffering from indigence, malnutrition and unemployment, of the country. Resistencia, the Capital City of the Province of Chaco, is placed on top of the poverty ranking in Argentina, with 55.6%.

And although the Constitution of the Province of Chaco establishes that the fiscal land must be for the aborigines, for the producers who have worked in them for generations or for the cooperative endeavours, different and doubtful operations have consumed a spectacular real estate business, which transferred large extensions of land to soy investors and cattle dealers. Indigenous peoples and small producers were the most injured parties; they were evicted from the fields over night.

And the figure is overwhelming, in Chaco, 92% of the aborigines live in a state of indigence.

During May, June and August of 2006, three ethnics from Chaco, *Toba*, *Wichi* and *Mocovi*, cut the national routes crossing the province from North to South and from East to West, tired of their claims not being heard by the government of Chaco. What started off as a protest of the community of Villa Rio Bermejito about the bad distribution of the aid which came after the flooding in the beginning of the year, deepened with the claim for the resignation of the Mayor, Lorenzo Heffner. The community leaders elaborated an eight-point petition regarding their rights contained in the Provincial Constitution which are not respected.

The claim requested the restitution of the land ordered by the Constitution, the annulment of the sales of the reserves, a budget for the Aboriginal Institute of Chaco, the formalization of bilingual teachers, the granting of housing plans, health services, scholarships and productions programmes.

During the first weeks of protest, the communities were denied dialogue with the governor, Roy Nikisch. *“At this point, we can affirm that our government is racist. We have been requesting hearings, sending notes for a while now. Why us, the indigenous people cannot speak?”* One of the leaders would wonder. *“We are not here for a bag of food. We demand a State policy”.*

Community leaders considered the cutting of routes as the only way to make noticeable a historical claim. A claim which has been backed by the National Constitution for ten years.

In the first months of the conflict, the *Toba* leader, Orlando Charole, president of the Aboriginal Institute of Chaco, had an interview with a judge from the National Supreme Court of Justice, Eugenio Zaffaroni to denounce “*a systematic violation of the aboriginal rights recognized in the National Constitution, International Pacts and laws*”, detailed in a document on the aboriginal situation in Chaco in which it was stated the lack of institutional paths to revert such situation.

In June, about 10.000 indigenous people marched to the main square of the city in protest for the negative of the governor to receive them.

After two months of camping and 33 days of hunger strike, on August 23rd, an agreement was reached between the provincial government and the aboriginal communities, established in a nine-point document, which should the political will wishes so, could be the beginning of a new relationship and new works. Among the nine points, it was established that the Mayor of Villa Bermejito, Lorenzo Heffner, accused of racial discrimination, be brought to the Federal Justice. It was agreed that the budget for the Aboriginal Institute of Chaco be increased for 2007 according to the possibilities of the Fiscal Responsibility Law. It was set up that in a period of 12 months the title deeds under proceedings before the Colonization Institute will be distributed and that the topographic and population assessment will continue. The process of formalization of the 260 bilingual teachers and the creation of new posts will also continue. Regarding housing, it was suggested that the Provincial Institute gives priority to the building and completion of 225 units. Also, aid for agricultural producers was agreed.

“This was the major indigenous protest of the history of Chaco. And the communities realized that they are strong”, Zanuttini, lawyer of the communities, concluded.

Romina Picolotti, Secretary of Environment and Sustainable De-

velopment points out that *“from the beginning of the XXth century to date, Argentina has lost two thirds of the surface of its original native forests. In recent years, deforestation exceeded 200.000 annual hectares, being the region of Chaco the one with the largest reduction of the forest covering. The annual rate of deforestation for the period 2000/2004 was of -2.09%. A figure above the world annual average, of 0.23%.*

This fact, strengthened by processes which include real estate speculation and the short-term vision of the agricultural sector, constitutes one of the gravest environmental problems of our country. The native forests are a fundamental part of the natural patrimony of the Argentinians. Their lost, frequently irrecoverable, impoverishes us. For the farmers’ communities, native peoples and creoles, its clearing means their expulsion towards urban poverty.”

The National State is the main responsible for the territorial conflicts which require urgent and immediate reparation. Even more, the State must guarantee the safety of the members of the communities vis-à-vis the abuses of the provincial institutions.

“It is beyond doubt that the emergency of legal recognition of the indigenous communities in Argentina has mended old historical wounds of invisibility, but it is not less true that such recognitions are kept as dead letter vis-à-vis the National and Provincial Status willing to auction off lands and resources, a modus operandi which, by virtue of the innumerable complaints of exploitation and expropriation of lands in diverse communities of the country, calls the attention over what it seems to be the exercise of a political practice destined more to generate business than to reaffirm the sovereignty of the State or to rationally manages territorial alternatives, which can commit that persistent imaginary of territorial continuity, from Ushuahia to La Quiaca, which is the axis over which the Argentinean State is structured.” Thus read the conclusions of a work presented in the VIth Reunion of Anthropology MERCOSUR by the Studies Group on Indigenous Legislation of the University of Buenos Aires.

In December 2006, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) underlined “the lack of a land policy” respectful of

the way of life of the communities on the part of the State, in response to a claim by 45 aboriginal communities of Salta, who, for the last 8 years have demanded the restitution of their lands, according to the National Constitution.

Indeed, from 1998, *Wichís, Chorotes, Tapietes, Chulupis* and *Tobas* who inhabit the Department of Rivadavia, Northwest of the city of Salta, have demanded the sole title deed; after exhausting all internal instances of the Justice of Salta, without obtaining a favourable response, they presented the IACHR a report. For more than twenty years now, the communities of the fiscal lots 14 and 55 have demanded the property of their lands to the government of Salta. In those 647.000 hectares of degraded and unproductive mount around 6.000 indigenous persons live. The government of Salta decided to call for a referendum because the conflict continues without being resolved since the year 2000. The Association Lhaka Honhat brought an action before the Supreme Court attempting to stop that plebiscite, but in September 2005, the Supreme Court issued a decision where it resolved not to intervene in order to stop the popular consultation for considering that the conflict was outside its “original competence”. The claim presented before the IACHR received an admissibility report, which in the opinion of the Centre for Legal and Social Studies (CELS), representative of the organization at the Inter-American system, “*even if it is part of a preliminary report, it marks a very important antecedent in favour of land claims, and it is also a light of warning for the State, which shall have to arbitrate the means to quickly resolve this situation*”.

The aboriginal communities presented their claim before the IACHR after the government of Salta decided to call for a plebiscite to decide the situation “*as if the rights could be submitted to an electoral tool*”, commented Andrea Pochak, vice-director of CELS.

In June, indigenous groups from throughout country demanded that the Government make their rights as native peoples effective and stop the sale and expropriation of the terrains they occupy in 17 provinces.

They also requested that the peoples are represented “*in a direct form*” by “*accessing to public seats*”.

“We do not demand anything that has not been established by law for years, but after 20 years the National Institute on Indigenous Affairs in barely functioning”, Rogelio Guanuco, president of the Indigenous Association of the Republic Argentina (AIRA) indicated.

The leaders showed their concern on the situation in Salta, La Pampa, Chaco and Santa Fe, where, they assured, *“the worst expropriation in years is taking place”*.

In **Misiones**, the conflict is linked to the sanitary emergency. There, every four days, a child of the *Mbya Guarani* people dies of malnutrition or breathing problems. There, 4083 *Mbya Guarani* people live, and 65% survives in rural zones, but with uprooting tendencies towards moving to urban zones or towards living in a very crowded estate of few hectares. Indigenous referents and social organizations highlighted that the definite problem is the stripping of lands which had a negative impact on the customs, nourishment and health of the native inhabitants. *“It is a daily tragedy which is intimately linked with the loss of lands”*, Hilario Moreira, member of the Organization of *Mbya Guarani*, which groups 30 of the 75 aboriginal communities of Misiones, pointed out. *“The loss of their territories entails the abandonment of their cultural and productive practices and the modification of the community life, causing a brusque change in their traditional feeding habits, greatly substituted by assistential bags of food.”*

The Director of *Guaranies* Affairs, Arnulfo Verón, believes that these results could be avoided if the primary attention of the provinces worked properly. He also recognizes that *“this reveals State flaws”*.

In the sphere of the National Ministry of Health, the Support for Indigenous Populations Programme assessed the situation as *“alarming and grave in terms of the health of the native peoples of the country”*. Its coordinator, Maria Gabriela Martinez added that *“the problem exceeds the issue of health, and includes social, inter-cultures, nourishment and living spaces issues”*.

In this context, and in the face of a borderline situation, the State took a series of measures which give hope to some many years of mistreatment. Last November, the Representatives Chamber passed a law which guarantees the suspension of evictions for four years and

adjudicated more funds to the National Institute of Indigenous Affairs. The Law establishes a suspension of the evictions in the territories under conflict and a technical and legal assessment from the INAI, which will also manage a special fund of 30 million pesos to finance this task. Moreover, the project proposes a tool of interpretation of their culture and thinking when taking legal or administrative measures which are usually desfavourable.

“The funds will be used for the technical, legal and cadastral assessment over the land occupied by the indigenous communities, the work of the professionals in legal cases and in the regularization of the ownership of public lands programmes”, affirmed Jorge Rodríguez, the president of the INAI. The norm aims at “providing a security and time framework” in the face of the fact the political solutions attempted come late, are inefficient or merely palliatives of a territorial situation worsened by the eviction or disturbances suffered by the community”.

This special fund called “indigenous reparation” will be managed by the Bank of the Nation.

Shortly before, on August 11th, and after a long struggle of the aboriginal community, *Wichi*, the *Vida Silvestre* Foundation, Greenpeace and the Network *Red Solidaria* which arrived at the Pink House²⁵ with great media support, Argentina incorporated the Pizarro Reserve, threatened by the clearing, within the protected and preserved areas of the country, which already ascend to 36.

The reserve from Salta had been divided into lots by the provincial authorities four years ago and now the National Parks Administration will purchase 4228 hectares which will be the centre of the new protected area. It was also foreseen that contract of loan and restitution in favour of the *Wichi* tribe, which lives in the area would be signed, so it can own 800 hectares of the total.

Prior to this resolution, the companies Everest SA and Initium Aferro SA proposed to clear 6.000 of the 8.000 hectares that the governor of Salta had sold to them in 2004. The project was enhanced by

²⁵ N.of T: the term “Pink House” refers to the government’s house, where the President and the National Executive Power work.

the intention of the owners to destine 1.000 hectares to the plantation of citric and the rest of them to corn and soy.

Another green light seem to be the general approval of the bill of law presented by the president of the Natural Resources and Conservation of the Human Environment Commission of the Representatives' Chamber, Miguel Bonasso, which declares the forestry emergency in the country and which demands the cease of clearings in the woods nationwide until the exploiting companies obtain a permit which allows the cutting down.

At the end of 2006, and after several attempts to pass the law, postponed by the lack of quorum, the Representatives Chamber examined the bill and partially passed it. Another of the measures which concerns the administrations of the Argentinean Northeast and Salta is the priority the project gives the native peoples over the mounts they inhabit. The indiscriminate cut down destroys 300 thousand hectares of native forests a year. Each week, 4800 hectares of native forests are cut down.

In the provincial realm, in February of 2006, the Constituent Convention of Neuquen, unanimously approved the incorporation of an article to the Provincial Constitution recognizing the *mapuches* as pre-existing peoples in Neuquen. It also assures them participation in the managing of their natural resources and legal personality is recognized regarding their identity and right to bilingual education.

It seems that after so many struggles for the recovery of their rights, native peoples have managed to show us the value of the land and the need to take care of our natural resources. And then hope emerges that the existing legislation, which since 1994 recognizes the native people, will forget the books to affirm in reality and put the feet on the ground.

Finding the historical truth was another issue that the aboriginal communities took upon themselves in 2006.

The *Pilaga* Federation and the Community Association *La Matanza* brought in March of 2005 and November of 2004 respectively, legal actions for the violation of human rights, crimes against humanity; it is about the massacre of *Napalpi* and the killing of *Rincón Bom-*

ba in Formosa, events whose 82nd anniversary was commemorated in June 2006.

Both killings –which caused more than 1.5000 deaths–, continue to be officially denied. The Federal judge of Resistencia city, Carlos Skidelsky, rejected the request to excavate two sites where there are signs of communal graves, decision which was appealed. In the case of *Rincón Bomba*, the Federal judge of Formosa, Marcos Quinteros, ordered exhumations where human remains were found in a ground of the Gendarmerie together with the first common grave with 27 bodies. Nevertheless, excavations did not continue due to lack of resources to take care of the evidence, because the Ministry of Justice considered that that expenditure was “*merely whimsical, innocuous and non-functional to the clearing up of the case*”. Further, the Secretariat of Human Rights considers that the legal option is not the adequate path, thus it suggested a commission for a historical elucidation. The indigenous communities do not find this alternative convincing because “*if they believe that too much time has passed, then they should not impose the non-applicability of the statutory limitations to crimes against humanity. It seems that there are different human rights for white people and for aborigines*”, objected the lawyer Carlos Díaz.

In June 2006, the *Pilaga* Federation brought a lawsuit against the State for “*crimes against humanity*”. The suit, brought before the Federal Court No, 1 of Formosa, advanced “*collective damage*”, as one of the lawyers of the community, Julio Garcia, explained. The judge ordered the search warrant of four places, one of them the grounds of the Gendarmerie in front of *Las Lomitas*.

The claimants requested a compensation for “*damages, loss of earnings, material damages, moral damages and determination of the historical truth*”. “*Why do they worry so much if they are Indians*”, the delegate of the National Direction of the Aborigines, Miguel Ortiz, had reportedly said to the head of the Squadron when the latter demanded explanations on the bad state of the food which had arrived to be distributed among people of *Pilaga* ethnicity, some days before massacre almost unknown by National history called the “*Massacre of Rincón Bomba*”. The event took place in October 1924 in Formosa

and approximately 600 people lost their lives in the hands of the National Gendarmerie.

Insofar as cultural diversity of the native peoples, our country continues to consider itself as a mono-cultural Nation, devaluating the indigenous cultures that have different languages, practices and occupations. Their spiritual manifestations are considered “*superstitions*”, their medical habits are regarded as “*witchcraft*” and the diverse visions of the world of the different peoples are also devaluated. Lack of knowledge regarding their ways of life generates a prejudice and discriminatory attitude.

Respect for the identity of the indigenous peoples, guaranteed in article 75 of the National Constitution, presupposes, among other things, that when the criminal responsibility of their members must be determined, albeit provisionally, its social particularities ought to be the object of a concrete consideration. Consulting the ancestral customs of the native peoples is a necessary task, especially if it is about applying the law. In line with this article, the Supreme Court of Justice of the Province of Salta annulled the indictment of a man of the *Wichi* community accused of sexually abusing his nine year old step daughter, because it was considered that in the aboriginal tradition, girls of that age can decide by themselves regarding their sexual life.

In the case, an anthropologic report elaborated by the National University of Salta, pointed out that the “*young girl enjoyed full sexual freedom from the time of her first menstruation; it is the girl who chooses the partner, enjoys a decision-making power which the suitor does not have*”.

When the indictment was issued, the judge did not take into account the report of the anthropologic expert, discarding the social particularities of the *Wichi* context and society. The highest tribunal did not acquit the accused; it only ordered the judge to issue a new decision taking into account the particularities of the indigenous culture.

In the realm of health, there are some projects aiming at recognizing the practices and customs of the ancestral peoples as a source of knowledge.

Indeed, this is the case with a recent project of the Ministry of

Health of the Province of Buenos Aires which purports to organize sanitary plans adapted to the communities, it gives value to the knowledge of the native peoples, prejudged so many times, and the incorporation of aboriginal medicine to the health system is under study. The main idea is to adapt the health system to the population, because “*due to their culture, their vision on the concepts of health and illness, the native peoples do not access or wish to access the formal health system we offer. And the system has not recognized this knowledge due to prejudices, ignorance or hegemony*”, Dr. Gustavo Marin, Director of Primary Attention pointed out. “*It is not about teaching them the logic of the functioning of our system, but to permeate the system so that it can contain an offer which satisfies the philosophy of the native peoples*”, said Carlos Mate, Ministry of Health of the Province of Buenos Aires.

Furthermore, the goal is that aboriginal medicine reaches the rest of the population. This idea stemmed as a consequence of the results of the Native Peoples’ Census, carried out between 1994 and 2006, which concluded that 90% of the persons enters the health system only when they have a disease and 91% sees a doctor in some public institution, which shows the existence of a difficulty in the access to health and a rejection of official attention. (It was remarkable the repercussion that the case of the *Guarani Bera* boy had in 2005, on the cultural clash between “white” medicine and aboriginal medicine, whose surgery was ordered by the Justice of Misiones after the refusal of his parents to allow him to be operated by doctors strange to his community).

Nevertheless, a *Mapuche* approach discusses these conclusions, since for them the social entourage is responsible for the health of the people, “*the denial of the identity is the main health problem of our people*”, held Ms. Verónica Azpiroz Cleñan of the group *Epu Bafkeh* of the village of *Los Toldos*.

This proposal seeks to improve the accessibility of 90 thousand native persons to official health and to let the aboriginal medicine reaches the “*Huincas*”. Even if the debate is only beginning, for the end of 2007 the Ministry of Health of the Province of Buenos Aires

foresees the creation of a pilot centre with aboriginal attention forms and therapies.

At the educative level, discrimination occurs due to the impossibility of access to an inter-cultural and bilingual education. This implies that children can start by studying in their mother tongue, and incorporate Spanish later, and that all indigenous and non-indigenous people can share values and knowledge of their different cultures. It also entails the incorporation of means and systems of teaching of the indigenous peoples.²⁶

In spite of the fact that in 2004 the State has set in motion the Inter-cultural and Bilingual National Education Programme, it is not possible to speak about an educative policy which takes into account the cultural identity and the specific features of each one of the aboriginal peoples.

On the other hand, there is no training of indigenous teachers and in most of the cases there is a devaluation of their role, acting as "*bilingual assistants*" of the official teacher.

In terms of contents, the curricula do not include history and culture of the aboriginal peoples and those contents which offend the identity and memory of those peoples have not been eliminated yet, contributing to the formation of a prejudiced vision thereof.

Only two provinces are implementing formal systems of institutionalization of bilingual education: Chaco and Formosa.

Some encouraging news

For the native peoples, to incorporate technology means to be able to give expression to their diversity and identity

Access to information is a fundamental and necessary right. However, not everybody can put it into practice, especially if the place where one lives is remote and far away from the great urban centres and does not count with the economic and technological means to develop it. In the case of the aboriginal communities of our country, which mostly live in isolated regions, to incorporate technology is not

²⁶ Idem 1.

only tantamount to receiving information, but it is also a direct path where to express and disseminate their diversity and cultural identity. Jorge Frías, coordinator of the Network of Indigenous Communicators points out that through their own means of communication, aboriginal communities are able to modify the prejudices which exist on the indigenous world “*because those prejudices lead to discrimination. And what we want is a world free of excluded persons and which contains all the visions*”.

The Network nucleates 60 native organizations and 9 non-indigenous NGOs from the provinces of Jujuy, Salta, Formosa, Chaco, Santa Fe and Misiones; each one organizes and produces its own information.

On November 6th, the radio AM 800 *Mapuche* Inter-Cultural from San Martín de los Andes, of the province of Neuquén was set up. The station will cover 300 km, reaching to zones of Argentina (Puel mapu***) and Chile (Gulu mapu****). This is the third radio license obtained by the *Mapuche* community and the first in the AM frequency.

In the same line, the COMFER inaugurated in April in the village of *Los Toldos* FM *Kiñe Cristal Mapuche*, a station of the indigenous community which is bilingual and rescues that community. Through Resolution 643/2006, a radio FM station was established, which allows it to reach the more remote communities. Such resolution is a modification of article 45 of the Law No. 22.285 which indicates that only physical persons or commercial societies can obtain electronic means of communication, radio or TV channels, setting aside other organizations. There are 47 functioning stations where indigenous communities can talk about their culture, their language and their demands.

Other good news is that in June 2006, the inhabitants of the *Prahuaniyeu* region, in the province of Río Negro, were able to watch TV for the first time. 62 families live there, mostly descendants from native peoples of the Patagonia. The province of Río Negro, in the context of a provincial programme seeking to take services to and integrate the most isolated areas of the region, installed a small repeat-

ing station of LU92 TV Channel 10, a provincial station. Two years before, towards the end of 2004, electricity had arrived in the village. Every family received it in its home, donated by Artear Argentina S.A. and all the inhabitant of *Prahuanियeu* were able to watch, for the first time, the Football World Cup.

The Inhabitants of the *Toba de León Juárez* community (Formosa) were trained in the Productive Development in the context of a Strengthening Project implemented by the International Cooperation Agency of Japan. Its main objective was to teach them how to work in the field and how to improve the quality of life of the community, formed by 82 homes. In a first stage, they were trained in activities such as agriculture and craft production. Then, there was a contribution of infrastructure to improve the sanitary installations, and lastly, activities as cattle breeding were developed. Self-management will serve to improve their quality of life

With the object of strengthening culture and *Mapuche* traditions, in November the “Xth Aboriginal Games” took place, where students from schools of Chubut with strong aboriginal presence participated in sport and cultural activities which centuries before were typical of the *Mapuche* life. The gathering sought to retrieve ancestral games played in the region within the *Mapuche* community and prevent them from disappearing from the cultural history of the region.

Native peoples are aware of their rights and are willing to fight for them. In this sense, and with the goal to debate about the legal reach of the Law, during 2006 diverse meeting among representatives of the aboriginal communities, NGOs and researchers took place.

In Salta, the “*First Meetings of Indigenous Law*” were held. There, around twelve caciques and representatives of the nine native peoples which exist in the province gathered to find a uniform interpretation of the existing laws regarding indigenous Law.

In the province of Tucuman, in the beginning of 2006, the meetings for the dissemination, debate and inter-cultural exchange were held “*For a Constitution that incorporates and guarantees the rights of the indigenous peoples. For the equality of the rights of the peoples*”.

Only by virtue of the inexhaustible claim of the aboriginal com-

munities, they year of 2006 seems to be ending on a good note. The last interventions of the State in the conflicts afflicting the communities for so many years, added to the will of some provincial governments to make the law respected, indicate a more prosperous path for the millenary peoples. Time will tell whether the rights over their ancestral lands and over the natural resources, the right to participate in the affairs pertaining to them and in the adoption of measures which satisfy their specific need, are fully exercised. Otherwise, native peoples shall be willing to continue fighting for their respect.

Their struggle is an example of the commitment with human life, with the cultural identity and the nature of which we are a part. There is a lot that we can learn from them.

Latin-American Immigrants ²⁷

According to a survey carried out by D'Alessio Irol Consultant, 34.7% of the Argentinean is aware of the existence of discrimination on the basis of "nationality and race".²⁸

A study on regional migrations elaborated by CONICET and the Institute for Economic and Social Development (IDES) concluded that the Argentinean society makes distinctions between immigrants coming from bordering nations and those from Easter Europe. Alejandro Grimson, director of the Institute of High Social Studies of the University of San Martin, stated that "there is a profoundly negative prejudice towards Latin-American immigrants". The Report of the CONICET held that "*the Argentineans are racist, we consider ourselves 'European' and we are open to immigration as long as it does not come from bordering nations and has Indian-like features*". We would have an erroneous perception about the amount living in our country since the census carried out since 1869 oscillated between two and three per cent of the total of the population, i.e., for example, believing that there was an immigration wave in the 1990s would not

²⁷ This section was elaborated by Professor Verónica J. Perilmutter.

²⁸ "Vivir entre miradas filosas y la sombra de la discriminación" [To live among sharp looks and the shadow of discrimination], Clarín, 26/02/2006

be true. In this decade, bordering nations' immigrants were accused of unemployment, insecurity and of the collapse of the sanitary system; but historically, up to the middle of the XXth century, it was the Bolivians, the Paraguayans and the Peruvians who performed the jobs the Argentinians refused to do and with the growth of the unemployment the competition between the Argentinians and the immigrants for the same posts appeared, and thus, a negative perception of the latter developed.

By virtue of these and other prejudices, this population would be affected by both the insults on the basis on their nationality (denigrating words such as "*bolitas*", "*paraguas*"²⁹, "*indians*" or "*blacks*") and by other discriminatory acts (prohibition of entrance to night clubs, arbitrary detentions, etc.) because these communities are usually associated with backwardness and sub-development in opposition of the recovery sought by Argentina.³⁰

Two important questions arise on the subject to be developed in this article: What is the treatment received in 2006 by the large number of immigrants from bordering nations living in Argentina? Which were the most affected nations by discrimination during that period?

This section aims to inform about the relevant events of violations of the basic human rights of foreigners coming from bordering nations living in Argentina occurred during 2006 and thus, answer the questions put forward.

In different graphic media like the newspapers Clarín, La Nación, Crónica, Ámbito Financiero and others, the discriminatory events suffered by the Bolivian community were informed. It is worth highlighting that this nationality is the second largest one in our country, after the Paraguayan.³¹ There are close to a million citizens in Buenos Aires.³²

²⁹ N.of T.: they are pejorative words used to refer to Bolivians and Paraguayans, respectively.

³⁰ "Los argentinos desprecian a los inmigrantes latinoamericanos" [The Argentinians despise Latin-American immigrants], Perfil, 31/07/2006.

³¹ Idem 1

³² "Cultura boliviana en la Argentina: el duro camino de la integración" [Bolivian culture in Argentina: the hard road to integration], Clarín.com, <http://www.clarin.com>, 25/10/2006.

On February 11th a Bolivian citizen living in our country was attacked by bouncers (“*patovicas*”- persons in charge of “guarding” the entrance of night clubs) in the well-known club located in the neighbourhood of Once called “Fantástico Bailable” and other six Bolivian boys and four girls were victims of a beating.

According to the testimony of the people who brought the claim to the police, 24 year-old Beimar Mamani went to the club just to have fun and when a fight broke out between a group of Argentinean young men and a group of Bolivian young men, he tried to break them off but the people in charge of security allegedly started to beat up the Bolivian young men. Beimar passed away at the “Penna” Hospital.³³

DAIA expressed through a communiqué its condemnation: “*in the face of the brutal attack which took place last February 11th during the early hours of the morning which took the life of Beimar Mamani, Bolivian citizen living in our country*”. It also requested the pertinent authorities “*the consequential punishment to the aggressors*” and demanded that “*the punishment encompasses the application of Law 23.592, which sanctions acts of discrimination because this case entails a high degree of xenophobia*”. It also manifested its solidarity to the family of the victim and offered its Legal Assistance Department to provide legal advice and accompaniment.³⁴

Another relevant fact worth mentioning is that the owners of a night club located in Escobar where immigrants from bordering nations used to go, brought a complaint for discrimination for the charges or racial persecution and breach of the Anti-Discrimination Law 23.592. These affirmed that their establishment was closed down by the Municipality in several occasions due to racism. According to them, many Bolivians and Paraguayans go there because they are not

³³ “Bouncers (“*patovicas*”) de un boliche de Once dejaron en coma a un boliviano” [‘Bouncers of a night club in Once leave a Bolivian in a coma], Clarín, 14/02/2006.

³⁴ “Repudio de la DAIA por homicidio a ciudadano boliviano” [DAIA’s condemnation for the homicida of a Bolivian citizen], Síntesis Informativa Diaria N° 2995, DAIA., 16/02/2006.

allowed in other places, for example, under the justification that they cannot exceed the capacity of people or through other accesses' bans.

When the proprietor of the establishment complained before the Municipality of Escobar, a public servant allegedly said: "*I do not want any more 'bolitas' or 'paraguas' in Escobar*"; *I do not want blacks there*" and "*If I wanted a club of blacks, I would put them in the ditch, far away*". Both the lawyer of the club and the organization S.O.S Discriminación Internacional brought a legal action before the Federal Court of Zárate-Campana which was transferred to the ordinary courts. Also, the NGO denounced that municipal officers allegedly closed the club down and seized the equipments. S.O.S requested the intervention of the governor of the Province of Buenos Aires, Felipe Solá arguing that "*it is about discrimination with the complicity of the Municipal Executive Power*".³⁵

An unpublished case made public during the period analyzed in this report, was an unusual judicial decision over discrimination based on social, economic and nationality grounds, whereby the Justice banned a women from contacting her neighbour for six months whom she insulted before witnesses calling her "*you f... Paraguayan, all of you coming here are without any papers*". The woman was sentenced to pay a fine of \$ 400 after sitting in trial. The prosecutor of the case explained that "*there was discrimination because the aggression was originated in social, economic and cultural questions*".³⁶

On the other hand, it is most interesting to broaden the topic connecting it to the problem of illegal textile workshops, referring the reader to the material published in the *Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina 2005*, where the most salient events regarding slave-like working conditions suffered by Latin-American immigrants during that year were commented.³⁷

With regards to 2006, on March 30th six Bolivian immigrants

³⁵ "Denuncia por discriminación en Escobar" [Complaint on discrimination in Escobar], Clarín, 22/07/2006.

³⁶ "Condenan a una mujer por insultar a su vecina" [A woman is convicted for insulting her neighbour], Clarín, 09/03/2006.

³⁷ Braylan, Marisa; Jmelnitzky, Adrián. "Informe sobre antisemitismo en la Argentina 2005" [Report on Anti-Semitism 2005], DAIA – CES, 05/2006.

(two adults and four children) passed away when the clandestine textile workshop located in the neighbourhood of Caballito caught on fire. In there, they lived in crowded conditions and worked in slave conditions. The working day oscillated between 16 and 18 hours with no breaks.

Since 2001, this workshop was authorized as a broidering workshop, but the pertinent controls were never performed.

According to Nestor Escudero, member of the Bolivian community in Argentina and member of the Sewing Workers Union *“since the end of the convertibility, the big textile brands decided, in order to compete, to lower the costs by outsourcing the sewing of their clothes in slave working workshops. It is a completely organized business: workers are recruited in Bolivia through the radio stations, they are then brought in the especial buses, and there people who allow them to cross the border without any problems. Once in Argentina, they are reduced to “debt-servitude”, that is, they have to pay with work their employers, many of them fellow Bolivians, for the transportation which brought them to the country, the precarious housing given to them and their families in the workshops and the food. The debt is unpayable and they do not have other choice but to work up to 18 hours a day to try and pay it and still get something to survive with”*.

From August 2005, the Government of the City of Buenos Aires carried out operations, together with the controlling authorities forming the “Legality Block”, but they were only intensified after the tragedy.³⁸ Many textile workshops began to work during the night, so they can avoid the controls.³⁹

On April 5th, 3.000 Bolivian workers marched to Avellaneda and Nazca Av. in the neighbourhood of Flores, after the closing down of eleven textile workshops by the government of the city, and or-

³⁸ Feldman, Yair, “Moderna esclavitud: cerca nuestro, lejos de Egipto” [Modern slavery: close to us, far from Egypt], Comunidades, 31/05/2006.

³⁹ “Para evadir controles, los talleres ilegales ahora producen de noche” [In order to evade controls, illegal workshops work at night], Clarin.com, <http://www.clarin.com>, 09/09/2006.

ganized a sitting in front of an array of workshops to demand fairer prices taking into account the abysmal difference between the cents paid to the worker per piece of finished clothing and the highly superior price assigned in the stores. Thus, they demanded “reasonable prices”.⁴⁰ Some of the demonstrators demanded their jobs back.

Furthermore, chants against shop owners of Korean and Jewish origin, accusing them of paying low salaries and referring to them as “exploiting employers” were heard.⁴¹ DAIA rejected the racist chants. The president of such entity, Jorge Kirszenbaum said: “*We understand the suffering members of the Bolivian community in Argentina are going through and we empathize with the protest against all kinds of oppression. Nevertheless, we must be careful to throw generalizing accusations against any minorities because they easily lead to falling into prejudice.*”⁴²

The government of the City of Buenos Aires, the Bolivian workers and the Korean textile businessmen agreed to form a committee to regulate all the workshops employing workers from Bolivia. A representative from DAIA also participated in the meeting. The Bolivian community apologized for the offensive expressions towards Koreans and Jews. These apologies were immediately accepted.⁴³

With regards to the events described, the Head of the Government of the City of Buenos Aires, Jorge Telerman, met with a Delegation of the Bolivian Government in order to analyze the issue of “*Bolivian immigrants’ slavery*” in Argentinean textile workshops.⁴⁴

Nonetheless, these types of events did not occur only in the City of Buenos Aires; in Cordoba, a worker of Bolivian origins complained that the owner of a brick’s blacksmith workshop where he

⁴⁰ “Trabajadores textiles bolivianos exigieron precios más justos” [Bolivian textile workers demanded fairer prices], La Nación, 06/04/2006.

⁴¹ “Grave: protesta boliviana con cantos antisemitas” [Grave: Bolivian protest with anti-Semitic chants], Ámbito Financiero, 06/04/2006.

⁴² “La DAIA rechazó consignas racistas durante una marcha” [DAIA rejected racist chants during a march], Síntesis Informativa Diaria N° 3030, DAIA, 07/04/2006.

⁴³ “Un acuerdo que da tela para cortar” [A controversial agreement], Página/12, 7/04/2006.

⁴⁴ “Telerman se reúne con los enviados de Evo Morales” [Telerman meets with the delegates of Evo Morales], La Razón, 11/04/2006.

worked of trying to run him over with a truck in response to a labour conflict between them. The employee narrated the long hours he had to work, the low salaries he was paid and the lack of family salary or a salary receipt. He had to sleep in a room without running water or bathroom. He added that he and his co-workers endured discriminatory mistreatment. The proprietor's sister denied the allegations of the employee.⁴⁵

Representatives from Bolivia and Argentina gathered in July 2006, after a debate where officials from both countries participated, and agreed on three points to vanish "slave work", regulate Bolivian immigrants, cense that community and reform the legislation.⁴⁶

Regarding the legal framework, the text which replaced the law which considered the immigrant as a "danger to safety" establishes that the State shall guarantee equal access to immigrants and their families to the "*protection and safeguard and rights enjoyed by nationals, in particular with relation to social services, public assets, employment and social security*", but it has not been regulated yet.

Enrique Oteiza, who was at the time the president of the National Institute against Discrimination (INADI), explained that with the approval of the new Immigrations Law, ethnic discrimination diminished, but it continued to be very important.

In accordance to Wilbert Espada, former secretary of Bolivian Civilian Associations (FACBOL), segregationist attitudes occur permanently and in different ambits. He asserted that "*many women who sell vegetables in an honest way in Liniers are run over by the police and the terms "bolita" and "cabecitas negras"*⁴⁷ *are used daily in order to look down on them. We have come here to work and we do not steal. No solutions are offered by the Justice system*".⁴⁸

⁴⁵ "Trabajador boliviano denuncia agresiones y discriminación" [Bolivian worker denounces aggression and discrimination], La Voz del interior online, 2006.

⁴⁶ "Debate sobre trabajo esclavo" [Debate on slave work], Clarin.com, <http://www.servicios.clarin.com>, 05/07/2006.

⁴⁷ N. of T: this term literally means 'little black heads' and is used in a pejorative way to refer to people coming from the interior of the country, workers and also people coming from bordering nations.

⁴⁸ "Una de cada cinco denuncias se debe a la segregación por el color de la piel"

However, during the period under analysis there were attempts to improve such relationship and achieve integration. An example can be found in the creation of a dictionary of Argentinean-Bolivian idiomatic expressions taking into account contributions of parents, students and teachers of School N° 3 from Villa Lugano. Several words used on a daily basis by children were translated.

In addition, a project called "*Towards more integration*" was elaborated in order to provide free pedagogic support and follow-up of school performance of the children. It began to function on weekends in the Sport Altiplano Organization located in the neighbourhood of Flores. Further, recreating outings were organized and work was done on the development of the self-esteem of the families so they can assert their values and do not renounce their identity.

Nevertheless, there was not a massive participation on the part of the Argentinean and Bolivian parents in those activities.

The project sought to help immigrants from the neighbourhood Charrúa, Villa Soldati, Lugano, Lomas de Zamora and Villa 1.11.14.

Moreover, it was suggested that the topic of immigrants and their integration be included in the training of teachers, since they were about fifty years old and the degree in education was obtained in times where rejection to foreigners with few economic resources prevailed.

The creators of the project explained that many times they encountered cases where the teacher would say to the pupil: "*you, little Bolivian, are not going to pass, so don't even bother*". They sought to resolve conflicts in a peaceful way through talks with the parents, school authorities and the teachers.⁴⁹

Throughout this section, discriminatory events occurred in 2006 against immigrants from bordering nations living in Argenti-

[One every five complaints in about segregation on the basis of the skin colour], La Nación. 21/03/2006.

⁴⁹ "Vivir entre miradas filosas y la sombra de la discriminación" [Living among sharp looks and the shadow of discrimination]. Section: "Ya hay intentos por mejorar la convivencia y la integración" [There are attempts to improve the relationship and achieve integration], Clarín, 26/02/2006.

na were mentioned. However, returning to the questions advanced in the beginning, we can affirm that unequal and discriminatory treatment received by communities, mostly Bolivians, just as it was stated before, stems from a high xenophobic and intolerant content, breaching basic constitutional norms (according to article 16 of the National Constitution on equality before the Law whereby discrimination on the basis of persecutory, stigmatizing or arbitrary motives is prohibited). Equalitarian treatment, deserved by any person, must not be limited to a simple rejection of discrimination, but requires actions implemented by the State looking to achieve integration and peaceful living through educative projects in order to reduce ignorance which generates prejudices, and also through the elaboration of equitable social policies which favour equality of opportunities, being the right of every man and woman to exercise his or her vital capabilities in every sphere, without privileges being granted to other individuals in objectively similar situations.

Chinese Community⁵⁰

In the Report published last year, we began the task to make public the origins of the Chinese collectivity in Argentina. Then, we highlighted its richness and cultural variety, we proved false certain prejudices which usually hide their fondness of work and called the attention on to certain xenophobic dimension present in the looting of supermarkets occurred during December of 2001.

Unfortunately, during 2006, Argentinean society witnessed new actions against pluralism and democratic spirit which targeted the Chinese collectivity. This new reaction of symbolic violence and economic boycott formed part of a broader group of facts which took place during 2006, each one of them seeming to encourage inter-ethnic hatreds in the interior of the Argentinean society.

A fire in a textile workshop which caused the death of six people

⁵⁰ This section was elaborated by Mr. Adrián Krupnik.

of Bolivian origin ushered in a brief, but bitter and intense conflict between Bolivians, Jews and Korans.

On the other hand, the war in the Middle East brought about anti-Israeli demonstration with clearly anti-Semitic consequences.

In each case, there were agents interested in exploiting the discontent of different groups and magnifying the conflict.

On the basis of the above, it is still important to increase our interest on the current problems of each collectivity and their history in order to cultivate a solid democratic culture.

On a day which started like many others in the work of the delivery men of food products and Chinese supermarket owners, took place an incident which marked an after and a before.

The delivery man Ariel Luque, after arguing with the proprietor of a self-service for truck drivers located in Lomas de Zamora, was shot and the bullet punctured a lung. The truck drivers' union affirmed that their members had suffered and denounced more than a hundred aggressions. The entity added that the communication with the Chinese in order to unload the goods without inconveniences was "impossible" and they demanded for such tasks "Argentinean" workers. Their arguments entailed generalizations such as that the Chinese are distrustful and have the habit of questioning every cent in their favour.

The episode of the shooting and the injured man was made public during a press conference held by the representatives of the union, Pablo Moyano vice-treasurer and Carlos Ayala, delegate of "*La Serenísima*". During that press conference, Ayala declared: "*The Italian is difficult, the Spaniard is difficult, the Jew is difficult, but with them, we never had the problems we have been having with the Chinese*". When Ayala was saying those words, Moyano was nodding and then Ayala finished by saying: "*the Chinese are the ones who need to adapt to us because they are in our country. If this would have happened in China, the culprit had been in front of the firing squad*". It would have been interesting if the speaker had given more details about whom he meant by *we*.

In other articles which published the declarations of the truck

drivers, the latter explained their communication problems with the Chinese, referring to even more generalizations:

“You deliver the complete order and later they would claim that some goods were missing. It is them the ones who puncture the plastic bottles or make holes in the yogurt so they can drink them and afterwards they try to include them in the devolutions. The Chinese say ‘not understand’ and try to get away with it “.

Moreover, the truck drivers seem to have developed a set of *ad hoc* knowledge about the Chinese supermarkets stating, for example, that those who have their front painted in red are the most “complicated”, whereas those with the front painted in blue or in light blue are more “quiet”.

Immediately after the press conference, the Chamber of Supermarket’s owners of Chinese living in Argentina communicated through their spokesperson Calvete that all dialogue doors were open and they hoped that they would not have to file a complaint before the INADI as the circumstances and other collectivities suggested.

The attitude of the Chamber was of a negotiating nature, Calvete quickly clarified that the shop owner who shot the truck driver, being that he was a fugitive he was no longer protected by the entity. In fact, the latter condemned his action, adding that he was not affiliated to the Chamber.

The spokesperson of the Chamber argued that both within the shop owners and within the truck drivers existed “harmful” elements. In his opinion, none of them could act as a victim and thus he suggested the elaboration of a list of names of conflictive truck drivers and supermarkets’ owners so that they could be set aside.

Calvete added a fundamental fact, which is that during the looting of December 2001, 289 Chinese supermarkets were attacked.

When justifying the economic boycott that the truck drivers imposed on the Chinese supermarkets after the incident, the union’s representatives advanced that: *“the measure has not limits (...) the boycott will continue until safety is guaranteed”.*

According to Moyano, the truck drivers were afraid of working in those conditions and the union had already filed the complaint for possession of weapons.

On this subject, Calvete indicated that the weapons were legal and responded to the bitter experience endured by the Chinese supermarkets during the social outburst of 2001. Then, he argued, while the big chains obtained State safety guarantees, "*the Chinese supermarkets did not even receive a police in the corner*".

Despite the attempts to negotiate made by the Chamber during the week following the incident, the boycott began on the night of June 20th, affecting the supply of beverages, beer, water and dairy products.

On the night of the 26th, the measure concluded after the government's intervention. The boycott had lasted for seven days and forced the active intervention of the Minister of Interior, Aníbal Fernández.

In the meantime, certain estimations stated that the Chinese supermarket owners had suffered losses of a 30% of the habitual amount of sales.

The editorial of Clarin newspaper correctly called the attention on the fact the unions, which often demand the intervention of the State, did not do so in this opportunity, even though the events would have required since the beginning no more than a police investigation.

The truth is that the Chinese supermarket owners have become an economic actor to be taken into account at a national level. So much so that a month before the conflict between the truck drivers and the Chamber, the government had had another reason to hold dialogues with the Chinese supermarket owners in the Pink House. Indeed: the dialogue had been a requisite in order to establish the price control over the products of the family basic basket. Back then, the boycott attacked an agent involved in the efforts to keep the prices of basic goods stable.

Thus, the boycott did not only affect the particular economy of the self-services. Companies such as *Sancor*, *La Serenísima*, *Coca Cola*, *Pepsi* and *Quilmes* were among those that requested the intervention of the government because their sales were also affected, and they did so through the COPAL, the entity which agglutinates them.

In order to fathom the magnitude of commercial exchange, it is worth examining certain figures. The 3000 Chinese shops supplied daily by *Sancor* and *La Serenísima* form the 10% of the sales of the latter and in the Capital City represent a 20% of the sales of *Coca Cola*.

Furthermore, the consumers were affected since according to C.C.R consultants, the Chinese self-services are the chosen market of 42% of the consumers.

This is possible because the Chamber already groups 2400 stores, divided according to the province of origin. The size and effectiveness of its work has given it a certain prestige and importance, but also a few enemies.

Calvete, showing his command of the art of nuances, asserted: *“even without intention, the union ended up benefiting the big chains which concentrate the trade of foodstuff and prejudices the consumers”*. He also explained that the boycott was allowing “mischievous” suppliers who were selling at a higher price. Pablo Moyano did not hesitate to call him a “clown” and said *“he should surrender the person who shot the worker”*, thus creating a false dichotomy excluding the Chinese supermarket owners from the collective “worker”, and accusing them of complicity.

The entity grouping the Chinese supermarket owners was not alone. Another Chamber, the Chinese-Argentinean Production, Industry and Commerce Chamber expressed its condemnation to the boycott and requested the intervention of a competent organism to prevent *“discriminatory ghosts attacking the atmosphere of peaceful living in which we wish to live”* from appearing.

The episode convulsed other collectivities and for the satisfaction of those who encourage democratic and cultural pluralism, they expressed themselves almost immediately

Mr. Fernández, secretary of the Federation of Galician Organizations held that *“the sayings of these unionists show a complete lack of culture and border fascism (...) apart from being discriminatory, they show that they ignore the contribution of our community to the country and to the working class itself (...) it is easier for them to discriminate and fight with those who are down. Therefore, they picked*

on those who had to leave their country searching for new horizons". Miss. Pina Mainieri, president of FedeItalia also labelled the unionists who uttered those words as ignorant; while Pedro Chen, of the Taiwanese living in Argentina Association, advanced that *"it is very wrong that if a union has a problem with someone, ends up messing with the whole community"*.

The distinction between collective and individual responsibility was present in several declarations. In fact, Moyano senior used this argument when he spoke to Mr. Kirszenbaum, president of DAIA, to manifest that *"those words did not reflect the feeling of the union"*. DAIA had joined other collectivities in solidarity with the Chinese community.

As a conclusion of what happened, we can celebrate the fact that various communities who wish to live in peace in Argentina had joined their voices to protest against xenophobic arrogance. For those who were outraged by the boycott suffered by the Chinese collectivity, the explanations given to justify the insults are unacceptable and the practical actions which, on the basis of determinate facts, affect a human collective are even less acceptable.

The compensation for the wounded victim and the punishment to the responsible one should have not, in any circumstances, involved the 400 Chinese supermarkets and the 4500 delivery men, unless, there had been wrongful actions on their part which could have avoided this and only dedicated themselves to make it worse.

We hope that in the future the bonds between the different collectivities continue to grow as well as the true and sincere wishes of living in a pluralist democracy respectful of the individual and collective rights.

Korean Community⁵¹

In order to analyze the problem of discrimination inside the Korean collectivity in Argentina, it is best to take into account the historical characteristics of their integration and modality of construction of links intra and inter-group by virtue, of course, of the characteristics of the local society.

⁵¹ This section was elaborated by Ms. Mirta Bialogorski.

As it has been said in other works⁵² this immigration started in 1965, but the most important flow took place between 1984 and 1988, the moment in which the collectivity reached a population of approximately forty thousand persons. This figure was transformed according to the socio-economic changes of Argentina, with immigration movements, but also the return and entrance of new immigrants, especially during the 1990s and the beginning of the year 2000.

According to Lee Yung Soo, President of the Argentinean Korean Association, nowadays, the collectivity is formed by 30 thousand persons⁵³.

Their presence is palpable, not only in the Capital City and the Greater Buenos Aires but also in different provinces of the country, like Córdoba, Santa Fe, Tucumán, Jujuy, Mendoza, among others.

At the economic level, the majority of their members have integrated the market through the commerce and the little and medium textile and clothes industry. This has been their main mechanism of articulation in the recipient context, so much so that it has become in the social imaginary the identifying feature par excellence of this community.

On this subject, the Korean immigrant associate his or her first steps with the contact with the proprietors of big textile industries and sewing workshops, Argentinean Jews, who transferred part of the production to other workshops, generally smaller, a circumstance which favour this working system of the Korean group which counted with their own sewing machines working in their houses/workshops.

From the beginning of this system, these workshops used family working forces, but as the demand grew, they had to hire external

⁵² Cfr. Bialogorski, Mirta (2005) "La comunidad coreana en Argentina. Logros de una inmigración reciente". Cuando Oriente llegó a América. Contribuciones de inmigrantes chinos, japoneses y coreanos ["The Korean community in Argentina. Achievements of a recent immigration". When the East came to America. Contributions of Chinese, Japanese and Korean immigrants]. Cap.XIV. Edited by the BID.

⁵³ Bargman, Daniel (2006) "Comunidad coreana en la Argentina", Informe sobre antisemitismo en la Argentina. 2005 [Korean Community in Argentina. Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina 2005. CES. DAIA. Buenos Aires, Argentina, p.88

personnel. Firstly, they employed Paraguayan immigrants, generally with no papers. Then, such working force was replaced by the Bolivian immigrants, who, in the Korean proprietor's opinion, showed a better disposition for those types of jobs.

The inter-relations among the Koreans, the Bolivians and the Jews have changed throughout the time, as the modalities, conditions and positioning of the different actors have varied in the development of this activity.

The relation Korean employer/Bolivian worker had remained relatively stable up until a few years ago, in comparison with the relation Jewish supplier/ Korean worker, which had acquired different features: Jewish landlord/ Korean tenant; Jewish trader/ Korean trader; Jewish manufacturer/ Korean manufacturer; Jewish competitor/ Korean competitor⁵⁴.

Despite the fact that the beginning of this trade can be traced back to the 1970s, its bigger growth took place between 1980 and 1990. During that period, the development of the different stages of the manufacturing process, from the manufacturing of fabrics to the commercialization of the clothes in their own stores was achieved. In all cases, it was a highly competitive product which was redesigned until reaching the local taste and a superior quality, without substantially modifying its original cost.

The Korean manufacturers were thus transformed from suppliers of brands which were sold in shopping malls to imposing their own brands and opening their own stores.⁵⁵

The tendency which originated in the Capital City spread into

⁵⁴ Bialogorski, Mirta (2004) *La presencia coreana en la Argentina. Construcción simbólica de una experiencia inmigratoria*. Tesis de Doctorado de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras [The Korean presence in Argentina. Symbolic construction of a migratory experience. Doctoral Thesis of the University of Buenos Aires, School of Philosophy and Letters]. <http://www.centro-de-semiotica.com.ar/indice.html#BIBLIOTECA>

⁵⁵ Bialogorski, Mirta (2006a) "La inmigración coreana en Argentina: tan cerca, tan lejos" En: *Cuarenta años de historia* ["Korean immigration in Argentina: so close, so far Hawaii" in Forty years of history]. So, Jyung Soo comp. Centro de investigación de la Colectividad Coreana en Argentina. Buenos Aires, .286-300.

the main cities of the interior of the country, where retailing stores were installed, whose owners were supplied in Buenos Aires on the basis of the credits offered by the community networks.

During these last years, the collectivity suffered the same economic reverses as the rest of the Argentinean society, which motivated the immigration of the representatives of the most active sectors, affected by the lack of capitals. In addition a geographic displacement from the commercial neighbourhood of Once to the neighbourhood of Flores took place. Korean traders who had stores in both areas decided to concentrate them in one bringing about the strengthening of the Avellaneda Avenue, where a true explosion of textile stores, besides other activities, took place⁵⁶.

On the other hand, many of the young men of the generation called "One point five"⁵⁷ that since the 1990s had obtained their university degree in diverse studies, decided to look for more advantageous working job opportunities in other migratory contexts, just as many of their native colleagues.

With regards to the communication spaces between members of the Korean community and the Argentinean setting, fundamentally limited to the trade realm and then to education as a mandatory contact area, they were slowly but surely broadening to other spheres of life: social, religious, sport and artistic life, with their zones of proximity and distance in permanent redefinition⁵⁸. One of the remaining characteristics among the Argentineans and the Koreans is, however, the image of an introvert and withdrawn community⁵⁹.

⁵⁶ Mera, Carolina (2005) "Modalidad de instalación de la comunidad coreana en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires" En: Carolina Mera; Liliana Palacios de Consiansi y Carmen González, *Coreanos en Argentina: 40 años de historia*. ["Modality of installation of the Korean community in Buenos Aires" in *Koreans in Argentina 40 years of history*] Ediciones Al Margen, La Plata, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

⁵⁷ Emic category used to refer to children and young people who descend from Korean immigrants, born in the country of origin.

⁵⁸ Cfr. Bialogorski, Mirta (2005) *Op.cit.*

⁵⁹ Bialogorski, Mirta (2006b) "Jóvenes coreanos en la Argentina: entre la cultura de origen, la cultura local y el "McMundo" [Young Koreans in Argentina: between the cultura of origin, the local cultura and the "McWorld"]. Lecture pre-

Among the young people, born or raised in this country, this perception is strengthened when many of the those who perceive themselves as Argentines due to having “adapted” or “Argentinized”⁶⁰, affirm to face an image of “non-Argentines” and of exclusion which is returned by the society. They experiment an opposition between that “to be/to feel Argentines” and the lack of recognition as such. This distance is underlined above all, but not only, by the physical diatribe and which generates discriminatory situations in different degrees, which certainly obstruct the construction of bonds. *“I am Argentinean with Korean origin, but people do not believe me. I speak with you on the street and I tell you “I am Argentinean”, but many (Argentines) think I am from the United States. And I insist “I am Argentinean”. “Look at your face”, they reply”*⁶¹.

To that, it should be added the modality of the Argentinean to categorize the Korean as “Chinese” and the use of that appellative with a strong aggressive charge in the interaction:

*“You are driving and the people (Argentines) reject you because you are Korean, you take a manoeuvre and they yell at you ‘you f... Chinese’ and that provokes rejection in the Korean who says that all Argentines all like that. So, I’d better didn’t hang out with them”*⁶².

It is apparent that the configuration of the link is obstructed when the stereotypes and their reciprocal attribution appear.

Furthermore, in the scholar sphere, these attitudes persist. *“At school, the kids always call me ‘Chinese’”*, is one to the complaints received by the teacher of an art workshop of the collectivity from her little pupils⁶³.

sented in the II National Congreso of Korean Studies. National University of La Plata, Augusts 24th and 25th 2006.

⁶⁰ Bialogorski, Mirta (2006) La experiencia coreana en la Argentina, ¿hacia una construcción de la integración?” [The Korean experience in Argentina: towards a construction of integration? http://www.ceaa.colmex.mx/estudios_coreanos/images/mirta.pdf

⁶¹ Interview done by the author to a young plastic artist, June 2006.

⁶² Interview done by the author to an advance Medicine student, August 2006.

⁶³ Interview done by the author to a drawing teacher, June 2006.

The teen-agers and young people for this or other motives, look for the company of their fellow country men. Play football, have fun, eat, sing and chat are activities that they currently admit to do mostly inside the collectivity, both in religious centres and in different entertaining places (cyber cafes, typical restaurants, pubs and karaoke bars).

This occurs both for the **impossibility** to relate with their pairs from a culture such as the Argentinean, still perceived as different and aloof, and for **obedience** to a predominant discourse in certain community sectors which encourage the intra-group bonding, or even for a **personal choice** of preserving their own social and cultural habits.

Nevertheless, the teen-agers and the young adults refer to a gradual but constant opening to the Argentineans. They still recognize a tendency to establish a separation between **what is done and say with some** (the Argentineans) and **what is done and say with others** (the Koreans). Friendship, for example, is experienced differently, the topics of conversation change, the places to hang out are different, and attitudes vary⁶⁴. However, the difference, when is not negatively valued or used to disqualify the other, or better yet, when is made intelligible, is enriching and produces mutual transformations. This is what happens with the emergence of a discourse which, regardless of the differential spaces demarcation, emphasizes the affinity of interests over the ethnicity considered as an excluding relational category.

From this general panorama, if we speak of **concrete discrimination acts** in the **inter-personal relations** between Koreans and Argentineans during this last year, we have to say on the basis of the collected testimonies that when a member of the Korean collectivity admits having been a victim of a discriminatory act or of a xenophobic reaction (in the public space, the university sphere or at school) as the ones we indicated above with the axis on the physical diacriticals and the use of appellatives, it makes the situation relative on the basis of considering it as having an individual nature and thus, not easily generalizable. They explain that those attitudes are expressed in a

⁶⁴ Bialogorski, Mirta (2006b) Op.cit.

rather informal way and that they have even diminished thanks to an increase of the degree of familiarity and knowledge of the group.

In fact, there are no formal complaints of discrimination acts registered neither before community or national entities, such as the INADI⁶⁵.

Moreover, there is a strong community discourse which holds that if there are areas of distance between the Koreans and the Argentineans that responds more to self-exclusion behaviours on the part of the former, than to specific rejection situations provoked by the latter⁶⁶.

Regardless of the above-mentioned tendencies, in 2006 the **Korean collectivity** was the target of **racist and discriminatory manifestations** which had public transcendence and are related with their insertion in the economic sphere. Manufacturers and sewing workshops owners of Korean origin, as well as manufacturers and textile businessmen of Jewish origin, were accused by Bolivian citizens of being “exploiters” and implementing “slave labour”.

A serious fire which took place on March 29th in one of those clandestine establishments in the neighbourhood of Caballito, where six persons of Bolivian nationality lost their lives brought a very complex phenomenon to the limelight. It is not a new phenomenon in the garments area and in the Argentinean society, but it has been happening for quite a long time, and it encompasses the crossing of all types of illegalities: illegal work, corruption of public servants, trafficking of persons and absence of the State in issues of security, immigration, labour and tax control.

According to Hector Kolodny, president of the Argentinean Garments Industry Chamber, the informality and exploitation, so common nowadays in that sector was encouraged and justified by the State during the 1990s “*in order not to aggravate unemployment*”⁶⁷ in the context of the economic policies implemented then.

⁶⁵ Interview done by the author to Dr. Suh Sung-chul, Press Attaché of the Embassy of the Republic of Korea, December 12th 2006.

⁶⁶ Ibid and interview done by the author to two young Korean university students, January 4th 2007.

⁶⁷ El Cronista Comercial, April 3rd 2006

However, this tragic accident made something else evident: the way in which a conflictive social situation with an economic and political bases combines ethnic and cultural elements and generates xenophobic discourses⁶⁸. Those discourses were not only found within the members of one of the groups, but also within certain Argentinean press media.

Anti-Jewish and anti-Korean slogans were heard in the protests by representatives of the Bolivian community to condemn the “exploitation” and “slave labour” in sewing workshops, suffered by immigrants, mostly without any papers, as well as the measures taken by the municipal authorities in that situation to inspect and close down irregular workshops, the source of work of numerous Bolivian employees.

Certain chants and signs referring to “Korean and Jewish exploiters” were detected among many demonstrators.

The national media reproduced these slogans as part of the information, but with certain particularities in their communicative strategies that enabled to descry in their discourse a clear xenophobic tone. On the one hand, it was noticeable, save for some exceptions, the absence of critical political positions vis-à-vis these expressions, to the point of confusing the voice of the leading actors themselves with the voice of the media. On the other hand, there was a reference to the testimonies of the actors, purporting to emphasize the dichotomy “Bolivian workers/ Korean employers” just to stress the nationality of the latter, specially when reference was made to the owners of the illegal workshops, given that that they could have been Bolivians, Argentineans or Peruvians⁶⁹.

⁶⁸ It is worth clarifying that a similar situation regarding the inter-action of these three groups, minorities of the textile and garment industry, had occurred in the late 1980s and in the 1990s. See Bialogorski, Mirta and Daniel Bargman (1996), “Articulación interétnica en medio urbano: judíos y coreanos en Buenos Aires”. *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*. [Inter-ethnic articulation in the urban millieu: Jews and Koreans in Buenos Aires Nro.32. P.111-133. Buenos Aires. Argentina. (1997), “La mirada del otro: coreanos y bolivianos en Buenos Aires”. *Discriminación y racismo en Latinoamérica*. [“The look of the other: Koreans and Bolivians in Buenos Aires”. *Discrimination and Racism in Latin America*.] Grupo Editor Latinoamericano. P.95-106. Buenos Aires. Argentina.

⁶⁹ According to Gabriela Cerruti, Minister of Human and Social Rights of the

One of the most popular newspapers, Clarín, interviewed a Bolivian seamstress, whose testimony was quoted textually, and concluded: *“Nobody persecutes the Koreans because they come with money... They recruit people in Bolivia, but only take those who can sew and feed them rice and sausages”*⁷⁰.

Features which constituted in the Argentinean scenery a prototypic image of the Korean immigrants in the media discourse of the late 1980s and 1990s are reiterated in the current moment. Let us remember that back then, not only were they placed in a space of “alienness” marked by the exotic and the rejection regarding diverse dimensions in their relation with the Argentinean (urban dwelling, traditions, language, nourishment, sociability and work). They were imputed having reached a fast economic but unlawful advancement and it was underlined as a sign of mistreatment to their employees in the sewing workshops, the long hours, the meagre salaries, the low quality food and the form of recruitment of workers. So much so that in the square located in Cobo and Curapaligüe Street, a place where Korean workshop owners and workers from bordering nations converged in a situation of illegality, was denominated back then by the media as the “Slave Square” and that is how it is installed in the Argentinean imaginary. “Korean workshop owner and exploiter” was imposed in the daily social discourse with a strong xenophobic charge which expanded as a stigmatizing feature to the totality of the Korean collective⁷¹.

In a research work done in 1995 and 1996⁷² we already warned that even if Koreans and Bolivians were both discriminated in the

City of Buenos Aires, “the owners of the workshops can be Esther Bolivian, Argentinean, Peruvian or Korean, but the workers are above all Bolivians”. *Ámbito Financiero*, April 11th 2006.

⁷⁰ Clarín, April 6th 2006.

⁷¹ Cfr. Bialogorski, Mirta (2004). Op.cit.

⁷² Bialogorski, Mirta and Daniel Bargman (1997), “La mirada del otro: coreanos y bolivianos en Buenos Aires”. **Discriminación y racismo en Latinoamérica**. [“The look of the other: Koreans and Bolivians in Buenos Aires”. Discrimination and Racism in Latin-America.] Publisher Latin American Group. P.95-106. Buenos Aires. Argentina.

local context, it was not the same type of discrimination. The media referred to the character of the “exploited” Bolivian immigrant, who was regarded as being in a helpless position, to justify the rejection of the new immigrant who was placed in a superiority plane with economic success with respect, also and specially, to the Argentinean.

Going back to 2006, not only the written press echoed the incidents surrounding the situation of the illegal workshops and the poor working conditions of the people. On July 3rd, in a news show on *Tel-efe*, a national TV network, a so-called research report was presented where it was announced that it would deal with “slave work” in Buenos Aires and the “*recruitment and exploitation of illegal immigrants, workers of clandestine textile manufacturers*”. This piece used as a backdrop the tragic fire which had recently taken place.

The “research” focused precisely on the square of Cobo and Cura-paligüe Street, mentioned above. It promised that it would present the owners of the textile workshops who usually go there to recruit as seamstress the illegal immigrants, particularly those from Bolivia.

An anchorman, from the studios of the network, provided the narration, the interpretative frame, so that the TV viewers would give meaning to the facts shown. A journalists standing in the square interviewed different actors, a woman and a man, both from Bolivia; an Argentinean police officer, and tried, without any success to find a member of the Korean community.

The piece was completed with selected scenes. Thus, it was possible to observe a crowded public space; a Korean man talking to a few persons surrounding him, identified by the anchorman as Bolivians; others who, avoiding the questions of the journalists, quickly walked away from the area; and a third person going into a rental car with a non-Korean woman.

The car, according to the report, was followed by a vehicle of the production of the show until it stopped in front of a house where it was possible to see both persons went in. That allowed the journalist to infer and affirm that it was a clandestine workshop and that the woman “*would be left in the power of the employer*”.

When analyzing the text of the anchorman, we observe that never

did he allude in a direct way to the nationality of those looking for workers for the workshops. When referring to them, he would call them “the manufacturers”, the “employers”, the “workshop owners” or “that man”. In the latter case, the camera pointed without question, at a Korean man. There was no doubt about it: **the workshop owners recruiting workers were Korean**. This was explained by the images described, as by the testimonies of the interviewed and the intervention of the journalist present in the place, when for example, he addressed the police officer standing in the corner, asking him: “*Officer, could you tell us if this happens everyday, this situation where Koreans come here to recruit people illegally?*” The presence of the police and its negative to give an answer allowed the journalist to affirm that it was an implicit affirmation on the part of the State which allowed this modality of work integration which he qualified as “medieval market” where “unemployed” immigrants were mistreated by other immigrants (read Koreans).

Therefore, with the selection and combination of visual images, which per se did not indicate that we were facing an illicit fact, added to the different oral discourses, the meaning of the message that this media wanted to transmit to the Argentinean society was formed.

A message with a clear discriminatory content which had the effect of reediting on the public opinion a prejudice against the Korean collectivity as a whole, linking it to unlawful actions, a disloyal competition and a victimization of the other in the working plane.

Under no circumstance is it admissible that slave labour exist in the Argentinean society (or anywhere else), whichever nationality the responsible belong to, however; we know that unfortunately this still takes place.

Nevertheless, this reality is as condemnable as the media utilization thereof to generate a xenophobic discourse. This veiled accusation launched against a collectivity by this “research” allows proving once again that prejudices, xenophobia and discrimination are still without a doubt among us.

The episodes involving the Korean workshop owners and the manufacturers in their inter-action with the Bolivian workers are placed in the context of the relations these minority groups establish

in the Argentinean scene from a double articulation, work wise and inter-ethnic wise. In the symbolic construction of the bond the perception and valuation of the other stereotyped and corporative (of ethnicity and class) terms even when practice shows more ambiguous and complex situations where not only do we see multi-ethnic interest groups in confrontational, complementary or collaborative situations, but also ethnic groups implicated in different and opposing interest groups.

In the face of this research report, the members of the Korean community felt affected and upset. Firstly, because of the negative media image broadcasted; secondly, because they consider that the discrimination towards them present in the Argentinean media is not the same as the one towards other collectivities.

In response to the complaints of the Korean Embassy, transmitted by its Press attaché, the network involved broadcasted a show which, according to Dr. Suh Sung-chul, operated as satisfaction, since it sought to revert the vision and offered a different outlook⁷³.

On the other hand, concerning the concrete accusations of the Bolivian workers, Dr. Lee Yung Soo, President of the Argentinean Korean Association, in a TV show, held that "*the collectivity does not feel attacked*", and understands that the protests of the workers were addressed to achieving improvements and a regularization in the working sphere.

Further, Dr.Suh highlighted in a letter sent to a national newspaper⁷⁴ "*the co-existence relations between both collectivities*" and the "*efforts made to foment the friendship between Koreans and Bolivians*"⁷⁵.

⁷³ The broadcasting took place on August 16th 2006. Interview done by the author to Dr. Suh, December 12th 2006.

⁷⁴ Clarín, April 13th 2006.

⁷⁵ It is interesting to comment a event which took place on November 12th 2005, the Bolivia-Korea Integration in Argentina Coup", a football match between the teams of the Bolivian and Korean living in Buenos Aires. This event was organized by both embassies and other community and sport associations, and there is a project to turn it into an ongoing event, adding other immigrant collectivities.

It is worth clarifying that representatives of the Bolivian collectivity apologized for the offensive expression against both the Korean and Jewish collectivities⁷⁶.

In sum, the migratory movements produce conscience on the difference, the disparity, and install a tension line between the wish for the citizen strengthening and pluralism and discrimination and rejection of who are perceived as different.

In a dynamic process of insertion, the Korean community in Argentina shows a slow but clear tendency to integration, specially, its new generations, even though attitudes of withdrawal still prevail. Further, the Argentinean shows a gradual acceptance of its members, who are already incorporated as part of the local scene, even if he or she is still ignorant about many aspects of its culture. In fact, for certain Korean citizens, the Argentinean rejection against their collectivity occurs both in terms of economic competition and in terms of misunderstanding of cultural differences.

Discriminatory reactions are still perceived in the daily discourse, particularly, in certain National media when they have to inform about specific events involving certain members of the Korean community.

In the media discourse, we observe that the preconceived idea towards the collectivity still remain more explicit in comparison with other collectivities. Perhaps because, as it was said, there are not any fluid communicational channels with the outside, or because in the community discourse prevails a temporizing tone which undermines the rejection expressions and has not elaborated a more contusive answer.

It is not necessary to make clear that, in the past or in the present, every circumstance which affects human rights as the series of grave irregularities denounced in the working field which connects minority groups with each other and with the majority context cannot be left unpunished.

However, the danger threatening the peaceful coexistence among

⁷⁶ It happened during a meeting called by the Government of the City of Buenos Aires in order to create a joint comisión formed by members all three collectivities (Clarín, April 8th, 2006).

the different fragments composing a culturally diversified society as ours, is the construction of mutual images based on cognitive mechanisms of ultra-generalization, stereotyping and simplification⁷⁷ characteristic of the configuration of prejudice. These mechanisms usher in conflictive situations of communicative dissonance which obstruct the amplification of proximity zones in the personal inter-relations. As long as in the inter-ethnic and inter-class articulation as well as in the examined case which involves minorities of migratory origins in the sphere of an economic activity which connects them in a differential way, both mechanisms also generate, in certain sectors of power, xenophobic discourses which displace and makes evident the contradictions and injustices of this society.

Genre⁷⁸

...“The woman lives imprisoned by the image which the masculine society imposes upon her, therefore, she can only chose by breaking with herself... if she dares to love, to chose, if she dares to be herself, she must break with that image with which the world imprisons her...”

OCTAVIO PAZ

Being a woman in the world today is not, without a doubt, an easy task. It is undeniable that the legal condition of the woman has achieved fundamental changes due to the influence of the efforts made by women to achieve express recognition of their rights, from the first demands of the French revolutionaries marching towards Versailles requiring the feminine vote, up to the tasks carried out today by the different women movements which continue to fight for the effective respect of the rights already recognized by the international conventions. Nevertheless, we cannot ignore that there is a gap be-

⁷⁷ Cfr. Heller, Agnes (1970) *Historia y vida cotidiana. Aportación a la sociología socialista*. [History and daily life. Contribution to the socialist sociology] Enlace-Grijalbo, Méjico-Buenos Aires-Barcelona.

⁷⁸ This section was elaborated by Ms. Cristina Levitsanos.

tween the legislative map and the real life of million of women in the world, whose human rights are systematically violated. Equality of genre continues to be a utopia for most of the women of the world.

In the last decades, women have emerged from reclusion in the domestic realm to massively integrate in the working realm, improving the possibilities of personal and professional development, but enduring an overload of work, given that they continue to assume almost exclusively the domestic chores and the care of the children. According to a study carried out by the International Labour Organization, women who performed remunerated work outside the home, also dedicate 55 hours a week to domestic chores, which makes a total of 90 hours a week, that is more than 12 hours dedicated to work. Even if they represent 50% of the total of the world population, they carry out two thirds of the total of the work, receiving only 1% of the world income. In our country, discrimination at the salary level between men and women continues to be of 30% in favour of the men, a gap which increases in groups with a higher level of education, reaching in some regions of Latin-American 69%. Further, men access easily and faster to managing posts and better paid categories, both in public and private jobs.

Neo-Liberal policies have affected women in a special way, not only with regards to unemployment, but also with regards to the poor conditions of the working posts. Discrimination affects even more the poor and immigrant women (generally without any papers), which move in social spaces where non-recognized work affects them massively both in Latin-American and in the First World. According to the National Institute of Statistics and Census of France (2005) close to 80% of the poor workers are women.

Sexual inequalities do not affect women in the working market only. In the domestic realm, violence against women, common in every cultural and social sector, is one of the most tragic consequences of genre inequality. From the UNICEF Report on the World State of Childhood 2007, it stems that in Latin-American, domestic violence affects between 10% and 36% of women and is the cause of death of approximately 80 thousand children a year.

Since 2001, more than 2200 women and girls have been killed in Guatemala, only in 2005, more than 665 of them died. Most of these crimes are characterized by an enormous brutality.

In many Asian countries, sexual inequalities affect the demographic balance. The elimination of girls through selective abortion, mistreatment of girls and women originate a higher feminine mortality rate, China's policies of one child only have taken countries such as India, China itself, Pakistan, Bangladesh and South Korea to the incredible situation of a feminine population deficit.

Women trafficking, reduction to slavery is a growing business in Latin-America, and also in Argentina, where people trafficking is not punished: there are trafficking circuits of women brought from bordering nations and from the provinces to make them circulate in prostitution networks of the big cities.

The problem of the non-punishment of the abortion continues to be a pending issue in our country, despite the fact that two abortion requests filed in August 2006, in cases where the Criminal Code does not punish abortion (due to involvement of mentally challenged teenagers), managed to initiate a debate in the media and in the society about the statute of this practice, which when done in a clandestine way jeopardizes the life of thousands of women per year, especially women from economically vulnerable sectors. This situation brought about a National Campaign for the Legal, Safe and Free Abortion, on the part of NGOs.

The data mentioned above are no doubt eloquent regarding the disadvantageous structural situation of the women in the society. Being a woman encompasses integrating a "minorized" society, sub-represented in the centres of family, political and economic decision-making centres, and in many cases, reduced to silence.

In order to completely understand these situations of discrimination, it is necessary to draft the historical and cultural determinations of the traditional role of subordination which the woman continues to occupy. We must understand the reasons why this sexual anatomic difference was translated into a hierarchical inequality in the family and social organization. This organizative hierarchical

principle in the family is characteristic of the Western culture since ancient times, even if it was consolidated by the production model of industrial capitalism. Each model of accumulation, in our case, the industrial capitalism, is articulated with a specific form of assuring the disciplining of the working force and the preservation of the social order. The nuclear family model fulfilled an essential role in the reproduction of the prevailing ideology of the modern culture.

The "*pater familiae*" went from the vassalage relation with the feudal lord to the leader of the new family: the woman was relegated to the domestic world, under the economic and legal authority of the husband. A strong sexual division of work took place: whereas the specifically productive tasks were taken away from the home and performed by the man, the woman concentrated her attention in the care of the children and in the organization of the household. The sexual division of work guaranteed the reciprocal dependence of both spouses, as well as the spirit of perpetuity of the matrimony, always under the undisputed authority of the husband.

The Law, of course, legitimated this distribution model of the power within the family sphere, granting the male the marital authority, the character of sole administrator of the assets of the marriage and the exclusive exercise of the parental authority.

The model of feminine subordination managed to last many centuries through the reproduction of these ideological parameters which managed to render natural the cultural genre inequality, forming stereotypes about what is a man and what is a woman. Thus, the man, besides being the economic provider, became the one who took care of the important questions of life, because he was "strong", "safe", "rational", "independent", "active. The model of the feminine genre was based, on the other hand, in the capacity of abnegation of the woman in the maternal tasks, the woman has the capacity to sacrifice and postpone herself, she is "weak", "intuitive", "affectionate", "passive", "beautiful", "sexually repressed", "dependent".

The crisis of the family model of the modern society, the so-

called “democratization” of the nuclear family, has not yet managed to completely disarticulate these social stereotypes which are still present in each one of the discriminatory practices endure by the feminine sex.

With regards to our country, it took one hundred and seventeen year (from 1869 to 1986) to achieve equality of sexes in Family Law: from the qualification of the woman as “*fragilitas spiritualis*” or as “*imbecilitas sexus*” on the part of the nineteenth century jurists who consecrated the civil and political incapacity of the woman to the current legislative transformations. In Argentina, women acquired the right to vote only in 1947. Further, only in 1968 the reform of the Civil Code introduced by Law 17.711 matched the rights of the man and the woman in the matrimony, consecrating the full civil capacity of the married woman. In 1985, the Pact of San Jose de Costa Rica and the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against the Woman, known as “CEDAW”, were ratified. The Laws 23.179 and 23.515 advance the process of matching the rights of men and women regarding parental authority and divorce. The 1994 Constitution granted constitutional hierarchy to the above-mentioned international treaties, ratified by Argentina. In the year 1995, the crime of adultery was derogated, ending another irritating difference in the legislative treatment between men and women. Finally, in 2006, the National Congress approved the Optional Protocol to the CEDAW, which guarantees with more efficiency the right of women to not be discriminated.

The growing and constant pressure from the feminine movements has achieved to place in the world public agenda the issue of the women in all its aspects, especially those concerning violence against women as a violation of human rights, as well as an important legislative transformation, through the creation of international human rights treaties which promote the eradication of all types of inequality between men and women.

Many advances have been achieved, however; there is a long road before achieving genre equality, which implies, among many other

things, to put an end to the division of roles, the discriminatory practices, violence in the homes. In the meantime, it is necessary to keep on telling stories, putting words to the suffering, raising voices which illuminate “...*the long and patient road that we still need to walk*” (Susana Torrado).

Poverty⁷⁹

“If it is not our incumbency the construction of the future and the resolution and preparation of things for all times, it is more certain what we have to accomplish in the present; I speak of the implacable critic of everything that exists, implacable in the sense that the critic should not be afraid of its results as he who must not shun from the conflict of the dominant powers...”.

KARL MARX

Early Writings

“In the face of injustice, the first action which must be done is to make it public”

BAUDONNEL AND OTHERS

“Armée ou défense civile non violente?”.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights sets forth as fundamental rights, the right to food, clothing, housing, work, social security and rest, among others. The economic, social and cultural rights are also guaranteed at the international level by the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights whose Preamble sets forth: “*Recognizing that, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ideal of free human beings enjoying freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his economic, social and cultural rights, as well as his civil and political rights...*”. At the American level, the Protocol of San Salvador also adheres to the commitment of

⁷⁹ This section was elaborated by Ms. Cristina Levitanos

the signing States to adopt the necessary measures which guarantee the full effectiveness of the rights recognized in these pacts.

After more than 50 years since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, all these proclaimed and recognized rights in the legal texts are far from being a reality; the obstacles for their materialization and effectiveness in the real world are many and diverse. The domination of the world on the part of the multinationals and financial capital has subjected large sectors of the world population, especially in the global South, to one of the greatest current crimes: the systematic reduction to poverty and indigence. The social inequalities have increased the gap between rich and Third World countries. Important portions of our societies have been discriminated in the face of the fact that they cannot access the basic needs of life: food, health, housing, education and access to justice.

Nevertheless, hope for a full materialization of these rights continues to guide the voices and the actions of many who rise to reject the violence of the marginalization and the exclusion, and propose paths to build a fairer society for all men and women of the world.

An approximation to the global comprehension of the historical, economic and social processes where the neo-Liberal policies emerge, and an analysis of their functionality and conflicts with the current social life was done in a text written by this author about discrimination and poverty published in the previous Report.

As a summary, we can say that the economic “boom” of post-war and the Welfare State began to enter in to crisis in the 1970s, with the so-called “oil crisis” and the industrial accumulation model of the “Fordism”. The universalization of this fall ushered in the development of a new phase of globalized capitalism, with the application of common international policies for the overcoming of the crisis: opening of markets, de-Statization of the economy, structural setting plans, work flexibility.

These economic answers of the neo-Liberal project turned efficient when they focus their attacks against the Welfare State, which they labelled as the direct responsible of the economic imbalance suffered, they also attacked the accumulated power of the working

classes and their organizations and the excessive participation of the citizens in the public life. These were the discourses of the new Right which took over power with Margaret Thatcher in 1979 and quickly spread to the rest of the world.

The consequences of these policies did not wait: they increased poverty, lowered the working conditions, fomented sub-employment, unemployment; the social inequalities worsened, the Welfare State began to decay and decompose.

In the face of the falling of the public, a retreat to the private realm took place; as Hegel held more than two hundred years ago, this brought about an emphasis on the individualism as a symptom of the social decay, the cult to consumerism of objects, a fragmentation of the social bonds, a rupture of the collective projects.

In Argentina, this new model of accumulation began in 1976 with the liberation of the economy policies proposed by Martínez de Hoz and his “Chicago boys”, and by a Terrorist State which made its strategy for social discipline out of death, proscription and forced disappearances of persons.

The economic aspect was a model based on the dis-industrialization and the opening of the economy of assets and capitals, which continued to exist with the convertibility strategy of Cavallo during the “*Menemist*” decade, which sank into poverty more than 50% of the population and 70% of those under the age of 18; the unemployment ascended to 32 % in the post-devaluation year. Social inequality quickly multiplied, the gap showing the regressive distribution of the income between the superior decile and the inferior decile ascended to a value 38 times higher than in 2002.

Instead of dealing with the economic and social analysis of these phenomena, I am interested in focusing on the role played –until today- by the Law in this new world context.

We understand by Law, not only positive law stemmed from the authority of the State of the country, but also the language in which the laws of the conscience of the legal community express, that is, the sentences of their courts, the daily practices of the lawyers, the discourses given in universities, the legal doctrine. In these terms, the

Law is not, beyond doubt, homogeneous; but the provisory result –more or less foreseen- of the violence exercised by the power in its search for the legitimation of its domination, permanently haunted by other counter-hegemonic forms which seek to modify it, and are a product of the constant pressure and struggle of the popular movements and alter-globalization opinions looking for dignity and social justice.

The challenge to find a new economic paradigm which ends social exclusion is not only, not even mainly, the task of the jurists. However, I believe that it should be one of their main concerns to strengthen the jurisdictional mechanisms and actions which guarantee the effectiveness of the economic, social and cultural rights.

In the first place, it is necessary to organize a legal and political framework which allows for the reconstruction of the State, which during 200 years had embodied the historical project of each nation. The form of the State continues to be the most important modality of resistance against the coalition of financial forces which take over the world.

At the level of the international law, a series of counter-hegemonic proposals were advanced by the Sub-Commission of Human Rights of the United Nations in 1977. It is indispensable to create formal mechanisms which can attack, from the legal standpoint the practices which originate the violations of economic, social and cultural rights: external debt, structural settings, corruption, money laundry, fraudulent actions of the multinationals, exploitation of illegal work, tax evasion. One of the possible strategies would be the punishment of the authors of these outrages, being individuals, groups, corporations or States, both at the international and local legislation level. These behaviours which sentence to hunger, malnourishment, infectious and contagious diseases to millions of persons in the world should fall under international jurisdiction and punished as “genocide” and as “crimes against humanity”, and thus exclude the application of the “statutory limitations”.

Further, in the realm of the States and the international community new judicial actions of the rights of the citizens have emerged,

new figures as the Ombudsman, the acceptance of NGOs as active subject of the international community, the creation of the Criminal Court of The Hague.

In the national sphere, it will be necessary to commit to the creation of networks which allow for a better access to justice of the most vulnerable sectors. One of the possibilities is through judicial decisions. In Argentina, we can find few paradigmatic decisions in the last years, for example the one issued by the Minors Tribunal of the City of Cordoba, the one issued by the Tribunal of the City of Parana, whereby through the resolution of an action filed, the judges condemned the provincial State to guarantee proper housing for a family group and the deliver of food in the other case; both decisions were justified by the application of the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. It is necessary to resort to formal legal decisions where things were never changed due to lack of possibility or lack of will.

It is crucial that these critics put forward from different fields begin to take root in the conscience of the peoples, so they can chose new paths, participate in different instances where the problems are discussed and propose new actions in the context of the legitimacy held by the discourse of the human rights.

I finish by paraphrasing the words of Jacques Derrida in one of his last public appearances, on the 50^o anniversary of the *Le Monde Diplomatique* (May 8th, 2004), talking about human rights “...*This is my dream. I thank you not only for helping me to dream this dream, to dream that ‘another world is possible’, but for giving us the strength to make everything so that it is effectively possible. Thousand of millions of men and women in the world share this dream. Slowly, with the pains and efforts of labour, they will give birth one day, one beautiful day*”.

Gypsies⁸⁰

Talking about the constitution of a “cultural identity”⁸¹, and the belonging to a people, stringed together by a parallel national filiation⁸², in the context of this work would imply deepening into several obvious things and even soaking into certain redundancies. In our research, we have quickly perceived that in as much as their self-perception as Gypsies, many of the members of the community cannot leave aside the simultaneous recognition as Argentineans. We understand that this union shall be the guiding principle of our new article.

Examining the scarce bibliography on the Gypsy community in Argentina and particularly when beginning the field research, we have been able to ratify one of the first clarifications done by Angus Fraser⁸³ which is the impossibility of referring to the Gypsy in particular, because it is necessary to do so in plural, respecting the own diversity presented by the people in its interior. In this line, we must affirm that the present report, due to its extension and limitations, does not seek to carry out an all-embracing analysis of the particular problems and characteristics concerning each group currently present in Argentina and in the city of Buenos Aires (and its surroundings), although it assumes and ratifies their existence. It is estimated that the current Gypsy population in our country approximately ascends to 50.000 persons, and that a twenty percent of that amount is geographically located in the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires.

⁸⁰ This section was elaborated by Mr. Pablo Schencman.

⁸¹ Briefly, we can say that by “cultural identity” we understand the elaboration of a collective being considered as “one’s own” from the similarities appraised in the pear and the differences regarding other cultures. Both parameters are traced in an arbitrary way and are vary throughout time, however, only the existence of an “other” different from “us” is a basic condition for this inter-subjective mechanism to occur. On the subject, we suggest the following bibliography: **Anderson, Benedict**, *Imagined Communities*, Verso, Londres, 1991; and **Bourdieu Pierre**, “L’identité et la représentation. Eléments pour une réflexion critique sur l’idée de région”, *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, Nov. 1980, N° 35.

⁸² Later we will see whether this link becomes problematic.

⁸³ Fraser, Angus, *Los Gitanos*, [The Gypsies] Editorial Ariel, Barcelona, 2005.

To start, we must mention (and then analyze) the main difficulty we have encountered when investigating the discriminatory attitudes towards the Gypsy population during 2006. The obstacle I am talking about is the lack of complaints that the members of this people have brought before the competent national and provincial organisms. This attitude is far from being shocking or surprising for certain representatives of the local community and that corresponds to a common characteristic of the Gypsy people as citizens of the world. Most of the tales on the genesis of this people locate it in the exit from India towards the Tenth Century. That alleged choice between exile and conservation of their own life⁸⁴ forced them to a nomad destiny which with the passing of time has become a distinctive and identifying characteristic of the Gypsies as a people. Throughout their history, the Gypsies travelled between lands which were not yet labelled as continents, much less as countries. Let us focus on the term “to travel” as oppose to the term “to roam”, since Gipsy authors such as Jorge Bernal, hold that a good part of that transit responds to the perpetual search they perform looking for a “topos”, where they are welcomed and fully accepted. Jorge Nedich argues that part of the Gipsy essence (we request the approval of the reader for not detailing and deepening this term) is more constituted than influenced by this nomadism. Even if it first functioned as a self-defence mechanism, it then turned into a fundamental pillar of this people. In an opinion article published recently in the newspaper La Nación⁸⁵ it was argued that the idea of a Gypsy Nation State⁸⁶ entails a serious contradiction with the own characteristics of this people and would lead to a situation of complex and uncertain resolution: *“The gap existing between the associations and its alphabetized members and a people which still maintains the traces of a millenary culture based on orality and nomadism, for instance, is rather wide. Therefore, the communication between*

⁸⁴ This is a false dichotomy in as much as it must firstly be denounced as a territorial expulsion and then recognize a violent and non-voluntary origin in the roaming of the Gipsy people.

⁸⁵ Nedich, Jorge, “Gitanos, una nación sin tierra” [“Gypsies, a Nation with no land”], in La Nación April 8th, 2006. P. 29.

⁸⁶ We take this term just as the sociology Max Weber defines it in his famous work Economy and Society

*both sectors is complex. The task of dissemination is troubled and the entrance into the bureaucratic system of the modern world intimidates and produces suspicions of all types*⁸⁷.

Within this frame of discourses which transits between the personal identity and collective identity⁸⁸, we must incorporate a problem endured by the Argentinean Gypsies. We refer to the violence suffered by children at the beginning of their schooling process and the subsequent desertion brought about by such mistreatment. That ominous maximums of considering the student as a “*tabula rasa*” is part of a didactic paradigm which is currently on its way to oblivion. However, a good part of the Gypsy children were submitted to cruel punishments during the first years of study and their perseverance and constancy are what at the end of the day, keep them “on track”, without any stimulus or positive appraisal for what the children “*bring from their homes*”. On the subject, Nedich adds: “*We must not confuse oral culture with illiteracy, since the children receive oral education from their parents, and especially, their grandparents. Illiteracy is, however, a scourge suffered by an individual who is excluded and has lost his or her category as citizen due to the deficiencies of the system. In the past, all curtailments done to the Gypsy people have been carried out through State institutions which, through alleged integration plans, incurred into mistreatment or, in the worst cases, in persecutions and deaths in bulk*”⁸⁹. Continuing with the educative aspect, it is worth highlighting that the intervention of the philosopher Esteban Ierardo in the context of the round table: “*Racisms on the divan in the country of oblivion X*” organized by the Foundation Psychoanalytic Centre which titled the meeting “*The Genocide of the Gypsy People*”⁹⁰. There, the intellectual read a beautiful story of creationist nature (similar to the

⁸⁷ Nedich, Jorge, Idem Note N° 5.

⁸⁸ Understood in terms of connection with a common origin or also as a “Nation lacking a territory”, but with an authority in the interior of a supranational space to debate in equal conditions with other States.

⁸⁹ Nedich, Jorge, Idem Note N° 5.

⁹⁰ It took place in the institution mentioned on June 18th 2002.

one found in the Torah) which narrates the emergence of the Gypsy population cohabitating with the other beings of the planet. During such dissertation, Gerardo particularly underlined the importance the inter-relation has, and had, for the Gypsy life, not only in their role as tradesmen⁹¹ but also in the literary and musical sphere. All characteristic Gypsy poetry has become before the *gadz'é*⁹² eyes, a series of sophistries and contrivances looking to commit a swindle and to gain an advantage, which without a doubt, is an ill-intended prejudice filled with xenophobia. Ierardo also emphasizes that the role of those who are not tied or circumscribed to an only territory and prefer (although they do not always chose) to walk, joining diverse ethics or cultures together, can function as a metaphor of the wise man or the teacher. He or she who learns from everybody and transmits his or her knowledge contributes to improving the life of those far away from certain knowledge.

In the antipodes of this respect and valuation of the *otherness*, but also surreptitiously connected to what has been expressed up to now, we must briefly outline one of the concrete discriminatory situations which transcended to the written media. In its edition of November 29th 2006, the newspaper La Prensa published the following article: "*Gypsies are banned from entering a supermarket*". That succinct text described that a tradesman of the province of Neuquen on the 11th of the same month, prevented the entrance of Gabriela y Silvia Miguel arguing –according to the media- that "*he was tired of bring robbed*". Without any line which might suggest indignation (or surprise) of the responsible journalist in the face of this outrage, he limited himself to mention that the injured parties filed a complaint before the INADI. The most interesting part, in our opinion, contributed by the news, appears by the end of the article, when it is said that the older sister of the injured persons (called Karina Miguel) was able to enter the establishment without any trouble. According to the article, Karina is a lawyer and does not wear the typi-

⁹¹ Always associated thereto to the point of turning it into a stigma, with vehicles and cars.

⁹² It refers to those who are not part of the Gypsy community.

cal Gypsy outfit, which is worn but her two younger sisters. We can then join both questions: the racist and xenophobic prejudice is related to those visible aspects of a stigmatized people and culture, and those members of the community who respect those habits. Whereas that on the other hand, those members who persevered in their efforts within the formal education, who adopt from the external side a façade closer to the common denominator, do not suffer that denigrating discrimination.

Therefore, and in order to analyze the above-mentioned aspect, the imaginary place where the conformation of a personal identity converges with a specific legacy (communal and different)⁹³, we will extensively quote Angus Fraser: *“The great amplitude of the ethno-linguistic diversity is reflected and crossed by transformations all aspects of contemporary Gypsy life, affected by the changes in its relation with the society surrounding it, either in the growth of its population and the increasing shortage of land, the sedentarization, the need to live near the gadžé, the motorized transportation, the industrialization, or the fluctuations of income opportunities. The disappearance of the Gypsy society has been frequently foretold: the fact that the language, the customs, the traditions and the entire way of life are in constant change and adopting elements from other societies are regarded as signs of decadence. A group differentiates it from another one because the influences stem from different groups of gadžé; however, each one is the product of a general tradition of social, geographic and professional adaptability. Some can be absorbed in the end, but many manage to retain a radical feeling of difference with respect to the gadžé and build typically Gypsy cultures from what they have absorbed. The old decorations and customs are gradually disappearing –as when the Kalderash women abandoned the colourful handkerchief of their heads, or the Lovara women who no longer wear those picturesque long skirts- but this does not destroy or diminish the feeling of difference, it does not matter how much the other Kalderash and Lo-*

⁹³ Although, following José Esteban Garay and Gabriel Conti, the Gypsy culture had a significant effect on the origins of tango in our country.

*vara consider those disappearances as signs of degeneration, or even if the gadžo thinks that the most authentic Gypsies should be the most exotic ones*⁹⁴.

As we can see, it is practically impossible, or an ill-intended mistake, to generalize about Gypsies, since they keep many differences themselves, depending of the road traced by their ancestors. This characteristic refers, in its underpinnings, if I may say so, to most of the travel stories we know through the literary pages. If we simply take the case of Ulysses and his Odyssey (schematically speaking) we observe a group within the general group of the Greeks whose religious practices⁹⁵ differ from the rest and force them into a long journey. What matters are not the circumstantial obstacles which Ulysses and his crew must overcome, but the return and reunification. However, that becomes impossible because the consequences of the road taken will surpass the intellectual plane. That is to say, while a new personal identity was forged (in the heat of the navigation), new differences were also emerging between those who formed the “us” and those who shall be banished from that trust⁹⁶.

Those peculiarities, but circumscribed to the religious element, are analyzed by Angus Fraser who asserts: *“Religion is another sphere where the Gypsies reflect the gadžo world surrounding them. They have tended to accept the religions of the countries where they have lived during some time. Thus, there are Catholic Gypsies, various types of Protestant and Orthodox Gypsies, and also in the Islamic world and in those parts of the South East of Europe where not so long ago the Ottomans ruled, there are large amounts of Muslim Gypsies. Everywhere they are accused of lack of true piousness, in the same way that they were first labelled as “pagans” and “tartars”. Although too much emphasis is placed on this alleged indifference, certain eclecti-*

⁹⁴ Fraser, Angus, *Los Gitanos*, [The Gypsies] Editorial Ariel, Barcelona, 2005. P. 303-4. The italics belong to the author.

⁹⁵ Let us recall the war of Troy, Ulysses and his group chose not to practice a gratitude ritual as they were supposed to.

⁹⁶ We should take into account that, even if we should not examine it from its literality, Ulysses shall kill Penelope’s suitors, many of whom were old friends and arm partners.

cism might exist concerning the Gypsy beliefs and practices. Muslim Gypsies of Bulgaria do not mind celebrating Saint George's Day as the Orthodox Gypsies do or painting eggs so they bring good fortune close to Easter"⁹⁷.

Coming back to a more contemporaneous and local plane, Jorge Nedich indicates other angles which lead to these differences: *"Another problem awaiting a prompt resolution is the lack of cohesion among the diverse groups forming this nation, which only after 24 years of the international recognition, without a strong representation –except from Europe– and with its members spread throughout the world, suffers from lack of unity. Achieving a neat front does not seem, as for now, like a simple task. From the multiplicity of groups emerge strong political struggles which usher in strong inner struggles for the spaces of power. The lack of a strong delimitation of those spaces culminated in the loss of the only Gypsy representative present at the United Nations".* That lack of cohesion is particularly problematic due to what the author said next: *"In Argentina, there are no association which demand the rights of the local Gypsies, nor is there any social work destined to these Argentinean and Gipsy citizens. It is a population which has never been censused in the country. There is no information about what percentage of the children attends public schools, and there are no social plans which include the group among its objectives. There are no educative plans which promote a greater social insertion and lower the antagonism".*

On the basis of what has been said, and trying not to extend ourselves more than what is necessary, it is worth pointing out that from these pages, we cannot take any other attitude but to fight for a prompt formation of new associations promoting the protection of the Gypsies from the mistreatments they endure on the part of the Argentinean population and on the part of the Argentinean State organisms.

⁹⁷ Fraser, Angus, *Los Gitanos*, [The Gypsies] Editorial Ariel, Barcelona, 2005. P. 311. The italics belong to the author.

Physical Appearance⁹⁸

In this next article we will develop the basic conceptions of the notion of discrimination, focusing on a especial type thereof which these last years has grown considerably, that is, discrimination of the basis of the physical appearance.

There are many types of discrimination which we can find today in our country. We understand by discrimination “...*every distinction, exclusion or restriction which, based on the ethnic or national origin, sex, age, disability, social or economic condition, health, pregnancy, mother tongue. Religion, opinions, sexual preferences, civil status, or any other one, which has the effect of impeding or annulling the recognition or the exercise of the rights and real equality of opportunities of people ...*”⁹⁹ Thus, we can state that discrimination, as a subjective dimension of the exclusion, is a behaviour sometimes culturally standardized of social despise towards a group or an individual to whom social stigma has been adhered. In this sense, it is not simply about differentiating or setting aside, but the term refers to the concrete consequences entailed by the *limitation of rights and opportunities*. Many intellectuals locate here the dividing line between discriminatory and non-discriminatory acts. Opinions about a determinate social exitism, about beauty or certain behaviours, can respond to judgments of bad taste, ethically arguable, without them being discriminatory acts.

Nonetheless, daily practices redefine this concept, adding modern forms of exclusion, as the differentiation on the basis of economic, workers' union, and physical appearance among others. In this context, free expression ceases to be so when it stimulates, drags and leads to act against rights and equality of others.

Many complaints were received during 2006 by the INADI. Concerning physical appearance, we can mention cases of exclusion from the Police on the basis of short stature, the differentiation on the basis

⁹⁸ This section was elaborated by Mr. Nicolás Falcone.

⁹⁹ Zepeda, Jesús Enrique. “*Qué es la discriminación y cómo combatirla*”. [What is discrimination and how to combat it] Cuadernos de la igualdad, 2. CO-NAPRED. México. 2004. P. 6.

of the skin colour and obesity. Further, we find the case of the killing of a young man at the door of a night club, after being rejected due to his social condition.

In order to develop this topic, it is accurate to relate the concept of discrimination to cultural practices of our society.

Culture, and above all, domination, is reproduced through the language. When we observe this type of abhorrent events, we must comprehend that they are not islands in the middle of an ocean, but are grounded on long-term historical roots, which implies that any policy against discrimination must fight against it as an inexcusable condition for success.

If we examine the problem of discrimination from the standpoint of its firmly established cultural roots, we cannot ignore the way in which these prejudices have been –and are being– solidified from a certain political culture. As Ludolfo Paramio¹⁰⁰ mentions, they are the *central core of meaning*, from where the signification of ideology and the situation is reassigned, where we should stand in order to carry out an accurate prognosis. Therefore, the political culture is presented to us as the result of a combined action of the different socialization apparatus which intervene in the life of an individual. From the family, channel where the first social prejudices are built and where they find their more lasting support, passing through the school formation, where the basic notions about respect and coexistence with the other are established, until reaching the media, where the stereotype reproduced will depend on the intentionality.

Our country is no strange to having a culture with a tendency to differentiate and exclude. We can see many times that as a part of the daily language we use phrases such as “fatso, Bolivians, cumbieros¹⁰¹, blacks, villeros¹⁰², perucas¹⁰³, etc.” in a clear pejorative way, forming part of the common sense of our society. Thus, backed by stereotypes

¹⁰⁰ Ludolfo Paramio, *Tras el diluvio. La izquierda ante el fin de siglo* [After the deluge. The Left before the end of the century], 2^a ed., Siglo XXI Editores, México DF, 1988.

¹⁰¹ N. of T.: this term refers to people who listen to cumbia, a type of music usually listened by those who live in poor neighbourhoods.

¹⁰² N. of T.: this term refers to people who live in the so-called slums.

¹⁰³ N. of T.: this is a pejorative term which refers to Peruvians.

socially created and transmitted, the exclusion seeks to show inequalities as mere derivations of nature and not as a cultural construction.

Some cases

In accordance to statistics¹⁰⁴ provided by the INADI, in the period between January and November 2006, there were six complaints about physical appearance filed before the institute, which over a total of 186 cases represents the 3,23%, being discrimination on the basis of disability (34 cases) one of the most denounced grounds during 2006. We must make clear that there could have been more acts of discrimination that did not acquire the character of a complaint for not fulfilling all the requisites it demands.

Cases concerning Armed and Security Forces. The first case involves a 27 year old lawyer who claimed that Gendarmerie rejected her job application due to the fact that her stature was inferior to the one established in the regulations of the institution. The claimant, whose family has been traditionally linked to the Gendarmerie, applied for a job in the legal department of the force. At the time of the physical revision, she was taken aback when told that she did not have the stature requested by the regulations. The doctor clearly said *“that she was short and being Gendarmerie personnel, she would have to participate in the parades and it will not look good”*¹⁰⁵. She did not hesitate for a moment about filing the complaint for discrimination and abuse of authority before the Federal Justice. Even if the authorities of the Ministry of Interior denied that these requisites are demanded and offered to give her the job, she turned it down and continued with the accusation.

Also during that same year, former private Terraza denounced that he was discriminated by the Argentinean Navy on the grounds of

¹⁰⁴ Statistics provided by INADI. They belong to complaints filed between 01/01/2006 and 30/11/2006. In September of that year, Ms. María José Lubertino took over a president of that institute. From that moment, there are new statistics attached as annex, but they only refer to the months between September and December.

¹⁰⁵ Clarín Newspaper. 19/08/2006.

obesity. The claimant suffered since 2002 humiliation from his superiors, who did not take into account his disease and signed his release, leaving him with not health system to treat his morbid obesity. His case was taken by Eduardo Mondino –National Ombudsman – who declared that *“it was an affront to the right to equality ... this discriminatory and abandonment act is surprising. Despite his irreproachable military career, he was humiliated and left with no medical cover or support to face this injustice he has to go through ...”*¹⁰⁶. Only this year, the complaint was taken by the Defence Minister Nilda Garré, who is not pushing a military reform.

This type of discrimination on the basis of obesity is repeated daily on the street, the working places and also in public spaces. When aspects such as slimness or beauty are placed above the individual, those who do not fit into the ideal canons, are labelled as different and segregated. Moreover, the younger ones are not only victims of discrimination, but they are also participants thereof. Generally, at school, at the club or at entertaining spaces, obese children are set aside or are the target of mockeries from the rest.

The above-mentioned complaints are clearly discriminatory acts; what is more surprising is their relation with the legality and customs. That is to say, not only should we condemn these practices, but also the fact that many of them –as the case of the Armed Forces- are back by norms and internal regulations. According to what the aspiring candidates say, one of the requisites to enter is to fill in certain forms declaring the age, political affiliation, club, mutual society, religion, among others.

Another case with public transcendence during this year concerned the religion professed by the wife of the claimant. In the province of Santa Fe, an agent of the Special Operations Group denounced the deputy sheriff of the force for treating him in a pejorative way due to the colour of his skin. Phrases as *“you f...black”*, *“the blacks are fusibles”* and anti-Semitic allusions in relation to his wife as *“if Hitler had been here, your family would have not been here today...”*¹⁰⁷ were addressed to him in many opportunities by the deputy sheriff.

¹⁰⁶ Ídem.

¹⁰⁷ Newspaper UNO from Santa Fe. September 27th 2006.

A type of violence which grows. Lastly, we are going to refer to a form of discrimination which has grown in giant steps in our country, both in terms of the complaints and regarding the violence with which is exercised. We are referring to the discrimination suffered by many young people from early age at the doors of the nightclubs, bars or recreation places. It is generally related to the physical appearance. To the alleged lists of “enrolled people” to enter the establishment which circulate by email, the random and *in situ* selection done by the person in charge, “patovica” o the Public Relations agent of the place should be added. Arbitrary criteria related to clothes, colour of the skin, manner of speaking, physical condition, etc. are applied. Thus, different prices are set according to the person who wishes to enter, once and again we hear “*you don’t get in, the club is full*”. As the slogan S.O.S. Discrimination¹⁰⁸ tells us, “...*the persons with dark skin or belonging to a low social class are not allowed into many places simple due to appearance of the face and are only recruited for cleaning jobs ...*”¹⁰⁹, these facts are repeated daily. Not only when searching for a job, but also when trying to enter a nightclub, the security workers arrogate the licence to handle themselves with almost criminal-like attitudes, using methods going from incredible excuses to physical attacks which might lead to death.

The case of the 20 year-old young man beat to death by the bouncers (“patovicas”) -Martín Castellucci- at a night club located in Lanus, province of Buenos Aires (*La Casona*) is a regrettable and tragic example of these frequently repeated situations. As the president of the Association for the Defence of the Rights of the Customers and Consumers explains “...*in the South of the outskirts of the city this is something habitual and natural. Most of the clubs discriminate and show authority through violence. We receive many complaints and we talk to the mayors, police stations and prosecution offices, but we are not listened...*”¹¹⁰. There are more cases of abuse of power and discrimination which occurred at the same night club: a fifteen year

¹⁰⁸ World organization presided by Nelson Mandela.

¹⁰⁹ Newspaper La Nación, 27/03/2006.

¹¹⁰ Newspaper Clarín. 22/12/2006.

old girl denounced before the Association that she was not allowed to go in because she was “*dark*”. After several damages at the club in Lanus caused by friends and families of the victim, the mayor ordered (Decree 2218) the definite close down and the caducity of the authorization of the establishment, ordering the arrest of the responsible of the security the night of the murder. We must conclude that these are not isolated facts, and that once and again the cases of aggression are reiterated: fractured ribs, broken jaws and touched girls are just some examples.

We consider that the solution to this type of violations of the right to equality is a problem requiring a strong commitment on the part of the State on the education of rights. It is a task to which we all should commit for the construction of a more egalitarian structure and for the abandonment of the authoritarian and anti-democratic customs which we see reproduced daily.

An issue for the legality and the non-fulfilment

As we said before, discrimination is linked to the own cultural usages of a country. Thus, many social prejudices become a constituent part of the common language and begin to transform into stereotypes about certain groups or individuals. This belongs to a “*representation which assigns a set of beliefs to the members of a group. It can be visual (ways of dressing) or auditives (tones of the voice and accent). They find its path in the mass media, particularly in the entertaining TV shows because they are easily identified by the audience, which does not need to make great efforts or stay focus for a long time in order to understand them. It is normal that we opt for stereotypes for ourselves, due to social pressures or the willing to identify with certain group ...*”¹¹¹.

When this happen and the exclusion becomes part of the daily life, the so-called *positive sanctions* begin to enter the scene, with the object of disciplining the behaviours which cannot change by themselves. In this sense, the fundamental part of a policy against discrimi-

¹¹¹ Islas Azais, Héctor. “*Lenguaje y discriminación.*”[*Language and discrimination*] Cuadernos de la Igualdad, 4. CONAPRED. Mexico. 2005. P. 10.

nation should be the harmony between legal measures prohibiting and punishing concrete acts of discrimination and the application of compensatory rules against the discriminated collectives.

Throughout the years, our country has progressed in terms of legislation against discrimination. Not only the regulation of article 16 of the National Constitution, but also and more specifically Law 23.592 approved in 1988, whose goal was “...to fight discriminatory acts of omissions on the basis of race, religion, nationality, ideology, sex, etc...”¹¹².

Another example is the Law of Sizes, approved in the Province of Buenos Aires last year. After many changes and the modification of its original text, it was published in the Official Gazette as Provincial Law 12.665 which regulates the existence of stock in all sizes at the women’s clothing stores. This law was rejected by the textile industry, which accused it of increasing the costs of production due to the need to produce every model in every size.

Even if we consider that this law not only helps combating the discrimination on obesity grounds, but it also combats diseases as bulimia or anorexia, it leaves many legal holes because it only deals with women’s clothes.

Now, we observe that many times these norms are not respected in the daily life. One of the most meaningful examples can be found in article 4¹¹³ of the Anti-Discrimination Law, which sets forth the mandatory exhibition of a sign at the door of night clubs, recreation places, bars, restaurants and other places of public access with the text of article 16 of the National Constitution. Furthermore, the said text must include the phrase that in the face of any discriminatory act, the injured party can resort to the acting authority, who is obliged to receive the complaint.

Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to observe that this norm not only is not respected in the majority of the places in the country, but its existence is also ignored by many citizens. As we stat-

¹¹² See *Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina 2005*. CES-DAIA, Buenos Aires, 2006. P. 24.

¹¹³ Incorporated through Law 24.782.

ed early, to some extent, it is the media who have the task of reproducing these behaviours, leaving only the question –also important– of the fact of whether a night club is habilitated or not, or whether the guilt of the discrimination lies on the bouncers (“patovicas”) or the doorman of a night club

Another concept present in common sense is the *right of admission*. As Dr. Osvaldo Bassano¹¹⁴ told us on the phone, even if there is not specific law regulating it, this right is present within the right to property, i.e. a proprietor can exercise it against those who might undermine his or her property or those who affect his or her commercial undertaking. To put it in a more technical way “...we should interpret it in a broad sense; i.e. as the faculty of the State and the particulars to limit or curtail the access of permanence of the people in a certain place, service, activity or legal status.”¹¹⁵ We should observe that in no way can this right be exercised in an arbitrary manner, but only in response to incidents which so justify it, besides, under no circumstances can it be exercised against the National Constitution and the Anti-Discrimination Law. On this subject, there is a broad bibliography which explicitly details the range of this right at the State and/or private level.

As we said before, believing that the proprietor has the right to do what he or she wishes within his or her property, even breaching the right to equality in the face of others is another one of the still existing myths.

To conclude, we would like to indicate that even if the modernization, industrialization, urbanizing process and the social changes which took place since the beginning of the century showed signs of turning their back to the segregationist tendencies, nowadays it is possible to observe that this direction has reverted. Globalization, which tended to homogenize distances and “relocate” the local, together with the crisis of the modernity, generated once again new and

¹¹⁴ President of the Association for the Defense of the Rights of the Customers and Consumers (ADUCC)

¹¹⁵ Slonimski, Pablo. *Derecho de admisión.[Right of admisión]* FD Editor, Buenos Aires, 2006. P. 19.

more varied forms of discrimination added to the already known ethnic and racial prejudice

The discussion around ways of fighting these types of violence and discriminatory acts should have as a basis a self-critic thinking from the society itself. We must retake the idea that we, ourselves, are a constitutive part of the historical development.

This should not be a minor subject, as many intellectuals indicate, it is not casual that when in a society fear and insecurity prevail, or when people see their life style threatened, groups clearly identified are pointed as escape goats to take the blame. Crises like the ones occurred throughout the history of our country have marked our culture which has shown signs of intolerance every time it was tested.

In the same way, we do not consider that the question is only cultural or social, but that the role of the State should also be discussed. It is not only about identifying a culprit as a “discriminating agent”, but also about being aware of the consequences of these acts. An idea of equality cannot be generated when not everybody has access to the same rights, or when inequality generated by the economy is not solved by a socially active State.

On the other hand, we observe that an empty space between national policies and the local sphere exists. Many times the controls are not effective because at a municipal level, most of those attitudes belong to the daily life and the public officials do not know or ignore the policies to counteract them. Many of the persons interviewed who live in different points of the Greater Buenos Aires, have said that when they approach the police stations or judicial agencies to file their complaints, they are treated differently and in many opportunities there is a doubt about the type of complaint.

In the beginning of the XXth century, Antonio Gramsci told us that every political transformation is always preceded by cultural transformation capable of changing common sense. And the obviously, these modifications do not have another way of being resolved but through the socialization apparatus which, in his words, he called “hegemony apparatus”.

The struggle against discrimination must join political and social principles with the legal ones. On the one hand, the prohibition of certain despising behaviours towards a certain feature of a person or a group should be guaranteed, and on the other hand, the legal action to compensate these disadvantageous situations must also be guaranteed. Should any of those two be absent, either there would be a danger of dividing the society through a minority law, or there would be a danger of leaving intact the situation of vulnerability of a determinate group.

We consider that the solution of these types of violations of right to equality is a problem requiring a strong commitment on the part of the State in the education of the rights. Building a social structure based on equity and respect to the differences is a task to which we should all commit, as well as fighting for the abandonment of authoritarian and anti-democratic customs we reproduce daily in our society.

HIV¹¹⁶

Discrimination in the working place

Labour discrimination is a recently described phenomenon and can emerge in a variety of situations related to the working place.

At first glance, labour opportunities are equal for everybody, that is, there are no specific rules preventing certain groups from accessing determinate tasks (except the ones that are explicit as jobs for minors or for people with different capabilities), however; if one observes the reality, one concludes that certain groups mainly occupy certain posts and other groups are the exception.

Suffice to observe the government's cabinets plagued with men as most of the senior posts of the companies. Recently, a newspaper published an article on the only three women who work as directors of public hospitals among the 33 which exist in the City of Buenos Aires. These are examples of a kind of discrimination: discrimination on the basis of genre, which has its particular features. The readers

¹¹⁶ This section was elaborated by Mr. Leonardo Perelis.

will remember that a few years ago the Quota Law was passed to be applied on the parties' lists of representatives and senators for the elections. Why is it necessary to pass a law which "allows what is not forbidden"? Because social dynamics provoked that a certain group be more vulnerable than another, just for cultural custom; therefore, in order to protect those vulnerable groups it is necessary to legislate until culture, which transforms slowly, adapts itself to social changes.

Discrimination presents itself in two forms: a direct form which is, as we said before, explicit and forbids certain groups on the basis of age, genre or social condition. The second form is indirect discrimination, and occurs in the daily practices, in the attitudes and in the ways of regarding us as a society.

The risk of this type of discrimination is that it generates and installs in a cultural way, backed, most of the times, by prejudices and lack of information, and thus, fighting it requires different kinds of efforts.

In this context, labour discrimination on the grounds of HIV infection is becoming more evident. Even if official statistics are scarce and there is an important sub-registry due to the nature of the situation, the Centre of Complaints of the NGO's Forum fighting discrimination registers the following data: out of the 2173 complaints received between February 2004 and February 2005 in the Capital City and the Greater Buenos Aires, 589 (27.1%) relate to the working world. In this universe, HIV/AIDS continues to top, as in previous years, the statistics (39.89%), followed by disability (29.20%), nationality (12.56%), physical aspect (11.71%) and genre (6.64%).

Somebody, "a priori" could think that deciding not to hire a "sick person" is a rational motivation.

"One of the most important impediments to develop effective strategies to fight the pandemic is the stigma related to HIV and the discrimination it entails. The stigma and discrimination prevail in the communities, inside the families, the media, in the sup-

*pliers of health services and in the payroll. The stigma and discrimination represent a wall in front of an efficient fight against the HIV spread and its impact. The stigma generates fear and hiding; as well as an important barrier to carry out the prevention and treatment efforts”.*¹¹⁷

One of the effects caused by discrimination on HIV basis and the “*refuse to know anything about the topic*” is the ignorance about the advances of the last ten years in the treatment of HIV infection and the significant reduction of the charge of the disease and of deaths that the antiretroviral of high efficacy has produced in persons living with HIV.

Nowadays in Argentina, a person living with HIV can be treated free of charge and in an efficient manner so he or she can lead a life free of the disease for many years.

However, the fear and disinformation continue to dominate the scene concerning these issues.

It is interesting to know what happened in countries where this issue was not dealt with and document information was undervalued.

According to the ILO (International Labour Organization), the underrating of the information about the economic and social consequences on AIDS affected the developing countries¹¹⁸. “*The effects of the pandemic in the social and economic life take forms which are up to now unknown*”, declared Franklyn Lisk, director of the ILO Programme about HIV/AIDS and the World of Labour. “*The main socio-economic consequences of HIV/AIDS are observed in the great losses suffered by the working force and the level and orientation of the savings and investments. Everything presages an enormous humanitarian catastrophe of terrible economic and social consequences*”.

¹¹⁷ Report corporative survey Mexico 2004. AIDS Responsibility Project. Reduction of Stigma Programme. <http://www.aidsresponsibility.org/news/Encuesta-Corporativa2004.pdf>.

¹¹⁸ Desmond Cohen: “*Human capital and the HIV pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa*”, Working document ILO/AIDS núm. 2, Geneva, 2002. ISBN 92-2-113238-2.

The report presented by the ILO takes several main conclusions from the study:

- The pandemic is mining the capacity of development, by reducing the labour reserves, the savings rate, the national security and social cohesion ... The problem will be more serious in the countries where the infection rates are higher in certain social and professional categories.
- The health and education sectors will suffer directly the same problems linked to the substitution of the working force and the professional qualifications which other sectors go through.
- AIDS is hampering men and women from contributing fully to the development, maintenance of the family structure and the continuation of the productive long-term capacity.
- The pandemic is also undermining the saving capacity of the families, the companies –formal or informal- and of the governments by directly influencing the rent flux and the expenditure levels. With time, this will translate into a fall of the demand, a reduction of the investments, of the production and of the “per capital” income. Governments are not able to adapt or modify their five-year development plans in order to consider the losses in terms of working force and professional competencies.¹¹⁹

It is clear that “... Nowadays, one of the most serious threats in the world is the HIV/AIDS pandemic. AIDS is not only a grave threat to public health with 20 million deaths worldwide- but also represents an economic threat for the growth of the industries and corporations which are recognizing and facing it a little more...”¹²⁰

What can we do from our place to modify this situation?

¹¹⁹ Even if the report describes the situation of the Sub-Saharan African region, where HIV destroyed the economically active populations, the pandemic did not destroy the Latin-American economy, but increased the amount of new infection per year and the difficulties in carrying out effective programmes in Latin-America, causing the need to be particularly careful with the measures taken.

¹²⁰ Report Corporative Survey. Op.Cit.

There are several proposals from companies and organizations aiming at the person living with HIV to keep his or her post and this situation be regarded as an opportunity for change in the companies. It has been shown that per one economically active person suffering the consequences of AIDS, the quality of life of 5 persons close to him or her worsens.

Let us see some examples: according to a survey carried out in Mexico by AIDS Responsibility Project, an American NGO which develops a project seeking to reduce the HIV stigma, companies such as Federal Express, Banamex, 3M, Merck Sharpe & Dohme, Pepsico and Eli Lilly maintain specific policies of prohibition of discrimination of people living with HIV and carry out prevention and educative programmes for their employees and their families.

Out of the 20 consulted companies, all of them belonging to a multinational company located in Latin-American countries, 100% replied that they would not end the working relation with an employee for informing his or her health condition and 14 have specific policies on grave diseases or disability in the working space.

What can a company do to take care of its employees with declared prognosis or not, and favour the fight against AIDS?

1. Have specific policies about grave diseases or disability in the working space.
2. Have specific policies concerning HIV/AIDS; in the working spaces (materials or activities which do not generate extra costs for the companies, such as: providing informative texts for the employees, facilitating spaces for informative talks, join an NGO working on AIDS so it can perform these tasks).
3. Offer some kind of training at the management level on specific policies regarding HIV/AIDS.
4. Offer or facilitate educative materials, courses or activities for the families of the employees, related to health (some reference to HIV/AIDS).

5. Offer the employees courses or talks about HIV/AIDS; and, according to the characteristics of the company, these courses or talks should include aspects related to HIV/AIDS in the working place.
6. Offer from the company the participation in the fomenting of philanthropic activities, such as donations, volunteering, fund-raising or similar.
7. Assess whether for the personnel selection in the company, medical criteria are taken into account and whether these are necessary in relation to the post. (For example, is HIV taken into account? Is it necessary?).
8. Ask itself:
 - Should an applicant for a job declare being HIV positive, will the company reject the application on the basis of such condition?
 - Should an employee inform being HIV positive, will the company terminate the working relation due to such condition?
 - Should an applicant or an employee inform that he or she is infected with HIV, does the company possess a policy to keep this information confidential?
 - Does the company possess a system in the working place to report violations to the confidentiality policy?

Education and the working places become, in the face of the expansion of the pandemic, privileged places for the taking of urgent preventive measures. Today, it is clearer that HIV is not only a public health issue, but a social and economic problem. As part of the society, we should all contribute with viable and possible solutions which enable us to live peacefully, accepting and integrating the differences.

Aside from the data included in the Report of the Corporate Survey of ARP 2004 and the interviews with the managers of the participating companies, reference data were obtained directly from the National HIV Programme of the Office of the White House, United States, from the Health and Human Services Department of the United States, from the National Centre for the Prevention and Control HIV/AIDS/ITS (CENSIDA) in Mexico.

Old Age¹²¹

“Ageism” is a social form of discrimination suffered by old people. This generational ethnocentrism, that is “*the vocation of measuring the differences with the stick of the own culture*”, is similar to what Pierre Clastres refers to when he affirms that even if all cultures have certain degrees of ethnocentrism, “...*only Western culture is ethnocide*”. It would be worth reflecting on which are the discrimination modes we use with our others generationals to become carriers of an ethnocide culture.

One of them is the vacancy of communication; we are not interested in their modes of sociability or their places, in the recognition of their codes, utopias, knowledge or perceptions. In sum: we are not interested in establishing any bonds with the heterogeneity because we start with the premise that inter-communication is only possible with homogeneity, we have ghettoized our messages and we do not share anything out of our narrow substantial limits.

In this manner, old age is crossed by values and practices assigned to senility, whose only rite of passage is the retirement ceremony, which “renders natural” the difference between the social pedestrians walking through the path of ageing from a symbolic to a real death. The emergence of ageism as a generating and organizing value of systems of cognitive and motivational structures of discrimination against old age is one of the phenomena the current Western society is seeing as a system of exclusion affecting all segments of age structures.

Current gerontologist paradigms

A clear separation between the theories which emerged in the 1960s, such as the theory of non-commitment, of the activity, of the continuity of roles, of the exchange and subculture, with respect to the more recent ones, emerged in the 1980s, is evident. The former have their origin in functionalism and symbolic inter-actionism. The non-explicit intentionality of these theories is the explanation

¹²¹ This section was elaborated by Ms. Liliana Gerkovich. General Coordinator of the Old Age Area- Social Programmes of AMIA.

or facilitation of the old person's social integration, that is to say, the adaptation of the old persons to a changing society. In them, it is clear that social integration of old persons constitutes a social problem.

Nevertheless, we could consider them politically neutral to the extent that they do not contemplate the variable effects of "age" over the economic and social structures. From the 1980s, other theories emerge called theories of "stratification" and "modernization" which do examine the way in which the economic and political framework of a society affects the position of the old person therein.

Thus, five paradigms appear:

1. The integration paradigm: to the extent that social integration is problematic. Families where there are many inter-generational. Future social relations will go beyond the family context and develop chiefly with their peers.
2. Psycho-social adaptation to old age, which is related not only to how the old person is integrated to society, but also how the old person interiorizes and accepts his or her condition.
3. How the succession of "cohorts" is produced (considering that from a cohort of old people to another there are substantial differences), taking as an arbitrary definition of "cohort" a human group born within a period of ten years.
4. The relation of the old person with his or her physical environment.
5. Autonomy and self-determination of old people.

Examples of social discrimination against old age

During 2006, there was a noticeable discriminatory advertising regarding old people which was harshly criticized by the Sub-Secretariats of Human Rights and Promotion and Social Integration of the Government of the City of Buenos Aires.

The publicity in question is the advertising of the "*Banco Frances*". It consists in a series of ads where the man of a young couple imagines the future as an old man with his wife, trying to use certain products they wish for in the present (Jacuzzi, car, video camera) and

imagines that they will not know how to use them because “they are old”, and rushes into taking a loan from the bank in order to acquire those products in the present.

The Sub-Secretariats of Human Rights and Promotion and Social Integration of the City of Buenos Aires sent a letter to the authorities of the Bank.

In the letter, it was indicated that those advertisements use prejudices and false stereotypes regarding old age, because they show old people as persons incapable of incorporating new learning and, at the same time, they charge with negative signs this stage of life, like the unproductivity.

On the part of the bank, the advertising manager of the “*BBVA Banco Frances*”, Santiago Sanguinetti, communicated that the bank had not had the intention of sending an offensive or discriminatory message against old people, expressed their apologies and informed that they had decided to pause the campaign until a meeting with specialists in order to analyse the effects of the message and the possible forms of adjusting it takes place. Human rights are universal, both civil and political rights, and economic, social and cultural rights belong to all human beings, including old people. The rights of old people are established in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women and other international treaties and declarations with constitutional hierarchy which forbid discriminatory behaviours, just as the Constitution of the City of Buenos Aires does, which guarantees a dignified treatment for old people.

We would like to finish this section with a reflection expressed above: we should remember that as a society we ought to understand old age as part of life, and transform the negative image thereof into positive terms, opposing the image of activity to the image of passivity, the productivity to uselessness, and begin to dissolve the bases on which the exclusion and deprivation of the intrinsic rights assisting old people are standing.

Homosexuality¹²²

The inexistence of a clear mechanism for the legal protection of the rights of the gays, lesbians, transvestites, transsexuals, bisexuals and inter-sexuals (GLTTBI) –it is worth remembering that the existing Anti-Discrimination Law No. 23.592 does not expressly mention sexual orientation and genre identity- allows without a doubt, for arbitrary situations and the survival of police, judicial and social practices which, due to their illegitimate and persecutory character, must be immediately modified.

What follows, is a list of norms to be adapted or modified in the light of this problem:

1. **Modification of Law n° 23.592 (Anti-Discriminatory Law)**

In the last ten years, several projects have been presented in order to include sexual orientation and genre identity as forbidden grounds of discrimination. Currently, the proposal of Senator Diana Conti, which has the consensus of the Argentinean Homosexual Association (CHA, according to its name in Spanish) and the National Institute against Discrimination and Xenophobia (INADI) and includes sexual orientation and genre identity, is being examined. (File N° 77/05 in reference to file 1780/03). The proposal is being analyzed at the Commission on Criminal Matters of the Senate Chamber.

2. **Approval of the National Law of Civil Union**

This Bill was presented by the Argentinean Homosexual Community (CHA) at the Senate of the Nation in November 2005. It was written by the Judge Graciela Medina, and includes the right to inheritance; pension for decease and adoption for couples with no discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and genre identity (includes heterosexual couples)

3. **Derogation of the Codes on Contraventions of provinces which criminalize and punish being homosexual or transvestite.**

The Contraventions Codes which expressly and discriminatorily

¹²² This section was elaborated by Prof. César Cigliutti. President of the Argentinean Homosexual Community (CHA).

mention homosexuality and transvestism are the codes of the provinces of Buenos Aires (1973), La Rioja (1962), Mendoza (1965), Neuquén (1962), Catamarca (2000), San Juan (1990), Santa Cruz (1961), Santa Fe (1991), Santiago del Estero (1953) and Formosa (1979). Ten in total. These figures offer the police powers which are used specially to persecute, threaten and arrest gays and transvestites.

4. Modification of the Labour Law, prohibition of discrimination in working places

In September 1998, the Labour Law was modified in order to lower the cost of the compensations for termination. New categories were included which increase the compensation amounts when the termination of the worker responded to discriminatory grounds. "Sexual orientation" was included, together with race, religion, unionist ideas and sex, but the then president Carlos Menem, by virtue of constitutional powers, vetoed the grounds regarding sexual orientation and union participation.

5. Modification of identity documents for the transvetites and transexual.

Transvestites and transsexuals suffer a serious problem regarding national identity documents (National Identity Document, Identification Card issued by the Federal Police and National Passport). In almost every case, their genre identity is not recognized and they are forced to cut or tie their hair, wash their face, change clothes, etc. Transsexual people and those who surgically adopt their sex cannot change the identity of their documents. The judicial negative to modify the documents causes daily situation with a great degree of drama, the impossibility to get a job, the denial of the most essential health services, etc.

6. Derogation of the legislation preventing the sex adaptation surgery.

In Argentina, Law 17.132 (Exercise of Medicine, odontology and collaboration activities), establishes in article 19.4 that doctors are obliged to *"Not to carry out surgical operations which modify the sex of the sick, except when there is a judicial authorization"*.

7. Modification of the resolution of the national ministry of

health which stigmatizes and forbids the donation of blood of homosexual and sex workers.

The CHA and the Task Force have brought several proposals to the Ministry of Health, but no answer has been received yet. These proposals insist on the fact that the form for the donation of blood (anamnesis) mentions sexual practices which might have led to the risk of HIV/AIDS transmission without implying sexual orientation, genre identity or any kind of frequency of sexual practices.

8. Need of guaranteeing the inclusion of heterosexual single women and lesbian women in the assisted fertilization treatments.

It is not only about guaranteeing that possibility as a right of lesbian persons, whose freedom of choice should be guarded. It is worth pointing out, and this also concerns heterosexual single women, that the AIDS pandemic has forced them to plan their maternity and abandon the possibility of sexual exchanges which might cause pregnancy with male partners, close to them or not, because of the often uncertain HIV condition of the latter. Consequently, many women have opted for artificial insemination. Even if nowadays assisted fertilization practices are not regulated, legislative projects which expressly restrict the access to infertile heterosexual married women. They are ideological positions presented as scientific as grounds for questioning lesbian motherhood.

9. Need for the explicit inclusion of sexual orientation and genre identity within National Law of Sexual Education passed on October 6th 2006.

The recently adopted law does not foresee the perspective of sexual orientation or genre identity. The contents are exposed to consensus of different social actors without listening to homophobic resistance of conservative and ecclesiastic sectors which have operated against the inclusion of those perspectives in the law. Even if it necessary to construct mechanisms of legal protection of sexual diversity, that shall not be enough without the cor-

respondent education of the society in the knowledge, acceptance and respect of the different human expressions of sexuality and genre.

10. Declaration of Inconstitutionality of the Matrimony Law

Argentinean Matrimony Law prevents two people of the same sex from getting married, violating the constitutional right to equality before the law.

Situation of transvestites

Discrimination suffered by transvestites on the grounds of their genre identity is an obstacle to the exercise of the right to health.

Accessibility to health services of this population is chiefly affected by organizational and symbolic barriers.

With regards to the political and institutional framework of the health systems, the absence of preventive campaigns, updated and specific, the discontinuity thereof, the distribution of morning shifts –difficult to respect for those who work all night- and the lack of attention models which contemplate the genre perspective are factors which bring about situations of exclusion in the health realm. In this sense, it is worth mentioning that the non-incorporation of the genre perspective in the sanitary policies is a strong obstacle to the equity in health when is reproduced, or the inequalities are regarded as natural in the society in general. Often, the transvestite population is blamed for its own disadvantageous situation. When we observe that, in the context of medical attention, the habits and practices of this people (as the informal use of industrial silicones and injectable hormones, sexual work, etc) generate the rejection of the doctors, we see that such situation can cause self-exclusion phenomena in the sphere of health.

Furthermore, the lack of economic resources provokes serious difficulties in the access to information, the preventive elements and to the acquisition of new habits and customs related to the attention to health.

In a country like Argentina, with a formal universal access to antiretroviral therapies, transvestites living with HIV and AIDS con-

tinue to present the same rates of morbid-mortality which existed before the State formalized such access.

Adherence to treatment is hampered by the high degree of marginality suffered. Fear of knowing the HIV condition, difficulties in carrying out a permanent treatment and lack of motivation to commit with the treatment plan are common features. Adherence programmes elaborated by doctors do not take into account the hostile living conditions of this population, which makes the effectiveness of the treatment difficult.

At the same time, an important part of this population does drugs and drinks alcohol in an abusive manner, causing the unleashing of damaging behaviours for the health of the person involved.

The segregation at the family, educative and labour level suffered by this population makes that sexual work in the public space end up being the most frequent livelihood. Even if sexual work, as an individual activity does not constitute a crime, legal instruments favour punitive practices, violent situations and police persecution under administrative norms or contravention norms. These factors gravely undermine the capacity of the population to recognize themselves as subjects of law.

Situation in the prisons

In the penitentiary field, homosexuals are separated from the rest of the prisoners, with the pretext of guaranteeing their protection. Nevertheless, places destined to this end are usually those which are not in good conditions. For example, the Mezzanine of the Pavilion N° 1 of the Penitentiary Unit of Devoto, the crowded places, the unsanitary conditions of life (caused by the lack of hygiene) and the repeated negative to provide medical assistance, are frequent examples of the mistreatments committed to homosexuals on the basis of clear discriminatory practices. On the other hand, the situation is aggravated in the face of a sinister institutional policy based on the negative to provide food for a balanced diet; this measure is associated to the exchange of food for “sexual favours” for other inmates or even the guards.

Moreover, since homosexuality is punished among inmates, no preventive materials are given to them. Evidently, this generates a high rate of morbid-mortality due to HIV and AIDS among homosexual persons deprived of their liberty.

Finally, the transvestites and transsexuals are victims of the worst abuses, going from punishment on the basis of genre, torture and in many cases, death.

Muslims ¹²³

Coming from countries like Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Morocco and Palestine, the arrival of the majority of the Muslims to Argentina began in the last decade of century XIX.

Currently, according to the study carried out by the Secretariat of Cult of the City of Buenos Aires, the number of Islamic believers in our country ascends to approximately 700.000 individuals, most of them, descendants of immigrants coming from Muslim countries. Nonetheless, the expansion of Islam in Argentina has gone through a slow but constant development.

Half of this population lives in the City of Buenos Aires and its outskirts, the other half lives in the Northeastern and the Southern provinces and the Cuyo Region.

Shortly after their arrival, the Muslims started to organize and form civil associations, both foment and assistance association, which generated solidarity bonds and cultural reproduction among their members, and at the same time, they began to integrate the different social and national spaces. In 1931, the mosque of Buenos Aires and the Islamic Centre were founded, which agglutinate and represent other Muslim associations of the country. In the 1970s the Muslims began to work in the consolidation of an Islamic federation to achieve unified representation at the political and religious level.

¹²³ This section was elaborated by Mr. Ricardo H. Elía. General Director of the Department of Historical Studies of the Islamic Centre of the Republic of Argentina, and also Director and Editor of the journal *Realidad & Reflexión* [Reality & Reflection] (CIRA. Guest Professor of the Ibn Arabi Society of Oxford (United Kingdom) and of the Faith University of Istanbul (Turkey).

Throughout the country there are 150 cultural and religion associations and approximately 50 mosques. The most important ones are the Al Tahuid mosque and the Great Mosque of the King Fahd Complex, even though not the most representative is the largest one of Latin-American.

Although the good relation between the Muslim community and the rest of the Argentinean society has historically remained calm, it is from the terrorist attacks to the Israeli Embassy (1992) and then the AMIA/DAIA building (1994) that the Muslim community began to be pointed out, particularly by the media, as the “seed of terrorism”. This fallacious idea has increased globally, after the terrorist attacks in the USA, Spain and England. Criminalization of Islam has turned since then into a common thing in the West. The violence and terror are sought in the source of this faith to justify the negative stigmatization. Despite the fact that it is not possible to talk about an apparent and direct discrimination to the followers of this faith in our country, we must pay attention to the media discourses which have reproduced, both at the national and global level, clear forms of discrimination towards this religious group, based fundamentally on the formula Muslim = terrorism = assassin.

This type of discourse is really dangerous, and we must fight against it if we want to avoid the expansion and repetition of these opinions in the heart of our society, given that the power of the discursive reproduction which the media have on the social system is undeniable.

As a comparison of the matching done by different social sectors between Islam and terrorism, we could recall the one done in the beginning of last century between Russian = Jew = Revolutionary¹²⁴ and the consequent “*pogroms*” carry out by Russian groups against the Jewish villages during the Russian empire.

¹²⁴ “*Pogrom*” is Russian word that means attack or crusade. The historical connotations of the term include violent attacks by local groups against Jews in the Russian Empire. Neighbourhoods as Once and Villa Crespo, inhabited mostly by the Jewish community are assaulted by “civil guards” armed by Elpidio González and by the gangs of the Patriotic League of Carlésand Co. with the “green light” of General Luis J. Dellepiane. The struggles and murderers took place until the night Tuesday January 14th ».

Saving the chronologic, historical and cultural distances, the Arab-Muslim collectivity in Argentina has been suffering for more than a decade an almost constant discrimination on the part of the mass media which try to link and involve everything which is Arab or Muslim to concepts such as “fundamentalism”, “terrorism”, “Islamite”, “Holy War”, “dormant cells”, “Bin Laden”, “Al Qaeda”, etc.

In a practically identical way to what the Jewish community suffered in January 1919, when the Jews were linked to “Marxism” “Anarchism”, “Bolshevism”, by the Rightwing and reactionary groups, the Muslims receive the epithets already quoted on the part of uninformed, sensationalists or ill-intended journalists, who use friction as a “hook” to sow discord and impute Islam and Muslims all the facts produced by their feverish imagination.

It is true that here in Argentina, this is limited, exclusively to TV, radio and written press. However, it is also true that it is about a daily sowing which often entails a tragic harvest. The Nazi official Goebels used to say, “*Lie, lie, lie, something always remains...*”.

Nowadays, many people in the world and in Argentina, when they listen to the words “Islam” or “Muslim” almost immediately associate “terrorism”, “fundamentalism” “Holy War”, etc.

In the face of this situation, Muslim children and teen-agers feel “pointed-out”, “identified” as “terrorists”, “fundamentalists”, and “suspects”. This is very prejudicial and harming for them. Adults can defend themselves much better, offer the pertinent explanations (as long as they are prepared for it), but children or young people are helpless.

This stigma instituted by the media is like a “*sanbenito*”¹²⁵. This identification suffered by the Muslims as a consequence of the irresponsible action of certain sector of the press and certain journal-

¹²⁵ This was a degradation imposed by the Spaniard inquisition. The *sanbenito* consisted don a type of yellow short with a red Saint Andrew cross. The “offender” had to carry the habit all the time, as a sign for the public to know that he or she was a pig, that is a former Jew, converted into Christianity (generally by force). It is like wearing an “invisible” “yellow” Star of David (in this case we could talk about a “Crescent Moon”) but it is immediately perceived when the surname, the name or the religion of the character in question is known.

ists who have their quota of racism and discrimination, albeit hidden, covered or unspeakable

The best task to eradicate this phenomenon is the inter-religious, critic and productive dialogue, which informs and clarifies. The multiplication of inter-community efforts among Jews, Christians and Muslims, not only at a managing level, but at all stages and levels, will not only achieve a concrete success on this particular subject, but it will also consolidate the existent good relation, guaranteeing a future of comprehension of the common problems as nothing else in the world.

Muslims, as Jews, have always been “Sons of Abraham”, that is, monotheistic, who preserve life and defend peace and justice.

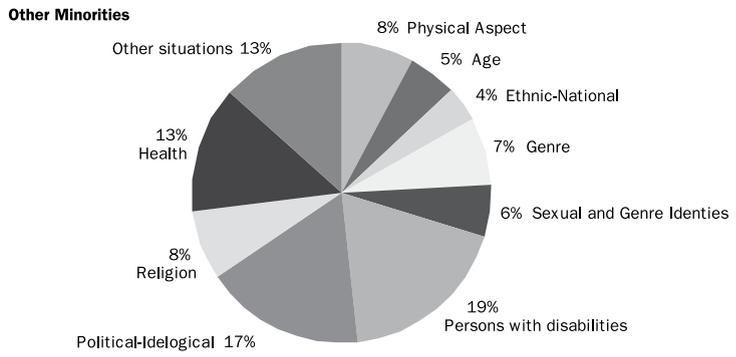
This tradition speaks of a phrase of Hillel the Wise which says “*What is hateful to thyself, do not do to another. This is whole Torah, the rest is comments*”, and it represents the same thinking and philosophy of the Muslims.

In the Koran, we find phrases as “*Whoever kills a person it shall be as having killed all mankind. However, he who saves a person shall be as he has saved the life of all mankind*”. (Sacred Koran, 5:32).

Islam (voluntary and unconditional acceptance of God, one and only) and the Muslims (in Arabic, those who profess Islam, that is, monotheism) has nothing to do with the reactionary, violent, sectarian, racist and terrorist positions.

Nevertheless, we see that just as there is a despicable press and fallacious spokespersons who try to deny the Holocaust which caused the death of millions of Jews in Europe during the Second World War and people who speak of a “World Jewish Conspiracy”, there is also a similar psychological action to slander Islam and the Muslims with the same impunity accusing them of everything that is wrong on Earth.

Despite everything, Argentina continues to be an example of dialogue and coexistence. For more than a hundred years, Jews, Christians and Muslims have lived in a land of promise, showing with concrete and productive acts that we are “Sons of Abraham”, in Arabic: *Ebnu Abuna Ibrahim*, in Hebrew *Bnei Abraham Avinu*.



*Data provided by INADI

Anti-Semitism in other latitudes. The International Context¹

For the present report, we have used as sources of information the press area of DAIA, research works carried out by the Coordination for the Fight against Anti-Semitism Forum through its website, the Pew Research Institute in the United States and the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). This work does not pretend to perform a thorough study of international anti-Semitism, but to show the tendency of the last three years. Further, some historical data have been included to locate anti-Semitism within a determinate context. The universe examined is Europe, North American, Latin-America and the Middle East.

Without question, 2006 showed a growth of anti-Semitism with respect to previous years. Several important events acted as triggering elements of racist actions. On the one hand, the Football World Cup in Europe, where neo-Nazis groups attacked people from other cultures and religions (blacks, Jews, etc.), and on the other hand, the war in the Middle East between Israel and the terrorist group Hezbollah, which ushered in an explosion of anti-Semitism, even in those countries where statistics did not show any kind of racial or religious discrimination.

It is important to clarify that this conflict presented indicators worth analyzing. On the one hand, the coincidence between ultra Rightwing and Leftwing groups not only in the condemnation to Israeli actions in The Lebanon, but also regarding Jews in general in other parts of the world.

¹ This section was elaborated by Mr. Darío Brenman

On the other hand, non-anti-Semitic progressive sectors questioned Israeli actions through ads in newspapers and audiovisual media.

Lastly, the media, which showed only one scenario of the conflict, by broadcasting the destroyed Lebanese infrastructure, together with the great amount of deaths in the country.

A Report in the United States

On June 22nd, 2006, the Pew Institute of Researches made public their 14th large surveys on political issues, under the title: "The great division: how the Westerners and the Muslims see each other ". The Pew Institute, a prestigious American "think tank", co-presided by former American Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Senator John Danforth, carried out the survey in 13 countries between March 31st and May 14th, 2006. The survey included six countries with large Muslims majorities (Egypt, Indonesia, Jordan, Nigeria, Pakistan and Turkey), four European countries with important Muslim minorities (France, Germany, Spain, Great Britain), the United States and Russia. In its introduction, the Pew Report says *"after a year marked by disturbances due to the cartoons about Mohammed, the London terrorist attack and the constant wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, most of the Muslims and the Westerners are convinced that the relations between them are bad. Many people in the West see the Muslims as fanatics, violent and intolerable. On the other hand, Muslims in the Middle East and Asia regard Westerners as selfish, immoral and greedy, as well as violent and fanatics "*.

The Report indicates that *"a strange point of agreement between Westerners and Muslims is that both think that Muslim Nations should be more prosper than they are today. But they approach the subject in a different way. The Muslims consider themselves as harmed by the West and tend to accuse the North Americans and the Europeans for their lack of prosperity. On the contrary, the Western public points out that governmental corruption, lack of education and Islamic fundamentalism are the greatest obstacles to Muslim prosperity "*.

Regarding the crisis triggered by Mohammed cartoons, the Report indicates that the topic is clearly dividing. Most people in Jordan,

Egypt, Indonesia and Turkey blame the controversy on the lack of respect to Muslim religion in the Western countries. On the contrary, most of the Europeans and the Americans asserted that the controversy was the result of Muslim intolerance. The Report shows positive but disturbing signs with respect to the Muslim support to terrorism and the viability of democracy. In Jordan and Indonesia there has been a considerable decrease in the justification of the suicide attacks and other forms of violence against civilian objectives in "defence of Islam". The change has been particularly dramatic in Jordan, allegedly in response to the devastating terrorist attack in Amman last year: only 29% justifies suicide attacks, in comparison to 57% registered in May 2005. The support to Osama Bin Laden has also dropped in most of the Muslim countries. In Jordan, the support dropped from 60% last year to 24% this year. In Pakistan, 38% continues to believe in the justice of Al Qaeda's cause, but the number is smaller than May 2005. However, In Nigeria, the conditional support to the terrorist leader has increased and ascends to 61%.

The Report is particularly alarming in two aspects: regarding the adhesion to conspiracy theories and anti-Jewish attitudes. Majorities in Indonesia, Turkey and Egypt state that they cannot believe that Arab groups have committed the attacks of September 11th 2001. The same attitude is found within Muslims in the West. 56% of the Muslims in Great Britain do not believe that the Arabs have perpetrated the attacks.

As regards anti-Semitism, the survey indicates that this is a prevailing attitude in all Muslim countries. Further, there is a considerable support to the Hamas party, recently winner of the Palestinian elections. A large majority in Muslim countries believe that Hamas' victory will contribute to achieve a fairer solution for the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. In an article in the Londoner newspaper "The Guardian", Julian Borger, its correspondent in Washington, emphasizes that the Pew Report shows that Muslims from Great Britain are the most anti-West of Europe. Borger writes: "*By contrast, the poll found that British Muslims represented a 'notable exception' in Europe, with far more negative views of westerners than Islamic minorities elsewhere on the continent. A significant majority viewed*

western populations as selfish, arrogant, greedy and immoral. Just over half said westerners were violent. While the overwhelming majority of European Muslims said Westerners were respectful of women, fewer than half British Muslims agreed. Another startling result found that only 32% of Muslims in Britain had a favourable opinion of Jews, compared with 71% of French Muslims. Across the board, Muslim attitudes in Britain more resembled public opinion in Islamic countries in the Middle East and Asia than elsewhere in Europe. And on the whole, British Muslims were more pessimistic than those in Germany, France and Spain about the feasibility of living in a modern society while remaining devout. The Pew poll found that British Muslims are far more likely than their European counterparts to harbour conspiracy theories about the September 11 attacks. Only 17% believed that Arabs were involved, compared with 48% in France". Nevertheless, Borger finishes his article with two positive indicators: the fall of the support to Bin Laden and to the suicide bombings.

American specialist in Islam, Daniel Pipes, indicates different alarming aspects of the Report in the New York Sun. Pipes points out that in none of the Muslim countries included in the research, is there a majority that believes that the Arabs are responsible for the attacks of September 11th 2001 in the United States. Proportions of those who believe in Arab guilt oscillate between 15% in Pakistan and 48% among French Muslims. As a confirmation of the negative tendencies in Turkey, the number of Turks who do not doubt about the responsibility of Bin Laden and his organization has decreased from 46% in 2002 to 16% today. In other words, in one out of every 10 Muslim communities surveyed a majority considers that September 11th is a sham organized by the American, government, Israel or some secret Western agency.

In the same way, Pipes indicates that Muslims have a very negative attitude towards the Jews, which oscillate between 28% of hostile attitudes among French Muslims, to 98% in Jordan, where despite the king's moderation, there is a majority of a very militant Palestinian population against the State of Israel and the Jews. Even more so, the Muslims in certain countries like Jordan and Egypt, believe that

Jews play a conspiring role and are responsible of the bad relations between Muslims and Westerners.

Pipes concludes his analysis of the Pew Report by stating that it indicates an undeniable message of crisis from one extreme to the other of the Muslim world.

The Internet version of the Pew Report offers only percentages. It does not provide the number of people surveyed or how many Muslims are represented by the percentages of each country. However, by simply adding the Muslim minorities surveyed in the West and the Muslim populations, is easy to conclude that the amount ascends to approximately 800 million people. Further, if we add to this figure the Muslims of countries not included in the survey and consider their percentages of hostility towards the Jews, we reach the conclusion that we live in a world where (on the basis of conservative calculations) there are 1.000 millions of anti-Semites. That is without taking into account Western anti-Semites, who present the most varied ideological positions and do not form a small group either.

If we consider that Nazi Germany never had more than 70 million people, we can conclude that the Pew Report is extremely alarming and forces us to seriously think about how to counteract an extended culture of hatred which has a target, just as in other phrases of our history, the Jewish people as a whole.

EUROPE

In the European continent, France and Great Britain led the statistics of anti-Semitic events, not only during 2006, but also during 2005 and 2004. Strong pressure was established on the Jewish community through lines of direct action, including beatings and murders, without leaving aside the topic of graves' desecrations, paintings, insults or discourses.

In relation to France, the case which received the most political and media repercussion of the last year was the murder of a 23 year old French Jew, whose body covered in sores was discovered next to the tracks near Paris, naked and in agony. The great repercussion

of this event responded to the fact that it was proven that it had occurred due to that fact that Ilan Alimi was Jewish. In a country where three or four anti-Semitic aggressions take place per day, that tragic episode shook to its core the French society.

What is the reason behind this kind of events in a country with a long democratic tradition? France is a country with five million Muslims and 600.000 Jews, the largest communities of Europe. 46% of the practicing Muslims in France consider themselves anti-Semitic, as well as the 30% of non-practicing Muslims, according to a Report of the Centre of Studies of the Politic Life (Cevipof), depending on the School of Political Sciences of Paris.

Anti-Semitism is a reality in this country, to the extent that, many times the President of the republic was forced to denounce the phenomenon and to commit to take the necessary measures to combat it. The debate went even further, important figures of the politics and the media spoke out and eventually the tension had been reduced to criticism, initially to the Israeli Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon and then to Olmert, due to their policies of occupation in the Middle East. The event was seen as triggering elements causing a strong anti-Semitic impression.

The Jewish community in France has an extraordinary vocation for integration which has offered all kinds of facilities to the Republic in order to overcome the problems of the past. A curious example of this will is the absence of Jewish schools, except for those strictly confessional. In the face of problems, their representatives have tried to avoid conflict, making their dimension relative or contextualizing it in the context of a new racism which not only affects this community. Dominique Moïsi, from the French Institute of International Relations Institute has underlined that the anti-Muslim racism is even graver, albeit a different problem.

Despite the effort of the Jewish community, many parents have had to withdraw their children from secondary schools because they suffered different types of pressure. In the face of the lack of Jewish schools, they have had to look for spaces in Catholic private institutions. The Spaniard historian and writer, Carlos Semprún Maura, has

reviewed an array of good examples of anti-Semitism and of teachers who have stopped explaining the Holocaust in their history classes.

The profound France, the one of the Dreyfus case, is showing its more sinister face with the constant demonstrations of anti-Semitism. French Jews have fear. They are going into exile in the USA and in Canada in the face of the indifference of progressive sectors.

Philosopher and historian of ideas Pierre André Taguieff has attempted to answer in his book "The new Jewish phobia" (Gedisa) all these topics. In his opinion, the ideological planetary discourse whereby the "*Jews are imperialists, colonialists and racists, whether they declare it or hide it*" has to be taken into account, as well as the representation of Zionism as "*an absolute evil which is carrying out an extermination war against the Palestinian people. The Arab-Israeli war would be the clearest prove of aspirations of world domination, which the Zionists have always have, that great conspiracy about which the Protocols of the Elders of Zion spoke*".

However, there is more. Taguieff speaks about the militancy of the people from the Magreb and Africa who, thanks to marginalization, exclusion and poverty find a special sympathy in the French Leftwing.

The defence of the Jews "is not our cause", the Leftist militants claim. To them, French Jews are like the "workers at the Twin Towers: collaborators of the Empire, and they pay for it".

At the French universities, or the European and North American universities in general, Leftists anti-Semitism is spreading hidden as anti-Zionism, placing the Palestinians as emblematic figures, substituting the proletariat of other times: spokespersons of the oppressed of the planet, the point of the spear of the fight against imperialism, capitalism and oppression. To these sectors, the modern rebels, Arafat = Che Guevara. And, on the other hand, Sharon and Olmert =Hitler. From there, stems the growing loss of legitimacy of a State which allows a "Nazi" to direct it. The right of Israel to its existence is arguable for the militants of the Left parties.

When Silvio Berlusconi proposed all of a sudden, to extend Europe to Russia, Turkey and Israel, the French replied: why Israel? "*There is*

no geographic, historical or cultural link between Israel and Europe". The Muslim world receives plenty of sympathy from the defenders of the poor countries. It is as the "progressive sectors" have found in the defenders of the *Intifada* a new "mass base" similar to the French workers.

England

In the case of England, the social, political and media atmosphere was shaken in 2006 when the popular Mayor of London, member of the Labour party, Ken Livingstone, was suspended for insulting a Jewish journalist during a party and for comparing him with a guard from a Nazi concentration camp. It was such a shocking incident that, besides being suspended for four months by a special tribunal, the Prime Minister, Tony Blair and representatives of the Jewish community intervened so Livingstone offer a public apology, which he did not do.

England (just like France) also comes from a historical tradition of anti-Semitism. In the last years, relevant events took place, as for example in 2004 a total of 246 anti-Semitic incidents which included murders and physical attacks, damages to Jewish establishments like schools, cemeteries and synagogues, verbal and written threats, distribution of defamatory literature or the attack against the Social Aid Office of the Jewish Community in London, as a part of a campaign implemented by extremist terrorist organizations.

The truth is that these facts cannot be taken in isolation. This country has a long tradition of persecutions to the Jews, from the first decades of their presence in the British Islands in the XVIth century, the Jews saw themselves exposed to domination and persecution. They were forced to pay high taxes and accused of committing ritual crimes. Along the lines of the generalized hostility towards the Jews across Europe and with the support of the ecclesiastic authorities, on July 18th, 1290 Edward I issued a decree ordering the exit of the 16.000 Jews from the Kingdom.

The expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal in 1482 resulted

in massive waves of immigrants seeking asylum. A small group of converted Jews established in Great Britain, but in the face of the reaction of the Catholic Church, this incipient community disintegrated. The diffusion of the puritan doctrines created a favourable atmosphere for the entrance of Jews to the country. In 1655, Manasseh ben Israel, Rabbi of Ámsterdam travelled to England with the goal of negotiating with Oliver Cromwell the authorization for the entrance of the Jews to the country. In 1656 the permit was granted for the establishment of a Jewish cemetery, but it was not until 1698 that the practice of Judaism was legally recognized. Thus, the Jewish community grew in number and in importance thanks to the arrival of immigrants from Spain, Portugal and Amsterdam.

The election of the first Jew for the British Parliament in 1858, Lionel Rotschild, symbolized the complete political and socio-economic emancipation of this community. From 1890, the Jews were able to participate in all the activities of the nation, even perform any post, except from becoming the Monarch, reserved only for the Anglicans.

Nonetheless, prejudices prevailed. Vast sectors of the population rejected the arrival of more than 200.000 refugees coming from Russia, who arrived in the country between 1881 and 1914. It was by the time of the First World War that the integration was total, with the participation of nearly 50.000 of the members of the Jewish community –of a total of 300.000– in the British Army.

As a result of the triumph of the Allies during this conflict in Europe, the Middle East and Africa, which led to the redefinition of the frontiers, in 1916 France and Great Britain signed the Sykes-Picot Pact, whereby Palestine –which was part of the Ottoman Empire before the Great War– would remain under English domination. Due to the steps taken before the authorities which until then had been taken by the Zionist movements, on November 2nd, 1917 through the Secretary of Foreign Relations, Lord Arthur James Balfour, the English government authorized the creation of the national home for the Jewish people in Palestine, a project which would become true 30 years after with the creation of the State of Israel.

The apogee of Fascism and Nazism in Europe in the mid thirties impelled the growth in Great Britain of ultra Rightwing movements, as the British Union of Socialist Fascists and Nationalists and the Imperial Fascist League. Anti-Semitic manifestations ushered in open conflicts between the Rightwing groups and Leftist Liberals which supported the Jews. In the post war years diverse anti-Semitic organizations tried to activate in the region. But only in 1960 did those Nazis groups manage to implement a violent anti-Jewish campaign. The authorities censored such initiative and opted for incarcerating the leaders.

In the 1970s and 1980s, radical groups received a wide support form diverse sectors of the population. Nevertheless, by the end of the XXth century the changes in the political atmosphere and their internal divisions have diminished their influence.

Currently, in Great Britain extremist activity comes from fundamentalist groups on the one hand, and from the extreme Rightwing groups on the other. Members of radical Islamic groups continuously manifest their hate towards Jews in general and towards the State of Israel in particular. They exercise great influence on the university campus using a wide operational infrastructure. Among their main opponents we can find:

HUT or Hizb Ut-Tahrir- Islamic Liberation Party. A movement which openly opposes all Muslim or Arab existing regimes and at the same time manifests against Israel, the Jews, the Hindi, the homosexuals, women and West. During 1995, its activities were radicalized. With the goal of disseminating their message, which frequently includes anti-Semitic allusions, their members carried out students' meetings and transmitted radio shows under the name Ramadan Radio and Muslim Community Radio through local stations.

Muslim Parliament or MP and Muslim Institute. We find organizations controlled by Kalim Siddiqui an extremist which maintains close links with Iran as well as with fundamentalist groups as Hamas and Hezbollah. The publication called Crescent International of the MI includes hostile material towards Israel and support for the fundamentalist groups. Despite the fact that during

1995 the MP activity was limited, it managed to organized certain events, such as the international conference “From Hiroshima to Sarajevo: 50 Years of the United Nations” and in the final statement it was established that “Islamic and Western civilization are incompatible”.

The Nation of Islam. American sect of Black Muslims led by Louis Farrakhan whose representatives in the United Kingdom the group called P.O.W.E.R and the group called People’s Trust.

Committee for the Defence of Legitimate Rights (CDLR). Their headquarters are in London as is directed by the Saudi dissident Muhammed al-Massari, who also militates in the fundamentalist sphere.

Hamas (acronym of Islamic Resistance Movement). Responsible for the suicide attacks in Israel. It receives the support of diverse groups in Great Britain, as the case if the Islamic Association of Palestinian Youth (IAPY) of anti-Semitic ideology.

Further, in the last years, British extreme Right has tried to emulate the success achieved by different Fascist organizations in Europe. Anti-Semitism is a central element of the radical ideology of these groups, among those which stand out, we can mention:

British National Party (BNP) funded by John Tydell in 1982. To date, is considered as the most notorious ultra Rightwing organization. It possesses around 2000 members. It promotes “white supremacy” and supports an anti-Semitic platform based on the “Jewish conspiracy” and on the denial of the Holocaust. The BNP has achieved important electoral triumphs. For the next general elections, Tydell pretends to participates with 50 candidates, which will guarantee free publicity through the media.

Combat 18 emerged in 1991 in Wellington to support events organized by the BNP and in 1993 it developed as an independent organization with its own agenda. Such is the virulence of their acts, that in 1995 Tydell, leader of the BNP, banned the organization and broke all alliances.

National Socialist Alliance (NSA) was created in the beginning of 1995 by the leaders of the C18. Designed as an umbrella organization, it has unified more than 1.000 young people among skinheads,

disillusioned followers of the BNP and members of the association of musical bands “Blood and Honor”. It works through independent cells which operate at a local level.

National Front (NF). In the national and local elections of 1970 it achieved hundred of thousands of votes, and thus was considered the most important extreme Rightwing organization. In the beginning of the nineties, its activity began to decline and by the end of 1995, it only had 200 members. Its leader, Ian Anderson, unsuccessfully tried to neutralize the image of a neo-Nazi party and changed the name to National Democrats (ND) hoping to gain new followers.

British authorities have tried to stop the activity of these groups through an anti-racist legislation banning ethnic, religious or national discrimination, and punishing incitement to hatred and violence. Despite the effectiveness of these measures and with the goal to preserve its multi-cultural character, the British society shall have to continue being educating and sensitizing about the dangers stemming from extremism and intolerance.

NORTH AMERICA

The United States

The Jewish events in this country are present in the imagination and hypotheses of many writers who have produced memorable works on the life of the Jews in certain cities. One of them, Philip Roth, in his book “The plot against America” describes an alternative version of the history: Franklin D. Roosevelt is not re-elected in 1940 and Charles Lindbergh, a declared anti-Semitic is elected president and signs a peace treaty with Hitler.

“In the United States what happened in Europe did not take place, the writer comments. The Jews are not considered as a minority any long. Most of the Americans under 40 years old are not capable of identifying as such a Jewish name”.

Roth himself, in other interviews, has introduced the subject of the fact that if in the United States there was not an intense Nazi

phenomenon; it was because “in 1932, the Democrat Roosevelt was elected instead of the Republican Herbert Hoover. If the Republicans had won the elections in 1932, they would have not done anything to stop the economic crisis, which would have gotten worse. An insurrection of the Army would have taken place, and it would have been repressed causing bloodshed. It is possible that such event would have opened the doors for the imposition of the Martial Law and the implantation of a totalitarian regime. What I do not know is whether this regime would have been anti-Semitic. Certainly, Hoover was not a Fascist. However, I believe that the anti-Semitic sectors of the population would have joined the dictatorship and would have gained some kind of reward for it”.

The United States of America was the most receptive country in terms of admission of Jews in difficult conditions, as for example, the very active attitude of the then president, Franklin D. Roosevelt with relation to the Jews who were being persecuted by the Nazism. Also, it should be said that this country houses ultra Rightwing and strong Muslims sectors in conditions to perpetrate actions of different kind.

The first Jewish immigrants came to this country between 1890 and 1910, with no money, no language with which make themselves understood and they were able to achieve integration in a place where they can live happily. Nevertheless, despite this integration, anti-Semitism in this country exists with fluctuating levels according to the years registered. Even if there are no statistics by the time of the writing of this Report, events with great media repercussions can be informed, as the case of the actor Mel Gibson, who was condemned to three years in prison in suspense, for uttering anti-Semitic insults when he was drunk driving and speeding, and a police officer stopped him and arrested him.

Other events, albeit with not so much public transcendence, took place in Miami Beach when the police reported paintings of Swastikas and neo-Nazi slogans found on the wall of synagogues and stores of that city. Also in Chicago similar paintings were found on the walls of a synagogue.

On the other hand, in New York, the punishment established in a law which forbids the burning of crosses or the painting of Nazi symbols in public places and property was toughened. Statistics of 2005 (the last year registered) remained in disturbing levels; the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) registered a total of 1.757 anti-Semitic incidents in 2005, 3% less than 2004, but significantly high.

If we take some examples of the 1990s, the figures were much smaller, but the intensity of the attacks and the contexts in which they took place were very intense: from the desecration of graves, anti-Semitic acts in universities and in schools, where from 6 events registered in 1984, more than a hundred were registered in 1992.

With regards to political anti-Semitism, the actions have multiplied in specific circumstances, during the Gulf War, when 80 incidents were reported. These anti-Jewish acts cannot be considered as expressions of political critic, since violence, fanaticism and intolerance go beyond the legitimate debate.

Threats, harassment and assaults against institutions

In 1991 950 cases were reported, which represents an increase of 25% compared to 1990. Everything seems to indicate that this tendency –which has been growing since 1986 – was maintained in 1992. Only in New York, for example, in a three-week period by the end of 1992, the Police Department received complaints for 19 anti-Semitic acts, accompanied with physical violence.

Physical assaults perpetrated against individuals

Unprecedented reports indicate that these incidents, among which is included the murder of a young man in Brooklyn, New York by another young man of African-American origins, have increased in an alarming way. Only in 1991 60 cases were reported, a figure which doubles that of 1990.

Crimes committed by groups of “skin heads”, neo-Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan, which have diminished since 1989, when 116 cases were reported in 24 states. Nevertheless, the message of hate of these extremist and racist groups should not be undermined.

Anti-Semitism in the United Case: the African-American case

Recent opinion studies done in the United States show that anti-Semitism has diminished, but that negative stereotypes about the Jews still persist, especially among the population of African-American origin. In fact, the researches carried out in the last 30 years show that black people have expressed anti-Jewish feelings more often than white people. At the same time, surveys indicate that –unlike other communities of this country– in the case of the blacks there is no correlation between the tolerance and the degree of schooling.

The bonds between the black and Jewish community in the United States can be traced back to decades ago. In the XIXth century, local rabbinic authorities expressed their rejection to slavery, arguing that the Torah (Pentateuch) deplored the exploitation of the man by the man. In the beginning of the XXth century, the Jews of that country began to play a substantial role in the fight for civil rights for all citizens and the defence of Democratic and Liberal values. Already since then, there was a coincidence of interests between blacks and Jews. The latter actively participated in the National Association for the Advancement of People of Colour, considered then as radical. When in 1954, the Supreme Court of Justice of the US banned racial segregation; the black population intensified its struggle for political, social and economic equality. Therefore, in the beginning of the 1960s, black students began to form part of the pro-civil rights movement, to which tens of Jewish young people joined. Together, both communities managed to promote most of the existing laws on civil rights in the U.S.

After the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963, President Lyndon B. Johnson fomented the establishment of a legal framework focused on the struggle against poverty and in favour of civil rights, which created wide expectations among black population. Nevertheless, the American Congress did not grant the necessary funds to implement such proposal. Disillusioned and alienated from the white society, black militants became more radicals in their rhetoric.

New leaders rejected integration strategies proposed by moderated voices like Martin Luther King's. Characters as Kwame Toure

and Malcolm X –among others- emphasized the importance of black pride and proposed the creation of their own economy and a political power as basis of the radical change. They formulated chauvinist and separatist solutions. Whites in general and Jews in particular, were identified as enemies. Jews –they claimed– were guilty of exploiting blacks in the urban ghettos and of not having done enough to achieve integration. Thus, with anti-Semitic slogans, they rejected the participation of Jews in their organizations.

As part of a reunion process with their roots, large sectors of the African-American community abandoned Christianity and adhered to the Muslim religion. In this manner, they find shelter against generalized rejection.

In parallel, blacks linked their campaign for equality in the US with the struggle to free the African continent from colonial oppression. Ultra-Nationalists identified the State of Israel as a bastion of Western Imperialism and as a partner of the “apartheid” practiced in South Africa. When the Six Day War finished in 1967, black groups openly supported the Arab nations and adopted a frank anti-Zionist posture.

As the years went by, the links between blacks and Jews suffered a significant deterioration. In the dawn of the XXth century, there are numerous factors which obstruct these relations. In this aspect, it is necessary to mention the activities of Louis Farrakhan, the riots of Crown Heights and the Jeffries Case. Louis Farrakhan is the spiritual leader of the Nation of Islam, a movement formed by black Muslims, considered as one of the most important anti-Semitic forces in the United States. In its diatribes, it describes Judaism as a “dirty religion” which preaches about “lie and fraud” and the “tyranny of tradesmen and Jewish landlords”.

However, his anti-Semitism goes beyond declarations of hate in his speeches. With an estimate of 15.000 followers (5% of the total of the black-Muslim population in the U.S) the “Nation of Islam is responsible for the edition of the pseudo-academic book “The Secret relations between Blacks and Jews” which falsely argues that Jews “have joined in a coalition of kidnappers and slave proprietors” and

have played a disproportionate role in the development of slavery. Such work, condemned by renown personalities of the Institute of African-American Studies of Harvard University for being considered the “bible of new anti-Semitism”, and has been widely distributed for the followers of Farrakhan, and has acted as the most effective anti-Jewish instrument in the United States since Henry Ford published “The International Jew” in the 1920s.

Despite his anti-Semitic posture, Farrakhan has managed to achieve a respectable place in the North American agenda of civil rights. Therefore, diverse Jewish American groups have met with African-American leaders –as Jesse Jackson, who at some point was connected to Farrakhan– to express their concern about these developments which threatening to polarize two important sectors of the society.

In August 1991 Gavin Cato, a seven year old black child was run over by a car driven by a Jew in Crown Heights, New York, an area where African-Americans, Cubans and ultra-orthodox Jews coexist. The death of Cato unleashed violent disturbances. During three days, young black men attacked Jews and destroyed their property. Yankel Rosenbaum, a Jewish student born in Australia, was brutally murdered. There is evidence that those demonstrations were provoked by anti-Semitic agitators.

Time has passed, but the disturbances of Crown Heights continue affecting the relations between blacks and Jews. To the latter, it represents a highly worrying indicator that anti-Semitism is growing in the United States and that the government authorities are not capable of controlling its violent manifestations.

In contrast, African-Americans interpret the Crown Heights Case as a palpable proof of the way white society ignores the problems of the urban ghettos. They resent the fact that despite being objects of daily violent actions, mass media and political leadership only pay attention to incidents where the victims are white.

On the other hand, anti-Jewish acts in American university campuses have contributed to this atmosphere of tension. Khalid Abdul Muhammed, follower of Farrakhan, carries out tours in universities throughout the country, where he delivers anti-Semitic speeches.

Adding to this situation the “Jeffries Case” which took place in July 1991 and it is one more of the episodes which have exacerbated the sprits. Only a few days before the disturbances of Crown Heights, Professor Leonard Jeffries gave a speech in a cultural and artistic festival where he used anti-Semitic writings and accused Jewish film-makers of systematically degrading blacks.

The authorities of the university punished Jeffries by reducing his contract as director from three years to one, but the New York Court vacated such decision and granted the accused U\$S 40.000 in damages. Jeffries and his followers argued that these types of accusations are a product of anti-black racism.

In November 1992, Jews and blacks voted for the Democrat candidate for the presidency, William Clinton. Both communities were involved in projects of common interest and everything seemed to indicate that relations gained a revitalizing impulse. Nevertheless, nowadays, the wounds caused by recent incidents remain open.

The reestablishment of relations between blacks and Jews forms part of the challenge a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society, as the American society, must face.

In the last years, both communities have shown a clear tendency to isolation. Jewish public agenda has focused on community-related topics. A similar phenomenon exists regarding African-Americans, who disillusioned by the progress with respect of civil rights, focus only in rescuing their history and legacy. Jews and blacks must overcome the resentments which are currently affecting their relations. At the same time, they shall have to beat the tendency to isolation and work for the concretion of common goals which they have shared from the first moments of the American nation.

Canada

On March 25th, 2006 two synagogues locates in an area of Montreal where many orthodox Jews circulate, were destroyed and painted on with Nazi symbols. On September 1st of the same year, also in the same city, orthodox Jews from Skver-Toldos, were at a school of Outremont, when an attacker wearing a mask threw a Molotov

cocktail through the crystal at the main entrance of the building; the damages were estimated between \$50.000 and \$150.000 including new safety measures. The police have released a description of the attacker, but no detentions have taken place.

Even if Canada appears since its origins to be a multi-cultural society, with diverse ethnic groups living together, in different times of its history ultra-nationalists have existed, which have taken xenophobic and chauvinist postures. After War World Two, Canada offered asylum to an array of Nazi war criminals. Nowadays, by the end of the XXth century, this country is once again not exempted from the influence of Canadian racist neo-Nazis doctrines, which threaten the world peace. Canadian ambivalence towards diversity and pluralism can be exemplified by the case of Jewish immigration present in the country, which can be traced back to 200 years ago, despite the migratory wave which took place in the beginning of this century. As new citizens, the Jews enjoyed political rights, but their access to certain spheres was restricted, as was the case of the educative system. Organized anti-Semitism appeared in the first half of the XXth century as a result of the emergence of the Nazism in the world. Around the 1930s, a Fascist movement was formed in Quebec led by Adrien Arcand who tried to hit a cord with nationalist feelings. During the Second World War, different anti-Semitic movements appeared in the scene and the Canadian authorities opposed the immigration of Jewish refugees. After the war, many aspects of anti-Semitism disappeared, but certain features remain and anti-Jewish incidents have been recurring until today. Studies show that in the last ten years, a direct correlation between anti-Semitic incidents and the size of the Jewish community has existed. Approximately 68% of the attacks –mainly against individuals– have occurred in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. In Winnipeg, skinheads groups which use the letters of the acronym of the Ku Klux Klan have promoted a “network of hate”, by programming their answering machines with hostile messages towards the Jews. Two members of these organizations were tried pursuant to the Canadian Criminal Code for vindicating the Nazi genocide. No political party is openly anti-Semitic. Nonetheless, there is concern about the pos-

ture of the Reformist Party, whose members include persons of racist inclination, and which in the elections of October 1993, obtained 62 seats in the Parliament. There are also small radical movements, many of them from the extreme Rightwing and anti-Semitic sectors. Among these, we find the "Arian Nations", the "Canadian League for Freedom of Expression", the "League of Rights", the "Ku Klux Klan" and the "Nationalist Party".

In 1991, the number of reported anti-Semitic incidents ascended to 251, a figure which represented a growth of 43% in relation to 1989. This unprecedented increase was partially due to the Gulf War and the economic difficulties affecting the country. Only during the three weeks of the conflict, 61 incidents were reported. Jewish institutions were threatened and vandalized with swastikas and pro-Iraqi slogans.

Canada has also been a fertile terrain for the diffusion of revisionist ideas purporting to deny the Holocaust. Ernst Zundel, a notable revisionist was arrested while promoting the pamphlet "Did Six Millions really die? However, the Supreme Court considered that freedom of expression was violated and released him. Furthermore, James Keegstra, a professor of social studies at a High School in Alberta, was convicted for fomenting hate by transmitting his history students false ideas about a Jewish conspiracy and for denying the Holocaust. He was sentenced to pay \$3.000 dollars. In New Brunswick, Malcolm Rose was fired from the educative system for publishing anti-Semitic writings.

The Canadian government, through its legislation, refused granting entrance to David Irving, a British revisionist who was planning to give a lecture on the falseness of the Holocaust in various cities. Irving entered the country and was arrested. During 1992, Canada continued facing political and constitutional problems regarding the future of Quebec as an independent province. In October of that year, a referendum took place and the Charlottetown Agreement defining the future of the French area of Canada was rejected. At the same time, the economic crisis reached the highest levels since 1930s. The gross internal product diminished and unemployment increased,

with adverse effects for the population. In this period, the reported incidents reached 191, but despite the declination in relation to 1991, a reason of concern still remained. The first months of 1993, for example, saw outbreaks of anti-Semitism in Montreal, where seven synagogues were violated. Despite this fact, on January 6th, the Canadian government encouraged the citizenship to fight racism and anti-Semitism.

Nevertheless, violation of synagogues and cemeteries, threats against Jewish entities or persons and dissemination of racist propaganda continued during the year.

Recently, several legal proceedings have been carried out against war criminals in the country, as the case of Jacob Luitjens, who was deported to the Netherlands and striped of his citizenship for having collaborated with the Nazis during the Second World War.

Thus, Canada appears to be a nation where while group's particularities are protected by a legislation which condemns discriminatory and racist practices, it has also been a fertile terrain for the activity of extremist groups which try to use legitimate channels of expression to undermine the same democracy which supports their existence. The challenge which remains is the possibility to stop these radicals without breaching the liberal principles which have given its physiognomy to the multi-cultural Canadian society.

LATIN AMERICA

The case of Venezuela

Brief history of the Jewish community of Venezuela

In 1821, shortly after the constitution of Venezuela as an independent country, the first establishment of Jews was set up. This group was formed by Sephardic Jews, and chose the costal city of Coro, not too far from the Island of Curaçao.

Its establishment was possible due to the commercial relations between Venezuela and the surrounding islands which were growing at the time, and due to the laws which guaranteed freedom of religion.

The Jewish tradesmen of Curaçao maintained a connection with Venezuela selling various products thereof.

During the Independence War, the Jews of Curaçao supported the independence epic of Simon Bolivar and some of them, like Juan Bartolomé De Sola, Benjamín Henríquez and Samuel Henríquez, enrolled in the patriotic army. When the Venezuelan liberator had to flee from the Spaniards to Cuaraçao, he and his sisters found refuge in the house of the Jewish lawyer Mordechai Ricardo. After the independence, besides Coro, there were other Sephardic settlements in other costal cities like Barcelona, Puerto Cabello, Maracaibo and Caracas. Because Venezuelas was a relatively secular country, with a flexible social structure, some Jews achieved prominent positions

From the second half of the XIXth century, there was a growing migratory wave of Jews coming from Morocco, who set the bases for the organized Jewish community. After several attempts in 1907 and 1919, the Israelite Association of Venezuela agglutinating Jews of Sephardic origins was established in 1930.

During the same decade, Ashkenazi immigrants arrived in Venezuela from Central and Eastern Europe, particularly from Romania, Germany, Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia. After the Second World War, the arrival of European Jewish immigrants grew. In 1950 the Israelite Union of Caracas was created, formed by Ashkenazi Jews. By the end of the 1950s, numerous Moroccan Jews and also from other parts of the world, such as Egypt, Hungary and Israel, and from other countries of Latin-American, increased the number of members of the Venezuelan Jewish community

Its organization

The community is organized under the umbrella of the Confederation of Israelites Asociacions of Venezuela (CAIV), formed by the Israelite Association of Venezuela (AIV) –Sephardic–, the Israelite union of Caracas (UIC) –Ashkenazi–, the Zionist Federation of Venezuela (representing all the Zionist organizations), Venezuelan Federation of Jewish Women, and the Hebrew Fraternity B'nai B'rith. Also, the youth movements and the communities of the in-

terior of the country are affiliated to the Confederation. The Vaad Hakehilot includes the AIV and the UIC for common issues such as education, social aid, information and safety. In addition, there are other sport entities. The recreational part is in charge of the Social, Cultural and Sport Centre Hebraica, which possesses vast spaces in the Eastern part of Caracas. The press organ of the community is the weekly paper called *Nuevo Mundo Israelita*, which has been issuing its editions for thirty two years without interruptions. Additionally, there are other magazines, as the Hebraica's, Vashem's and Maguen's magazines, edited every three months by the Centre of Sephardic Studies of Caracas. Further, the CAIV as its confederated institutions have edited diverse publications on topics related to Judaism and the community

Culture and Education

The community supports the Community Educative System (SEC) formed by a pre-school, a primary school and a secondary school, which function in Hebraica under the name of Educative Unity "Moral and Lights Herzl-Bialik". A high percentage of children and young people between 5 and 18 years old (approximately one thousand eight hundred) are enrolled in the SEC. The Sinai School, which is a religious school, has one hundred and fifty students. In addition, there are other smaller Jewish educative institutions in Caracas. In Maracaibo the Bilu School functions with 25% of Jewish children. Currently it organizes a trip to Israel for the 4th year of the Secondary School.

The Institute of High Jewish Studies (ISEJ), sponsored by the Zionist Federation of Venezuela, offers courses for adults whether they belong to the Jewish community or not.

The Centre of Sephardic Studies of Caracas which promotes Sephardic culture includes among its activities the Sephardic Week, which has taken place nine times already. The Sephardic Museum of Caracas "Morris E. Curiel", recently established, has organized several exhibitions which were well received inside and outside the community. Further, the Israelite Union of Caracas has, within its head-

quarters, the “Kern” Museum and through its Direction of Culture, carries out numerous activities.

For many years, the WIZO has organized the art exhibition “Bijoux” regarded as one of the most important of the country.

Religious life is intense and there are 16 synagogues. The two largest ones are the Great Synagogue called “Tiferet Israel”, of the AIV and the Synagogue called “Adam and Clara Slimak”, of the UIC. Further, there are other synagogues in Maracaibo, Porlamar, Valencia, Maracay and Puerto La Cruz. In Caracas we find the Yes-hivot, Kolelin, kosher butchery and bakery. The UIC and the AIV have pantheons in several cemeteries of Caracas. The oldest Jewish cemetery, whose first grave is from 1832, is in Coro.

Chavez and the Jewish Community

Venezuela is a generous country and the Venezuelans practice racial and religious tolerance. Mixture of ethnics have produced the envy of the planet, insofar as what is known as the cosmic race. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of this land have seen with awe and incredulity the emergence in the motherland of Bolivar, of a small but powerful sector purporting to sow the seed of hatred, intolerance and exclusion with the most ominous manifestations of human misery, as historical revisionism, denial of the Holocaust and anti-Semitism. In the sixty five days which ended on August 30th 2004, a hundred and ninety five anti-Semitic events took place (an “event” is when an anti-Semitic fact becomes public through the written press, the radio or the TV). Sometimes, the cover of anti-Zionism was used to promote a matrix of opinion against the Jews, and many times, without any concealment, the community, its institutions and its leaders by name and surname, were attacked and demonized. They are accused of being part of plans for overthrowing the governments and for killing President Hugo Chavez, and of being behind the assassination of prosecutors. In addition, synagogues are violated with disgusting paintings, and they are not allowed to pray, they are called “murderers” and “apocalyptic beasts” in the covers of certain newspapers. Further, the expulsion of the Jews from Venezuela is suggested from the pages of newspapers.

Now, all these acts are labelled as crimes against humanity by international laws and, thus, they would be grave crimes for any government. The Jewish community of this country has not only lived during decades in a profound social peace with other sectors of the Venezuelan life, but it has also chosen to keep a low public profile.

Nevertheless, to the extent that the problems in the Middle East become more complex, the Venezuelan president raises the tone of these criticisms to the United States and Israel. This position led him to make an alliance with nuclear countries like Iran and North Korea, great enemies of the West. These episodes have pierced deeply in one of the most active Hebrew collectives of Latin-American, the Venezuelan.

Both the government of Venezuela and the Jewish community of that country have tried to establish connections with the new President. Finally, in 2006, President Chavez granted them a hearing, where the Jews manifested their concern about the anti-Semitic messages disseminated by the media.

Within the heart of the Jewish community of this country, different opinions were heard about maintaining or not bonds with the Chavez government. Some critical sectors within the community held that the protest should be stronger, not only repudiating the official media, but also expressing their condemnation to the President when he is heard denigrating the descendents of the ones who “crucified Christ and took over the wealth of the world”.

“We are all nervous because we have never lived similar situations in the past”, stated Pynchas Brener, the principal Rabbi of Venezuela, who more than once has been the target of booing from the government media. “If somebody asks me whether there is anti-Semitism in Venezuela, I believe that there is more than before; but before there was very little. It is also true that with his declarations, Chavez did not want to openly accuse the Jews, there is the danger that many of his followers who respect his words to the point interpret this against the Hebrew people”, the Rabbi explained.

The Wiesenthal Centre of the city of Los Angeles, in the United States, demanded Hugo Chavez an apology for his anti-Semitic declarations: “Such an offence to the values of universal humanism

demands an immediate retraction and public apologies.” “Silence vis-à-vis this letter can only be construed as a reaffirmation of a racist thinking”, concluded the letter from the Centre.

In addition to the Jewish community, intellectual sectors from outside (around 250, also including Jews) the country have published a statement in the newspaper *El Nacional*, rejecting Chavez’s speech and denouncing “these dangerous tendencies”.

The issue of the media deserves a paragraph in this context. During the year 2006 both the official written, the audiovisual and digital media have disseminated anti-Jewish messages, and have harshly attacked the State of Israel.

Last January 5th, the anchormen of the TV show *La Hojilla*, broadcasted by the State Channel, questioned the young Venezuelan Jewish filmmaker Jonathan Jacobowicz, who, with his show *Kidnapping Express*, broke the blockbuster record exteriorizing the bitter violence which has stolen the country. The presenters of the show highlighted that it was a “Jew” who dared offending the Venezuelan Armed Forces.

International Jewish organizations are paying attention: “We are carefully following the practices of the Venezuelan government, which have to be based on respect for the minorities. As long as this does not take place, the minorities are in jeopardy”, commented Dinna Siegel Vann, director of the Institute of Latin-American Affairs of the American Jewish Committee (AJC), in Washington, D.C. Hebrews, who immigrated to Venezuela from different parts of the world, have contributed to the development of the Nation since the freeing epic of Simon Bolivar. In the sciences, the arts of the public service, they have given their talent for making the country a better place for everybody.

MIDDLE EAST

Iran

Summary of the events

In the beginning of 2006, the world was shaken by innumerable acts of violent produced by fundamentalist groups who objected the publication of cartoons about Mohammed in France, Denmark, etc.

In order to counteract this situation and in clear defiance to the West in general and to Israel in particular, on April 7th 2006, an Iranian newspaper organized a contest looking for the best cartoon on the Holocaust, to test whether the West would apply the same principle of freedom of press on the Jewish genocide, as it did with the images of the prophet Mohammed.

As a strong challenge to the United States and Europe, the Iranian president, Majmud Ahmadinejad, warned that “these countries will pay for having published cartoons on Mohammed and that the West has become a tool of Zionism”.

In the same statement, he asked the whole world not to allow that a “group of Zionists who failed in Palestine”, in reference to the triumph of Hamas in the Palestinian elections, insulted the prophet and reiterated that the Holocaust is a myth.

In June, the president of Iran in a visit to China demanded that the extermination of six million Jews during the Second World War be submitted to an “impartial” examination.

On June 9th, the adviser of the Iranian president, Mohamed Ali Ramin gave a lecture at the University of Gilán in Rasht where in a dialogue with the students stated that:

“Among the Jews, there have always been those who killed the prophets of God and who opposed justice and rectitude. Throughout history, this religious group has perpetrated the greatest damage on the human race, whereas some of the groups committed to design plots against other nations and ethnic groups in order to inflict cruelty, malice and immorality”.

Ramin denounced that “spreading avian flu in birds was a conspiracy caused by the failure of America, Israel and Great Britain in the Middle East”. Ramin pointed out that in order to cover and hide their failures these countries have spread the news on the avian flu to distract the public opinion during 5 or 6 months. Nobody asks how a bird which got the flue was able to fly from Australia to Siberia.

He also linked the Holocaust and the avian flue and, also held that the killing of millions of birds was done to control the price and quantity thereof in the market.

On December 7th 2006, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) encouraged the European leaders to condemn the forthcoming conference in Iran titled "Revision of the Holocaust: Global Vision". "We believe that this kind of denial of the Holocaust has no place in the family of nations, and that is essential that the leaders of the world condemn this conference" stated Abraham H. Foxman, national director of ADL and survivor of the Holocaust. "Denial of the Holocaust is an anti-Semitic theory which postulates that the Jews, for their own selfish goals, deliberately created a monstrous story of their own destruction" Forman added.

Even if Teheran has refused to issue a list of participants, it included the American revisionist Bradley Smith, who bragged about having at least ten documents which show the falseness of the Holocaust, Roberto Faurisson from France, Michele Renouf from the United Kingdom and Ahmed Rami from Sweden, among others

In a letter addressed to the European leader, the ADL encouraged its government and the European Union to publicly denounce the conference.

The ADL praised the Secretary General of the UN, Kofi Annan, for this strong statement, condemning the Iranian conference on the Holocaust. The international public servant asserted: "any attempt to question the reality of this unique and undeniable horror must be firmly resisted by all people of good will, whatever their faith".

Between June 11th and December 12th, Iran organized an international congress, whose topic was: "Research on the Holocaust: world consequences". The congress was organized by the Institute of Political and International Studies (IPIS), which depends on the Ministry of Foreign Relations of Iran and is financed by Romano Prodi, Italian representative. This is a research institute funded in 1983, and its goals include topics related to foreign policy of Iran. Its members include both academics and former diplomats.

During the congress, the Iranians attempted to show the "facts" on the Holocaust which, in other words, is nothing more than repeating the arguments on the diverse types of negationists of the Holocaust.

It is not about an isolated anti-Semitic incident, but a well-oiled structure seeking to disseminate inside and outside Iran, both through

satellite television and written publications, and an enormous amount of plainly anti-Semitic propaganda.

Inside the structure, different internal Iranian factors are involved: from the anti-Semitic president Ahmadineyad, together with other leaders of the regimen and several ministers –in this case of the Foreign Relations Minister–, going through the formal educative system (specially the academic field) and even the mass media throughout Iran. They are the ones in charge of disseminating the bloody writings against the Jews, the diatribe of the “Protocols” and other inventions which incite anti-Semitism.

The Iranian Jews

The mere existence of an organized Jewish community in Iran living in a situation of relative freedom of religion is an unknown reality, both by the general public and by professional and intellectual sectors.

It is the largest community of the Middle East, except from Israel. Whereas the ones in Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and Algeria are close to a hundred, and in Morocco live 5.700, in Iran live around 25.000 Jews.

There are several synagogues and even a Jewish hospital (one of the four quality hospitals which exist in the world) which is supported with money from the Jewish Diaspora. There are also schools, although they were reduced from forty to three since the revolution, the Jewish directors were replaced by Islamic, and Jewish Shabbat is not respected, therefore there are children who must attend school that day.

Thus, the Jews are able to live as Jews, but with relative restrictions. They are permanently suspected of maintaining contacts with Israel and with the United States, an activity punished by death. In 1999, thirteen Jews were arrested and accused of espionage. Ten of them were found guilty (sentenced to two to ten years in prison) and three were acquitted. The Jews who request passports are watched and the passport is not granted to all members of a family at the same time to avoid immigration. On the other hand, the press and TV permanently broadcast anti-Semitic harangues, deny the Holocaust and consider it as an excuse for the existence of the “Zionist State”. (For more information, see Indice 24 Review of the Centre for Social Studies of DAIA).

Positive Context

This section is aimed at accounting for the different positive expressions generated by the fabric of the Argentinean society in terms of approach, building joint projects and incorporating an attitude of alert vis-à-vis anti-Semitic incidents.

The space provided by this section has been growing for nine consecutive years of this research study, and enables us to state, time and again, that this relational dynamic, contrasting with the violence and exclusion against those who are perceived as an “other” and “different” and sometimes as “dangerous”, is becoming a daily and spontaneous exercise.

The following pages contain a lengthy list of events revealing the above-mentioned characteristics. The following sub-headlines have been provided for a more ordered reading: 1) *Pluralism and coexistence: materialization joint projects*; 2) *National State Attitudes*; 3) *Space in the media of issues relating to the Jewish community in the mass media*; 4) *Actions in the educative field and*; 5) *Shoah (Holocaust)*.

Pluralism and Coexistence

The materialization of joint projects

- During the year under study, the *Argentinean Jewish Christian Confraternity* organized numerous meetings as follows: a) Commemorative Kabbalat Shabbat and Mass for the anniversary of the terrorist bombing against the AMIA-DAIA building, b) Exhibition on “The Woman in the Sacred Writings”, c) Acknowledgement of a just Nation among the nations: “The Jewish Museum of Denmark”, d) Organization of the *First Symposium of Christian Theol-*

- ogy on Holocaust-Shoah: Its effects on the theology and Christian life in Argentina and in Latin American*". This Symposium was declared as being educative interest by Ministry Resolution N° 514 and of cultural interest by decree N° 479 of the Government of the City of Buenos Aires, e) II Seminal FUNDAMER, I National Seminar on Prevention of Violence and Social Integration, f) Commemorative Kabalat Shabbat and Mass for the 12th anniversary of the terrorist bombing against the AMIA-DAIA building; g) Joint Communiqué for the Peace in the Middle East, h) Declaration issued in response to the "anti-Semitic organized in Argentina", i)
- Dialogue between the presbyter Dr. José Juan García and the Architect David Schabelman, head of DAIA- San Juan, where they rescued the achievements of the "IV Conference of Dialogue and Ecumenism" done in the Parish "María Madre de Dios" a few months before. (07/02).
 - Monsignor Eduardo Mirás, president of the Episcopal Conference was recognized by the Jewish community of Rosario at the Association for Beneficence. During this act, it was handed to him a parchment saying "you will always be remembered with love by the Jewish community". (09/03).
 - The Confraternity of Christian Leaders of the city of Rosario and Surrounding Zones, Province of Santa Fe, and the Centre for Ecclesiastic and Theological Research, Study and Training adhered and participated with prayers and reflections in the ceremony where the Minister of Foreign Affairs Jorge Taiana honoured the religious men and women of different creeds who were victims of the State terrorism. (27/03).
 - Members of the Jewish and Arab collectivities settled in the city of Rosario gathered to plan joint strategies in pursue of the goal to strengthen union bonds and organize several activities. The conclave took place at the headquarters of the Argentinean Syrian Social Club, and were present as special guests the governor Jorge Obeid and the mayor of the city Miguel Lifschitz. (04/04).
 - Inter-religious Educative Calendar done by Catholics, Jews and Muslims, for the Christian year 2006, Jewish year 5766 and Mus-

lim year 1426/7. This was an initiative of the Argentinean Jewish-Christian Confraternity, the Islamic Centre of the Republic of Argentina and San Pablo Publishers. (17/04).

- The Islamic Centre of the Republic of Argentina sent its formal greetings and salutations to “all believers of the Jewish creed in the celebration of Pesach wishing to deepen the dialogue and co-existence which unites and gathers us”. This message was signed by the President of that institution, Samir Salech and by its Secretary General, Omar Abboud. (18/04).
- Due to the discussions stemmed from the cartoons on Mohammed and the paintings of Leon Ferrari exhibited in Recoleta and the denials of the Holocaust, a debate was organized by the CEMA University where Judge of the National Criminal and Economic Appeals Chamber, Marcos Grabivker, the Sheij Mohsen Alí and the dean of that institution, Dr. Alejandro Finocchiaro participated. (26/04).
- An inter-religious act for the tolerance and in favour of education presided by Cardinal Jorge Bergoglio was organized at the Square of Mayo. Thousands of students also participated thereof. (27/04).
- An ecumenical prayer for peace in the presence of 3000 members of different creeds led by the Dalai Lama, Tibetan leader of Buddhism took place. (02/05).
- AMIA honoured the president of Boca Juniors club, Mauricio Macri and the players Martín Palermo and Guillermo Barros Squelotto as “good will ambassadors” due to the match that institution played in Israel against Macabi Tel Aviv club. (10/05).
- The Israelite Society of Beneficence of the Province of San Juan and the Parish “María Madre de Dios” organized an inter-religious meeting to analyze diverse common aspects linked to Christianity and Judaism. The president of the local Israelite Society, Dr. Carlos Glantz; the director of Cult of the same entity, Engineer Javier Lwsky; archbishop of San Juan, Monsignor Alfonso Delgado and y el presbyter Dr. José Juan García participated thereof. (15/05).
- The Centre for Complaints against Discrimination belonging to

- the NGOs Forum against discrimination informed about the functioning of a free and confidential service for consultations. (16/06).
- La Gaceta called upon the president of DAIA -province of Tucuman- Jaime Salomón and the head of the Lebanese Mutual Assistance Association of Tucuman, Pedro César Bujazha, to give their opinions on the conflict in the Middle East. (23/07).
 - Inter-religious prayer for the Peace in the Middle East, organized by a Church of the City of Buenos Aires, Santa Catalina de Siena where Rabbi Sergio Bergman, Professor Ricardo Elías, of the Islamic Centre of the Republic of Argentina and the priest Fernando Giannetti. (08/08).
 - In a journalist article, Dr. Camila Mahmud de Brahim, of the Executive Comité of Argentinean Arab Entities of the province of Santiago del Estero, highlighted the good relation existing between the Arab and Jewish collectivities. (09/08).
 - The Syrian Lebanese Club of the Province of San Juan and the Israelite Society of the same province signed a joint declaration in order to “express their deep regret about the terrible war events taking place in the Middle East”. (10/08).
 - The new Palestinian ambassador in Argentina, Farid Suwwan, met with the leaders of the Jewish Cultural Entities and the Convergence Movement of a Pluralist Judaism to search for points of agreement about the war in the Middle East. (14/08).
 - Pastors of different creeds, defenders of human rights and equality of civil treatment for all religions gathered at the Congress against Discrimination at the Cultural Centre Bernardino Rivadavia in the city of Rosario. The Congress was organized in the context of the “Month of Fight against Discrimination” established by local resolution N° 6972. (24/08).
 - Pastor Daniel Annone, Rabbi Marcelo Polakoff, Soher Sucaria representing the Muslim and Jewish communities and Cynthia Cargnelutti for the Catholic faith, participated in the Eighth International Assembly of Religions for the Peace. It took place in Kyoto, Japan with the attendance of delegates from all over the world. (25-29/08).

- International Colloquium with the slogan “For a better world. The role of the civil society in the social inclusion and the millennium development goals”, organized by AMIA, The United Nations Programme for Development (UNPD) and the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation. (4-5/10).
- Rabbi Sergio Bergman, representative of the Israelite Congregation of the Republic of Argentina, Orthodox Priest, Manuel Alurralde and Muslim Professor Omar Abboud, of the Islamic Centre of the Republic of Argentina, debated on the conflict in the Middle East. The meeting took place in the Centre for High Studies of the Province of Tucuman. (11/10).
- Due to offensive declarations against the Islam uttered by the Pope, Rabbi Daniel Goldman, of the Bet-El community of Buenos Aires, Professor Omar Abboud, secretary general of the Islamic Centre of the Republic of Argentina, and priest Guillermo Marcó, press director of the Archbishop of the City of Buenos Aires, analyzed those declarations. The three men preside over the Institute for Inter-Religious Dialogue. (13/10).
- Second Marathon “To help is the goal”, organized by AMIA and the UN Programme for Development in the woods of the neighbourhood of Palermo in the City of Buenos Aires (22/10).
- Journalist article where the “religious civic conscience” is highlighted with representatives of different creeds showing a symptom of a “pulverized representation” on the part of politics. (07/11).
- The Argentinean Council for Religious Freedom (CALIR) proposed that the Legislature of the City of Buenos Aires declares November 25th as the “Day of Religious Freedom”. (08/11).
- The Twelfth “Walk for a true Integration of Persons with Disability” organized by the Area of Disability of AMIA, the Archdioceses of Buenos Aires and the B’Nai B’Rith Argentina, was organized under the slogan *Transportation for all*. (12/11).
- On the “Day of Religious Freedom”, established by law of the City of Buenos Aires, a group of students gathered at a “party of authenticity” where they told their experiences in different creeds

to civil servants of the National government and to all the students of their public school called, Middle School N ° 1 Rodolfo Walsh. (28/11).

- The former football referee and current secretary general of the Referees Union of the Republic of Argentina (SADRA), Guillermo Marconi, visited DAIA due to the anti-Semitic chants heard at the football match between Atlanta club and Defensores de Belgrano. (29/11).
- A group of Christians and Jews gathers every month with the participation of members of the Archdioceses Commission for Ecumenism and Inter-Religious Dialogue, laics and Jews. In their last meeting, the media was summoned in order to disseminate the spirit of the dialogue to the whole society. Father Leonardo Valoy, on behalf of the Archbishopric, theologian Fray Domingo Cosenza, representatives of the Movement of the Focolars, Gabriela Corral and Maximiliano Picardo, Dr. Bernardo Guzmán, businessmen Alberto Cohen Imach and Carlos Stern, laics Carlos Arcuri and Mis. "Peque" de Ascuri and the anchorwoman Cristina Cisterna. (14/12).
- The list "Comunidades en Gestion" was formally presented with the goal to compete in the legislative elections of the City of Buenos Aires in 2007. It is a ballot which does not respond to any public sector, but to collectivities and descendants from Italian, Spaniard, Arab, Jewish, Paraguayan, Bolivian and Armenian immigrants, among others. It is led by the vice-president of the Federation of Arab Entities (FEARAB), Roberto Abud. (27/12).

Attitudes from the National State

- Several civil servants of the government visited DAIA Buenos Aires in order to touch upon different topics relative to the reality of the national Jewish community. Among them, Minister of Foreign Relations Jorge Taiana, Minister of Justice, Alberto Iribarne, Minister of Education, Daniel Filmus, María José Libertino, president of the INADI; Roberto Iglesias, president of the National Comité of the UCR UCR; Lino Gutiérrez, ambassador

- of the United States, Margarita Stolbizer, Secretary General of the UCR; Fernando Chironi, head of the representatives block of the UCR; Roberto García Moritán, vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs;
- A project to incorporate pastors and rabbis to the Military Bishop was proposed. (no date).
 - The National Institute against Discrimination, Xenophobia and Racism (INADI), supported DAIA in the incorporation of Jewish non-working days in the daily calendars, something that CITANOVA and MORGAN diaries included, together with the Muslim non-working days. (17/01).
 - Minister of Interior, Aníbal Fernández, received a delegation from DAIA at the Government House and analyzed aspects related to common good problems. (26/01).
 - Nilda Garré, Minister of Defence, received the president of DAIA, Mr. Jorge Kirszenbaum, who communicated her their intention to collaborate in the human rights policy of the Ministry. Further, DAIA offered to work together for that goal. (26/01).
 - The government of the City of Buenos Aires decided to sponsor the *Seminar for Political Training for Voluntary Leader of Jewish Entities, 5° class* through its Secretary of Culture. (13/03).
 - The National Institute against Discrimination, Xenophobia and Racism (INADI), organized a meeting for the “Universal Day against Discrimination”. (21/03).
 - The National Senate declared the act of Yom Ha Shoah of “legislative interest”. (06/04).
 - The Argentinean Archbishop took prayers to the “Wailing Wall” in the hands of Guillermo Marcó, its press director. (10/04).
 - The decision to declare as “non-working days” the days of Jewish New Year, Atonement Day and Jewish Passover, for those who profess such religion was made official in the National Gazette through Decree N° 470’06. (21/04).
 - National Vice-President Daniel Scioli and Senator and First Lady, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, attended the central act for the Holocaust Day which took place at the Colon Theatre. The latter delivered a speech and stated that “memory, intransigency and

freedom are the necessary exercises to avoid the repetition of new tragedies”. (07/05).

- In the Province of Tucuman, the constitutional text demanding that the governor and vice-governor swear in the name of God, the Motherland and the Sacred Gospels in order to take over office was eliminated. (17/05).
- Inauguration of a synagogue at the penitentiary of the neighbourhood of Devoto in the City of Buenos Aires as a result of a joint project of AMIA and the Latin-American Rabbinic Centre. (29/05).
- Due to an initiative of the Raoul Wallenberg Foundation, the governor of the Province of Santa Fe, Jorge Obeid, created a special commission to elaborate a programme in honour of Monsignor Alfonso Durán who, in his life, presented a precise and timing defence of the creation of the State of Israel and the promotion of an enriching dialogue with the Jewish creed. (12/06).
- Archbishop of the Province of Corrientes, Domingo Salvador Castagna, offered apologies to the Jewish community for the anti-Semitic expressions of a deacon who had been summoned to bless the new Social and Sport Club of the local municipality¹. (16/06).
- The *Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina 2005* became part of the collections circulating in the library of the National Foreign Service Institute (ISEN) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (04/07).
- The Representatives’ Chamber of the Province of Entre Rios decided to declare of Legislative Interest the presentation of the *Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina 2005*. (05/07).
- The government decreed the date of the anniversary of the terrorist bombing against the AMIA-DAIA building, July 18th 1994, as a National mourning day. Its text says that the attack was “an aggression to the ethical and legal values of the Argentineans and their democratic system” as well as a “direct attack to the sovereignty of the Argentinean Nation”. (13/07).

¹ This event is properly denounced in the Annex of “Anti-Semitic Incidents”.

- The obelisk, located in the centre of the City of Buenos Aires, was the place for the beginning of the remembrance acts of a new anniversary of the attack against the AMIA-DAIA building occurred in 1994. The Head of the government of the City of Buenos Aires, Jorge Telerman, presided over the ceremony which consisted on an ecumenical inter-religious prayer and the installation of a white tent where allegoric images were exhibited. Further, he received the relatives of the victims who briefed him on the state of the legal case. (16/07).
- In the context of the 12° anniversary of the terrorist bombing against the AMIA-DAIA building in 1994, the President of the Nation, Néstor Kirchner, received the World Jewish Committee, who demanded justice in the face of the impunity of such attack. (19/07).
- A minute of silence was held at the Representatives' Chamber in order to honour the victims of the terrorist bombing against the AMIA-DAIA building at the 12° anniversary of the attack. All the blocks adhered to such decision. (19/07).
- The Secretariat of Cult, which depends of the National Ministry of Foreign Affairs, International Commerce and Cult, honoured the Synagogue of Novibuco I in its 111° anniversary located in the Colony of Lucienville of the City of Basavilbaso. (23/07).
- The leadership of the Jewish, Catholic and Muslim communities was summoned by the National Government, through its Secretary of Cult, Guillermo Oliveri, to subscribe a joint declaration for the peace in response to the conflict in the Middle East. (27/07).
- Due to the conflict in the Middle East between the State of Israel and the Lebanon, the spokesperson of the Archbishop of Buenos Aires, Presbyter Guillermo Marcó, published an article highlighting the traditional peaceful coexistence in this country of Jews, Catholics and Muslims. (02/08).
- In response to the insults uttered against the Jewish community by the Peronist Youth of Parana in connection to the conflict in the Middle East, the president of the local DAIA, Eduardo Furman, was received by the Governor Jorge Busti. (14/08).

- The head of the Government of the City of Buenos Aires, Jorge Telerman, designated as Attorney General Agustín Zbar. He welcomed him in Hebrew and highlighted the radical political origin of the lawyer. Zbar was sworn by the “sacred books of the Torah, the prophets of Israel, and the National and Local Constitution”. (30/08).
- At the Auditorium of the Third Corps of the Army, a Conference presented by the DAIA- Cordoba took place, where a survivor of the Shoah, Jorge Klainman, gave his testimony. (13/09).
- In a meeting of the INADI a document was approved whereby it encouraged the “responsible integration” among all the religious creeds working in Argentina. (20/09).
- The head of the government of the City of Buenos Aires, Jorge Telerman and the Israeli ambassador, Rafael Eldad, presided over a ceremony for the presentation of a frieze seeking to provide an “artistic” profile to the small security pillars placed in front of one of the buildings of the Jewish community after the terrorist bombing against the AMIA-DAIA building of July 18th 1994. (21/09).
- Senator and First Lady, Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, met with Evelyn Sommer, the president of the International Union of Zionist Women to examine anti-Semitic-related questions in Argentina. (21/09).
- Monsignor Néstor Navarro, joined the ceremony of the beginning of Rosh Ha Shanah (Jewish New Year) in the Province of Rio Negro. (22/09).
- The Vice-Governor of the Province of Buenos Aires, Graciela Giannettasio, participated in the act organized by the Jewish community of La Plata for the commencement of the celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the local AMIA. (25/09).
- National Radio broadcasted live from the Bet-El community, the ceremony of Neilá of Yom Kippurs (Atonement Day). (02/10).
- The INADI proposed to eliminate the national celebration of October 12th, the day of the discovery of America, to remove the denomination of “Day of the Race”. (11/10).
- The Commission on Culture, Education and Social Communica-

tion of the Province of Rio Negro, issued a favourable legal opinion on two bills presented by the legislator Mario Pepe (Alianza Concertación) seeking to declare as non-working days the ones corresponding to the Muslim and Jewish religious celebrations. (21/10).

- A representative of the City of Buenos Aires proposed that November 25th be declared as the “Day of Religious Freedom” on the 25th anniversary of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Intolerance and Discrimination based on Religion. (31/10).
- The political representation of the Argentinean Jewish community was satisfied with the position of the Executive Power regarding the statement done by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: “Teheran is of great gravity for Argentina” concerning the legal opinion of the Prosecution which accused that country of being responsible for the planning of the terrorist bombing perpetrated against the AMIA-DAIA building on July 18th 1994. (01/11).
- In a public conference, the necessary laws to lower the discrimination rated in Argentina were launched. The bill was presented by the president of the INADI María José Lubertino and the Vice-president of the Nation, Daniel Scioli. (01/11).
- The Senate approved the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against the Woman (CEDAW). The Protocol is a human rights treaty, was approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1999 and was ratified by 82 countries throughout the world. (01/11).
- The INADI presented a Genre Forum with the goal to open a space for the analysis of the citizenship of women in the face of violence, sexual and reproductive rights and labour equality. (07/11).
- Inauguration of a square bearing the name of former Israeli Primer Minister Itzjak Rabin, who was killed on November 4th 1995. The design of the space was done by the Public Space Ministry. (21/11).
- The Legislature of the City of Buenos Aires unanimously passed a law declaring in its first article that Buenos Aires is an educative

city. The bill was a product of the debate between Jewish, Evangelists, Catholics, Greek Orthodox and Laics Armenian students from Private and State Schools. This norm will be applied in 2010. (24/11).

- The INADI launched in the city of Parana, Province of Entre Rios, a Seminar for the Promotion of the National Plan against Discrimination. The meeting also included the provinces of Misiones, Corrientes and Santa Fe. (24/11).
- The National Minister of Education, Mr. Daniel Filmus and the president of AMIA, presided over an act honouring the Jewish detained-disappeared during the last military dictatorship endured by Argentina (05/12).
- In a green space of the City of Buenos Aires, a bush was planted in honour of the Jewish detained-disappeared during the last military dictatorship (1976/1983). It is located in the Walk of Human Rights in the Indo-American Park. (12/12).
- The Minister for Development of the Nation, Alicia Kirchner visited the construction site for the new home and centre for the elderly of the Jewish community “Le Dor Va Dor”. Luis Grynwald, president of AMIA, Alejandro Kladniew, director of the Joint and Jorge Fainzaig, president of the home were present. (12/12).
- On the International Day of Human Rights, the National Senate honoured, among other personalities, Minister of Foreign Affairs Jorge Taiana for its renowned work in international institutions, the Grandmother of Plaza de Mayo, the authors of the TV series “Montecristo”, Luis Carr, founder of the de Red Solidaria and the Shoah Foundation. (12/12).
- The Minister of Interior, Aníbal Fernandez, received the newly elected president of DAIA, Mr. Aldo Donzis. (18/12).
- The INADI developed a National Seminar for the Implementation of the National Plan against Discrimination titled: “Argentina: from Discrimination to the Integration of Diversities”. Its main goal is to promote the implementation at a national, provincial and municipal level of the National Plan against Discrimination, approved by Decree N° 1086/05. (18-19/12).

- On the celebrations for Chanukah, the festival of lights, the Israelite Association Jabad Lubavitch set up enormous candelabrum in public spaces of the City of Buenos Aires, whose candles were lighted every evening. (19/12).
- The Minister of Education, Daniel Filmus, the Secretary of Culture, José Nun, and the Israeli ambassador Rafael Eldad, participated in the celebration of Chanukah. It took place in the cement square at the AMIA headquarters. (21/12).
- The governor of the Province of Santa Fe, Jorge Obeid, received the newly elected authorities of the local DAIA. (21/12).
- The Vice-President of the Nation, Daniel Scioli received the newly elected authorities of DAIA to analyze several questions related to the Argentinean Jewish community. (26/12).

Space in the media

- Article telling the store of Argentinean professionals who emigrated to Israel in the context of the doctors from Rosario, Félix Umansky and José Cohen, who operated the then Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. (12/01).
- Presentation of the book “AMIA the impossible truth” in Villa Maria, Province of Cordoba, a research published by Sudamericana Publishing in collaboration with the journalist from Veintitrés Magazine, Gustavo Cirellí. (27/01).
- An article titled “Between integration and rejection” described the Argentinean Jewish collectivity as one of the most important of the world. Further, it communicates certain aspects of the *Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina 2005*. (February).
- An article is published on the death in Hamburg of the former SS official Friedrich Engel, known as the “executioner of Genoa” after ordering several shootings in Italy during the Second World War. (13/02).
- An article is published on the restitution of important paintings stolen by the Nazis. It is about paintings done by renowned masters of the art which were exhibited in museums in Austria and The Netherlands. (13/02).
- An article speaks about the finding and possible auction of a

metal eagle with the Nazi insignia, belonging to the battleship Graf Spee, found in the Uruguayan coast on December 17th 1939. (17/02).

- An article informs about the fact that the State Prosecutor of Austria filed an appeal to extend the sentence of three years received by the British historian John Irving for denying the Holocaust during a speech pronounced in 1989 while visiting the country. (21/02).
- Journalist article where the Architect David Schabelman, president of the DAIA San Juan explains the words of Judaism, such as “Hebrew”, “Israelite”, “Jew” and “Zionists”. (02/03).
- An article informs about the institutional mission of the Raoul Wallenberg Foundation, the Swedish diplomat who saved the lives of thousands of Hungarian Jews during the Shoah. (14/03).
- Important media coverage of the 14th anniversary of the unpunished terrorist attack against the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires. (17/03).
- A letter criticizing a reader who doubts about the veracity of the Holocaust because it could contribute to impunity and repetition of tragedies is published. (18/03).
- Journalist article describing the story and the characteristics of FM JAI, the only Jewish radio station of Latin America. (19/03).
- Important media coverage of the act organized by DAIA at the Law School of the University of Buenos Aires to commemorate the 30 years of the coup suffered by the country in 1976. In it, the members of the Tribunal which tried the members of the Military Juntas who committed systematic violations of human rights, participated. (20/03).
- An article informs about the high proportionality of Jewish detained-disappeared during the last military dictatorship of 1976. (20/03).
- Long article about the militancy in favour of the human rights militant activities of the late Rabbi of the Community of Bet-El and member of the CONADEP, Marshall T. Meyer. (22/03).
- Article about the announcement made by the City Hall of the German village of Pulheim to definitely close down a polemic

installation of the Spaniard artist Santiago Sierra, whereby a synagogue had been turned into a gas chamber, in response to the reaction of the Jewish community which considered it “intolerable”. (22/03).

- An article informs about the condemnation act done by the AMIA against the repressive policy of State terrorism established in 1976. (24/03).
- Article written by a Rabbi about the experiences of the Jewish community during the years of the military dictatorship. (24/03).
- Interview with Rabbi Julian Vainstein, from the province of Mendoza, who speaks of diverse topics related to the life of the community in the country. (27/03).
- Journalist article about “The incredible story of the sixty thousand books rescued from the AMIA”. The work was done by eight hundred volunteers. (02/04).
- Important media coverage of the news of the celebration of the Jewish Passover (Pesach) where the value of freedom of peoples is highlighted when remembering the Jewish exodus towards the Promised Land, breaking the bonds of slavery with Old Egypt. (12/04).
- Publication of a readers’ letter written by the president of DAIA, Mr. Jorge Kirszenbaum, regarding the “*Day of Coexistence in the Cultural Diversity*”, which commemorated the heroic Uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto on April 19th. (17/04).
- Publication of a readers’ letter written by Architect David Schabelman, president of DAIA San Juan, where he analyzes the different meanings of the idea of “plural culture” in the context of the commemoration of the “*Day of Coexistence in the Cultural Diversity*”. (20/04)
- Article about the presentation of the activities of the 2006 period of the House of Jewish Culture of the Province of Cordoba. (23/04).
- Article about the presentation of the book “Towards a faithless tomorrow?” written by Rabbi Abraham Skorka. In it, he reflects about the spiritual search of men. (23/04).

- Important media coverage of the act organized by the Argentinean Jewish community celebrating the 58^o anniversary of the creation of the State of Israel in the Luna Park stadium. (23/04).
- Article about the presentation of a show featuring tango songs sung in Yiddish narrating the stories of people separated by the Second World War. (24/05).
- Important media coverage of the commemoration of Yom Ha Shoah, “Day of the Holocaust” which took place at the Colon Theatre. Important officers of the National State participated therein. (25/04).
- Article about the restitution of the files of the detainees of the U9 of La Plata during the dictatorship (1976-1983). In the, it is possible to find adjectives such as “Jew”, “subversive” and “expelled from the country”, and also the record of the “formalization of the detainee”. (09/05).
- Important media coverage of the presentation of the *Report on Anti-Semitism 2005* elaborated by the CES-DAIA which took place at the Book Fair. The publication shows a great concern about the high number of anti-Semitic incidents, in relation to previous periods. (10/05).
- Article about the Congress organized in the city of Mar del Plata where 1400 Jewish leaders of Latin America gathered to discuss the strategies to increase social assistance. (11/05).
- Article telling the store of the philanthropist Ronald Lauder who, among other activities, founded associations to foment Jewish education. (22/06).
- Article about AMIA placing small pillars in twelve non-Jewish institutions during twelve day, in the context of the commemoration acts on the terrorist attack against that entity. (29/06).
- Article about the celebration of the hundred years of the Russian Colony of Jewish immigrants who arrived in the Province of Rio Negro by the end of the XIX century. (02/07).
- Article about the picturesque story of a Jewish old man, a Polish immigrant, who has been living in the Israelite Hospital for thirty years (04/07).

- Article analyzing the action of the memory on the twelfth anniversary of the attack against the AMIA-DAIA building written by a Rabbi. (05/07).
- Article on the presentation of the *Report on anti-Semitism in Argentina 2005* elaborated by CES-DAIA, at the Auditorium of the Lawyers' Council of Parana. The activity was organized by the Lawyers' Association of Parana, the local Israelite Association, DAIA Parana and the Argentinean Journalists' Forums (FOPEA) with the sponsorship of the *Cronista Digital*. (13/07).
- Important media coverage about the hundredth anniversary of the official rehabilitation of the French Jewish military, Alfred Dreyfus, who suffered one of the most important anti-Semitic events of the contemporaneous history of Europe. (13/07).
- Article on the presentation of the *Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina 2005* in the city of Parana. The event was presided over by Mr. Dr. Jorge Kirszenbaum, Mr. Julio Toker, president and secretary general of DAIA respectively, and the journalist Edgardo Esteban. (15/07).
- Important media coverage of the twelfth anniversary of the unpunished terrorist bombing which destroyed the headquarters of AMIA-DAIA in 1994, and the act in honour of the victims, where justice was demanded. (18/07).
- Publication of an article in a media from the province of La Rioja, written by a local Jewish doctor Santos Danon, who states that "Coexistence and peace is possible, it is necessary to get rid of the hatreds". (27/07).
- Important media coverage of the crowded act which took place at the Nautico Hacoaj Club in support of the State of Israel vis-à-vis the war unleashed in the area. (01/08).
- Article about the confirmation of the accusation of former sub-officer, Julio Simon (a.k.a "Turco Julian") for his participation in systematic violations of human rights during the last Argentinean military dictatorship. His special anti-Semitism and aggravated brutality towards the Jewish detained-disappeared is highlighted. (05/08).

- Article about the support that Argentinean Jewish leaders expressed to the Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Olmert in Jerusalem, with regards to the war in the area. (07/08).
- Article about the death in combat of the son of Argentineans who immigrated to Israel in en 1977, in the war in the area. (10/08).
- Article on the act organized by the Jewish community in support of the State of Israel and in rejection of Hezbollah terrorist, which took place in the site where the Israeli embassy used to be until its destruction by an unpunished attack on March 17th 1992. (15/08).
- Article about the beneficence and solidarity activities carried out by the Jewish organization *Tzedekah* which distributes the income of the resources given by the donors to needy people of all creeds. (16/08).
- Publication of an interview with Rabbi Alejandro Avruj of the community of NCI Emanuel of the neighbourhood of Belgrano, in the City of Buenos Aires, regarding his trip to Israel during the armed conflict in the area. (16/08).
- Important media coverage of the celebration of Rosh Ha Shanah (Jewish New Year), Yom Kippur (Atonement Day), Simchat Torah (Celebration of the Torah) , Sukkot (Festival of Ingathering), Purim and Chanukah (Celebration of Lights). (16/10).
- Journalist article where a professor of Constitutional Law of the National University and Catholic University of Cordoba analyzes whether Religious Freedom exists in Argentina or not. (23/10).
- Important media coverage of the pre-electoral situation of DAIA. (23/10).
- Article about the digitalization of an archive of AMIA about the history of Jewish presence in the country. (27/10).
- Under the title “Xenophobia is very much present”, an interview with president of DAIA, Mr. Jorge Kirszenbaum was published. In it, the expressions of Jewish hate stemmed from the conflict in the Middle East are analyzed. (30/10).
- Article about the IV International Festival of Jewish Cinema in Argentina. (01/11).

- In a journalist article, the author wonders whether the play “The Merchant of Venice” is anti-Semitic or not. The polemic arose again due to the production of the play in the province of Tucuman. (04/11).
- Important media coverage of the pre-electoral atmosphere of DAIA regarding the renovation of authorities and the result of the elections. (06/11).
- Journalist article exposing the conclusions of the debate held at the University of CEMA about anti-Semitism in Argentina, with the participation of Ana Caprav, Carlos Escudé and Gustavo Perednik. The debate was organized by Hadar Foundation, the Centre of International Studies and Education for Globalization of the UCEMA and Atlas Foundation 1853. (08/11).
- Article about the meeting of leaders of the world in the International Jewish Congress in Paris, where anti-Semitic and religious intolerance-related topics were discussed. (13/11).
- Long article analyzing the political situation and questions of representation in the Argentinean Jewish community. Further, other topics as identity, sense of belonging and religious freedom are analyzed. (16/11).
- Article on the acts organized by the Jewish community of Bahía Blanca for the celebration of the hundred years of the settling of the Jewish colony of Medanos. (19/11).
- Important media coverage of the taking over ceremony of the new authorities of DAIA, whose new president is Mr. Aldo Donzis. (30/11).
- Journalist article about the international exhibition of the life of the Jewish philosopher, rabbi and physician Maimonides, to begin the celebrations for the ninety years of the Israelite Society of the Province of San Juan. (03/12).
- Article about the Human Rights award given by the B’nai B’Rith to Federal Judge Daniel Rafecas, to the Argentinean Forensic Anthropology Team and to the Kinor Foundation, which took place at the Law School of the University of Buenos Aires. (12/12).

- Article about the coming opening of a Jewish Museum in the city of Concordia, Province of Entre Rios. (12/12).
- Article about the financial recovery of the Nautico Hacoaj Club after the crisis which stroke the country in the end of 2001. (14/12).
- Article about the concert offered in Tel Aviv by the Argentinean-Israeli musician Daniel Barenboim before coming to Buenos Aires, where he would play in the obelisk, together with the Philharmonic of the Colon Theatre. (27/12)

Actions in the educational field

- Inés Dussel, who is in charge of the Educative area of the Latin-American School of Social Sciences, was one of the authors of a series of videos and didactic materials elaborated so that children and teachers discover and deconstruct daily forms of discrimination in the schools of the City of Buenos Aires. (12/02).
- Seminary for teachers' training in the coexistence in the cultural diversity, sponsored by DAIA San Juan and the local Ministry of Education. Graciela Sánchez, Planning director of the Ministry of Education, Ms. Marisa Braylan and Mr. Adrián Jmelniczky Z'L, both researchers of the CES-DAIA presented their lectures. (29/03).
- The National Ministry of Education sent schools throughout the country a text to promote the elimination of all forms of intolerance and discrimination on the "Day of Coexistence in the Cultural Diversity" celebrated on April 19th, the date of the heroic Uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto. Among other things, the text underlined that "in an international context where cultural, ethnic and religious differences often become the reasons of wars and violence, Argentinean schools consider as a priority to support and depend the pacific coexistence in the valuation of cultural diversity". (19/04).
- The authorities of the Theology School of the Argentinean Catholic University decided to add to its curricula a mandatory course on the Jewish-Christian dialogue, base don the conclusions and final

declaration of the *Symposium: "Holocaust-Shoah. Its effects on theology and Christian life in Argentina and Latin America"*, organized by the *Argentinean Jewish-Christian Confraternity*. (29/05).

- National Minister of Education. Mr. Daniel Filmus, confirmed that in the new Law of Education "contents referred to the massacre suffered by the Jewish Community and other peoples (during the Holocaust) will be included in the curricula". The plan consists in integrating these topics to the middle level, both in private and public schools. (05/06).
- Thousands of four grade-students of schools belonging to the Catholic, Jewish, Muslim and Evangelic communities showed their loyalty to the Argentinean flag together. (21/06).
- The Minister of Education of the City of Buenos Aires, Alberto Sileoni, received the representatives of different creeds to summon them to the debate on the future National Educative Law. (22/06).
- Four hundred students of public and private schools participated in a day of songs for peace in the Middle East which took place in the Ministry of Education. (17/08).
- In the context of the opening of the *Latin-American Congress for Learning and Teaching of the Holocaust-Shoah*, the National Ministry of Education, Mr. Daniel Filmus, and the National Ministry of Foreign Affairs Mr. Jorge Taiana, highlighted the need to extend to all educative levels the teaching of the Jewish Holocaust as part of the "formation in the memory". (25/10).
- Leaders of the main religious creeds (Catholic, Jewish, Evangelic and Muslim) met with the National Minister of Education Mr. Daniel Filmus, to transmit their concern about "a dangerous absence of religious perspective" in the draft of the Bill of the Educative Law. They handed him a document with contributions so that the new text "takes into account the transcending dimension of the person". (30/10).
- The Non-Violent Argentinean Forum against all forms of violence and discrimination took place at the National Technological University. (16/17-11).

Shoah (Holocaust)

- Article on the proposal of DAIA Province of Cordoba to incorporate the Holocaust to the curricula. (no date).
- Article on the fact that the Austrian government refused to buy five paintings of the famous artist Gustav Klimt (1862-1918) which it had to return, after a six-year dispute, to the heirs of the original owners persecuted by the Nazism. (no date).
- Article telling the story of a German bootblack who got his nationality back after surviving the Shoah and escaping to Argentina with his family. (no date).
- The Holocaust Museum was invited to participate in the Night of the Museums organized by the Sub-Secretariat of Cultural Patrimony of the City of Buenos Aires. During that special day, between 19:00 and 2:00, the public was able to visit free of charge the exhibition rooms and participate in artistic activities. (no date).
- Article about the fact that in Germany a former castle for Nazi training called Ordensburg Vogelsang, opened its doors to the public. (no date).
- Article about the declassifications of documents of the Second World War which made public the fact that Winston Churchill, then British Primer Minister “was in favour of executing Adolf Hotler in the electric chair instead of submitting him to a legal process should he was captured. (03/01).
- Journalist article where historian Daniel Jonah Goldhagen states the need to implement legal resorts to avoid impunity of those responsible for crimes against humanity. (03/01).
- An interview with filmmaker Claude Lanzmann, director of the monumental “Shoah”, is published where he explains his vision of life and death after the Nazi extermination. (09/01).
- Article about a former spy of the United States who linked Pope Paul VI with a network connected to war criminals before a Federal Court in San Francisco. (16/01).
- Article about the auction in London of Works by Munich bought

from the Nazis. They were seized from German public spaces and sold to a low price. (19/01).

- Article about the act celebrated at the San Martin Palace of the National Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the “International Day for the Remembrance of the Holocaust”, established by the UN General Assembly, on the day that the Allies freed the extermination and concentration camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau. The remembrance of the victims received important media coverage and special adhesion of the National Government. (27/01).
- Article about a group of 16 Latin-American teachers who took training courses at the Holocaust Museum of Houston, learning how to teach this topic in the classrooms. (28/01).
- Writer Carlos De Napoli presented a book analyzing the traces of the III Reich in Latin America. (30/01).
- Article about the fact that the Dutch State will return more than 200 paintings kept in its museums to the heirs of the *marchand* and collector of Jewish art, Jacques Goudstikker, who died in May 1940 on board of a ship running from the Nazi persecution. (31/01).
- “A long barbed wire representing the confinement and suffering turns into a white flower, representing life and hope, contrasting with a black background”, explained Matías Delfino, the only Argentinean graphic designer working in the UN, whose poster was chosen among other five of this team for the commemoration of the “International Day of Remembrance of the Holocaust”. (01/02).
- Editorial analyzing the risks of denying the Holocaust and the importance of its dissemination in the context of the sentence to three years of prison received by British historian biographer David Irving in Austria for his public expressions undermining the Jewish genocide of the Second World War. (23/02).
- Article about the publication of the memories of Rochus Misch “I was Hitler’s bodyguard” in Europe. (26/03).
- Article about the abandoned factory at the North of the capital of the Republic of Czech, where the bodies of four thousand soldiers killed during the Second World War were left. (27/03).

- An article reports that 66 years ago, Heinrich Himmler, leader and Chief of the German Police, ordered the construction of the concentration and extermination camp of Auschwitz. (27/03).
- An article reports that the Polish government wishes to change the name of the concentration and extermination camp of Auschwitz in the Registry of Patrimony of Humanity of the UN Education, Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO), with the purpose of highlighting that it was in charge of German Nazis and not in charge of the Polish. (01/04).
- Journalist article written by historian Götz Aly, investigates how Dictator Adolf Hitler “bribed” the German people in order to take over power. (12/04).
- Article on the visit of Dutch Maxima to the exhibition on Amsterdam dedicated to Anne Frank, the Jewish girl who became famous for writing a well-known personal journal while hiding from the Nazis during the Second World War. (12/04).
- Presentation of the volume “Spies in the Vatican: The Popes under the investigation of Secret Services” written by the theologians Werner Kaltefleiter and Hans Meter Oswald. The book reveals a Nazi Plan to assassinate Pope Pio XII. (12/04).
- Readers’ letter written by Mr. Claudio Avruj, executive director of DAIA, evoking the memory of millions of Holocaust victims and the heroic Uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto. (16/04).
- Important media coverage of the commemorations of the Uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto under the day called Yom Ha Shoah (19/04).
- Article reporting the existence, foundation and characteristics of the Holocaust Museum, depending on the Foundation of the same name, located on 919 Montevideo Street City of Buenos Aires Buenos Aires. (23/04).
- The Chief of the 1960 operation to capture Nazi war criminal in Adolf Eichmann living in Argentina revealed during a remembrance day for the victims of the Holocaust that he recognized him because of a scar. (25/05).
- For the first time, a Holocaust survivor spoke before 300 member of the Army in the Province of Cordoba. (26/04).

- Directors of several memory spaces existing in Germany where concentration camps used to be visited the Holocaust Museum of Buenos Aires and the Memory Park. Further, they visited the ESMA, scenario of systematic violations perpetrated during the last military dictatorship -1976-1983-. (26/04).
- For the first time, in the context of the tenth Argentinean Congress of Psychiatry titled “Violence: answers of the psychiatry and mental health”, lectures referred to the Holocaust were given, together with members of the Armenian community and researchers of CES-DAIA Marisa Braylan and Adrian Jmelniczky Z.L. (27-30/04).
- Article about the act of Yom Ha Shoah, which took place in the Province of Corrientes, under the slogan “Jewish Holocaust, memory and truth”. (27/04).
- On the 63rd anniversary of the Uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto, a Holocaust survivor evokes his experience in a journalist article. (28/04).
- The Uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto in 1943, heroic action of the Polish Jewish resistance, was one of the central topics of a radio show of the Radio of the University of Tucuman on the date of Peace in the World. (08/05).
- Journalist article about the end of the Second World War and the horrors suffered as a consequence of the genocidal regimen of the Third Reich. (08/05).
- Under the title “Nazism, legality and power”, the “legal” arrival of Hitler to power and the first measures adopted to close down a democratic cycle, which paradoxically offered him the opportunity to take over the government is analyzed in an article. (14/05).
- Organization of the *First International Symposium of Christian Theology: Holocaust-Shoah*, organized by the Secretary of Cult, the Argentinean Catholic University, the Superior Evangelic Institute of Theological Studies and the Argentinean Jewish-Christian Confraternity. (15-17/05).
- Article on the auction of a letter of former British Primer Minister Stanley Baldwin where he praised Hitler considering him “an admirable man of great achievements”. (17/05).

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- Journalist article about the role of the Law in the service of totalitarian regimes. The so-called “Nuremberg Laws” were consecrated as the voice of Racist and anti-Semitic theology, axis of the Nazism genocidal plan. (18/05).
 - Broadcast of a TV show with Gaston Pauls, about hidden and rescued children of the Shoah. (18/05).
 - The AUGÉ Foundation, with the support of the General Direction of Schools (DGE), Cannel 7 of Mendoza and the Provincial Fund of Culture and Argentinean Society of Local Writers, organized a contest named “*Anne Frank, a dream in every young person*” addressed to children between 14 and 17 years old, with the presentation of works based on social integration and cultural diversity. (20/05).
 - Argentina participated, as the only full member of Latin American, in the meeting of the Task Group for the International Cooperation in Education, Remembrance and Investigation of the Holocaust (TASK FORCE), which took place in the city of Budapest, Hungary. (21-25/05).
 - Article describing the experience of visiting the traces of the Nazi extermination in what is left of the concentration and extermination camp of Auschwitz. (26/05).
 - Article telling the store of Guido Zimmer an SS capitan who became a CIA spy and ended up in Villa General Belgrano, Province of Cordoba, without anyone suspecting that he was one of the most wanted war criminals of the world. (28/05).
 - Article informing about the polemic surrounding the presence of statues commissioned by Hitler in 1936, in a stadium used for the Football World Cup in Germany. (02/06).
 - Article about the visit Pope Benedict XVI to the concentration and extermination camp of Auschwitz, where he apologized for the horrendous crimes perpetrated by the Nazi regime. (05/06).
 - Article about the German city of Fürth where, despite repeated persecutions, the Jews were welcomed. (07/06).
 - Article about the health of Waldheim who acted as president of Austria between 1986 and 1992, and who is suspected of having

participated in, or at least having known about crimes perpetrated against Jews and Gypsies in the Balkans. (07/06).

- Article about declassified documentation showing that the CIA knew that war criminal Adolf Eichmann was living in Argentina. (07/06).
- In the context of the Football World Cup and the fact that Nuremberg was one of the cities where the matches would take place, it was recalled that it was also the place where the historical trial against the Nazi leaders after the end of the Second World War took place. (07/06).
- A long journalist article tells the story of Petr Ginz, a young 16 year old Jew, who died in the gas chambers of Auschwitz and whose journal and drawings were found in 2003, after being hidden for more than sixty years in an attic. They were published as a testimony of the horror lived by him. (11/06).
- Article informing that a French railway company was sentenced to pay, together with that State, 62.000 Euros to two men who were translated by that means of transportation to the concentration camp of Drancy in 1944. In this manner, the *Societe Nationale Chemins de fer France* (SNCF) became the first public company to ever being convicted by its role in the anti-Semitic persecution during the Second World War. (16/06).
- Article about the passing of a German noun Imma Mack who helped prisoners of the concentration camp of Dacha by bringing them food and medicine. The woman was honoured with the title of “Knight of the Legion of Honour” in France in 2005 and was honoured in her country with the “Order of Merit”. (23/06).
- Article describing the dramatic escape of a man and woman from the concentration and extermination camp of Auschwitz who, after forty years reunited in Poland. (16/06).
- Article reporting that the Vatican will open its secret archives on the Nazism. The documentation pertains to the Papacy of Pio XI where the role of then papal ambassador in Germany and future Pope Pio XVII, Eugenio Pacelli is highlighted. (01/07).

- Article about a polemic black humour film about the Holocaust, by the Swiss filmmaker, Dani Levy. (11/07).
- Article about the agreement on the opening of the major archive of Nazism existing in Germany, for research purposes, kept in the city of Bad Arolsen under the tutelage of the Red Cross. (27/07).
- Article about a Nazi exhibition in Amsterdam of the artist Rembrandt, figure that the Nazi regime tried to turn into an icon in order to win the support of the Dutch during the occupation during the Second World War. (28/07).
- Journalist article where a Shoah survivor, David Galante, tells his story as a detainee at the concentration and extermination camp of Auschwitz. (02/08).
- The Legislature of the City of Buenos Aires passed a resolution whereby the National Monument “dedicated to perpetuate the homage of the society to the martyrs of the Shoah” will be placed in the Micaela Bastidas Park, in the area of Puerto Madero. (03/08).
- Homage paid to the figure of Raoul Wallenberg, Swedish diplomatic who save the lives of more than one hundred thousand Jews in Hungary. (05/08).
- Presentation of the book “The Holocaust. The Third Reich and the Jews” by David Engel. The work analyzes the phenomenon of the genocide perpetrated by the Nazis and the way it forced to rethink the meaning of what is human. (27/08).
- Journalist article telling the story of Friedrich Bergius, Nobel price in Chemistry of 1931, creator of the formula to manufacture synthetic fuel, key figure in the development of the economy and war machinery of the Nazi Germany. After the Second World War he met with Peron in order to produce in the country the industrial programme of the Führer. (24/09).
- Presentation of the book “Those parents who live through me” by the psychologist Yolanda Gampel. In it, she analyzes the traumas transmitted through generations. (25/09).
- Article about the opening of the documentary “Pact of Silence”, by Carlos Echeverría, focusing on the relation between the former war criminal Erich Priebke and the society of Bariloche, the city

where he lived for forty years until he was extradited to Italy, where he was sentenced to life imprisonment due to his participation in the so-called “Massacre of the Ardeatine Caves”. (29/09).

- The National University of La Matanza, through its Law and Political Sciences Department and DAIA organized a symposium titled: “60 years after Nuremberg, what have we learnt?” Renown panellists participated thereof. (05/10).
- Journalist article analyzing the mission and role of various survivors of genocidal social processes, taken as an example the Shoah and the last Argentinean dictatorship -1976/1983-. (06/10).
- The Legislative Council of Chivilcoy unanimously approved the request to take out the name of Oswald Menghin from a museum. Such establishment honoured a Nazi who while being the Dean of the University of Vienna fired Sigmund Freud for being Jewish. After the Second World War ended, he sought refugee in Argentina and held important posts in the University of Buenos Aires. (06/10).
- Article about the macabre finding in a city of West Germany of a common grave built by the Nazis containing the remains of victims of the Euthanasia programme planned by the regimen. (07/10).
- Long journalist article on the hundredth anniversary of the birth of German Jewish philosopher, Hanna Arendt (1906/1975), describing her most important researches and her contribution to the study of phenomena such as totalitarianism and Nazism. (09/10).
- Article on an exhibition in the German city of Dresde showing documentation on the “disinfection” of persons considered useless during the Nazi genocide. (12/10).
- Readers’ letter describing the request of the Raoul Wallenberg International Foundation to the head of the government of the City of Buenos Aires to set a day in his memory on the calendar. “During the Second World War, Wallenberg was a hero who saved the Jews of Hungary by living them false Swedish passports”. Thus he managed to liberate even those who were already on board of

the trains heading to the concentration and extermination camp of Auschwitz. (16/10).

- Journalist article analyzing the figure of Albert Speer, architect of the Third Reich, minister of industry and arms. Convicted at the Nuremberg Trials, he wrote his memoirs until his death in 1981. Further, the article mentions the polemic biography of the German writer Günter Grass, who confessed his adherence to Hitler's groups during his youth. (23/10).
- Article on the "Latin American Congress on Learning and Teaching of the Holocaust in the society", held at the Holocaust Museum. (24-27/10).
- International itinerant exhibition "Anne Frank, a current story" at the Museum of the UNT in the Province of Tucuman. This exhibition was organized in the context of the activities of the "Programme on the Development of capabilities of the police on Citizenship Safety and Human Rights", by Argentina in cooperation with The Netherlands and the National Ministries of Interior and Justice. (25/10).
- Article on the act celebrated at the residence of the Swiss ambassador in Buenos Aires, Daniel Von Muralt, to pay homage to the victims of the Jewish Holocaust. (29/10).
- Article reporting that Serbia would request the extradition of the Nazi war criminal Ivo Rojnica, former commander of the Usta-tacha forces of Dubrovnik, living in Argentina. (31/10).
- Article reporting that the German philosopher Jurgen Habermas managed to make Courts forced a publisher to erase a paragraph of the autobiography of the historian Joachim Fest, which alluded to an alleged Nazi past of the 77 year old thinker. (November).
- Article on the diverse academic and protocolar activities remembering the victims of the Shoah. Among them, the Latin American Congress on the Learning and Teaching of the Shoah, organized by the Foundation Memory of the Holocaust, and an act held at the Embassy of Hungary in Buenos Aires. (05/11).
- Article on the presentation of the film "Sophie Scholl. The last days". It is the store of a young girl, member of a clandestine

movement who, after denouncing the atrocities of the Third Reich was sentenced to the death penalty. (07/11).

- Glass” on November 9th 1938, which took place in Germany and involved the massive destruction of Jewish property. Further, the article reports that a new synagogue was opened in Munich to commemorate such date. (10/11).
- Article about a photo exhibition to pay homage to the children of the Holocaust together with poem written at the Terezin Ghetto. It was held at the Cultural Centre of Recoleta in the City of Buenos Aires. (13/11).
- Presentation of the film “No destiny”. It tells the story of a young Jewish boy from Hungary at the Nazi concentration camps. (21/11).
- A ceremony to pay homage to the victims of the Holocaust was held at the Italian embassy. A documentary called “The fraternal enemy” by Joseph Rochlitz was shown in memory of the actions of certain Italian diplomats and military officers during the Second World War. (21/11).
- Article on the access of the Associated Press to the Nazi archives which were locked for more than fifty years, with the condition to protect the identity of the victims. (25/11).
- Article on an act in Austria to pay homage to the Jewish writer Felix Salten, author of the story of “Bambi”, one of the worst enemies of Adolf Hitler. (07/12).
- Article on the mission and activities of the Foundation Memory of the Holocaust and its coming activities in order to inform about the experience of the Holocaust and its impact in the country. (10/12).
- Article on the general condemnation to the ‘congress” organized in Teheran, Iran, on the denial of the Holocaust. The president of that country, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad called a “myth” the planned mass killing of six million Jews in the hands of the Nazis during the Second World War. (12/12).
- Article reporting that the Hakoach Club, destroyed by the Nazism in 1938 will be rebuilt in Vienna as one of the most important Hebrew centres of Europe. (12/12).

- The University of Belgrano granted the Doctorate Honoris Causa Orst Mortem to the pious woman María Isabel Hesselblad, of the Order of the Sacred Saviour of Saint Brigit, who gave shelter in her congregation in Rome to tens of Jewish families persecuted by the Nazism. (13/12).
- Article on the restitution of stolen art by the Nazis after restitution claims in Germany. (15/12).
- Interview with the American writer Norman Mailer who in his last work dealt with one of his favourite topics: Hitler and evil, researching the childhood of the man who led the systematic extermination of six million Jews. (24/12).
- Article on the release of the film “No destiny” based on the novel written by the Nobel Prize winner Imre Kertetz, which served as “moral aid” to the Hungarians to face their anti-Semitic past. (27/12).
- Under the title “The children of shame, the other side the genocide”, the article reports on the experiment carried out by the Nazi regime to reproduce the “Arian race”. From the Head of the SS, Himmler encouraged the association “Lebensborn” (source of life). Many of those who were born in those tragic circumstances decided to get together and face that past. (28/12).

Conclusions

Anti-Semitism must be understood as a mechanism part of the mechanics of discrimination and prejudice. The social processes of demonization of an “other” perceived as different are the result of multiple variables of the social fabric where they materialize.

The main aim of this research study is to offer a systematic and constant prognosis, to serve as a pedagogic and political resource of assessment and direct action.

Argentina cannot be considered as an anti-Semitic country. What can be affirmed is that there are anti-Semitic events, most of them presenting a low level of virulence.

Regarding the anti-Semitic incidents enumerated in the corresponding Annex, it is possible to observe from the quantitative point

of view an important growth in relation to previous years. In the Report of the 2005 period, the number ascended to 373 cases. In this opportunity, the figure ascends to **586**. Just as last year, the aggressive writings against the Jewish community on public spaces are the ones who stand out due to their presence, permanence and reiteration. Once more, the anonymity and material impossibility to find those responsible renders the task of preventing such practice difficult. However, it is crucial to denunciate each one of these writings so that they do not become a natural element of the urban landscape.

The particular circumstances stemmed from the war between the State of Israel and Hezbollah deserve a separate paragraph in order to fully understand them. The repercussions in Argentina could be clearly observed in the increase of anti-Semitic expressions accusing the State of Israel of genocide, and questioning its right to exist as a nation. It is worth highlighting that for the first time, the most radical leftwing sectors displayed positions of extreme hostility, even in State universities.² The Jewish community as whole reacted vehemently denouncing before the proper State organisms the atmosphere of hostility. In fact, the International Report of Religious Freedom highlighted the yet unresolved consequences of the so-called Baseotto case³ and the striking growth of anti-Semitic manifestations. A document was circulated signed by 200 famous persons warning about a breakout of anti-Semitism. One of the paragraphs read: "Anti-Semitism is an anti-democratic expression, intolerant and racist which turns the other into the enemy and consequently enables and justifies aggression first and extermination later. To allow these behaviours to grow is a dangerous door which always ends in violence and destruction". Some sectors of the government considered its content "excessive" and labelled the violent actions as isolated and marginal, yet, they sought to compromise agreeing on mutual solidarity to prevent and punish the impairment to the right to equality.

² A more profound analysis can be found in the corresponding chapter. In the Annex of incidents it is clearly observed the presence of those circumstances in the content of many of the writings on public spaces.

³ See the particularities of this case in the *Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina 2005*.

As it was pointed out at the beginning of these conclusions, anti-Semitism is the visible result of discrimination in general. Thus, this Report includes an extensive chapter dedicated to the presence and analysis of the situation of other minorities living in Argentina. Without question, many of these groups continue to suffer aggressions entailing exclusion and invisibility in the face of the negligence and indifference of the State and society in general.

Regarding the presence of anti-Semitic political parties, it is possible to affirm that they continue to have a marginal incidence. No public appearances or attempts to obtain electoral legality have taken place as they have in previous years. They have always counted on an almost insignificant number of members and little or no approach to possible voters.

With regards to anti-Semitic publications, it is through the Internet that they gain more diffusion than in the graphic press. The exact number of readers is unknown and thus, its real effect on the social sphere.

Throughout 2006, Iran has often been the centre of many actions of explicit anti-Semitic virulence. Not only its president Mahmad Ahmadinejad has publicly expressed the need to “erase the State of Israel from the map”, but he has also systematically denied the existence of the Shoah. In this sense, he organized an international congress to “academically” support those statements.

For the second time, the Report includes a chapter describing and analyzing the presence of anti-Semitic attitudes in football. By the end of the year under study anti-Jewish chants were being heard in the stadiums; however, there have been significant advances in the prevention and punishments of these attitudes through training programmes for referees who act in matches organized by the AFA (Argentinean Football Association) offered by DAIA and through plans implemented by the INADI.

The 1992 and 1994 terrorist attacks in Buenos Aires against the Israeli Embassy and the AMIA-DAIA building respectively have not yet been resolved, and this situation accounts for the obstacles and difficulties faced by the State and the civil society in general to guar-

antee safety and the most elemental guarantees established by our Magna Carta.

This research would be incomplete should we not include the chapter called “Positive Context”. There we highlight the innumerable auspicious manifestations from the civil society and the State regarding the activities, concerns and development of the Jewish community in the country.

The Report on Anti-Semitism in Argentina has become a tool for the society as a whole. In it, we describe the various nuances of discrimination and prejudice, offering those who need it a trigger and a pedagogic prognosis. It is the possibility of providing solid elements for the construction of a Republic respectful of diversity.

Annex 1

Anti-Semitic events in the year 2006

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
1. 02.01.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "God free us from the Jews" was written in the Shopping Mall "Galerías Pacifico".	1/2/06	DAJ
2. 03.01.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community was verbally attacked by a neighbour with the following expression: "You f... Jew"	1/3/06	DAJ
3. 04.01.06	Province of Misiones	A member of the Jewish community was verbally attacked in his place of work by a Principal Prefect who said "You f.... Jew"	1/4/06	DAJ
4. 04.01.06	Buenos Aires City	In the junction of the Reconquista and 25 de Mayo St., the writing "God, save us from the Jews" was found.	1/4/06	PRESS
5. 09.01.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was written on the front of the Public School "Romulo Naon" at 234 Araoz St.	1/9/06	DAJ
6. 09.01.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found at 1358 Thames St.	1/9/06	DAJ
7. 10.01.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant did not receive her salary due to her absence during "Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur)"	1/10/06	DAJ
8. 11.01.06	Mar del Plata, Province of Buenos Aires	The claimant said that was physical and verbally attacked by a priest, who told her "You Jew are a w...., I will kill you, all the Jews have to be killed"	1/11/06	DAJ
9. 12.01.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the community was physical and verbally attacked when threw down the stairs and yelled at "You f... Jew	1/12/06	DAJ
10. 12.01.06	Vicente López, Province of Buenos Aires	The following writing was found in the Train Station of Vicente López of the General Mitre Line "Jews, 5000 years causing harm". "The Jew squeeze our lives"	1/12/06	CES

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
11. 13.01.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community received an email with the following expression: "so, you are a Jew? I will burn you alive, you f... Jew"	1/13/06	DAJ
12. 15.01.06	Province of Córdoba	The salary of a member of the Jewish community was reduced due to her absence during the Jewish holidays.	1/15/06	CES
13. 16.01.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was carved on a blind on 3168 Avellaneda St.	1/16/06	DAJ
14. 16.01.06	Buenos Aires City	When the claimant attended the theatre with his son, to a show written and performed by Fernando Peña, where anti-Semitic phrases such as "You f... Jews" were heard	1/16/06	DAJ/PRESS
15. 20.01.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika and the writing "Skinheads" were found in a store on 2109 Ciudad de la Paz St.	1/20/06	DAJ
16. 23.01.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was carved on the blind of a store on 3181 Aranguren St.	1/23/06	DAJ
17. 23.01.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found in the store "Avanti" on 486 Cuenca St.	1/23/06	DAJ
18. 24.01.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "HITLER RULES" was found on a wall in the junction of Amenabar St. and Juramento Av.	1/24/06	DAJ
19. 26.01.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found on a pay phone located in the junction of Cabildo and Juramento Av.	1/26/06	DAJ
20. 26.01.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community was verbally attacked by the stewardess when he said "Jews do not get in the executive class"	3/23/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
21. 26.01.06	Province of Santa Fe	A Jewish doctor who works in a Public hospital received a threatening note saying "I am not afraid of the Jew". Further, the aggressor allegedly said that she "will not stop until the Jew gets taken out of the hospital"	1/26/06	INADI
22. 27.01.06	Province of Río Negro	In a pub called "Roxi" in the area of Bariloche, a group of people from different countries wanted to enter the place but the Israelis were banned from entering without explanation	3/14/06	DAJ
23. 30.01.06	Buenos Aires City	On 179 Anchorena St. two persons painted a swastika on a wall. They were detained by police officers	1/29/06	DAJ
24. 30.01.06	Vicente López, Province of Buenos Aires	A poster with photos of Hitler was found in a parking lot on 1726 Acasuso St.	1/30/06	DAJ
25. 30.01.06	Beccar, Province of Buenos Aires	A writing was found in the streets with the phrase "The Jew is squeezing your life"	1/30/06	DAJ
26. 30.01.06	Province of Chubut	A swastika was found in the zone of Esquel	2/21/06	DAJ
27. 31.01.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found inside the apartment building "Torres Abasto" in the second level of the parking lot	1/31/06	DAJ
28. 1.02.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant was verbal and physically attacked with the phrase "You f... Jew"	2/1/06	DAJ
29. 01.02.06	Province of Buenos Aires	In an institution of the Jewish community two swastikas were found and the writing "death to the Jews"	2/1/06	DAJ
30. 03.02.06	Province of Córdoba	In the front of a cemetery of the Jewish community several writings were found with the phrases "The final solution will return" "Heil Hitler", "You f... Jews", "Out of the country" and two swastikas	2/3/06	PRESS/INADI

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
31. 06.02.06	Resistencia, Province of Chaco	Nazis symbols were found in a public school	2/6/06	PRESS
32. 06.02.06	Bahía Blanca, Province of Buenos Aires	In the building of the Israelite Association of Bahía Blanca, a swastika was found	2/6/06	DAJ
33. 08.02.06	Buenos Aires City	A writing with the phrase "Bank of Jewish thieves" and a swastika were found in the window of the "Banco Francés" in the junction of Corrientes Av. and Uruguay St.	2/6/06	DAJ
34. 09.02.06	Buenos Aires City	A writing with the phrase "God free us from the Jews" was found on the wall of a Church in the junction of Pte. Gral. J.D. Perón and Reconquista St.	2/10.06	DAJ
35. 09.02.06	Province of Córdoba	A member of the Jewish community was rebuked several times by a neighbour due to her condition as a Jew	2/9/06	CES
36. 09.02.05	Province of Córdoba	A member of the Jewish community received anti-Semitic insults	2/09/06	CES
37. 09.02.06	Province of Córdoba	A store in Carlos Paz was selling T-shirts with swastikas on them	2/09/06	CES
38. 11.02.06	Buenos Aires City	Swastikas and the phrases "Jews out" and "Work will set you free" were found on the wall of "Ferrocarril Oeste" club Stadium	2/13/06	DAJ
39. 13.02.06	Province of Mendoza	When the claimant was on line chatting with a person, he told her that he was Nazi, sent her swastikas and told her, among other things, that "all Jews are soap"	2/13/06	DAJ
40. 13.02.06	Buenos Aires City	When the claimant was doing carpentry works, the client said "Did you know that an old ship with swastikas was found in Uruguay? And he would questioned him about his origin and whether he was a Jew, that no Jews should enter his house	5/4/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
41. 16.02.06	Lanus, Province of Buenos Aires	A swastika was found on the door of a Jewish institution	2/16/06	DAJ/PRESS
42. 17.02.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika and the word "Hamas" were found painted on the on 294 Paso St.	3/2/06	DAJ
43. 17.02.06	Buenos Aires City	Several writings with the word "HITLER" and swastikas were found in a Store on 2600 Sarmiento St.	2/28/06	DAJ
44. 18.02.06	La Plata, Province of Buenos Aires	Several swastikas were found painted on a monument in Rocha Square	2/20/06	DAJ
45. 19.02.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews, a latent evil" was found in the "B" line of METROVIAS subway	6/22/06	DAJ
46. 20.02.06	Lanus, Province of Buenos Aires	A swastika was found in a Jewish institution	1/18/06	PRESS
47. 20.02.06	Vicente López, Province of Buenos Aires	The phrases "The Jew squeezes our lives" and "Jews, 5000 years causing harm" were found painted on a wall of the railway platform of the Mitre Line.	2/20/06	DAJ
48. 21.02.06	Buenos Aires City	The word "Hamas" and a swastika were found painted on the blind of the store "Paris" in the neighbourhood of "Once"	2/21/06	DAJ
49. 21.02.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant detected in the database of the Employment system of AMIA a record under the name Hitler	2/22/06	DAJ
50. 22.02.06	Lomas de Zamora, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "Jews inflammation" was found in the junction of Frias Av. and Professor Mariño	2/22/06	DAJ
51. 22.02.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Hitler was right", signed by the Black Legion was found on Chivilcoy St. and the railway platform of the San Martín line	2/27/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
52. 23.02.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrases "The prophecy will be fulfilled" and "The grey Man" and two swastikas were found in the neighbourhood of Flores	2/27/06	DAJ
53. 23.02.06	Buenos Aires City	The superintendent of the building where the claimant lives told him: "You f... Jew, when helped him taking out the garbage	3/15/06	DAJ
54. 24.02.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found on the sheet metal of the Embassy of Thailand	2/24/06	DAJ
55. 24.02.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found on 1329 11 de Septiembre St.	2/24/06	DAJ
56. 25.02.06	Buenos Aires City	A minor, member of the Jewish community was verbal and physically attacked by two persons who tried to rob him, while yelling at him "give me the money, you f.... Jew"	3/6/06	DAJ
57. 25.02.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Never Again, Oil, Skingirl 882" was found on the blind of a store located in the junction of Bolivia St. and Avellaneda in the neighbourhood of "Flores"	2/27/06	DAJ
58. 28.02.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant left some clothes on consignment in a store on 1518 Marcelo T. de Alvear St. and every time she would ask for the money, the proprietary refused to give it to her until one day, she told her "you f... Jew, rat-eater, you smell like a rotten Jew"	3/2/06	DAJ
59. 01.03.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found on the door of a house on 766 Palestina St.	3/1/06	DAJ
60. 01.03.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on the wall of a house on 2100 Migueletes St.	3/1/06	DAJ
61. 01.03.06	Buenos Aires City	A telephonic threat stating "Beware you f.... Jews, you will be blown up" was received at a Jewish institution	3/2/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
62. 03.03.06	Province of Córdoba	A selling of T-shirts with swastikas on them was found in Villa General Belgrano	3/3/06	
63. 04.03.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the community received anti-Semitic insults from a neighbour	3/6/06	DAJ
64. 06.03.06	Province of Chubut	A swastika and several writings as "SS" "You f... Jews" were found on the door of a Jewish institution	3/15/06	DAJ
65. 07.03.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant was insulted with the phrase "I love Hitler" by a co-worker in the "Instituto Nacional Senareso"	3/7/06	DAJ
66. 08.03.06	Buenos Aires City	Several swastikas and the phrase "Death to Zionists" were in front of a school in the neighbourhood of "Caballito"	3/8/06	DAJ
67. 08.03.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "PUNKS & SKINS" was found in the junction of Rojas St. and Franklin St.	3/8/06	DAJ
68. 08.03.06	Province of Córdoba	Swastikas were found in the streets	3/8/06	PRESS
69. 08.03.06	Province of Córdoba	Swastikas were found painted in the Military School	3/8/06	PRESS
70. 08.03.06	Vicente López, Province of Buenos Aires	A swastika was found painted on 4300 Parana St.	3/8/06	DAJ
71. 09.03.06	Province of Entre Ríos	The claimant received anti-Semitic insults such as "you f... Jew" from the major of Santorino village	3/9/06	DAJ
72. 09.03.06	Buenos Aires City	Inside a shopping arcade on 742 Lavalle St. in a store called "Top Gun" medals, swastikas, pins, SS and hats were found	3/13/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
73. 09.03.06	Buenos Aires City	When paying for the parking lot where he keeps his car, the claimant was verbally attacked by the employee who told him "you f... Jew" while raising his hand with Hitler's salute	3/13/06	DAJ
74. 10.03.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant received a termination telegram after he wasn't given his salary due to his absence during the high holidays. Further, his employers did not listen to his complaint and told him to chose another religion	6/8/06	INADI
75. 10.03.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found with the phrase "JEWS DEATH" painted in the junction of Medrano Av. And Acuña de Figueroa St.	3/14/06	DAJ
76. 11.03.06	Buenos Aires City	On 509 Río de Janeiro St., on the front of a Jewish institution four swastikas were found	3/14/06	DAJ
77. 14.03.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found on a store located on 2304 Lavalle St.	3/14/06	DAJ
78. 14.04.06	Province of Neuquén	A swastika was painted in the Square "State of Israel"	3/14/06	PRESS
79. 14.03.06	San Isidro, Province of Buenos Aires	Several swastikas and the writings "OJL, Skin" were found.	3/27/06	DAJ
80. 15.03.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika and the phrase "Usurer Jew" was found in the "Plaza Miserere" stop of line "A" of the subway	3/27/06	DAJ
81. 16.03.06	Vicente López, Province of Buenos Aires	The claimant was insulted by her neighbour with phrases like "You f... Jew"	3/16/06	DAJ
82. 16.03.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found in the junction of Córdoba Av. and Ecuador St.	3/16/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
83. 16.03.06	Buenos Aires City	When he was fired, the claimant was verbally insulted with the phrases "Do not ever think of sending me a certified letter" and "you f... Jew, son of a b... like all Jews"	3/20/06	DAJ
84. 16.03.06	Buenos Aires City	A professor of Law, Aldo Bacre, when discussing the bomb attack on AMIA-DAIA, affirmed that it never happened, suggesting their student reading the book "The terrible imposture of Their Maysan"	3/21/06	DAJ
85. 20.03.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant was insulted by a neighbour who told her: "I would cut your tongue, you f... Jew"	3/22/06	DAJ
86. 20.03.06	Mar del Plata, Province of Buenos Aires	In a funeral home, a family requested to put a blanket with the Star of David on the coffin, and the proprietor said: "If I had known you were Jews, I would no have received you"		
87. 20.03.06	Province of Santa Fe	Several swastikas were found in different places of the city	3/20/06	PRESS
88. 21.03.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found on 3900 Lavalle St., near a Jewish Institution.	3/21/06	DAJ
89. 21.03.06	Buenos Aires City	Five eagles with SS on the chests were found on 2206 Ravignani St.	3/21/06	DAJ
90. 21.03.06	Province of Chubut	The claimant received an threatening email with the phrase: "we will go to torture you like Christ"	3/21/06	DAJ
91. 21.03.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found in 1131 Neuquén St	3/21/06	DAJ
92. 22.03.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika and the phrase "The Jews have taken over the media" were found in 400 Fragata Sarmiento St.	3/21/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
93. 24.03.06	Buenos Aires City	The word "White" next to a swastika, a rune and the word "Power" was found on 2540 Moron St.	3/24/04	DAJ
94. 25.03.06	Buenos Aires City	A Jewish institution received a telephonic threat, detailing the building and saying "something is going to happen this week"	3/28/06	DAJ
95. 25.03.06	San Martin, Province of Buenos Aires	In a dentist's office located in San Martin, the claimant received a telephonic threat saying "Of course, gladly at 30 years old, you know how you are going to blow up, you f... Jew"	4/5/06	DAJ
96. 26.03.06	Buenos Aires City	A writing with the Star David= a swastika, with the phrase "Ol" were found on 4618 Nicaragua St.		
97. 28.03.06	Province of Córdoba	The change of time of a radio programme of the Jewish community was changed to lower ratings time slot was denounced	3/28/06	CES
98. 30.03.06	Buenos Aires City	Three swastikas painted on a van was found at the junction of Pringles St. and Sarmiento St.	4/5/06	DAJ
99. 31.03.06	Morón, Province of Buenos Aires	A doctor received telephonic threats saying "Fire the doctor" "I am performing a mission on behalf of the Argentinean Nazi Commando". In a second phone call, she was told "tell the doctor to give in because her life and her family's are in danger"	4/7/06	DAJ
100. 01.04.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant was attacked by a neighbour who told her "You f... Jew"	4/6/06	DAJ
101. 01.04.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant was attacked by a neighbour on 2000 Avellaneda St. with the phrase "You f... Jew"	4/7/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
102. 03.04.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant received an email with photos regarding the Holocaust and Hitler, together with the phrases "social disgrace, parasites, mixers of races out of my country" "Long live Hitler in our memories for ever"	4/5/06	DAJ
103. 03.04.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found in the junction of Santa Fe Av and Callao Av.	4/5/06	DAJ
104. 03.04.06	Buenos Aires City	A person with swastikas was found painted on 200 Libertador Av	4/5/06	DAJ
105. 03.04.06	Buenos Aires City	Several swastikas were found painted on some pillars on 1179 Pellegrini St.	4/5/06	DAJ
106. 04.04.06	Buenos Aires City	In a neighbours' meeting, a neighbour with German origins said to a Jewish neighbour "we make soap with you". Then, he went up to his apartment and pulled out the mezuzah (Jewish symbol place on the doors of homes), threw it on the floor and stepped on it.	4/4/06	DAJ
107. 04.04.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "Bush works for the Jews" was found on the junction of Madero Av. And Cordoba Av.	4/4/06	DAJ
108. 04.04.06	Buenos Aires City	A Jewish institution received a telephonic threat saying "1.2.3, BOOM"	4/4/06	DAJ
109. 05.04.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found in the junction of Cerviño St. and Republic of India St., in the corner of a Jewish institution	4/10/06	DAJ
110. 06.04.06	Buenos Aires City	During a demonstration of members of the Bolivian community on the slave work conditions, signs with the phrase "Koreans and Jews exploiters"	4/6/06	PRESS

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
111. 06.04.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community was verbally attacked by demonstrators of the Bolivian community who shouted at him "you exploiter Jew"	4/7/06	DAJ
112. 06.04.06	Buenos Aires City	In a public school in the neighbour of Devoto, a teacher found several anti-Semitic writings on the blackboard saying "you f... Jew", his surname and some swastikas	4/26/06	DAJ
113. 07.04.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found in the corner of a Jewish institution	4/10/06	DAJ
114. 07.04.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant was on a taxi and the driver referred to the movie "The fall" (about Hitler's last days) saying that he agreed with Hitler and that "those f... Jews are ruling the world"	4/17/06	DAJ
115. 08.04.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "SS" was found on 623 Rojas St.	4/27/06	DAJ
116. 10.04.06	Villaguay, Province of Buenos Aires	During a rock concert in the Francisco Ramírez Square, a flag with Nazi writings was seen.	4/10/06	PRESS
117. 10.04.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika and several writings such as "Black Legion" and "Skins" were found on 2300 Nazca Av.	4/10/06	DAJ
118. 10.04.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found in the junction of Nazca Av. And M. Cervantes	4/10/06	DAJ
119. 11.04.06	Province of Tucumán	The claimant received threats and a swastika was written on him with a sharp instrument and then was thrown on pepper gas.	4/11/06	DAJ
120. 11.04.06	Buenos Aires City	In the Flea Market located in the junction of Álvarez Thomas and Dorrego St. several swastikas were found.	4/11/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
121. 11.04.06	Villa Adelina, Province of Buenos Aires	In the junction of Virrey Vertiz and Paraná St. the writings "Punks & Skins", "Skinheads", "O!!" were found	4/11/06	DAJ
122. 11.04.06	Buenos Aires City	In the junction Nazca Av. and Álvarez Jonte the phrase "Black Legion" was found.	4/11/06	DAJ
123. 16.04.06	Province of Córdoba	In Villa Carlos Paz, in a Church, a priest was giving mass and said "Jesus was escaping from the Jews and they were chasing him".	4/26/06	DAJ
124. 17.04.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found in a Jewish Institution	4/17/06	DAJ
125. 17.04.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika and a Star of David were found on 680 Esnaola St.	4/17/06	DAJ
126. 17.04.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "you f.... Jews" was found in 6000 Esanola St.	4/17/06	DAJ
127. 20.04.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "HITLER RULES" was found in the junction of Rivera and Amenabar St.	4/20/06	DAJ
128. 20.04.06	Buenos Aires City	Two eagles with the double SS on the chest were painted on the junction of Bonpland and Paraguay St.	4/20/06	DAJ
129. 20.04.06	Province of Tucumán	When the "March of Hunger" was taking place, a image ridiculizing the claimant by making him dressed a military uniform, moustache and a swastika was exhibited.	4/20/06	INADI
130. 21.04.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found on 3100 Griveo St.	4/21/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
131. 22.04.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant went with his daughter to the Parish of San Martin de Porres located in Belgrano, and the priest said: "Jesus' disciples met behind closed doors, out of fear of the Jews, because they had killed him by crucifying him"	5/4/06	DAJ
132. 22.04.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant had an argument with a woman who called her "you f...Jew"	7/10/06	DAJ
133. 24.04.06	Gualeguaychu, Province of Buenos Aires	While playing basketball, a member of the Jewish community was insulted by a local player because of his condition as a Jew	4/24/06	
134. 28.04.06	Buenos Aires City	Two swastikas were found on 2600 Arenales St.	4/28/06	DAJ
135. 28.04.06	Buenos Aires City	Two swastikas were found in the junction of Arenales and Anchorena St.	4/28/06	DAJ
136. 28.04.06	Buenos Aires City	Anti-Semitic paintings were found at Carlos Pellegrini stop of the "B" line of Metrovias	4/28/06	DAJ
137. 28.04.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika and the writing "National Socialism-Greatness, write to us at truppen101@hotmail.com" were found inside the gentlemen's bathroom of the ground floor of the Design School of the University of Buenos Aires	5/5/06	DAJ
138. 30.04.06	Buenos Aires City	The following phrase was found on the website of FACCMA: "you Jewish pigs, I have just turned 116 years old waiting for you in Hell, and I will be back, remember Auschwitz, Treblinka, the beautiful camps where the Jewish w... were f...."	5/5/06	DAJ/CES
139. 02.05.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant, who used to work in Anses, received this comment from a colleague "I had my nose done because I was tired of being asked if I was a Jew".	5/2/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
140. 04.05.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found on 2665 Arenales St.	5/4/06	DAJ
141. 04.05.06	Buenos Aires City	Radio anchor, Ari Paluch, said that he was discriminated in "Lagartos" country club because he is a Jew.	5/4/06	PRESS
142. 05.05.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 4200 Bartolome Mitre St.	5/5/06	DAJ
143. 07.05.06	Buenos Aires City	In entertaining section of the newspaper "Clarín", there was game in which, after filling in the blanks, a swastika appeared.	5/11/06	DAJ
144. 08.05.06	Province of Buenos Aires	A hanger with the shape of a swastika was found in the Shopping mall "Unicenter", in the Falabella store.	5/8/06	PRESS
145. 10.05.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the junction of Nazca and Epidio Gonzalez St.	5/10/06	DAJ
146. 10.05.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on the front of a Jewish institution in the neighbourhood of "Once"	5/10/06	DAJ
147. 10.05.06	Buenos Aires City	In a neighbours' meeting where the dismissal of the security company was discussed, the claimant approved the voting, and the next day he received an email saying "you f... Jew, I don't know who the f... you think you are, we are going to make soap out of you, you piece of s..."	5/12/06	DAJ
148. 10.05.06	La Plata, Province of Buenos Aires	The claimant, Quality Control Manager of the company "Farinacios Argentinos", received an email of a manager saying "you f... Jew, if you don't order thing well, Hitler will deliver them to you".	5/18/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
149. 13.05.06	Buenos Aires City	When the claimant was at a drugstore in the junction of Belgrano and Lima St. with a friend, a group of persons went by showing them the Nazi salute. When asked why, the answer was to pick up a fight. The episode finished with police intervention.	5/23/06	DAJ
150. 15.05.06	Province of Jujuy	Swastikas were found painted in different places of the city.	5/15/06	PRESS
151. 15.05.06	Province of Cordoba	Swastikas were found in the junction of Juan B. Justo and Augusto Lopez.	1/15/06	CES
152. 15.05.06	Province of Cordoba	Bibliography and signs on the Nazi regime were found in a garage, on 2024 Leon Pínelo St.	5/16/06	CES
153. 16.05.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant received the following telephonic threat: "You son of a b..., you f... Jew"	5/16/06	DAJ
154. 17.05.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika and a Celtic cross were found painted in the neighbourhood of Paternal	5/17/06	DAJ
155. 17.05.06	Buenos Aires City	A neighbour asked the claimant's daughter: "Where is the f... Jew of your mother?"	5/19/06	DAJ
156. 18.05.06	Buenos Aires City	Two writings "Kill Monkys" and "God free us from the Jews" and a swastika were found in the neighbourhood of "Once".	5/18/06	DAJ
157. 18.05.06	Buenos Aires City	Two anti-Semitic brochures were found on the sidewalk, in front of a Jewish institution	5/18/06	DAJ
158. 21.05.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 1226 Muñecas St.	5/22/06	DAJ
159. 22.05.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 963 Boulogne Sur Mer	5/22/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
160. 23.05.06	Province of Cordoba	A family of the Jewish community received a telephonic threat	5/23/06	DAJ
161. 24.05.06	Buenos Aires City	During a neighbours' meeting, a neighbour told the claimant "you Mobster Jew"	5/26/06	DAJ
162. 26.05.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found on the sidewalk of a street where a Jewish institution is located.	5/26/06	DAJ
163. 26.05.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on a luminous sign on the junction of Callao Av. And Marcelo T. de Alvear St.	5/26/06	CES
164. 26.05.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant was verbally attacked with discriminatory insults from the Headmaster of the school where he works. She demanded him a different treatment in his work obligations based on discriminatory arguments relating to his surname and a "genetic problem".	5/26/06	INADI
165. 27.05.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community found a piece of paper with a swastika and a phrase in German at the door of his home	5/29/06	DAJ
166. 27.05.06	Buenos Aires City	The security personal who charges for the entrance of a bar on Arenales St. had a swastika tattooed in the hand, a ring with the same symbol, and in the other hand, a ring with an iron cross.	5/30/06	DAJ
167. 29.05.06	Province of Salta	A Jewish institution received a telephone call warning about the installation of an explosive device "You are going to explode, you are going to explode"	5/30/06	DAJ
168. 29.05.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant sold her car and after an argument with the buyer, he told her "you f... Jew"	5/31/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
169. 28.05.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "The passion of the Jews is doing evil" and "The Jews will destroy the planet" were found painted in the Ecological Reserve of the South bank	5/31/06	DAJ
170. 29.05.06	Buenos Aires City	A student of Nuevo Sol school found a swastika painted on the blackboard and a writing that said that he was going to be made soap	6/12/06	DAJ
171. 30.05.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant, a teacher at a high school in the neighbour of "Villa Urquiza", found a writing on the wall that said "Lejman, you f... Jew"	5/31/06	DAJ
172. 30.05.06	Buenos Aires City	Several swastikas, one of them with a circle and two moulds of Hitler's face, and the writing "Black Legion rules" were found on Chivilcoy St.	5/31/06	DAJ
173. 30.05.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant received several anti-Semitic aggressions when the Jewish origin of her partner was found out in her work place.	5/30/06	INADI
174. 31.05.06	Buenos Aires City	In "Norte" Supermarket located on Santa Fe Av., there is a foot stand called "The Bobe". The manager of the supermarket referred to it as "f... moishes".	5/31/06	DAJ
175. 31.05.06	Buenos Aires City	Two swastikas were found on the door of a garage on 800 Lambare St.	5/31/06	DAJ
176. 02.06.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "Skinheads" and "Black Legion" were found on the junction of Nazca and Jose Ingenieros St.	6/2/06	DAJ
177. 02.06.06	Buenos Aires City	A doctor was verbally insulted by colleagues who told him "While I am residents' chief, you will not enter the O.R. you Russian".	6/2/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
178. 02.06.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant studies in the Professional Centre No. 7. In a conversation, two classmates said: "The Jews are stingy".	6/8/06	DAJ
179. 03.05.06	Buenos Aires City	A car parked in front of a Jewish institution got a fine. When the owner returned, he said "these Jews son of a b..."	6/7/06	DAJ
180. 03.05.06	Buenos Aires City	Several swastikas with some emails were found in the Pavilion No. 2 of the City of the University of Buenos Aires	7/4/06	DAJ
181. 05.06.06	Buenos Aires City	Several anti-Semitic paintings were found inside the lifts, on the 2 nd and 4 th floor, of a hostel on Avenue De Mayo	6/6/06	DAJ
182. 05.06.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika, a logo with the three sevens and the writing "Black Legion" was found on 2049 Nazca Av.	6/6/06	DAJ
183. 05.06.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika and the phrase "O!" were found on 2167 Nazca St.	6/6/06	DAJ
184. 06.06.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on the junction of Lavalleja and Gorriti St.	6/6/06	DAJ
185. 07.06.06	Buenos Aires	A swastika and the phrase "Die" were found in a hotel owned by a member of the Jewish community	6/7/06	DAJ
186. 10.06.05	Province of Cordoba	During a football match, one of the teams insulted the other on account of their condition of Jews.	6/10/06	CES
187. 14.06.06	Province of Corrientes	The deacon Florentin Gimenez stated that the Jewish community was a detractor of Jesus Christ and celebrated the fact that the estate of Hebraica was going to be used by the employees of the town hall, who were mostly Catholics.	6/15/06	PRESS
188. 15.06.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant is the president of a company. On one occasion, when he fired an employee, the latter said "I wish that f... Jew dies"	6/15/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
189. 15.06.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the junction of Viamonte and Libertad St.	6/15/06	DAJ
190. 16.06.06	Buenos Aires City	Five skinheads pushed and verbally attacked Orthodox Jews who were walking in the junction of Pueyrredon Av. And San Luis St. Three of the attackers were detained by the Police.	6/20/06	DAJ/PRESS
191. 20.06.06	Province of Neuquen	A swastika and the phrases "Enough Jews" and "Arian Power" were found painted on the walls of the football stadium of the Independiente and Pacifico teams.	6/20/06	PRESS
192. 21.06.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the Cultural Centre of Recoleta.	6/21/06	DAJ
193. 21.06.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found in the junction of Diaz Velez and Salguero St.	6/21/06	DAJ
194. 21.06.06	Buenos Aires City	A Jewish institution received by email the following message: "You are the most disgusting entities of the planet", "Nature does not deserve to generate pure air for you to breath"	6/21/06	DAJ
195. 21.06.06	Buenos Aires City	A Jewish institution found anti-Semitic pamphlets.	6/22/06	DAJ
196. 23.06.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found on 4215 Rivadavia Av.	6/23/06	DAJ
197. 26.06.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community received the following email: "Hitler was right, all Jews have to be killed, they are s... persons"	6/26/06	DAJ
198. 26.06.06	Buenos Aires City	During a piquets' march ("piqueteros"), a red flag with a swastika was seen.	6/29/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
199. 26/06/06	Vicente Lopez, Province of Buenos Aires	In a school while the teacher was writing on the blackboard, a student shouted at her: "Die Jews and long live the Nazis". The she received on her desk a piece of paper with a swastika drawn on it.	7/11/06	DAJ
200. 28.06.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community received in his house a letter containing insults against numerous stores owned by Jews in different neighbourhoods of the city.	6/28/06	CES
201. 29.06.06	Province of Buenos Aires	The claimant, who worked in a multinational company, was insulted by a colleague who call him "you filthy Jew" and told him she hated him.	6/30/06	DAJ
202. 30.06.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "No to the Jewish wall" was found painted on 3007 Arangueren St.	7/4/06	DAJ
203. 30.06.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "Enough Jews" was found on 2994 Arangueren St.	7/4/06	DAJ
204. 30.06.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found on 2963 Arangueren St.	7/4/06	DAJ
205. 01.07.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 980 Pueyrredon Av.	7/4/06	DAJ
206. 01.07.06	Buenos Aires City	Three swastikas were found in a security box on 2986 Felipe Vallese St.	7/4/06	DAJ
207. 03.07.06	Buenos Aires City	During a radio show on FM 101, the anchor made anti-Jewish and anti-Israeli comments.	7/3/06	DAJ
208. 05.07.06	Buenos Aires City	A Jewish institution received a telephonic threat which said: "We put a bomb, you have one hour to evacuate the institution"	7/6/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
209. 06.07.06	Parana, Province of Entre Rios	Bricks with swastikas painted on were found in the New Park Zone.	7/6/06	PRESS
210. 07.07.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant is a Jew, and one of her patients, on two occasions when he came for an appointment, was wearing a sweat shirt with a swastika on.	7/27/06	DAJ
211. 10.07.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "The passion of the Jews is doing evil" was found in the junction of 25 de Mayo and Reconquista St.	7/10/06	CES
212. 11.07.06	Province of San Juan	The writings "Long Live Palestina" and "Jews are gay" and several swastikas were found painted on the front of a Jewish institution.	7/11/06	DAJ/CES/ PRESS
213. 12.07.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found on 3100 Diaz Colodero St.	7/12/06	DAJ
214. 12.07.06	Buenos Aires City	A sign with the phrases "Death to the State of Israel" and "Support to the Palestinians" was found on Congreso Square.	7/12/06	DAJ
215. 12.07.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant and her husband are the superintendents of a building. One of the tenants told the, among other insults "you Jew, son of a b..." during a telephone conversation.	7/14/06	DAJ
216. 14.07.06	Buenos Aires City	AMIA received an email with the following message "I wish the AMIA bomb was not the last one" "Long live the Lebanon" "Death to the filthy Jews"	7/14/06	DAJ
217. 17.07.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "Skinheads", Black Legion", a swastika the phrase "Oll" were found on 2100 Nazca St.	7/17/06	DAJ
218. 17.07.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant received an email with the following message: "We are going to destroy the State of Israel and its agents throughout the world. We are closely following the WJC here in Buenos Aires and we are eagerly waiting"	7/17/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
219. 15.07.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community received an email saying "No to Israel"	7/19/06	DAJ
220. 16.07.06	Escobar, Province of San Juan	The writings "Long Live Palestina", you f... Jews" and a swastika were found on the front of the headquarters of the Israelite Society	7/16/06	PRESS
221. 18.07.06	Escobar, Province of Buenos Aires	In the "Miraflores" country club, one of the proprietors said "you f... Jews" when referring to those who go there.	7/24/06	DAJ
222. 18.07.06	Buenos Aires City	In an article published in Clarin, the claimant received anti-Semitic comments as replies.	7/20/06	DAJ
223. 19.07.06	Buenos Aires City	AMIA received an email with the following message: "AMIA is gone, go look for justice in Israel and do not cut streets anymore, you scum of humanity"	7/19.06	DAJ
224. 19.07.06	Province of Cordoba	Several swastikas, a Star of David and the phrases "Murderers of children", "No to terror, Nazis out of Lebanon, out of Palestine" were found in a institution of the Jewish community	7/19/06	PRESS
225. 20.07.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 2866 Viamonte St.	7/20/06	DAJ
226. 20.07.06	Ramos Mejía, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "Jews, we know where you are" and a swastika were found in a property located on 300 Alvarez Jonte St.	7/20/06	DAJ
227. 20.07.06	Buenos Aires City	A motorcycle passed by a Jewish institution and its driver made as if he shot the door.	7/21/06	DAJ
228. 20.07.06	Province of Cordoba	Several swastikas were found painted on the front of the Israelite Society	7/20/06	PRESS/INADI

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
229. 21.07.06	Buenos Aires City	A Jewish institution received a telephonic threat saying "you son of a b... Jews, we are going to kill you all"	7/21/06	DAJ
230. 22.07.06	Buenos Aires City	AMIA received a telephonic threat warning about the putting of a bomb.	7/22/06	PRESS
231. 24.07.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the neighbourhood of "Once"	7/24/06	DAJ
232. 25.07.06	Lanus Este, Province of Buenos Aires	Two persons who were drinking "mate" at the door of a Jewish institution when asked to live, said "I wish the Hezbollah put a bomb in the temple so everybody blows up"	7/27/06	DAJ
233. 25.07.06	Province of Cordoba	Nazis insignias were found in an Antiques Shop in the Junction of Lavalleja and 9 de Julio St.	7/25/06	
234. 26.07.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community received a letter sent by "Adolfo, greetings from uncle, happy friendship day" and the letter said "Jews, we know very well that you are parasites, we want you and slowly we are going to exterminate you all. Hitler never died for the Nazis". It also contained swastikas, Celtics, SS.	7/26/06	DAJ
235. 27.07.06	Province of Cordoba	A member of the Jewish community found a swastika carved on his car	7/27/06	
236. 27.07.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "Jews out" and the Stat of David were found painted on 2600 Paraguay St.	7/27/06	DAJ
237. 28.07.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 3100 Mosconi av.	7/28/06	DAJ
238. 28.07.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing SS inside a logo with a little crown on top was found painted on the junction of Santos Dumont and Cuidad de la Paz.	7/28/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
239. 28.07.06	Buenos Aires City	AMIA's website received a message saying "You are a murderous people, you cannot be forgiven, a thousand times damned, HACBV SBDB 7/29/6"	8/23/06	DAJ
240. 29.07.06	Province of Corrientes	The provincial Senator, Jorge Abid said in a radio show that "the Jews put the AMIA bomb and what Hitler did was fine", "what Israel does is worse than what Hitler did. It is ten times Hitler", "The Jews should be isolated because they have problems with everybody, and the problem is oneself", "What happens is that they run the media and everything economic and financial. We cannot be hypocrites. You listen to them and they said they are victims".	7/31/06	DAJ/PRESS/ INADI
241. 01.08.06	Province of Cordoba	A married couple member of the Jewish community received telephonic threats for being Jewish.	8/1/06	CES
242. 02.08.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 2053 Tucuman St.	8/2/06	DAJ
243. 02.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "EEUU=Star of David" on 1112 Doblas St.	8/2/06	DAJ
244. 02.08.06	Ciudadela, Province of Buenos Aires	A Jewish institution received a telephone call which said: "You might get a bomb". It was also accompanied with verbal abuse and Anti-Semitism insults	8/3/06	DAJ
245. 02.08.06	Province of Cordoba	A member of the Jewish community was verbally abused by a co-worker he told him: "All Jews should be killed"	8/2/06	
246. 02.08.06	Province of Cordoba	The writing: "Faraone, you f... Jew" "Faraone, you s... Jew" were found on 5349 Sabatini St.	9/19/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
247. 02.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant informed that in the parking lot where he parks his car found a pamphlet which said: "Hezbollah will give Israel and EEUU an endless massacre"	8/2/06	DAJ
248. 03.08.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on the house of a member of a Jewish community, and the following day bottles with oil were thrown against his door.	8/4/06	DAJ
249. 03.08.06	Province of Cordoba	The phrase: "Israel is genocidal" was found in the junction of Rodriguez Peña and 9 de Julio.	8/3/06	
250. 03.08.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was painted on 4200 Gorriti St.	8/3/06	CES
251. 04.08.06	Buenos Aires City	A Jewish institution received a telephone call saying "In five minutes you all going to be blown up".	8/4/08	DAJ
252. 04.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant received the following email: "I thought Hitler was a son of a b... for what he did to the Jews, now I think the Jews are the son of a b... because they killed so many children under 12 years old in Beirut.	8/4/06	DAJ
253. 04.08.06	Province of Tucuman	A piece of newspaper with the phrase "F... off Jews and a swastika painted on it was found in a Jewish institution	8/8/06	DAJ
254. 04.08.06	Martinez, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "Jews=murderers" was found on 1400 Fleming Av.	8/8/06	DAJ
255. 04.08.06	Vicente Lopez, Province of Buenos Aires	The phrase "Israel" written with a swastika instead of the letter "S" was found on 1400 Caseros St.	8/7/06	DAJ
256. 04.08.06	Buenos Aires City	A Jewish institution received a telephonic threat saying "In any moment all of you will be blown up, did you hear, all of you will be blown up. Quebracho, did you hear?"	8/7/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
257. 06.08.06	Buenos Aires City	Several stands with Nazi memorabilia for sale were found in the arms' exhibition organized in la "Rural"	8/9/06	DAJ
258. 07.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "Hitlerians Israelis, out of Lebanon and Palestina" was found on Donado and Ruiz Huidobro.	8/7/06	DAJ
259. 07.06.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant owns a Cyber Café in the neighbourhood of Belgrano. When the city hall sent an inspection, the inspector said: "More missiles should fall in Israel" and "just what I needed, to run into a Jew".	8/16/06	DAJ
260. 08.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant received an email with the following message: "Who the f... does that little f... morishe think she is... I hate her, go and cry in Mauro Viale's show and with Alesi Garcia, really, it makes me want to cry each time something is blown up, I feel so good".	8/8/06	DAJ
261. 08.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Star of David= Swastika" was found in the junction of 9 de Julio Av and Viamonte St.	8/8/06	DAJ
262. 08.08.06	Vicente Lopez, Province of Buenos Aires	Several anti-Semitic insignias were found in the supermarket "Carrefour" on San Martin Av.		
263. 09.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "Genocides of the Palestinian people" next to the Star of David was found on the window of a car of the subway of the line "B" of METROVIAS	8/9/06	DAJ
264. 09.08.06	Mar del Plata, Province of Buenos Aires	A Jewish institution received a telephone call saying "Hezbollah is already in Mar del Plata".	8/9/06	DAJ
265. 11.08.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika and the phrases "Jews out" and "Skinheads" were found in the junction of Hipolito Irigoyen St. and Virrey Lineas.	8/14/06	DAJ/CES

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
266. 11.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "Jews are murderers" was found in the junction of Juan Agustín García St. and Bolivia St.	8/14/06	DAJ
267. 13.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Swastika=Star of David or show otherwise" was found on 2200 Lavalle St.	8/14/06	DAJ
268. 13.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Swastika=Star of David or show otherwise" was found on 2201 Lavalle St.	8/14/06	DAJ
269. 13.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Swastika=Star of David or show otherwise" was found on 2257 Lavalle St.	8/14/06	DAJ
270. 13.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Swastika=Star of David or show otherwise" was found on 2115 Lavalle St.	8/14/06	DAJ
271. 13.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Swastika=Star of David or show otherwise" was found on 2102 Tucuman St.	8/14/06	DAJ
272. 13.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Swastika=Star of David or show otherwise" was found on 2127 Tucuman St.	8/14/06	DAJ
273. 13.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Swastika=Star of David or show otherwise" was found on 509 Pasteur St.	8/14/06	DAJ
274. 14.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Star of David=Swastikas" was found on Emilio Mitre St.	8/14/06	DAJ
275. 14.08.06	Province of Entre Ríos	A Jewish cemetery was vandalized, graves were damaged, bronze plaques were taken away and photos were destroyed.	8/14/06	PRESS
276. 15.08.06	Province of Entre Ríos	The president of the local DAIA, Eduardo Furman, received a telephonic threat with anti-Semitic expressions.	8/17/06	PRESS

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
277. 15.08.06	Moron, Province of Buenos Aires	Two swastikas were found in the junction of Juan Agustín García and Pernabuco St.	8/16/06	DAJ
278. 15.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "Jews are murderers" was found on Mendoza St. and the tracks.	8/16/06	DAJ
279. 15.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "SS" was found in the junction of Cuba and Juramento Av.	8/16/06	DAJ
280. 15.08.06	La Lucila, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "Jews=murderers" was found in the platform of La Lucila stop of the Mitre Line.	8/16/06	DAJ
281. 16.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The message "You are the terrorists, you shameless murderers, you kill children, nobody believes you, it is no use crying in front of the cameras, it is not possible to press journalists or the networks anymore, like you tried to do to have "El Ajube" show cancelled".	8/14/06	DAJ
282. 17.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews are criminals" was found on 1068 Leandro N. Alem Av.	8/17/06	DAJ
283. 17.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews are murderers" was found in the junction of Adolfo Carranza and Bolivia St.	8/17/06	DAJ
284. 17.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "Death to the Jews, long live Iran" was found in the junction of Felipe Vallesse St. and Artigas St.	8/17/06	DAJ
285. 17.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "Jews are murderers" was found in the junction of Carranza St. and Gavilan St.	8/17/06	DAJ
286. 17.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrases "Jews are racists", "Jews are murderers" and "Star of David=Swastika" were found on 400 Rodríguez Peña St.	8/25/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
287. 18.08.06	Buenos Aires City	A vehicle passed by a Jewish institution, and the passengers shouted "You murderers are going to be blown up"	8/19/06	DAJ
288. 18.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrases "Hamas", "Hezbollah" and a swastika were found painted in the junction of Saavedra and Mexico St.	8/28/06	DAJ
289. 18.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "Israel Genocidal" was found on 2100 Cordoba Av., inside the parking lot of the Economic Sciences School of the University of Buenos Aires	8/18/06	DAJ
290. 18.08.06	Colonia, Province of Entre Rios	Several graves were desecrated and many plaques broken in a Jewish cemetery.	8/18/06	DAJ
291. 18.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Israel=Death" was found in the junction of Terrada and Gaona Av.	18/08/06	DAJ
292. 19.08.06	Quilmes, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "Do something for your motherland, kill a Jew" was found painted on the wall of a Church on the junction of Zapiola St. and Belgrano Av.	8/19/06	DAJ
293. 20.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "No to Israel", "Heil Mein Fuhrer", "Jews are murderers" and swastikas were found in the junction of Cucha Cucha St. and Luis Viale St.	8/25/06	DAJ
294. 20.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "No to Israel", "Heil Mein Fuhrer", "Jews are murderers" and swastikas were found on 1387 Cucha Cucha St.	8/25/06	DAJ
295. 20.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "No to Israel", "Heil Mein Fuhrer", "Jews are murderers" and swastikas were found on 1175 Cucha Cucha St.	8/25/06	DAJ
296. 20.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "No to Israel", "Heil Mein Fuhrer", "Jews are murderers" and swastikas were found on 1165 Cucha Cucha St.	8/25/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
297. 20.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "No to Israel", "Heil Mein Fuhrer", "Jews are murderers" and swastikas were found on 1540 Manuel Rodriguez St.	8/25/06	DAJ
298. 20.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "Heil Fuhrer", "Jews are murderers", a swastika and the number "88" were found in the Junction of Gaona Av. And Coronel A. Figueroa St.	8/23/06	DAJ
299. 21.08.06	Buenos Aires City	A poster referring to the Nazi Rudolf Hess was found glued on the wall of a Jewish institution	8/23/06	DAJ
300. 21.08.06	San Martin, Province of Buenos Aires	A poster with the phrase "Rudolf Hess, martyr of the peace" was found glued on the door of a Jewish institution.	8/21/06	DAJ
301. 22.08.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 110 Ecuador St.	8/22/06	DAJ
302. 22.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant receives constant aggressions from her neighbour, who cut her off the gas and energy services, spies her daughter and shouts Yes, I am a Nazi, so what?"	8/22/06	DAJ
303. 23.08.06	Buenos Aires City	Two swastikas and the writing "Hey Hitler" were found painted on 1216 Cramer St.	8/23/06	DAJ
304. 23.08.06	Buenos Aires City	Several posters with the following phrases were found at the Philosophy and Letters School of the University of Buenos Aires: "Israel, a Nazi State", with an Israeli flag which had a Swastika instead of the Star of David, "Star of David=Swastika", "Jews are invaders, let us do something for our motherland, let's kill Jews"	8/23/06	DAJ/PRESS
305. 23.08.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika inside a Star of David was found painted on the front of the Ministry of Production.	8/23/06	CES

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
306. 23.08.06	Buenos Aires City	A sign with the phrase "Jews are murderers" was found in the junction of Echeverria St. and Conde St.	8/23/06	DAJ
307. 23.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "murderers=Jews" was found in the Junction of Adolfo Carranza and Andres Lamas St.	8/23/06	DAJ
308. 23.08.06	San Martin, Province of Buenos Aires	The writings "Rudolf Hess, martyr of peace, murdered by Democracy", several swastikas, an eagle and "Skinheads against Zionism and occupation" were found in the junction of 3 de Febrero and 25 de Mayo St.	8/24/06	DAJ
309. 24.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews=murderers" was found in the junction of Alvarez Jonte and Terrada St.	8/24/06	DAJ
310. 25.08.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community received a telephonic threat saying "call your relatives in Israel who are throwing bombs"	8/25/06	DAJ
311. 25.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews are murderers" was found painted in the junction of Artigas and Biarritz St.	8/25/06	DAJ
312. 25.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "Hamas", Hezbollah" and a swastika were found on 700 Saavedra St., in the neighbourhood of "Once".	8/28/06	DAJ
313. 27.08.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika inside a Star of David was found painted at the Artisans' Square.	8/27/06	CES
314. 28.08.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community received an email saying "You are a murderous people, you cannot be forgiven, a thousand times damned. HACBV SBDB 7/29/96".	8/23/06	DAJ
315. 29.08.06	Province of Cordoba	A member of the Jewish community received several telephonic threats for being a Jew, and alleged having been taken out of his working post out of discrimination.	8/29/06	CES

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
316. 29.08.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 2266 Neuquen St.	8/29/06	DAJ
317. 29.08.06	Buenos Aires City	When driving by the door of a Jewish institution, a driver shouted "You f... Jews"	8/29/06	DAJ
318. 29.08.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the junction of Cadiz and Gandara St.	8/29/06	DAJ
319. 30.08.06	Buenos Aires City	During Elizabeth Vernaci's radio show on Rock & Pop it was stated that the Jews should leave the country.	8/30/06	DAJ
320. 31.08.06	Buenos Aires City	AMIA received an email saying "We denounce the Government's participation in the colloquium organized by you" and "its complicity" with international Zionism.	9/7/06	DAJ
321. 31.08.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika inside a Star of David and the phrases "Jews kill children" and "National Zionism" were found painted in the neighbourhood of "General Paz".	8/31/06	CES
322. 31.08.06	Buenos Aires City	Several pamphlets were handed in to the students in front of a Jewish institution with the phrases "The great historic lie", "Israel's business (the deceit)", "The word "Israel" was writing the symbol "\$" and it also showed the doors to the gas chambers.	8/31/06	DAJ
323. 31.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Death to the Jews" was found painted on 400 Puan St.	8/31/06	DAJ
324. 31.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Swastika=Star of David" was found painted on 565 Junin St.	8/31/06	DAJ
325. 31.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Swastika=Star of David" was found painted on 569 Junin St.	8/31/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
326. 31.08.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Swastika=Star of David" was found painted on 511 Junin St.	8/31/06	DAJ
327. 31.08.06	Alcaraz, Province of Buenos Aires	Seven swastikas were found painted on different signs, three direction Capital City, and two direction Parana, on the National Route No. 127. 102, 5 km.	9/6/06	DAJ
328. 01.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community received an email with the message: "Sergio: kill all Jews!!!! Death to the Jewish traitors, like those in the lab, every time you come in or go out, look behind you, it will be your turn to die soon!!! Traitors, if you exchange a Jew like Sergio for a bin of s...., you loose the bin, the shame will be terrible, you traitor son of a b.....".	9/4/06	DAJ
329. 02.09.06	Buenos Aires City	It was discovered that tickets for a rock concert being sold in store on Rivadavia and Nazca St. had drawings of the Star of David, the USA flag and the swastika on them.	9/7/06	DAJ
330. 02.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant, a superintendent of an apartment building on 569 Pasteur St. found a swastika and the phrase "you son of a b... Jews" painted on the lift.	9/7/06	DAJ
331. 04.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews are murderers" was found painted in the junction of Del Carril and Nazca St.	9.4.06	DAJ
332. 04.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 4285 Gorriti St.	9/4/06	DAJ
333. 04.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found on 700 De Mayo Avenue	9/4/06	DAJ
334. 05.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews are murderers" was found painted in the junction of Nazca and Habana St.	9/5/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
335. 05.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Star of David=Swastika or show otherwise" was found on 511 Junin St.	9/5/06	CES
336. 05.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews are murderers" was found painted in the junction of Nazca and Jose Cubas St.	9/5/06	DAJ
337. 06.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community was verbally attacked in his work place by the Vice-President of the company, who told him "coward, you are like your entire race, you f... Jew".	9/8/06	DAJ
338. 06.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant said that her boss makes the following comments repeatedly: "Jews are s...."	9/6/06	DAJ
339. 08.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community received an email with threats and accusations regarding the conflict in Middle East and the bombing of AMIA/DAIA, signed by the Self-Defence Quebracho Group and young resistance of Hezbollah.	9/8/06	CES
340. 08.09.06	Buenos Aires City	AMIA and DAIA received a threatening email with Anti-Semitic phrases and accusations of Israeli policy being Nazi, signed by an alleged self-defence Quebracho group.	9/11/06	DAJ
341. 11.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews are murderers" was found painted in the junction of Echeverria and Melian St.	9/11/06	DAJ
342. 11.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika and the phrase "Oil" were found painted on 2100 Nazca Av.	9/12/06	DAJ
343. 12.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant received an envelope in his workplace with a pamphlet saying "Terrorist and criminals! Give back the stolen territories to the Arabs, with swastikas painted with a Star of David in the centre and a skull.	9/12/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
344. 13.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A sign with the phrase "For the destruction of the State of Israel" was found in the Social Sciences School of the University of Buenos Aires	9/13/06	DAJ
345. 13.09.06	Province of Tucuman	A student denounced having received anti-Semitic insults from some students in the Philosophy and Letters School of the University of Tucuman.	9/13/06	DAJ
346. 14.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant was verbally attacked in his workplace by some co-workers with the phrases "We are going to burn you like the Jews" and "We are going you make soap out of you".	9/14/06	DAJ
347. 14.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 3300 Caseros Av.	9/14/06	DAJ
348. 15.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant found a painting on the sidewalk where his store is with the phrase "You son of a b... Jew, we are going to ... beware".	9/18/06	DAJ
349. 15.09.06	Province of Cordoba	Two Stars of David with Swastikas and the phrase "National Zionism" were found on Jacinto Rios St. between Lima and 24 de Septiembre St.	15/09/06	CES
350. 15.09.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika was found on Jujuy St. between Dean Funes and 27 de Abril St.	15/09/06	CES
351. 15.09.06	Province of Cordoba	A Star of David with a swastika and the phrase "Palestinian massacre" was found on 1380 25 de mayo St.	15/09/06	CES
352. 15.09.06	Province of Cordoba	A Star of David with a swastika and the phrase "Palestinian massacre" was found on 110 25 de mayo St.	15/09/06	CES
353. 15.09.06	Province of Cordoba	The writing "Israel Nazi and terrorist State" was found on 600 Viamonte St.	15/09/06	CES

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
354. 15.09.06	Province of Cordoba	The writing "Jews are child killers" was found on Pringles St. between 24 de Septiembre and Lima St.	15/09/06	CES
355. 15.09.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika and a Star of David were found painted in the junction of Belgrano and Achaval Rodriguez St.	15/09/06	CES
356. 18.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews out" was found painted on the junction of Virrey Lineas and Hipolito Irigoyen St.	9/18/06	DAJ
357. 18.09.06	Lanus, Province of Buenos Aires	Several swastikas and the word "Hamas" were found painted on 700 Saavedra St.	9/18/06	DAJ
358. 18.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews out" was found painted on 2600 Paraguay St.	9/18/06	DAJ
359. 18.09.06	Ramos Mejia, Province of Buenos Aires	A swastika and the phrase "Jews are murderers Zionists" were found in the junction of Pedro Palacios and Pereyra St..	9/25/06	DAJ
360. 19.09.06	San Nicolas, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "Jews are murderers" was found painted on the junction of Ramon Carillo and Constitucion St.	9/19/06	DAJ
361. 19.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Three swastikas =Star of David" was found in the junction of 9 de Julio Av. And Lavalle St.	9/19/06	DAJ
362. 20.09.06	Buenos Aires City	Two persons who were driving in a van passed by a Jewish institution in the junction of San Luis St. and Pueyrredon Av and shouted "Hezbollah, Hezbollah".	9/21/06	DAJ
363. 20.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews are murderers" was found painted in the junction of Martin de Gainza and Franklin St.	9/28/06	DAJ
364. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the junction of Quesada and Moldes St.	9/21/06	DAJ/PRESS

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
365. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 2970 Quesada St.	9/21/06	DAJ/PRESS
366. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 2938 Quesada St.	9/21/06	DAJ/PRESS
367. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 2735 Quesada St.	9/21/06	DAJ/PRESS
368. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 2650 Quesada St.	9/21/06	DAJ/PRESS
369. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 2596 Quesada St.	9/21/06	DAJ/PRESS
370. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 2568 Quesada St.	9/21/06	DAJ/PRESS
371. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Long live Hitler, with a swastika and "Skinheads" were found on 2936 Roosevelt St.	9/21/06	DAJ/PRESS
372. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Long live Hitler, with a swastika and "Skinheads" were found on 2954 Roosevelt St.	9/21/06	DAJ/PRESS
373. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Fuhrer" was found painted on the door of a Jewish institution	9/21/06	DAJ/PRESS
374. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the junction of Quesada and Ciudad de la Paz St.	9/21/06	DAJ
375. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the junction of La Pampa and Vuelta de Obligado St.	9/21/06	DAJ
376. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Star of David= Swastika O!" was found painted on 4618 Nicaragua St.	9/21//06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
377. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews are murderers" was found painted on the emergency exit of a public school located on 2500 Conesa St.	9/21/06	DAJ
378. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 2318 O'Higgins St.	9/21/06	DAJ/PRESS
379. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 2089 O'Higgins St.	9/21/06	DAJ/PRESS
380. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The name of a Jewish institution located in the neighbourhood of "Belgrano" which was written on the door was found cross out with spray paint.	9/21/06	DAJ/PRESS
381. 21.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Lebanon resists" and a swastika were found painted in the junction of Monroe and Amenabar St.	9/21/06	DAJ/PRESS
382. 22.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The passengers of a car passing by a Jewish institution shouted "Go Hezbollah".	9/22/06	DAJ/PRESS
384. 22.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found in the junction of Ugarte and Vuelta de Obligado St.	9/22/06	DAJ/PRESS
385. 22.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika with an exclamation mark was found in the junction of Ciudad de la Paz and Sucre St.	9/22/06	DAJ/PRESS
386. 22.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on the entrance of the line "D" of the subway/	9/22/06	DAJ
387. 22.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews are murderers" with Celtic crosses on the sides was found in the junction of Avellaneda Boyaca St.	9/22/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
388. 22.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community was attacked by his neighbours with the following comments: "any business you set up, we will make the impossible for you to fail" And they also said "you f... Jews", "go away" and during the night, they threw stones at the windows.	9/2/06	DAJ
389. 23.09.06	Buenos Aires City	During the religious services in a Jewish institution, a car drove by and the driver shouted "son of a b....".	9/26/06	DAJ
390. 24.09.06	Tigre, Province of Buenos Aires	The claimant works in a Casino. They took some money from his salary due to his absence during the high holidays	11/12/06	DAJ
391. 24.09.06	Ramos Mejía, Province of Buenos Aires	A Jewish institution received a telephonic threat warning about the setting of a bomb	9/26/06	DAJ
392. 25.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found on 2420 Roosevelt St.	9/25/06	DAJ/PRESS
393. 25.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 2646 Vuelta de Obligado St.	9/25/06	DAJ
394. 25.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the junction of Vuelta de Obligado and Roosevelt St.	9/25/06	DAJ
395. 25.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Flores skinheads" was found on 692 Nazca St.	9/25/06	DAJ
396. 25.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 2506 Roosevelt St.	9/25/06	DAJ
397. 25.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "No to the Jewish wall" was found painted on 3005 Aranguren St.	9/25/06	DAJ
398. 25.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "No to the Jewish wall" was found painted on 2994 Aranguren St.	9/25/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
399. 25.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews are murderers" with Celtic crosses on the sides was found painted on 2900 Avellaneda St.	9/25/06	DAJ
400. 25.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews are murderers" with Celtic crosses on the sides was found painted on 2025 Avellaneda St.	9/25/06	DAJ
401. 26.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews are murderer" was found painted on the junction of Boyaca and Luis Viale St.	9/26/06	DAJ
402. 26.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 1565 Quesada St.	9/26/06	DAJ/PRESS
403. 26.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found in the junction of 11 de Septiembre and Quesada St.	9/26/06	DAJ/PRESS
404. 26.09.06	Acasuso, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "Long Live Hitler" was found painted on "River Side" public school	9/26/06	DAJ
405. 26.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 5050 Murature St.	9/26/06	DAJ
406. 26.09.06	Buenos Aires City	In a Jewish institution, during the religious services a person tried to get in. When questioned, he showed a soap which took out of his pocket, arguing genocidal practices during the Holocaust.	9/26/06	DAJ
407. 27.09.06	Buenos Aires City	Several writings, such as "SS", swastikas and Celtic crosses were found painted on 1300 Boyaca St.	9/27/06	DAJ
408. 28.09.06	Buenos Aires City	Several writings, such as "SS", swastikas and Celtic crosses were found painted on 1700 Boyaca St.	9/27/06	DAJ
409. 27.09.06	Buenos Aires City	Several writings, such as "SS", swastikas and Celtic crosses were found painted in the junction of Boyaca and Camarones St.	9/27/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
410. 27.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "Jews are murderers", "USA=Star of David" were found in the junction of Sucre and Vidal St.	9/27/06	DAJ
411. 27.09.06	Province of Santa Fe	A police officer received verbal aggressions from his supervisor due to his skin colour and the fact that his wife is Jewish.	9/27/06	PRESS
412. 28.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 2431 Vuelta de Obligado St.	9/28/06	DAJ
413. 28.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika and the phrase "Hitler was right" were found painted on 2818 Zapiola St.	9/28/06	DAJ
414. 28.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Star of David=\$=Anti-Christ" was found in the junction of Arribeños and Quesada St.	9/28/06	DAJ
415. 28.09.06	Province of Santa Fe	The chief of the Specials Operations Group of the Regional Unit 1, sub-sheriff Juan P. Garro, was dismissed for a discrimination claim because he had found a paint in his office with an eagle and a swastika	9/28/06	PRESS
416. 29.09.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews, murderers Zionists, out of the country. You only foment hatred and resentment. You Marxists out of the Argentinean schools" was found painted in the Social Sciences School of the University of Buenos Aires	9/29/06	PRESS
417. 29.09.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the junction of Remedios de Escalada de San Martin and Boyaca St.	9/29/06	DAJ
418. 01.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The passengers of a car passing by the door of a Jewish institution shouted "murderers"	9/29/06	DAJ
419. 01.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The passengers of a car passing by the door of a Jewish institution shouted "you f... Jews"	10/4/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
420. 01.10.06	Buenos Aires City	A Star of David and a swastika were found painted on 775 Humberto Primo St.	10/5/06	DAJ
421. 01.10.06	Buenos Aires City	Three skinheads walked by the junction of Amenabar and Blanco Encalda St., where a Jewish institution is located, and shouted "you f... Jews".	10/4/06	DAJ
422. 01.10.06	Buenos Aires City	A Jewish institution received a telephone call saying "Explosive device on Varela St."	10/5/06	DAJ
423. 02.10.06	Buenos Aires City	One of the two passengers of a car driving by a Jewish institution made as if he was shooting.	10/5/06	DAJ
424. 02.10.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the junction of Fragata Sarmiento and Mendez de Andes St.	10/5/06	DAJ
425. 02.10.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika and the Celtic cross were found painted in the junction of Paysandu and Avellaneda St.	10/5/06	PRESS
426. 02.10.06	Province of San Luis	A group of students was not allowed to participate in a debate on the Middle East held at the National University of San Luis because they were Jewish.	10/2/06	PRESS
427. 02.10.06	Province of Entre Rios	The journalist Carlos Furman was attacked with pamphlets which said "Jewish New Year, death to Carlos Furman" Go away you son of a b..."	10/2/06	PRESS
428. 03.10.06	La Plata, Province of Buenos Aires	A swastika was found painted in the Agrarian and Forestry Sciences School of the National University of La Plata.	10/3/06	PRESS
429. 03.10.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community received an email with the following message: "Beware, because we are going to s... you. We know where you live and work, watch out, you think you are a Communist but you are a Fascist Jew".	10/3/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
430. 04.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "Out Israel from Lebanon" and "Jews out" were found painted on 740 Mexico St.	10/4/06	DAJ
431. 04.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Jews out" was found on 1382 Paraguay St.	10/4/06	DAJ
432. 04.10.06	Lanus, Province of Buenos Aires	The writings "Jews are murderers" and "Son of a b..." were found at Lanus train stop.	10/4/06	DAJ
433. 04.10.06	Mataderos, Province of Buenos Aires	The writings "Skinheads" and "White Power" next to a swastika were found painted on 1760 Zinny St.	10/4/06	DAJ
434. 04.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "Jews out" and a Celtic cross were found painted in the junction of Virrey Liniers and Moreno St.	10/4/06	DAJ
435. 04.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "Nazis, moves forward" was found in the junction of Conesa and Zapiola St.	10.4.06	DAJ
436. 04.10.06	Buenos Aires City	A car stopped at the door of a Jewish institution, and when asked to move, the driver said "I will not move, you Jew" and when a security agent approached him, he said "you f... Jew, I am going to kill you all".	10/5/06	DAJ
437. 05.10.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found in the junction of Amenabar and La Pampa St.	10/5/06	DAJ
438. 05.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "Swastika=Star of David" and " or show otherwise" were found painted in the junction of Corrientes and Larrea St.	10/6/06	DAJ
439. 05.10.06	Province of Cordoba	A claim denounces the selling of pins with swastikas	5/10/06	CES
440. 06.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "Jews are criminals" was found painted in the junction of Leandro N. Alem and Marcelo T. De Alvear St.	10/6/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
441. 06.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "Jews=Murderers=USA" was found painted in the junction of Vidal and Sucre St.	10/6/06	DAJ
442. 07.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The script of the play "The four apocalyptic horsemen", which the claimant say at the theatre contained anti-Semitic phrases like "My wife left me for a Jew, that f... race" "Do not give him wine, he get melancholic because of the Holocaust"	10/10/06	DAJ
443. 08.10.06	Parana, Province of Entre Rios	Two swastikas were painted vindicating the last dictatorship with an anti-Semitic tone in Parana.	10/8/06	PRESS
444. 09.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Chucky Jews are murderers" was found painted on 26 Velazco St.	10/9/06	DAJ
445. 09.10.06	Parana, Province of Entre Rios	The writing "Death to the Jews" and a swastika were found on the wall of former Radical militant Luis Brassesco.	10/9/06	PRESS
446. 05.10.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika and a Star of David were found painted on 24 de Septiembre St.	5/10/06	CES
447. 10.10.06	Rawson, Province of Chubut	A swastika was found painted on the house of "Justicialista" governor, Mario Des Neves and in public monuments.	10/10/06	PRESS
448. 10.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "Star of David=Swastika" and "or show otherwise" were found on 2208 Lavalle St.	10.10.06	DAJ
449. 10.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The phrase "Jews are murderers" and a swastika were found in the junction of Cucha Cucha and Apolinario Figueroa St.	10.10.06	DAJ
450. 10.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant received an email with the following message: "Sr.... you son of a b... Jew" "Be very careful in your work and apartment on the street.... you are marked"	10/10/06	DAJ
451. 10.10.06	Buenos Aires City	Two swastikas were found in the junction of 11 de Septiembre and Campos Salles St.	10/10/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
452. 12.10.06	Buenos Aires City	Two swastikas were found painted on 1400 Campana St.	10/12/06	DAJ
453. 12.10.06	Buenos Aires City	A pamphlet which said "We are here again and we are watching" was found on the street in the junction of Gallo and Corrientes Av.	10/20/06	DAJ
454. 12.10.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika and the word "Skinheads" were found painted on 11 de Septiembre St.	10/12/06	DAJ
455. 13.10.06	Buenos Aires City	In a retirement home located on 3917 Lezica St., the relative of a person living there went to the kitchen to ask for food and the cook told him "Go get some food from Hitler".	10/18/06	DAJ
456. 13.10.06	Buenos Aires City	Three swastikas were found on 2325 Correa St.	10/13/06	DAJ
457. 13.10.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the junction of Nazca and Argerich St.	10/13/06	DAJ
458. 13.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "FMI=Star of David" was found in the junction of Carillo and Brandsen St.	10/13/06	DAJ
459. 17.10.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community received an email with the following message "You Jews son of a b... death to all Jews".	10/20/06	DAJ
460. 18.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Death to Jews" was found in the junction of Virrey Lineas and Hipolito Irigoyen St.	10/18/06	DAJ
461. 18.10.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 622 Ayacucho St.	10/18/06	DAJ
462. 18.10.06	Buenos Aires City	Several swastikas, a Celtic cross, "SS" and the phrase "Skinheads" were found painted on 136 Yatay St.	10/18/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
463. 18.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Star of David=Swastika" was found painted in line "B" of the subway.	10/18/06	DAJ
464. 18.10.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on Mendoza and Migueletes St.	10/18/06	DAJ
465. 18.10.06	Buenos Aires City	An eagle of the Second World War with an "SS" and the phrase "SS Waffen" were found painted on Paraguay and Bonpland.	10/18.06	DAJ
466. 19.10.06	Buenos Aires City	A car driving by a Jewish institution threw two petards.	10/18.06	DAJ
467. 20.10.06	Province of Cordoba	In the 43 rd National Beer Party, a store sold T-shirts with swastikas printed on them as souvenirs.	10/20.06	PRESS
468. 20.10.06	Province of Cordoba	Some journalists of Radio Cadenna 3 spoke against the safety measures of the Jewish Community.	10/20/06	CES
469. 20.10.06	Moreno, Province of Buenos Aires	At the country house of a Jewish institution a telephonic threat was received with the following message: "You f... Jews we are going to kill you all"	10/20.06	DAJ
470. 23.10.06	Canning, Province of Buenos Aires	A Jewish institution received a telephonic threat saying "There is a bomb"	10/24/06	DAJ
471. 24.10.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant arrived in taxi to a Jewish institution, and the car stayed at the front without being able to turn on the engine. When it was approached to check what was going on, the driver shouted "I am not going to put a bomb, you Jew son of a b..."	10/24/06	DAJ
472. 26.10.06	Tigre, Province of Buenos Aires	A swastika was found painted in the junction of Jose C. Paz and A. Gonzalez St.	10/26/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
473. 27.10.06	Tigre, Province of Buenos Aires	In the road Tigre-Retiro of Mitre railway line, at the Vicente Lopez stop the following writing was found: "The Jew squeezes our lives, more than 5000 years doing harm".	10/27/06	DAJ
474. 27.10.06	Olivos, Province of Buenos Aires	A city with buildings, houses and a plane with two swastikas was found painted in front of the Presidential house.	10/27/06	DAJ
475. 30.10.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika was found painted on the sidewalk next to the house of members of the Jewish community.	10/30/06	CES
476. 30.10.06	Province of Cordoba	An individual was attacked because of his Jewish origin.	10/03/06	CES
477. 01.11.06	Buenos Aires City	Two swastikas were found painted on the line "D" of the subway.	11/1/06	DAJ
478. 01.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found in the junction of Bulnes and Lavalle St.	11/1/06	DAJ
479. 01.11.06	Buenos Aires City	Five swastikas were found in an apartment in the neighbourhood of "Once".	11/2/06	DAJ
480. 01.11.06	Buenos Aires City	Several swastikas were found in a lift of an apartment building in the neighbourhood of "Once".	11/2/06	DAJ
481. 2.11.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika was found in the junction of Bolivia and Fructuoso Rivera St.	11/2/06	CES
482. 03.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the junction of Lavalleja and Gorriti St.	11/3/06	CES/DAJ
483. 07.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the junction of Camarones and Argerich St.	11/7/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
484. 07.11.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant did not received his salary because he was absent during the high holidays. Prior to that, the company had requested a certificate of attendance to the synagogue.	11/7/06	INADI
485. 07.11.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika was found painted in the Church of "Santo Domingo".	11/7/06	CES
486. 10.11.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "FMI=Star of David" and "TV Media=Star of David" were found painted on the wall of "Dr. Moyano" Hospital in the neighbourhood of "Constitucion".	11/10/06	DAJ
487. 10.11.06	Martinez, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "Jews=Murderers" was found in the junction of Fleming and Edison St.	11/10/06	DAJ
488. 10.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika and the phrase "HELL" were found painted on 267 Luis Maria Campos av.	11/10/06	DAJ
489. 08.11.06	Buenos Aires City	Several swastikas were found painted in the junction of Migueletes and Mendoza St.	11/8/06	DAJ
490. 13.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found in the junction of Fitz Roy and Cabrera St.	11/13/06	DAJ
491. 14.11.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Star of David=Swastika" was found on 2500 Godoy Cruz St.	11/14/06	CES
492. 14.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 2266 Neuquen St.	11/14/06	DAJ
493. 15.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community claimed he was verbally attacked and punched due to his creed on bus no.128	11/17/06	DAJ/PRESS

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
494. 16.11.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant received an email with anti-Semitic comments such as "Argentina free of Jews", "I believe that the only thing I like about the Jews is the colour RED of the blood I say once on Irigoyen and Juncal St. when a Jew was run over, and there I found what I like seeing: a bleeding Jew".	11/16/06	DAJ/PRESS
495. 16.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A telephonic threat reached the Radio Electric Command of the Federal Police warning that "On Paso St. those Jews are going to be blown up".	11/16/06	DAJ/PRESS
496. 16.11.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika was found in a school on 9 de Julio St.	11/16/06	CES
497. 16.11.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika was found on Rivera Indarte St.	11/16/06	CES
498. 17.11.06	Buenos Aires City	The neighbour of a member of the Jewish community told him: "You f... Jew, why? Why don't you go back to your country?"	11/17/06	DAJ
499. 17.11.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "SS WAFEN" was found on 2288 Soler St.	11/17/06	DAJ
500. 17.11.06	Buenos Aires City	The Director of "Alvear" Hospital received Anti-Semitic comments from an employee.	11/17/06	PRESS
501. 17.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the junction of Donato Alvarez and Rivadavia Av.	11/17/06	DAJ
502. 22.11.06	Florida, Province of Buenos Aires	A member of the Jewish community was verbally attacked by a neighbour who told him "you f... Jew".	11/22/06	DAJ
503. 22.11.06	Buenos Aires City	Several swastikas were found painted on 2100 Bollini St.	11/22/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
504. 22.11.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "Israel, genocidal State, Bush's pawns" and "Star of David=Swastika" in the men's room of the cafe "Caballo Blanco" located in the junction of Las Heras and Billinghurst St.	11/22/06	DAJ
505. 22.11.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "Nazi of San Martin" and several swastikas were found painted on "Aramburu" Square in the neighbourhood of "Caballito".	11/22/06	DAJ/PRESS
506. 22.11.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Swastika, Celtic Cross and Legion" was found on 1800 Avellaneda av.	11/22/06	DAJ/PRESS
507. 22.11.06	Buenos Aires City	The writings "Swastikas, Praetorian Legion and 14/88", "Adolf Hitler, Sieg Heil" and a swastika were found painted on 1900 Bogotá St.	11/22/06	DAJ/PRESS
508. 22.11.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "f...Jews" and two swastikas were found painted on 1910 Bogotá St.	11/22/06	DAJ/PRESS
509. 22.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika, a Celtic Cross and "14 and 88" were found painted on 10 Donato Alvarez St.	11/22/06	DAJ/PRESS
510. 22.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 410 Donato Alvarez St.	11/22/06	DAJ/PRESS
511. 22.11.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Swastika, Black Legion and white power skins" was found painted on 1963 Aranguren St.	11/22/06	DAJ/PRESS
512. 22.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the junction of Chorroarin and Triunvirato av.	11/28/06	DAJ/CES
513. 23.11.06	Buenos Aires City	Racist chants against the followers of "Atlanta" football team were sung by the followers of "Defensores de Belgrano" during a match.		

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
514. 23.11.06	Province of Cordoba	The writing "no to the Palestinian genocide" was found on 157 La Rioja St.	11/23/06	CES
515. 23.11.06	Province of Cordoba	A Star of David next to a swastika and the writing "Palestinian massacre" were found painted on Achaval Rodriguez St.	11/23/06	CES
516. 23.11.06	Province of Cordoba	A Star of David next to a swastika and the writing "Palestinian massacre" were found in the junction of Belgrano and Pasaje Revolucion St.	11/23/06	CES
517. 23.11.06	Province of Cordoba	A Star of David next to a swastika and the writing "Palestinian massacre" were found in the junction of Gral. Ortiz de Ocampo and Lima St.	11/23/06	CES
518. 23.11.06	Province of Cordoba	A Star of David next to a swastika and the writing "Palestinian massacre" were found in the junction of Gral. Ortiz de Ocampo and Sarmiento St.	11/23/06	CES
519. 23.11.06	Province of Cordoba	A Star of David next to a swastika were found painted in the junction of 25 de Mayo and Garibaldi St.	11/23/06	CES
520. 23.11.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika was found painted on the square located on Mariano Larra and Pedro N. Rodriguez St.	11/23/06	CES
521. 23.11.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika was found painted in the junction of G. Matorras and Mayor Arruabarrena St.	11/23/06	CES
522. 23.11.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika was found on xxxx Square.	11/23/06	CES
523. 23.11.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika was found painted on 4400 Cardenozza Square	11/23/06	CES
524. 23.11.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika was found carved on a tree on 3700 La Ramada St.	11/23/06	CES

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
525. 23.11.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika was found in the junction of 9 de Julio and Mariano Moreno St.	11/23/06	CES
526. 23.11.06	Province of Cordoba	The writing "f... Jews" was found in the junction of Jacinto Rios and 24 de Septiembre St.	11/23/06	CES
527. 23.11.06	Province of Cordoba	A swastika was found painted in "San Lorenzo" Petrol Station.	11/23/06	CES
528. 23.11.06	Province of Cordoba	A flag with a swastika painted inside and the phrase "Fascist Cordoba" was found painted in the junction of Bv. Los xxx and Lavalleja St.	11/23/06	CES
529. 24.11.06	Buenos Aires City	Two swastikas were found painted on a seat on bus no. 127.	11/24/06	DAJ
530. 24.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 600 Talcahuano St.	11/24/06	DAJ
531. 24.11.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant, who works in "Dr. Carrillo" Hospital, suffered a reduction of her salary due to her absence during the high holidays.	11/24/06	DAJ
532. 24.11.06	Martinez, Province of Buenos Aires	The phrase "filthy Jews" was found painted on 400 Hipolito Irigoyen St.	11/24/06	DAJ
533. 25.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika and the phrase "SS" were found painted in the junction of Estomba and Congreso Av.	11/29/06	DAJ
534. 27.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A member of the Jewish community was verbally attacked by his neighbour, who told him "you f...Jew"	11/27/06	DAJ
535. 27.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 4500 Salvador M. del Carril Av.	12/1/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
536. 28.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found in the junction of Helguera and Gaona Av.	11/28/06	DAJ
537. 28.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A neighbour of "Villa Devoto" neighbourhood told another neighbour "you f... Jew"	11/28/06	DAJ
538. 28.11.06	Buenos Aires City	A University professor received an email referring to the Jews as "Perfidious race" according to Lutero or Sons of the Devil" according to San Juan.		INADI
539. 28.11.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant received verbal attacks from the neighbour, who told her "you Jew son of a b..." and "you f...Jew"	11/28/06	DAJ
540. 30.11.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant received verbal attacks from the neighbour, who told her "you f...Jew" and who also calls her "Jew".	11/30/06	DAJ
541. 01.12.06	Buenos Aires City	Two swastikas were found in the junction of Argerich and Gaona Av.	12/1/06	DAJ
542. 05.12.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant received an email with the following message: "you f... Jew, we are going to make soap out of you, you are not good even for books' covers, f...race, we are going to kill you Huguito".	12/5/06	DAJ
543. 05.12.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found on "Malabia" stop of line "B" of the subway.	12/5/06	DAJ
544. 07.12.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Telerman governor" with the phrase "traitor Jew" written on top thereof were found in the junction of Monroe and Donado St.	12/7/06	DAJ
545. 07.12.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Atlantia rules" with the phrase "Gay Jew" on top thereof were found on 200 Camargo St.	12/7/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
546. 07.12.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant was verbally attacked by a neighbour, who called him "you son of a b... Jew"	1/3/07	DAJ
547. 14.12.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant received threats, notes and telephone calls saying things like "you f... Jew", "you killed Christ" and "light-candles Jew".	12/14/06	DAJ
548. 14.12.06	Buenos Aires City	Two swastikas were found painted on 4000 Las Heras Av.	12/14/06	DAJ
549. 14.12.06	Buenos Aires City	The claimant was verbally attacked with the phrase "you f... Jew".	12/14/06	DAJ
550. 14.12.06	Buenos Aires City	A car with a swastika painted in one of the front doors drove by a Jewish institution.	12/14/06	DAJ
551. 14.12.06	Province of San Juan	The claimant received the following message on the voicemail of his mobile phone: "you f... Jew, son of a b... you and Mladosqui are sons of a b...! Hitler should have killed you all! I wait for you tomorrow at 9 am at the café".	12/14/06	PRESS
552. 15.12.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Murderers=Jews" with a Star of David were found on Nuñez stop of the "Mitre" line of the railways.	12/15/06	DAJ
553. 19.12.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the junction of Mendoza and Cuba St.	12/19/06	DAJ
554. 19.12.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Coward Jew", next to a Star of David were found on 900 Rawson St.	12/19/06	DAJ
555. 19.12.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 100 Rojas St.	12/19/06	DAJ
556. 19.12.06	San Fernando, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "Skinheads" and a swastika were found in the junction of H. Irigoyen and Urquiza St.	12/19/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
557. 19.12.06	San Fernando, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "Skinheads" a swastika and a Celtic cross were found on the junction of H. Irigoyen and L.N. Alem St.	12/19/06	DAJ
558. 19.12.06	San Fernando, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "Swastika and a Celtic Cross" were found in the junction of Guillermo Costa and Constitucion St.	12/19/06	DAJ
559. 19.12.06	San Fernando, Province of Buenos Aires	A swastika was found painted on 1300 Ayacucho St.	12/19/06	DAJ
560. 19.12.06	San Fernando, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "Skinheads and a swastika" was found in the junction of 9 de Julio and Lavalle St.	12/19/06	DAJ
561. 19.12.06	San Fernando, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "Skinheads and a swastika" was found in the junction of 9 de Julio and Belgrano St.	12/19/06	DAJ
562. 19.12.06	San Fernando, Province of Buenos Aires	A swastika was found painted in the junction of H. Irigoyen and Sobremonte Av.	12/19/06	DAJ
563. 19.12.06	Villa Ballester, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "swastika and a Celtic Cross" was found in the junction of Alvear and Independencia St.	12/19/06	DAJ
564. 19.12.06	Villa Ballester, Province of Buenos Aires	A swastika was found painted on 2800 Alvear St.	12/19/06	DAJ
565. 19.12.06	Villa Ballester, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "Skinheads" was found in the junction of Almirante Brown and San Martin St.	12/19/06	DAJ
566. 19.12.06	Villa Ballester, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "Skinheads" was found painted on 5400 Independencia St.	12/19/06	DAJ
567. 19.12.06	Villa Ballester, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "Skinheads" was found in the junction of Lavalle and Independencia St.	12/19/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
568. 20.12.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted on 500 Nazca Av.	12/20/06	DAJ
569. 20.12.06	Province of Cordoba	The writing "you f... Jew", two swastikas, "SS" and the phrase "we'll be back" were found painted on the wall of the house of the president of the Jewish community of Rio Cuarto.	12/20/06	CES
570.	Province of Santa Fe	The synagogue of the Sephardic community received Anti-Semitic aggression.		CES
571.	Province of Santa Fe	A banner with anti-Semitic aggressions was placed in front of the synagogue.		CES
572.	Province of Santa Fe	A banner with anti-Semitic aggressions was placed in front of the synagogue		CES
573.	Province of Santa Fe	A banner with anti-Semitic aggressions was placed in front of the synagogue		CES
574.	Province of Santa Fe	Stones were thrown against a synagogue located on Catamarca St.		CES
575.	Province of Santa Fe	Swastikas were found painted on the front of the German School located on 430 España St.		CES/PRESS
576.	Province of Santa Fe	Several swastikas were found painted on the Superior School of Commerce, depending on the National University of Rosario.		CES/PRESS
577.	Province of Santa Fe	A group of young Jews who attended an end of the year act at the "Hermanos Maristas" School were verbal and physically attacked.		CES/PRESS
578. 22.12.06	Buenos Aires City	The writing "Star of David=swastika" was found painted on 500 Junin St.	12/22/06	DAJ

Date	Place	Situation Brief	Report	Source
579. 22.12.06	Buenos Aires City	An anonymous message informing about a possible attack was found in the mail box of a Jewish institution	12/26/06	DAJ
580. 22.12.06	Lomas de Zamora, Province of Buenos Aires	The claimant received an anti-Semitic insult from an employee of an Ice-Cream place who called him "you f... Jew".	12/28/06	DAJ
581. 23.12.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found in the junction of Julian Alvarez and Beruti St.	12/26/06	DAJ
582. 23.12.06	Villa Adelina, Province of Buenos Aires	The writing "Rosas for a 1000 years skinheads Northern zone" and a swastika were found in the junction of Juramento and De Mayo Av.	12/26/06	DAJ
583. 26.12.06	Province of Santa Fe	Two Stars of David were found painted in front of a store owned by a member of the Jewish community.	12/26/06	DAJ
584.	San Martin, Province of Buenos Aires	The following writings addressed to the claimants were found in the Recreative and Cultural Centre of Villa Raffo: "Lazaro, you Jew, leave the club" "Lazaro, you Jew".		
585. 28.12.06	Buenos Aires City	Several swastikas were found painted in the junction of Cordoba and Araoz St.	12/28/06	DAJ
586. 28.12.06	Buenos Aires City	A swastika was found painted in the junction of Alvear and Libertador Av.	12/28/06	DAJ
587. 29.12.06	Buenos Aires City	Two swastikas were found painted on 2600 Arribeños St.	12/29/06	DAJ

Annex 2

The Daily Look
Anti-Semitism in Argentinean
newspapers in 2006

The Daily Look

Anti-Semitism in Argentinean newspapers in 2006

Jorge Elbaum¹ and Liora Gomel²

We all know the apothegm of indispensable men, but few of us know about the necessary men: Adrián Jmelnitzky was one of the latter: those who sow: quiet, persistent and systematically. Because we learnt from him and with him we continue in the task of opening furrows in a world of will, lucidity and creativity. We know that there is still plenty to do. We still have to honour our people. We still need to be better. We still have to fight to erase from the earth the discrimination which mutilates dignities. We still have a long road to walk Adrian. We know –as you knew– that it will never be enough: that the memory palpitates where there are bodies that raise it. And that the pain of those who were massacred in the Shoah needs our attentive and vital watch. There will always be more to do, Adrian. But we are in peace because we know we are part of your memory.

LIORA GOMEL

JORGE ELBAUM

1. Introduction

This article is intended as a survey of print-media coverage on the issue of anti-Semitism, Judeo phobia and all the discriminatory evidence regarding the Argentinean Jewish community.

The word “anti-Semitism” was a linguistic invention of the

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German author Wilhelm Marr. Its first use can be traced back to 1879 and was generated to define those who shared –together with Marr himself- the hatred, disdain and mistrust towards the Jews. The term “anti-Semitism” originally appears as an equivoque because it encompasses in its disdain the totality of the Semitic peoples, as the Arabs and other identities. In the beginning, propagandist Marr identified the Jews as “representatives” of the Semitic peoples who lived in and “polluted” Europe, spreading over the Christian West infected and heretic cultures. This anti-Semitism, spread during the end of the XIXth century, has different connotations than the anti-Judaism, because the latter expressed a stigmatization, which was basically religious, backed by certain Christian waves which accused the Jews of being responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus. Whereas anti-Judaism –which found its most lasting expression in the Middle ages- basically possessed a religious character, modern anti-Semitism possesses a twofold nature: it is based on (a) conspiracy criteria supported by the alleged existence of the “political and economic plot of an international “synarchy” ruled by Judaism, and (b) biologic criteria, anchored in the belonging to an “inferior race” capable of polluting the gentile peoples with which the Jews coexist. This last criterion justified the phenotypic characterization of the Jewish people, granting it a unique aesthetic-physical appearance.³ Literature dealing with the topic states that modern anti-Semitism -specially its meaning of “universal conspiracy of power”- could be mutating towards an anti-Zionist or anti-Israeli type model as a form of *leopardism*⁴ to acquire public legitimacy.

This follow-up has been elaborated since 2003. The objective of

³ In this section, despite the ambiguity explained above, we will use as synonyms the words anti-Semitism and Judeo phobia. For a deeper analysis on the recent history of anti-Semitism, see: Poliakov, Leon: *The History of Anti-Semitism: Suicidal Europe, 1870-1933*. New York, University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003. (Fourth Volume of Poliakov, Leon: *History of Anti-Semitism*)

⁴ N.of T: The term makes reference to the novel “*Il Gattopardo*” by Italian writer Guiseppe Tomaci di Lampedusa which means “to change something so nothing changes”

the present analysis of print-media coverage is to make evident the approach, position, relevance and importance given by the media to a transcendent problem such as anti-Semitism.

The criteria to approach such coverage entail both a quantitative and a qualitative analysis. The former allows us to observe the frequency of the appearance of anti-Semitic incidents in one media or another. It also allows us to specify the space dedicated –measured in percentages in relation to the rest of the articles- and the follow-up of the news in the successive days. On the other hand, the qualitative approach seeks to make apparent the approach, method, adjectivization and position of the media and/or the journalist vis-à-vis the incidents which took place during the period.

The written press chosen as basic sources for this work are as follows:

National circulation papers: Clarín, Pagina 12, Diario Popular, La Nacion, Cronica, Ámbito Financiero, El Cronista Comercial, La Prensa and Infobae.

The choice is not a random selection, but one based on segmentation criteria regarding the coverage provided for different social groups: as a whole, the selected newspapers cover the vast majority of the universe of daily newspapers' readers. The relevance of this "cross-section" of sources is related also to the fact that the Argentinean newspapers are the main agenda-setters, setting the tone for all other mass media: in the logics of the local media mandate, what is run by the morning papers will be picked up and analyzed by all other virtual, radio and TV media throughout the day.

Newspapers continue to be a privileged input to guide the daily coverage of the TV and radio media. From there stems their importance in the configuration of the sense and impact they have on the society. In addition to influencing the agenda, newspapers are the regular source of reference for the so-called "decision-makers". Newspapers, according to diverse available researches continue to be the starting point of the media daily agenda in Argentina, and to occupy a central place among the opinion leaders:

"Newspaper reading involves –at least from a strictly quantitative standpoint- 56% of the Argentineans. A social and demo-

graphic analysis shows three objective universes where the habit appears as a more distinct trait: men, the members of high and middle social classes and the middle-aged.⁵

The interpretation framework underlying these media analyses lies on the basic distinction between prejudice and discrimination, as two faces of one and the same phenomenon of internalizing the others. This distinction is aimed at understanding that the prejudice and discrimination are two moments of the same stigmatizing process, calling for a state of permanent alert over “common sense” and the phraseologies, witticisms or “common places” appearing along with incidents of persecution or stigmatization.

The Media can help moderate, restrict, extend, question or refute the devices of prejudice. Their work in monitoring and keeping match for discriminatory incidents and their role in the criticism of prejudice model emerge as a clear block to the silence what, for centuries on end, has accompanied persecution and stigmatization. On the contrary, an indifferent or supportive attitude towards prejudice, perceptions or discriminatory practices by the media provides a space for the repetition and the recreation of an atmosphere that can be imbued with disdain and racist generalizations.

“We reaffirm that stigmatization of persons of different origins through acts or omissions of the public authorities, institutions, media, political parties or national or local organizations is not just a racial discriminatory act, but can also incite the repetition of such acts, resulting in the creation of a vicious circle which reinforces racist attitudes and prejudices, and which must be condemned”.⁶

⁵ Sistema Nacional de Consumos Culturales.[National System of Cultural Consumption Habits] www.consumosculturales.gov.ar “More than 50% of all Argentines claim to read newspapers. The newspaper-reading trend is basically linked to three variables” gender, social and economic position, and age. As regards gender, men stand out at 60.3%. As regards social and economic position, the middle-and high level groups have the lead, whereas as far as age in concerned, people between the ages of 35 and 49 are the group most clearly above the average”. Ibid: Exposure to the Media.

⁶ United Nations. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights: World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and related

2. Print press and its place in the configuration of the meaning

How do the media approach anti-Semitic writings? What is the media's perception of the public and private space? How do the different editorial lines approach the issue of anti-Semitism writings? Which opinions get included? What is their choice of words to refer to these acts and their perpetrators? How much and what kind of space do they devote to this sort of information? And, finally, do they view these forms of symbolic violence as a topic of interest for the entire Argentinean community or just for the Jewish community?

We are aware of the fact that no homogeneous approach is possible when discussing the perception conveyed by the media because, among other reasons, the media are heterogeneous and even limitedly plural at the individual level. It is however possible to identify the extent to which each media outlet is sensitive to expressions denoting prejudice and discrimination. There is no random factor behind the fact that over the last few years –as illustrated in the comparative quantitative chart below–, certain media have reported on anti-Semitic incidents more frequently than others. The amount of space allocated to such news and the editorial approach of some media as opposed to a mere marginal mention in others are not random either.

The surveillance sought by this yearly monitoring somehow relates to a demand that the media should contribute to fighting racism, eradicating the ignorance lying at the root of prejudice and exposing the fallacies that drive persecution and intolerance. This surveillance also seeks to show the silence. The omission is usually accompanied by many discriminatory acts. This was precisely what the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and related forms of intolerance, held at Durban in September 2001, demanded.

“...the media should represent the diversity of a multicultural society and play a role in fighting racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related forms of intolerance (...) we note with

forms of intolerance. Durban Declaration, South Africa, UN. Guatemala, November 2004.

regret that certain media, by promoting false images and negative stereotypes of groups (...) have contributed to the spread of xenophobic and racist sentiments among the public and in some cases, have encouraged violence by racist individuals and groups”.

Furthermore, at the General Conference on Racism suggests that

“...the mass media, by disseminating information on the aims, aspirations, cultures and needs of all peoples, contribute to eliminate ignorance and misunderstandings between peoples, to make nationals of a country sensitive to the needs and desires of others, to ensure the respect of the rights and dignity of all nations, all peoples and all individuals without distinction of race, sex, language, religion or nationality, and to draw attention to the great evils which afflict humanity, such as poverty, malnutrition and diseases, thereby promoting the formulation by States of policies best able to promote the reduction of international tensions and the peaceful and equitable settlement of international disputes”.⁷

This is the main claim underlying this article. Also, it is the reason why the mass media need to fight stigmatizing representations, thereby contributing to the vanishing of any discourse that encourages, favours or adopts a position that is insensitive to the dissemination of discriminatory contents. Currently, the media are the most important means of ideological communication: they create representations and shape common sense. Their permanence in the alleged objectivity of news reports may overlook the fact that it is only collectively that a culture that is against xenophobia and stands respectful of diversity and differences may be consolidated. Each incident of ethnic, religious, phenotypical or physical disdain should trigger a discourse pointing to a watchful eye and condemnation.

⁷ Article III. Declaration on fundamental principles concerning the contribution of the mass media to strengthening peace. Proclaimed at the 20th session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on November 28th 1978.

That there is no room for the proliferation of hatred, humiliation and persecution of minorities or stigmatized groups is a fact which should be explained time and time again. That human history has already had enough demonstrations of disdain as to merely describe some news in the aseptic tone used for recurring information. The media are not only responsible for, but are also the key actors in a process where communication for peace, respect and diversity should be the rule, not an exception.

When a case of discrimination is naturalized –rendered into an “ordinary” incident- and presented as the recurring occurrence of something which we should unfortunately get used to, produces the perception that is impossible to beat disdain. On the contrary, when each expression of stigmatization is presented and justified as one more sign of ignorance, fallacy or mockery, these contribute to up-rooting the plague of hatred from the human condition.

Monitoring the presence of cases or lack thereof and news reports related to the discrimination against minorities or stigmatized groups plays a critical role for the clarification and demystification policies that are necessary to achieve a respectful construction of differences and identities.⁸ This analysis covers the presence or absence of news coverage of certain anti-Semitic incidents in the newspapers mentioned above. In addition, we survey the specific type of coverage, the amount of space allocated to the news, the reporting approach, and the manner in which the headings are set and issues are conceptualized.

We approach those news, articles, reports or references to situations that are rooted in a Judeophobic tradition from both a qualitative and a quantitative standpoint. We attempt to grasp the mean-

⁸ By discrimination we mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, colour, dissent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, or an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, and cultural or any other field of public life. This definition matches the one in the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination, Resolution 21/06 of December 21st 1965, Effective since January 4th, 1969.

ing of each media reference, denoting such references one by one as well as the treatment they are afforded in the selected media. The methodology used to analyze the texts includes follow-up by each news outlet over time, issuer's positioning, ideological assumptions regarding anti-Semitism, tone –critical, indifferent, aseptic- and the spot allocated, whether prominent or not, in the newspaper and as compared all other featured news.

Our methodology also focuses on how the news outlet describes the persons responsible for the discriminatory act or opinion, as well as the news production features, be it photographs, infographics, opinion columns or editorials accompanying the news picked up by the press.

3. Quantitative analysis

A conceptual approach to the media's most widely reported forms of discrimination reveals that the public space has gained the greatest coverage while everyday examples –apparently less “grave”– of discrimination and disdain are not so broadly covered. The incidents most widely covered by the media can be grouped into the following six categories divided into two typologies according to the dissemination space.

Dissemination in public space (picked up by the selected print media)

- a) Sport-related aggression: at sport events, football or other sports.
- b) Urban vandalism: street graffiti near Jewish institutions and at cemeteries of the community.
- c) Personalized discrimination: in working spaces or on the street.
- d) Use of Nazi or fundamentalist emblems: a form of anti-Semitic warning that consists in displaying intimidating symbols on T-shirts, notebooks or tattoos, which somehow work as a warning of symbolic violence against Jewish or other types of identities.

Dissemination in media spaces (picked up by the selected print media)

- e) Media ridiculizations: cartoons, mockeries or other black hu-

- mour jokes specifically targeted at damaging the self-esteem of the members of the Jewish community.
- f) Discriminatory declarations in the press: call for active discrimination, dissemination of prejudices.

TABLE N° 1

Inter-year comparison of discriminatory Judeo phobic topics revealed by the press

Percentual yearly comparison of topics in the selected print media			
	2004	2005	2006
Sport-related aggressions: at sport events, football or other sports	12	22	32
Urban vandalism: street graffiti near Jewish institutions and at cemeteries of the community.	5	25	38
Personalized discrimination: in working spaces or on the street.	29	12	9
Use of Nazi or fundamentalist emblems: a form of anti-Semitic warning that consists in displaying intimidating symbols.	13	19	8
Media ridiculizations: cartoons, mockeries or other black humour jokes specifically targeted at damaging the self-esteem of the members of the Jewish community.	22	10	4
Discriminatory declarations in the press: call for active discrimination, dissemination of prejudices.	19	12	9
Total	100	100	100

Own source: Pieces of news selected during 2006 on the basis of the above-presented classifications.

The presented data suggest two possible readings: on the one hand, the “receptivity” of the media concerning certain pieces of news, and on the other hand, the link between the total amount of incidents and their “form” of period. The last configuration allows us to observe that the anti-Semitic attacks have grown with relation to having the Jewish institutions as targets and thus the Judeo phobia has become –or simply recognized and picked up by the media- the “most” institutionalized and less “personalized”, which, without any doubts, ushers in new questions about the current discriminatory forms.

It is possible to observe in the table that in the year 2004, a more “personalized” model prevailed, and that in the years 2005 and 2006, the aggressions aimed at the community as a whole, as oppose to concrete individuals. This particularity, far from being less concrete, speaks of a more politized and generalized Judeo phobic violence.

These forms seem to be the most widely covered by the newspapers and the ones which seem to draw the most attention from the journalists. Nevertheless, it is quite probable that these pieces of news conceal, hide or set aside as less important the more larvate forms – generally disseminated in small gazettes by the representative organizations as DAIA-, which are not usually picked up or covered by the media: a series of very small but transcending material and symbolic aggressions which have a lacerating effect on the shared subjectivity.

In the face of the forms portraying the anti-Semitic cases in the media, one can only repeat that each Judeo phobic incident should become a media opportunity to remind the world that those same incidents were once the beginning of an escalation which ended up in the Shoah. This is not a capricious analogy. Or it will never be enough as long as the dangers of other genocides are not erased for human history. Or, to describe it in another way: no equivalency of discriminatory genealogies is anachronistic enough as to sensitize about the painful effect indifference has over human condition. And, to warn that, probably the only way to counteract, fight and erase those insults from the human coexistence, it might be necessary to accumulate enough moral indignation (and historical memory) able to be activated in the face of the smallest discriminatory registry.

The year under analysis presented, insofar as anti-Semitic incidents, two international events which cover most of the registered incidents: on the one hand, the so-called “30-day War” –generated by the kidnapping of Israeli soldiers by a Lebanese Shiite group- and on the other hand, the revisionist offensive carried out by the Iranian government regarding the Jewish Holocaust.

Lastly, it is worth stating that despite the seemingly exhaustive follow-up of incidents, there is a clear deficit in the approach of the registered incidents. This deficit refers to the silencing of the victims, a fact tending to de-subjectivize the pain and impunity generated by discriminatory aggression: on the approaches of the registered incidents described below, their voices of the victims are rarely heard. The language surrounding the coverage usually tells incidents, but leaves little room for the reception these attacks have on the injured parties. This absence probably limits the “communicability” and scope of the complaint or the approach. It also implies avoiding what is more transmittable and sensitizing: the violation of the humanity in a “real-other” and not only in a “news-other”. This is why the Durban Declaration, which approved a document against xenophobia and discrimination, refers to the revalorization of the testimony of the victims of the incidents.

“We affirm that all States should recognize the importance of the mass media of the community which allows victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related forms of intolerance to express themselves”.⁹

The methodology for the quantitative analysis presented below consists in taking all reported news and group them by how they were depicted by each media outlet. Therefore, it will be possible to observe which media engaged in a more specific follow-up and which ones failed to report the events. These figures do not show whether, in comparative terms, one year presented more anti-Semitic incidents

⁹ United Nations. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights: World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and related forms of intolerance. Durban Declaration, South Africa, UN. Guatemala, November 2004. p. 17

than another year. They merely show how many of such incidents were picked up by the print media under analysis.

The quantitative monitoring of the surveyed news –see Table No.2- shows that, just as last year, national media are more receptive to Judeo phobic topics than their provincial counterparts. Further, –within national newspapers- Pagina 12 seems to be the more “sensitive” to such problem. Another possible interpretation suggests that Pagina 12 is the newspaper which, proportionately, devotes the most coverage to such topic, considering the amount of space allocated and the follow-up pieces, even though in general terms, it ranks just below Clarín: if one takes into consideration the fact that the spaces devoted to these topics by Pagina 12 stands at one third of the space devoted by Clarín, in absolute terms, its coverage of the topic ranks on top of any other newspaper with national circulation. Moreover, considering the total of cases picked up by the press, it is possible to affirm that there is an increasing sensitivity to this topic, although, as already explained, their concern usually goes hand in hand with the view that these are marginal incidents with no risk of ever spreading. Such characteristic consists in undermining and treating with disdain the relevance of the Judeo phobic actions –labelling them as folkloric– and is more apparent in Crónica, Infobae and the Diario Popular. This assessment entails the view that Judeo phobic acts are simple deviations that do not match the spirit of coexistence of our time, which makes them –in the opinion of such media- less dangerous.

If the analysis takes the 100% of the pieces of news –either editorials, articles, chronicles or small gazettes- the distribution assumes the particularity that in the case 70% of the above-mentioned belong to three news outlet, leaving the rest the 30% of the concern. The conclusions are obvious: only three newspapers pick up as important incidents with anti-Semitic characteristics, whereas the rest do not “value” them in the same way.

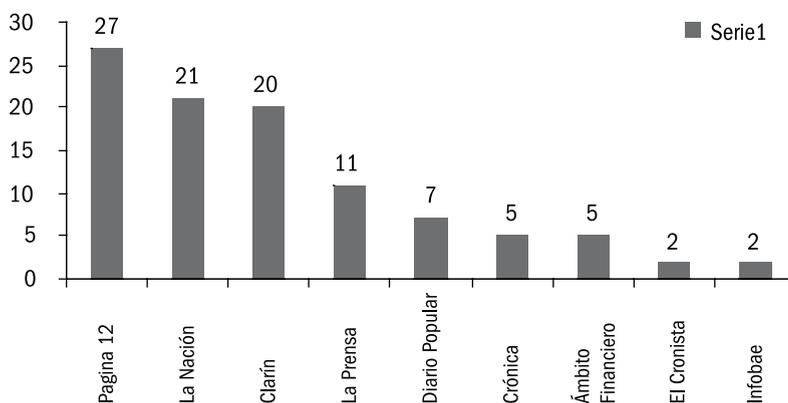
If we compare the incidents denounced by DAIA with the ones reported by the media, we discover a striking difference: only 58 per cent of the incidents have been picked up by the media under analysis. This

TABLE N° 2

Absolute Percentages by National News Outlet

National Newspaper	%
Página 12	27
La Nación	21
Clarín	20
La Prensa	11
Diario Popular	7
Crónica	5
Ámbito Financiero	5
El Cronista	2
Infobae	2
Total	100

GRÁFICO N° 1

Absolute percentage by News Outlet

reveals, a possible devaluation of certain incidents, of their “costume” or naturalization or their dismissal as a “news-worthy” incident.

Discrimination needs a justifying thought. Or a systematic custom. Or an acceptance of something that belongs to the “human culture”. It requires a certain form of rationality, logics and common sense “built” during years: Eichman used to ease his conscience by thinking about the “obedience” to superior orders, instrumental rationality which constructs as “normal” every action. The media and the journalists should take into account that acceptance, silence, discriminatory costumes and even “black humour” can feed the naturalization of the prejudice, and incorporate that in all cases where discrimination operates, there is a generating principle liberating from any justification those who manifest the segregation.

To think about differences is tantamount to execute some classificatory devices. It means looking at certain prominences or faults. It requires a vision prepared to stop in the absence of some category. For many social scientists, identity is the result more of an absence than a possession. If this were the case, what we are –or what we think we are- entails leaving aside what, by some not necessarily intentional mechanism do not pretend to be. However, what do these disquisitions have to do with the “alteration of certain alterities”? More than we might think. Our subjective constitution has been consolidated in an environment where identities –personal or collective- associate deficiency with rejection, what we are not with the inferior, what we carry, as an immanent strength. Sociologically, we are content with an identity which sees itself not only as different but really as superior. This device, all that which is not similar to our identity can become a danger to our own existence. Why? Basically because “what we are not” announces that we could not be what we are. To put it in simple words the otherness entails a mirror of contingency, aleatory and arbitrary in the face of our identity. And that can be terrifying.

The others not only tell us with their presence that their different, but also communicate something more delicate: that we could have not been what we are, that it was only a random product of the birth and our biography, that what we are is nothing more than the arbitrariness of

a path that could have not been. And for those who believe in the certainties based on what they are, there is not a greater provocation: the closeness of certain others provokes terror to know that they could be them and not what they actually are. If I accept or allow their presence, the others do not only tell me their differences, but they summon me to weaken the personal pillars upon which my personal structure is built. They weaken me, disintegrate me. They generate an unbearable doubt upon me because they question the daily truths. They submit me to questions in my most peaceful moment. They interrogate me about my most profound and common *ethos*. The others do not only personify their difference but they (can be capable of) weaken mine

Not only do they threaten with their presence, but with their contagiousness or the possibility of mixture. The models of labelling linked to standardized normality or the abnormality have been the most recurring expression to refer to the otherness: the different, the abnormal, the non-pure, the dirty, and the sick. The alterity needs labelling to strengthen and justify "its place in the world" and fight fear of its possible crisis, invasion or change. The "cancer corrodes the nationality", the "strangers are here to take away our jobs" "the sick want to spread their disease on us".

To adjudicate a moral name connected to panic implies a dignified compensatory justification to ensure the legitimacy of any discrimination action. To ensure the own identity through confirmatory processes of their superiority, certainty, sanctity, purity or balance allows to soothe consciences, free any annoying guilt or connect practices and perceptions to public, adequate and fair doxe.

To label others organizes the world of differences. As it has been said many times, classifying classifies us. Because the way we judge the world is the way in which we feel comfortable, freed from repugnance of what is unjustified. There are different forms of homology between our identity and our practices beyond the daily actions and the different roles we play.

At some point: this is me. Or, similarly: here, in this style, in these words, in these gestures or in these opinions, I recognize myself, I confirm my identity. It is precisely those perceptions, those catego-

rizations, those ways of explaining what we do and what we think, what constitutes us as subjects, what bring us close to an identity. And it is that form of organizing our perceptions which help us to find us, to locate us in (apparently) obscure jungle of the differences. If classifications classify discriminatory mistakes make us discriminatory towards the others and that practice (either discursive or material) puts us in a discriminating group.

The absence of an anti-discriminatory watch (or of an anti-discriminatory fighting socialization) allows the executors to self-locate in the calmness of the continuity and segregating nap. It does not need criticism, systematicity or prove of its contradiction. If it denies its racism, it affirms having a Jewish friend. As Barthes stated almost thirty years ago, the “vaccination” entails the evidence of what one is not: I show that I know a Jew (or a black, Muslim or homosexual or an HIV positive) to show what I am not what I habitually exercise.

The “vaccination” works socially as the assumed discursive antidote to a practice and a regularity which is not seen in the possession (or not) of a friend (Jewish or not), but in the seemingly “automatized” perceptions with which I reply to what surrounds me. The “vaccination”, with its assumed cleansing inoculation of consciences cannot be washed with the justification –always hidden or pompous and defiant- of “we are all a bit racist”. This metaphysical and profoundly non-historical essentialism opposes any contrary verification: it does not stand being reminded that there are cultures where discrimination is unthinkable and that there are modern –at least in quantitative terms- racializing societies. They do not stand the evidences because they make the cosmogonies explode over the ones built on the dominating common senses.

Rigid identities suffer the novelty and fear the mixtures. When the mixtures are produced, the hierarchical identities resort to trial of the non-natural. Because the natural appears to them as fluid and as a continuity, not as a rupture: the mix of blacks with whites, the imbrications of Jews and Gentiles, etc. is “contra-natura”. It arouses the conscience because it shakes the foundations and naps of the logical order.

The logics of the proximity and remoteness are built on these orders, on these fix compartments of the identity memory. And it is not

unpredictable that its result be discriminatory towards the others. Even though any empirical or sociological nature assessment would show that in many occasions its product is exclusivist and inferiorating. The shape and historicity in which the identities develop appear as functional to the hierarchical organization and the chronology of disdain.

Is it the only way of observing the alterity? Does every difference of the otherness provoke my weakness? No. What happens is that differences are socialized on the basis of this hierarchy and on that structure of the own identity. However, it could be different if socializations emphasized on non-hierarchical, mutant identifications open to hybrids and horizontal contacts. This is why identity is not always the home of coexistence with oneself or of the blind confidence in the members of a collective of common habits, tastes or dreams.

Identity can be a reference, a common sign, home of meaning, trust, but it can also be (and has been) rejection, verticality, expulsion, segregation and abuse. And truth be told, if the belongings become historical or if the identities become periodic during modernity, we may find references much more concerned with differentiating themselves of what they are not than in affirming an own sense of what unifies us. The last years have been more oriented towards stigmatizing those who terrorize with their presence than in recreating the own points of references.

The differences and alterities might be legitimized to guarantee the remoteness of the contagious and the mix. Thus, we could affirm that alterity is not the difference but the hierarchical organization. It expels the inferior or the polluted one. It works to formalize or build borders. It becomes desperate when contamination, mix or articulation border the identity or the qualities which allegedly represent it. It needs limits to feel contained. It draws dividing lines to constitute itself and raise trusts: many of the more hegemonic identities –as the national, ideological, religious or sexual– are reactive towards any confusion or ambiguity: they cannot bear not to be recognized for what they believe to be or for what they aesthetically distil.

In times when communication and the empire of the visual and the symbolic run through all mundane representations, the dominat-

ing forms of identity distil their signs and garments of differences. They become strong in the details, in the initiating languages and in the exclusivity of the previously socialized readings: the identity is ever growing and intentionally visual. It postulates itself as an accomplice link only for those who understand. A thread, a button, a pin, a medal, a hair cut, wearing certain outfit, an appearance at a certain bookstore, a certain restaurant, at a certain part of the city, the permanence in a club, a corner, a committee, etc.

Identity is usually ritualized because it needs circuits, references, homages and presences. It feeds and reproduces by its own habit and reiteration. It is stronger when it is accentuated and presented in public. And probably, it is less aware of its historicity when it postulates itself as more presentable and immanent. The series of mirrors accommodate images of the own identities appear stronger when it is more played. And at the same time, it is less critical or reflexive of its contingency and arbitrariness.

The identity-like presence is usually profoundly ethnocentric even though it does not necessarily expressed in material terms of exclusion and segregation of the otherness. To put it differently: the prejudice is not the same as the justification of the apartheid or genocide. This is an initial necessary classification: the centrality –and its margins– can be only prejudiced or crudely ethnocide or genocidal. Identities can feel so threatened that they demand the suppression of the other or that they coexist in mistrust with who challenges my own identity with his or her own presence. The distance between the prejudice and the exclusion is the difference between fear and panic.

Prejudice supposes a watch of a justifying device to balance the contradictions of the identity that shakes in the face of the difference, a classifying order and a category prepared to explain superiorities and particularities. On the other hand, exclusion –repaired to sacrifice peace in the name of the survival of the identity– force of will to orient its fury and terror: many of the greatest social killings have been done in the name of identity, of purity, of the suppression of what is polluted. In general, identity is made sacred as a pre-social bearing and shown as a prior gift (and belonging to someone else) to

history a whole. As a doubtless form of domination, it presents itself without genesis or paths: It is that the identities, as they were built, have given more place to rejection and the alleged immutability than to the temporality and metamorphosis.

Identities vindicated as non-historical principles are the most dangerous ones. Their defenders believe that they do not have an origin, mutation or that they appear due to homologating social belongings. They are more dangerous to the extent that they are perceived as essential and thus “natural”. It is in this case when social identities –and the multiple particular, fragmented, minimum and minimalists differences appear absolutely ignored by the post modern thinkers (in retreat): when the legitimacy justifies or guarantees inequality, it is no more than a constructing distinction of social distance. It is no more than the assumed identity basically built to oppress, dominate and subdue.

Not all forms of identity produce hierarchies beyond the fact that they are known forms. There are other forms of alterity that are not grounded in purity and in the fundamentalism of identity. It becomes horizontal in the non-hierarchical difference in the face of other identities. Only then, it is possible to speak of identities by choice, will, that is, of identifications which become historical (and horizontal), capable of being recognized with genesis and stylistic, ethnic and taste-related homologies, linked to the structures of the feelings. Assumed not as a gift or a destiny, but as a contingent and arbitrary choice, not capable of basing on the submission of what we are or of what we lack in the context of relations. It is, perhaps, about building identities or identifications which entail a non-fundamentalist presence or a delight in the difference. A difference possessing common denominators of equality and which raises the identity to the level of ecological wealth and does not allow for a pre-Hossbian place of the struggle of everybody against everybody.

Identity can be non-segregationist of other alterities. However, the flight it needs is paradoxical: it matches the difference and particularizes the identity. Something similar to the following: only the dream builds a true reality. The media should work on this absence: over the justifying fact produced by disdain, but also over the silencing fact, when it is silenced, it is justified, accepted or naturalized

Annex 3

Historical Essays on Anti-Semitism

The use of the Nazi-Fascist Discourse by Argentinean Governments¹

Aditi Rao

From the current point of view, it is hard to imagine that such an authoritarian and dreadful regime like the Nazi-fascism could be a popular one; however, the truth is that it gained access to power with an important and massive popular support. One of the reasons could be found in the success of the propaganda techniques used and perfected by the Nazis, and later by countless authoritarian regimes. In fact, it can be said that the Nazi discourse has become a prototype for other authoritarian governments. Even though the Nazism has been a phenomenon unique to a certain region and to a certain time, it has been influential beyond the boundaries of Germany and Europe.

This paper aims to analyze the influence of the Nazism and fascism in Argentina, specifically in the context of the discourse of power, both in the period of 1930/1943 and in the military dictatorship of 1976/1983. The first case is the coup of September 6th 1930, contemporary to the Fascist Italy. The other is the last military dictatorship (1976- 1983), which also made use of the Nazi discourse –despite the years that had gone by since the end of Second World War–.

This paper is divided in three sections: 1) country saviours, 2) creation of an “*other*” and of an “*us*” and, 3) the use of metaphors of sickness and health, censorship and Nazi language in the concentration camps. The approach is not focused on the Nazi discourse in

¹ This paper was elaborated in the framework of the course “The impact of the Nazism in the Argentinean press and civil society” taught in the Political Sciences and Social Communication Schools of the University of Buenos Aires.

itself, but it aims to observe the way in which the official language of the dictatorships, and also of the media during such periods, used Nazi language and tactics to explain the socio-political situation of the country.

1. Saviours of the country

The Nazi regime came to power in a crisis-stricken Germany: its defeat in the First World War had generated a strong economic depression, with the consequent discontent towards the Weimar Republic. Adolf Hitler took advantage of such an unstable economic and political situation, and won the elections with the promise to “create a new Germany”. For example, in his speech before the Reichstag on July 13th, 1934, he said “January 30th [1933] was not a day on which a government formally took over the responsibility from the hands of another, but it was the final termination of an intolerable situation”². His dictatorship guaranteed some sort of “political stability”, and also improved the economic situation of the country, which brought about an inevitable popular support.

One should not be surprised by the fact that the first military coup –of a series of coups during the XXth century in Argentina- took place in 1930. In a world going through a grave economic crisis, the Argentinean economy could not carry on depending on exportations, and began an industrialization process, with all the social changes that such a process entails. Furthermore –as Tedesco has pointed out- there was an ideological crisis in the world and a profound discontent with Liberalism. In this context, the conservative coup of 1930 seemed like the more effective way to solve the socio-economic problems of Argentina –“*the only possible alternative for Argentina back then*”³. The coup has also been described as “*the opportunity for the country to reject ‘the empire of immorality as a norm, of bribe as an administrative system, and fraud and corruption pervading all acts of public life*”⁴.

² Hitler, July 13th, 1934 Reichstag Speech (own translation).

³ Dolkart, 153.

⁴ Cited in Dolkart, 158.

The democratic institutions and Liberalism were also attacked and the new dictatorship foretold their eradication from Argentina.

The last dictatorship also took advantage of feelings of patriotism and the desire to improve which reigned in the country. On May 25th, 1976, two months after taking over power, Lieutenant Jorge Rafael Videla, then *de facto* president, spoke of creating a new Argentina, free from “*corruption, understood in the broadest way that was spread into all parts of the State*”⁵. Both Videla’s dictatorship and the Nazi regime considered themselves as having established a “*true democracy*” as opposed to a “*democracy invented by the Jews*”⁶ in Hitler’s case and “*an agitated democracy, with purely electoral ends through slogans, titles and fixed phrases*”⁷, in the case of Videla.

Those two leaders also sought to present themselves as persons ready to sacrifice everything for the well-being of the country. For instance, Hitler used to say: “*Today, I am as ready as usual to make every personal sacrifice needed... There will be no deprivation for Germany that I will not endure myself ... I only want to be Germany’s first soldier*”⁸.

And in another speech, he held: “*I assure you that never in my life have I been more anxious with respect to my own destiny. However, I confess that I put on with the weight of anxiety of the present times and the future of our own people*”.⁹

Videla affirmed: “*Men of arms have initiated this long and difficult road [of giving back to this country its traditional identity, eradicating the corruption, and fighting demagoguery] and we are –as I said– willing to firmly travel along it*”.¹⁰

In these quotes it is possible to see that the two leaders used the same type of discourse, in which they presented themselves as selfless

⁵ Videla’s Speech, May 25th, 1976.

⁶ Cited in Yourman.

⁷ Videla’s Speech, May 25th, 1976.

⁸ Yourman, 155 (own translation).

⁹ Hitler’s Reichstag Speech, July 13th 1934, (own translation).

¹⁰ Videla’s Speech, May 25th 1976.

saviours of the country, not seeking any kind of personal benefit, in order to gain the people's support.

This form of discourse was not exclusive of the official areas of the State. For instance, the newspaper *Criterion*, on April 8th, 1976 wrote on its editorial a defence of the military government, praising it and calling its intervention "*both the epilogue of an epoch and the prologue of another one*".¹¹ In October of the same year, another editorial titled "*Six months later*", glorified the government again defining it as "*the government which interrupted an institutional process eroded by the ineptitude, corruption and inefficacy*"¹². These quotes show that the concept of the military being **saviours of the country** was accepted by at least some sectors of the civil society.

2. The creation of an "other" and of an "us"

In his above-mentioned speech of May 25th, 1976, Videla stated: "*That corruption caused a disarrangement of traditional values, that is to say, subversion. Because subversion is no more or no less than that: subversion of the essential values of the national being*".¹³

This technique is a prototype of the Nazi regime —it creates a dichotomy between the "*us*", identified with essential and traditional values, and the "*others*", who try to "*subvert*" those values. It generates **fear** towards hypothetical forces which seek to harm the country and **would attack the "national identity"**. In that sense, Hitler spoke of a "*political purification*"¹⁴ and a "*moral purgation*"¹⁵ promising to ruthlessly eradicate "*national treason*"¹⁶ without clearly indicating who those enemies would be.

Similarly, in the 1930s in Argentina, despite the existence of governments elected through popular suffrage, many public officials supported the Axis and agreed with the Nazi ideology. Thus, for ex-

¹¹ "El Gobierno Militar". *Criterion*, April 8th, 1976 pp. 166.

¹² "Seis meses después." *Criterion*, October 14th, Pp 1.

¹³ Videla, Speech of May 25th, 1976.

¹⁴ Hitler, Speech addressed to the Reichstag, March 23rd, 1933.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

ample, we also see a concern to define the “*us*” and the “*other*” in the language of the Argentinean ambassador in the Nazi Germany, **Labougle**, (who held that office between 1936-1939) said: “*What we require today is to “Argentinean” life, like other countries do in their selfless ultranationalist race*”.¹⁷ Repeatedly, he purported to define the “*Argentinean being*”, differentiating it from the Argentinean Jews and the others. This official even began a crusade against naturalized Argentineans, whom he accused of having lived for long without remembering their adopted land. In fact, he denied the desired diplomatic protection to the Argentinean Jews who were persecuted in Europe during the Holocaust.

This differentiation was not only targeted towards the Jews. From the political power –which was then trying to marginalize the “*Yrigoyenism*”- an “*other*” was built through discourses embodied in the members of the Radical party, frequently attacked by the government. Simultaneously, they were labelled as “*Marxists*”, “*Pro-Americans*” and even “*Nazis*” (...).¹⁸ Just like in the Nazi propaganda, it is possible to discover the backstay contradiction of suggesting that the same group of people can be identified simultaneously with such opposed conceptions of the world. However, as Adorno explains, this type of propaganda does not have a rational or logical basis: it is based on exploiting the felling of fear and insecurity that exists in times of crisis. Generally, the people do not analyze, and by force of repetition, these concepts end up forming part of an accepted and everyday “*truth*”.

Just like in the Nazi propaganda, the “*other*” does not have a specific name, but it becomes a great danger, against who the people have to unite. That “*other*” is depositary of everything that is dangerous and negative. In the Argentinean case, the term “*subversive*” was frequently used to refer to the members of those sectors opposing power. Adorno points out the importance of this type of insinuation to create “*us*”. “*For example, the agitator says ‘those dark forces, you know who I mean’, and the public understands immediately ... In this*

¹⁷ Cited in Koren, Moshi.

¹⁸ Cited in Bardini.

way, the listeners are treated as a knowing group, who understands what the speaker is looking to transmit, agreeing with him beforehand without getting any explanation".¹⁹ Thus, the propagandists, both the Nazis and the dictators, created a climate of intimacy with their listeners.

To this end, these regimes tried to appeal to a manipulating felling of national pride. Hitler, for instance, always emphasized the "purity" of the Arian race –the "true Germans"²⁰– and warned people not to allow it to become corrupted by foreign ideas. In a similar way, Videla said: "*It is our intention that the government's actions affirm the traditional values that make the essence of the national being and offer these values as a response to any strange ideology that purports to supplant those values and even to violate them*".²¹

Baigorria and Swarinsky explain that the military dictatorship used "*the dichotomy civilization/barbarism ... to facilitate, again, the forced constitution of a national identity. Its antagonists were 'the Western and Christian civilization' in the face of 'the Marxist devil'*".²² The propaganda thus tries to agglutinate people, earn their support against a **common enemy**. That enemy stays outside the national identity, but paradoxically, is **internal**.

The Argentinean military claim to represent "*the Nation as a whole and not just a part thereof*".²³ They purported to formalize the "*symbiosis Government-State*", because once this idea was established "*an attack to the government would be considered an attack to the Nation as whole*"²⁴. From this viewpoint, those who questioned the government ceased to be Argentineans. For example, in *La Prensa* of December 6th, 1977, it was possible to read Videla saying: "*I want to signify that the Argentinean citizenship is not a victim of repression. The repression is being carried out against a minority, whom we*

¹⁹ Adorno 17/18.

²⁰ Klemperer 69.

²¹ Videla, Speech of May 25th, 1976.

²² Baigorria and Swarinsky, 8.

²³ Frontalini and Caiati, 77.

²⁴ Ibidem.

do not consider Argentinean". In the same way, the demonstrations against the human rights violations, which began to spread abroad, were labelled by the dictators as "*anti-Argentinean*" instead of "*anti-dictatorship*".²⁵

In this context, Florinda Goldberg analyzes the idea of an "*internal enemy*", which was highly exploited by the two regimes. She holds:

"In the face of such '*enemy*', a mechanism of segregation/exclusion/destruction was put in place in both regimes. In a first stage, a sector is differentiated as the dangerous "other" and separated from the 'healthy' and 'normal' national body, either through its exclusion from certain social spaces or its confinement in a physical space (prison, ghetto, concentration camp) –which facilitates the final stage, torture and/or murder-, or through its expulsion (exile and self-exile)".²⁶

Here, it is possible to detect the same techniques: once the "*enemy*" has been segregated from society, both conceptually and linguistically, the physical segregation follows, eventually ushering in the elimination.

3. Metaphors of sickness and health, censorship and Nazi language in the concentration camps

The Nazi regime made biological metaphors popular, especially those of sickness and health, to simplify the "*problem*" of the Jews. Natan Sonis explains that "*Nazism built a metaphor of health and sickness: what was sick was the German body and the sickness was the Jews. Considering the social tissue from a metaphor of a sick body brings about important consequences: Who can oppose a therapy from this point of view?*"²⁷ Indeed, this metaphor was used to turn the dictatorship's policies natural, a visible formula of an alleged only rational solution.

²⁵ Bravo, Nazareno.

²⁶ Goldberg, p. 2.

²⁷ Sonis, Natan 93.

It is possible to observe the use of this metaphor of sickness and health in both of the totalitarian regimes under study. For example, to justify the overthrow of then President of the Nation, Hipólito Yrigoyen, *La Nueva República* on September 20th, 1930 labelled his Radical government as the “*patient*” and democracy and Liberalism as a “*sickness*”. His overthrow was the “*surgery*” that the military performed to recover the “*health*” of the country. Furthermore –already leaving the 1930s–, in Argentina the coup of June 4th 1943 also made use of the same metaphor. In the publication *Criterio* of June 17th, 1943, it is possible to read the following description of the coup: “*The sword, acting as a surgical knife, cut open the infection*”. Also, in the same article, the assault to the constitutional power is justified by stating that “*a cauterization that some might consider cruel, but that was indispensable, for the infection to be cured and for the whole body to regain health*”.

More than thirty years later, the discourse of *Criterio* had not changed much. In an article of April 8th, 1976 it is announced that the Peronist government “*is running out of the nerves linking it to the social body*” and that military intervention is “*a clean and rational surgery*”²⁸. Mayor Alcides Paris Francisca, chief of the Police Force of the Province of Mendoza, described “*subversion*” as a “*sickness of social characteristics*”²⁹ and defended the “*medicine used by the Police to cure it*”. These notions were used not only in publications akin to certain sectors, but the same formula was also applied by the magazine *Para Ti*, a popular publication allegedly targeted to the female audience. Thus, on April 5th, 1976, it considered that the Military Junta was ready to “*heal the country and put it out of its agony*”. Similarly, *Extra Magazine* denominated the coup as a “*surgery*” stating that: “*Lest we forget that the Military had to perform one of the most difficult and neat surgeries of the Argentinean history: the overthrown government had received the support of 7.500.000 votes*”.³⁰

Clearly, the Nazi metaphors of health and sickness of the country

²⁸ *Criterio*, April 8th, 1976.

²⁹ *Los Andes*, Mendoza, May 7th, 1977.

³⁰ “El descanto como mania.” *Extra*, May 1976.

or of the social body and the idea that the government would cure them, pervaded easily in the Argentinean popular imaginary of that period.

Censorship

In his article “Propaganda techniques in Nazi Germany”, Yourman points out that it is possible to consider censorship as one of the most effective propaganda techniques. The suppression of ideas and opinions against the regimen causes that the public is exposed to only one type of opinion, and never hears of facts and data contrary to the official propaganda. Therefore, there are fewer possibilities for the people to question it.

In the **Nazi Germany**, one can clearly see the use of such technique, as for instance, in the burning of books containing “*dangerous thoughts*”. The works of Jewish authors such as Helen Keller, Albert Einstein, H.G. Wells, Sigmund Freud, and Marcel Proust (the latter had been raised as a Christian, although his mother was Jewish) were banned and burned, together with those of Marx’s and Engels’. This strict press censorship had the effect of enhancing certain type of information while silencing other. For example, as Yourman points out, crimes against the Jews were highlighted; however there was hardly any mention of the fact that the Jews –as well as non-Jews- had served in the German Army.³¹

In Argentina, during the so-called “*Infamous Decade*” there was not a repression system in place as developed as the Nazis’ one (in fact, nowhere in the world was there such a ferocious system as the one in Nazi Germany). Nevertheless, in 1930a martial Law was passed that “*contributed to create the image of a brutal and implacable regime, including the many deportations of foreign union men accused of social agitation, and the use of physical torture against civilians and military suspected of plotting against the de facto regime*”.³² They also decided to eliminate from the public office those people who were

³¹ Yourman, 11.

³² Potash.

activists of the Radical Civic Union. Through all these measures, they purported to monopolize the public discourse about the regime.

At the same time, the military dictatorship (1976-1983) also depended on the silencing of opposing voices. In this sense, Marino and Postolski affirm: *“The disinformation through the hiding of facts and explicit censorship were mechanisms used to create a hegemonic official discourse, without the possibility of ever being contested”*.³³ With that aim, they created a *“Previous Reading Free Service”* which functioned within the Pink House³⁴, *“where it was necessary to send three copies of each number [of every newspaper or magazine]: one of those copies was returned with ‘corrections’, and the other two were sent for the ‘afterwards censorship analysis’*. In the radio, *‘literary advisers’ were appointed and had the task of authorizing texts and guests”*.³⁵ When this censorship was not enough, newspapers were shut down, editions were seized and journalists were murdered. In this way, they made it hard, if not impossible, for people to have access to other versions of the *“reality”*.

Nazi language in the concentration camps

So far, this paper has dealt with the use of Nazi discourse and metaphors in the press, official speeches and everyday language of the two dictatorships. Nonetheless, the use of this language took a very different form in the concentration and extermination camps of the last dictatorship, especially against Jewish detainees –and many disappeared- with the aim of *“turning human beings into what they were said to be: a sub-species, a sub-human race that did not deserve the fundamental right to life”*.³⁶

A fundamental tactic, used both by the Nazi regime and the military dictatorship, was *“the denial of the name, which constituted a way*

³³ Marino and Postolski, p 5.

³⁴ Note of the Translator: The “Pink House” is the name given to the Government’s House.

³⁵ Ibidem.

³⁶ Braylan et al.

*of denying the person*³⁷. In the concentration camps of both regimes, each prisoner was assigned a number in place of their name. They were also deprived of their clothes, accessories and everything that could identify them as individuals. The regime forced all its abductees to wear the same uniform so they lose their individual identities.

As for the Jewish abductees, the regime used Nazi symbols and phrases in order to psychologically torture them. The *“Report on the situation of the Jewish detained-disappeared during the genocide perpetrated in Argentina”*, produced by the Centre of Social Studies of DAIA, illustrated this by mentioning for example, the writing of swastikas on the bodies of the Jews, the fact that they were forced to scream *“Heil Hitler!”*, and the broadcasting of Nazi officials’ speeches during the night. Moreover, sarcastic comments were made with reference to the gas chambers and the concentration and extermination camp of Auschwitz: *“we will show the Nazis how things are done”*³⁸.

Conclusion

Nonetheless, it is important to state that these isolation, dehumanization and finally murder of a certain group techniques, were not invented by the Nazi regime, albeit were popularized and perfected by them. This paper does not seek to submit that the terror regimes perpetrated by the dictatorships in Argentina were similar to the Holocaust, not from a quantitative or qualitative standpoint: that will be tantamount to diminishing the horrors of the Holocaust, which are incomparable. However, a study of the discourses of these regimes, so separated in time, culture and region, shows us a much wider problem that goes beyond the historical period. It is important to highlight the power that can be exercised by discourse and the media in the division of a society and in the social process leading to genocidal practices.

The receptive phenomenon of this type of propaganda and the high grade of acceptance by the general public remain to be subject of investigation.

³⁷ Ibidem.

³⁸ Ibidem.

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Pro-Nazi Social Organizations in Argentina

The cases of the Argentinean Civic Legion, the Nationalist Youth Alliance and the Argentinean National Union¹

Sofía Lamberti

“The Fascist propaganda attacks spectators rather than real opponents, i.e. it builds an image of the Jew or of the Communist and it destroys it regardless of the coincidence between that image and the reality”

THEODOR W. ADORNO

Introduction

This paper seeks to analyze the Pro-Nazi Nationalists social organizations in Argentina during the Infamous Decade (1930-1943). In particular, the cases of the Argentinean Civil Legion (Legión Cívica Argentina –“LCA”), the Nationalist Youth Alliance (Alianza de la Juventud Nacionalista– “AJN”), and the National Argentinean Union (Unión Nacionalista Argentina– “UNA”) will be examined.

Even though these organizations share some characteristics, they have been chosen because of their diverse origins. Each one was born in response to different reasons and in different years, which makes it very interesting to try to cover the whole period under analysis.

¹ This paper was elaborated in the context of the course “The impact of the Nazism in the Argentinean press and civil society” taught in the Political Sciences and Social Communication Schools of the University of Buenos Aires.

It is worth highlighting that during the 1930-1943 period, it existed a great number of this type of organizations in Argentina. Among them, we can find the Patriotic Argentinean League, the Republican League, the Argentinean Nationalist Action and the Civic Nationalist Militia. The Nationalist ideology was the predominant ideology during this period, despite its diverse manifestations. It is necessary to say that the Nationalist standpoint is not in question in the present paper, but its radicalization is; i.e. turning these ideas into forms of discrimination, racism and xenophobia.

The emergence of these groups is not isolated from what was happening in the world; Italian Fascism and Nazism widely influenced certain sectors of the Argentinean society. This paper will consider as the international historical context the situation in Germany, given the fact that the topic under analysis is linked to the influence of the Nazism on the civil society.

This paper will intend to answer the following questions: What was the degree of Anti-Semitism present in the Pro-Nazi social organizations? Did they have allies outside the organization who belonged to other sectors of the society? What was the degree of national range that they achieved? Or, did they only work locally in their places of origin?

Theoretical frame

The analysis of the organizations of the civil society to be studied in this paper will be carried out according to Gramsci's theory. Gramsci defines the civil society as "*the set of organisms commonly called private ...and which responds to the function of hegemony that the dominant groups exercises over the whole society*"², which, together with the political society, i.e. the State, belong to the "superstructure" of a certain historical block. The civil society represents the active and positive moment of the historical development, thus, the accent is placed, not on the state, the passive moment, but on the civil society, the place where intellectual and individual life develops and where the ideological-cultural relationships take place.

² Portelli, H.; "Gramsci y el bloque histórico", p. 14. Siglo XXI, 1987

Gramsci states that the ideologies emerge in the heart of a positive moment, and have a primary place in respect of the institutions. The historical place of the ideologies is the civil society, the moment when once the necessary steps to freedom are taken; they are seen as the creating and building forces of a new history, which collaborate in the creation of a power that builds itself as a justification of an already constituted power (Bobbio, 1985).

Ideology creates the subjects and makes them act. It is through ideology that men acquire consciousness. The “organic ideologies” that Gramsci speaks of are expressions of community life; they do not represent individual facts: they are visions of the world of a particular block.

On the other hand, the organizations that form the civil society civil perform the function of “hegemony”. This includes political, moral and cultural direction. It is on the latter that Gramsci places most of his attention, since the cultural direction encompasses an introduction of a reform; from a transformation of the customs and culture. The conquest of hegemony must be done prior to the conquest of power.

The hegemony refers not only to the hegemony projected by the political parties, but it also includes all other organizations of the civil society which have certain links with the elaboration and dissemination of culture (Bobbio, 1985).

In this sense, the Nationalist movement of the 1930s, in which various organizations of this type such as the Argentinean Civil Legion, the Nationalist Youth Alliance and the Argentinean National Union can be found, clearly represents the private organisms of the civil society referred to by Antonio Gramsci. The Nationalist ideology collaborated with the formation of a power which grew in Argentina during the Infamous Decade, but it does not justify the already constituted power. The organizations carry out their hegemonic function with great impetus: its “organic intellectuals”³ disseminate in vast sectors of the society the conception of the world of the organization, which will be informed in different ways according to the social sector which they address.

³ According to Gramsci, the organic intellectuals belong to a fundamental sector, and are responsible of elaborating and disseminating the organic ideologies, moreover, they purport to carry out the commitment to achieve a moral and intellectual reform.

There are several authors that examine the topic of pro-Nazi social organizations in Argentina during the 1930-1943 period. The main authors which will provide information to this paper are Ronald H. Dolkhart, whose book *“The Rightwing during the Infamous Decade, 1930-1943”*, provides an explanation of the tensions between the Conservative wing and the Nationalist Rightwing, and offers information about the Extreme Nationalist organizations to which I will refer later. Daniel Lvovich, author of *“Argentinean Rightwing and the Anti-Semitic practices, 1930-1943”*, submits the idea that Anti-Semitism constituted an important common factor in the rhetoric and practices of Nationalist entities back then, and he also analyzes their behaviour in the period under study, and Marcus Klein, whose article *“The Argentinean Civic Legion and the Radicalization of Argentine Nationalist during the Infamous Decade”*, specifically details the emergence and development of the Argentinean Civic Legion.

Historical Context

International Framework: the German situation

The year of 1930 represents the beginning of the end of the Weimar Republic, instituted in Germany in 1919. The effects of the Great Depression brought about economic and political crises which, together with the little democratic tradition of the country, resulted in a crisis of the Parliamentary system that ushered in a turn to presidential authoritarianism led by Paul Von Hindenburg, and an almost ghost-like Parliament.

In the Parliamentary elections of September 14th, 1930, the NS-GWP (the National Socialist German Workers' Party, led by Adolf Hitler) received the 18,3% of the votes, i.e. a total of 107 seats in the Parliament. The growth of the Nazis in the Parliament continued to increase during the following years (Claude Klein, 1985), just as the violence carried out by its members in the street of the German cities.

In the beginning of 1933, Hitler was named Chancellor. On May 23rd of the same year, a law *“looking to leave out Parliament and be-*

stow a definite nature to the dictatorship of the national government”⁴ was passed. Afterwards, came the purge of the bureaucratic system and the pact with the Armed Forces, and as a great finale, on July 14th, the law of a sole party was officially approved.

In 1934, prior to the death of Hindenburg, a decree was issued whereby the Chancellery and the Presidency were merged; all the power was concentrated on Hitlers’ figure, from then onwards, the Führer.

Unlike Mussolini’s dictatorship in Italy, the Nazi regime counted on different anti-Semitic State policies, which became worse as time passed by. Already in the Nazi Party programme of 1920, it was openly expressed that “*the National German Party fights every non-German spirit destroyer, both Jewish and non-Jewish. It opposes the ever more accentuated Jewish domination, from the revolution, in the government and in public life (...)*”⁵.

Between the years 1933 and 1938, the Nazi proposal rested on the idea of a “*Germany free of Jews*”, shops were boycotted, access to schools and universities was restricted and Jews were expelled from public office. In September 1935 the Nuremberg Laws were passed, formalizing those elements of discrimination which were already present in the German society. Through these laws, it was established that only those with German blood were citizens, and marriages between Germans and Jews were banned so the “*Arian purity*” would be preserved.

This situation brought about the exodus of the Jewish population, which found itself in a grave problem since an array of countries, Argentina among them, held a closed frontiers policy which did not allow the entrance of this population (Senkman, 1991).

In November 1938, a German diplomatic was murdered in the German Embassy in France in the hands of a Jewish young man. This episode unleashed a violence wave in different German cities, which manifested itself in the burning of synagogues, Jewish windows

⁴ Bracher, Kart; “La dictadura alemana”, chapter 4: “La marcha al poder”, p. 282. Alianza Universal, Madrid, 1973.

⁵ Klein, Claude; “De los espartaquistas al nazismo: La República de Weimar”, p. 137. Sarpe, Madrid, 1985.

shops, and thousands of arrests and murders. The night on which these events took place was called "*the Night of Broken Glass*" which translated into the acceleration of Jewish immigration and into a new anti-Semitic offensive. The National Socialist regime looked forward to expanding itself territorially, so the Arian race, no matter where it was, could unite under one State. In this sense, on September 29th 1938 England and France signed a Pact stating that they supported Germany's demand for the annexation of Czechoslovakia Sudetes region, where most of the population was Arian. (Munich Pact).

The following year a non-aggression pact between the Nazis and the Soviet regime was signed whereby a possible division of Poland and other territories of Eastern Europe was established.

On September 1st 1939, Germany invaded Poland triggering the Second World War. Already then, the Jewish ghettos were in place under Hitler's regime. In 1941, a State policy of organized massive extermination of the persecuted population was set up, first through execution and then through death in gas chambers.

In the middle of that year, Germany broke the agreement with the Soviet Union and invaded its territory, causing the entrance of the USSR to the war.

In the beginning of 1945 Germany surrendered and on April 30th Hitler committed suicide in his bunker in Berlin.

National Framework: The Infamous Decade

On September 6th, 1930, a coup led by Uriburu and Justo overthrew President Yrigoyen. Uriburu represented the Nationalist sector, which advanced the need for a corporative regime in the long term, and the adjudication of a significant role in the National scene for the Church. It counted on the support of the middle class, part of the old elite and the most radicalized Nationalist militants. On the other side, Justo, representing the conservative interests, proposed a short military government, a transitional government. His support came from big exporters, landowners and bankers.

Both Rightwing sectors united to achieve a sole aim: overthrow the Radical Party in power. Once achieved, the tension between the

conservatives and the Nationalists grew and was present during the period 1930 - 1943 (Dolkhart, 2001).

In this stage of the Argentinean history, which received the name “Infamous Decade”, the social and political scene was dominated by violence, electoral fraud, bribery and anti-Semitism.

From the establishment of the *de facto* government, Uriburu was President of the Nation until the beginning of 1932. Despite the fact that he wanted to end the secret suffrage, he allowed a series of provincial elections, thinking that the support of those places would be immense. Nevertheless, the results showed him otherwise. As an example, in the Province of Buenos Aires, the Radicals obtained a wide victory, which led to the annulment of the elections. Those elections brought about the fall of Uriburu

In November of 1931, Justo backed by the Concordance (a coalition led by the National Democratic Party), won the presidential elections. This result only increased the tensions between both Right-wing factions.

When 1937 was approaching, Justo had to designate a successor, and he named Roberto Ortiz, an anti-Peronist Radical, not very close to the Rightwing sectors. Therefore, he designated Castillo as a candidate for Vice-President, given his affinity and good relationship with the Rightwing faction.

Through electoral fraud, Ortiz won the elections and took over power on February 20th, 1938. In the two years and half that he held office, the economic and political situation of the country improved. However, the international situation negatively affected Argentina, dividing the local public opinion in respect of the events which were unfolding in Europe.

In 1938, a series of accusations of Nazi influence on the country became known based on concrete facts: the first one referred to the attempt to carry out a plebiscite in Argentina regarding the annexation of Austria by Germany and the other was linked to the discovery that in all but two German schools, the Nazi salutes were performed and the book “*My Struggle*” (*Mein Kampf*) by Adolf Hitler was read. Another factor was a Nazi demonstration in the Luna Park stadium

on April 10th, which ended with violent incidents in the surrounding areas.

In September of 1939 the Second World War commenced. In the face of the international conflict, Ortiz declared the Argentinean neutrality, and the Ultra-Nationalists, who were sure that the German-led Axis would triumph, agreed with such measure.

In the beginning of 1940, the President seemed sincerely determined to end the fraud and corruption in the Province of Buenos Aires, ruled by Manuel Fresco. Some time before, the elections in such province had consecrated Barceló, a candidate supported by Fresco. On March 8th, Ortiz decreed the federal intervention to the province, a decision which was well received by the majority of the public opinion (Privitellio, 2002).

Shortly after, the President was forced to require leave of absence due to an illness, and later he presented his resignation. Thus, Castillo took over and became president.

The fraud continued to have a leading role, the authoritarian policy deepened and Argentina carry on being a neutral State in the war.

Although Nationalists groups supported the new president, the designation of Robustiniño Patrón Costas as his successor angered them. On June 4th, 1943, a number of Nationalist officers nucleated in the Group of United Officers (“GOU” according to its Spanish name) overthrew Castillo and established the Presidency of General Ramirez, finalizing the Infamous Decade.

Social organizations and Anti-Semitism

As regards the Argentinean Civic Legion, it can be said that the level of anti-Semitism present in the organization was high. If one takes into account the speeches given through its existence, they clearly show a degree of racism, anti-Semitism and intolerance. In February 1932, Lieutenant General Juan B. Molina, a member of the LCA and an organic intellectual of this organization, through a manifest addressed to its members made known the alleged dangers haunting the country, among which he mentioned Anarchism, Communism, and Judaism. In this sense, Molina stated that “*In our coun-*

try, the Jews add up to 800.000. A real machine from Hell destined to establish with the rudest materialism the tyranny of gold in the world (...). Among us, they run big companies and huge capitals and have many national values subdued"⁶.

On the other hand, practices of provocation and direct violent actions show the high level of anti-Semitism present in the LCA. At dawn, the street of Buenos Aires showed banners calling to fight against foreigners, Communists and Jews. Nonetheless, the violence of this group was not only verbal: cinema shows were interrupted with shouts provoking Jews with anti-Semitic chants and phrases, there were attacks against the Socialist and Radical Parties' headquarters, Leftwing newspapers, and synagogues; and in 1934, there was an attack against the Comic Theatre, where an anti-Nazi play was being performed (Marcus Klein, 2002).

Within the academic world, the LCA also had a strong presence. In 1935, in the Medicine School of the University of Buenos Aires, a series of fightings between students members of the LCA and students who questioned the performance of the then Dean of the School, broke out. The former hurt their rivals with bludgeons, yelling "*Yes to Argentineans no to Jews*". Dean Bullrich and other professors who belonged to the organization usually acted in an anti-Semitic manner against the Jewish students (Lvovich, 2001).

In the beginning of the 1940s, the LCA began its retreat. In 1941 it did not organize any public act, with the exception of a commemoration of Uriburu's coup.

The Nationalist Youth Alliance was one of the first organizations to incorporate the "Jewish question" in its programme: "*We denounce the Jewish problem as one of the gravest problems the Republic faces (...) It is imperative that we absolutely close the entrance of Jews to the country and with respect to those that are already inside, we need to adopt the appropriate measures to end their pernicious influence in*

⁶ Mundo Israelita, 5 de marzo de 1932, p.1. In Lvovich, D.; "La derecha argentina y las prácticas antisemitas, 1930-1943", p. 206; in: AAVV, La Derecha Argentina. Nacionalistas, neoliberales, militares y clericales, Ed. Vergara, Buenos Aires, 2001.

the government, the economy and the culture"⁷. Born in 1937, among its supporters and members, one could find several characters that had formerly belonged to the Civic Legion, and due to its tolerance towards certain conservative elements which had withdrawn from the organization, Juan B. Molina, former member of the LCA became one of the leaders of the AJN.

This social organization participated in public acts and openly supported President Castillo. It freely expressed its discrimination and fervent anti-Semitism

The public acts and street demonstrations were constant. On May 1st 1938, on Labour Day, the AJN managed to take from the Left a significant part of the workers' support and held a crowded act in which the speeches given incited direct violence against the Jewish population, and the audience openly agreed with those ideas. That same year, a torches' procession was organized to commemorate the anniversary of Argentina's independence which counted with the support of other Nationalist organizations, where violent chants were sung against democracy, English capitalism and Jews (Lvovich, 2001).

On the other hand, the student branch of the AJN, the Union of Secondary Schools Students ("UNES" according to its Spanish name), had an important role organizing campaigns and direct violent actions against the Jewish population.

Manuel Fresco, creator of the Argentinean National Union, formally established in the beginning of 1941, only incorporated anti-Semitism as a normal policy practice in the late 1940s. While Fresco was governor of the Province of Buenos Aires, no anti-Semitic references can be found in their writings, although there are claims for threats against Jews carried out by their group (Dolkhart, 2001).

Even if Fresco openly supported the Nationalist cause and was a renowned supporter of Fascist and Nazi Ideas, the level of anti-Semitism of the UNA was one of the lowest comparing to the other two above-examined organizations, which does not mean that there

⁷ Alianza de la Juventud Nacionalista, "Postulados de Nuestra Lucha" [Postulates of our Struggle], s/f, paragraphe 19, in: Lvovich, op. Cit., p. 223.

were no cases in which the UNA had participated with practices of provocation and direct violence against Jews. Members of this organization irrupted in the neighbourhood of *Villa Crespo* in March and April of 1942 offending the Jewish community. In the neighbourhood of *Once* anti-Semitic literature was distributed and shouts such as “*death to the Jews*” were heard⁸. In the acts of the UNA Motherland (as Manuel Fresco used to call it) the Nazi salute was given, demanding the death of the Jews.

On May 1st, 1942, Fresco led an act presided by the AJN in which its group also participated. Shortly after, in June 1943, he published “*Conversations with the people towards a new State*”, in which he talked down on Jews such as Marx, Freud and Blum (Schiller, 2003).

Sectors which supported the LCA, AJN and the UNA

Despite being an independent organization, during the first years of the Infamous Decade (the LCA was formed in 1930) the Argentinean Civic Legion counted with the explicit support of the government. Active members of the Navy and the Army belonged to the Board of the Legion, and officers of the Army supervised the recruitment of future members of the organization. This situation was due to the fact that the LCA gained official status on May 20th 1931, through a decree issued by Uriburu, ideologist of its creation, which, on the other side, signified a formal link with the Armed Forces.

Furthermore, the LCA was linked to the German embassy. In a confidential memorandum sent to the latter by the Legion, it expressed its warmest congratulations for Hitler’s triumph regarding Austria’s annexation to the German State (Dolkart, 2001).

Among the members of the LCA there were also foreigners. Among them, the majority were Spaniards, Germans and Italians. So much so that in several occasions, German Nazis living in Argentina collaborated with the Legion in violent actions against Jews, for example, in the series of attacks suffered by the Comic Theatre in 1934. In January of 1935, the Police arrested seven members of the Legion carrying explo-

⁸ Ibid., p. 227.

sive material, who then implicated other members of the organization, among them a German citizen named Hans Hermann Wilke.

On the other hand, the LCA gained the support of the Catholic Church. When the International Eucharistic Congress was celebrated in 1934, the Vatican Delegate to the Congress Roberto Tofanelli, held a meeting with the leaders of the Legion (Marcus Klein, 2002), non-surprisingly, given the support of certain sectors of the Catholic Church to the Nazi regimen in Germany.

The Nationalist Youth Alliance counted, as it was already explained, with the support of secondary schools students, who were an essential and important part of the AJN.

Moreover, it gained the support of factions of the Army. In the AJN headquarters, officers trained the members of the organization in the use of weapons. A number of military were members of it.

During some time, the UNES obtained financial support from the National Democratic Party, so they could afford the headquarters in the Province of San Juan.

Another key actor supporting the AJN was a big part of the Argentinean working class. Even in its origins, one could clearly see its extreme Nationalism and proletariat discourse. The Alliance was the first Nationalist organization to engage the working masses for the celebrations of May 1st.

Moreover, even if their support was not explicit; the Police was functional to the AJN. In the face of the complaints brought by the Jewish population against violent actions performed by members of the Youth organization, the police officers did not take any measures, and they even participated in some of the anti-Semitic violent acts.

It is possible to state that the Alliance achieved a wide hegemony in the Argentinean civil society because it had the support of different sectors thereof.

The Argentinean National Union never achieved massive support. Its leader, Manuel Fresco, during the first years of the Infamous Decade, stayed within the conservative realm (Dolkhart, 2001). When he became governor of the Province of Buenos Aires, he initiated a cam-

paign to attract the Nationalists to his cause, but they never ceased to suspect his loyalty.

According to Robert Newton, after the intervention to the Province ruled by Fresco in 1940, overthrown and unemployed, he looked for support in the German Embassy, which he obtained, despite the mistrust of the German Ambassador, Von Thermann (Newton, 1995).

The UNA counted with the official support of the government and part of the Catholic Church. Fresco called for the respect of Argentinean traditional values, inserted in the Christian and Western world. On the other hand, his attempt to impose mandatory religious education in schools won him the support of the Church hierarchy

National reach of the organizations

The Civic Legion was a big organization; it achieved a total of approximately 50.000 men only in Buenos Aires. As Marcus Klein explained, even if the main activities centres were located in Buenos Aires and in the capital city, they had other headquarters in the interior of the country (Klein, 2002).

The level of national reach was high. From the North to the South of Argentina, its members carried out public acts and direct actions against the Jewish population.

The high number of supporters was due to the recruitment system managed by the LCA; each new member had to bring in ten more others. This method turned the organization into a model to be followed by other Nationalist groups which would come later (Dolkhart, 2001). However, by the end of the 1930s the majority of the members went away to other groups.

The Nationalist Youth Alliance was a numerous organization as well; specially, its secondary schools' student union, the UNES. By 1938 this student branch had already achieved an important territorial expansion and possessed more than thirty offices throughout the country (Lvovich, 2001). The AJN managed to disseminate its anti-Semitism throughout Argentina, although the majority of its acts and aggressions against the Jews were carried out in the Capital city.

As it was already said, the UNA did not achieve massive support, which influenced its level of national reach, which was thus rather low. Almost all its direct actions and public acts took place in the Capital City and in the Province of Buenos Aires.

However, in 1943, Freco's organization joined the main national organization of the moment; the AJN, and thus managed to increase its forces throughout the country. Shortly after such merging, Juan B. Molina, the leader of the Alliance, was expelled from the organization, precisely for uniting with Fresco, since traditionally the AJN was anti-conservative, and the former governor of Buenos Aires came from such sector (Senkman, 1995).

Conclusion

On the basis of what has been said in this paper, it is submitted that the Nazism as a doctrine ran deep in certain sectors of the Argentinean civil society. The organizations analyzed are a truthful reflection thereof. The "*organic ideologies*" of these groups were "*hegemonic*" in this period, and not only did they materialize in the society, but also in the State organs; in the Armed Forces, the Police, the provincial governments (as was the case of Manuel Fresco in the Province of Buenos Aires), in sectors of public universities, and explicitly, especially in the beginning of the 1930s, in the Executive National Power. On the other hand, part of the Catholic Church was also a factor of support and dissemination of anti-Semitic ideas, as were several graphic media, among which, it is possible to name "*Crisol*" and "*Clarínada*" magazines.

Nonetheless, xenophobia and racism in Argentina were not born with the 1930s coup which overthrew Yrigoyen's government; in fact, these ideas can be traced back to even before the formation of the modern Argentinean State. Back then, the concept of "desirable immigrants" was already being discussed, as well as the differences among the native population, for instance the "*gauchos*" and the city men, between the alleged "*civilization and barbarism*".

Furthermore, the international context clearly helped the dissemination of anti-Semitism: the Nazi regime penetrated in other countries and ethnics, counting on the silence of the great powers of the

world, which knew what was going on with the Jewish community as well as the existence of the Shoah.

Paraphrasing Julia Kristeva, in order to be able to live together with our differences, we should recognize us all as foreigners and recognize our own foreign nature that inevitable forms part of us.

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Educative Reforms in Fascism: Mussolini, Peron, and the educative policy¹

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Presentation

The object of this paper is to study the educative primary system during the governments of Benito Mussolini and Juan Domingo Peron. The time frame will be the first and second governments of Peron (1946-1955) and, respectively the first decade of Mussolini (1922-1932 in power)

The working methodology is the comparison between these two processes, which will be carried out by considering as a starting point the hypothesis that such reforms were a key part of Fascist governments. This does not mean that I will define Peron's government as Fascist, which should be the object of a much wider research. I only propose to research the reforms carried out in those periods, their impacts on primary education and the main motivations that led these political leaders to reform the education. I do not intend to characterize the *Peronism* from Mussolini's government and his practices on education; but instead, I propose to trace the possible connections between both regimes in the educative area.

Even if I do not attempt to match the Italian fascist regime with Peronism, I consider that in both political processes education was used as an ideological indoctrinating tool.

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Introduction

There is a great debate among academics about the way to define Fascism; however, all of them share the theoretical use of this concept linked to the Fascist regime of Mussolini. This term does not have a universal definition. In this work, I will use parts of the definitions of four authors. Even if I do not share the idea of equalizing the Italian Fascist regime with the “*Peronism*”, I consider that in both political processes, education was used as a tool of ideological indoctrination. I will discuss the ideas of authors such as Ian Kershaw (2004) who hold that Fascism is something very specific to Italy and Germany during the period between wars. I agree with academics such as Paul Lewis (1980) and Zeev Sternhell (1994) insofar as the definition is broader and can be applied to political regimes which use propaganda to mobilize masses and which match Nationalists, Socialists and Totalitarian ideas

Ian Kershaw (2004) speaks of Fascism and its relationship with the Nazism using a very precise definition of the former, which would exclude Peron’s government because he refers only to: the period between the two World Wars in Europe during a heavy socio-political crisis, to regimes that eliminate every opposition, governments which use openly violent policies to control the population, a regime under the power of a leader and an absent working Congress, and an idealism characterized by a anti-Socialists feeling. In Ian Kershaw’s definition, only Mussolini’s and Hitler’s regimes are labelled as Fascists.

Buchrucker (1978) in his chapter “*Peronism* and Fascism” defines Fascism in a similar way as Kershaw, but adding the importance of the way of seizing power, stating that Peron had great support from the working class and the Left without his movement being anti-Socialist as Mussolini’s and Hitler’s governments. He also highlights the fact that the *Peronism* (at least during the first government) did not use “the integral militarization of the society” (Buchrucker 394). I will not use this definition because it does not offer an explanation about the participation of the society in these governments and about the way the movements which were non Military or accepted by the political parties worked.

Zeev Sternhell (1994) locates the origin of Mussolini's Fascist idealism in his stage as a Socialist revolutionary. After that, he would make the transition from Socialism to Fascism, a process determined by an ideological turn. The axis of this transition is the adherence of Mussolini to Nationalism. According to Sternhell the change in the rhetoric can be observed in the following quote by Mussolini: "(...) *where the National question is not resolved, there cannot be the necessary historical climate for a normal development of a class movement*" (Ai laboratori d'Italia, Pagine libere, October 10th, 1914, p. 37 taken from Sternhell 313). Sternhell explains that Mussolini went through a number of stages in the development of his political discourse before reaching Fascism. This process allows us to think that the *Peronism* as a movement could not achieve in such little time such state of ideological maturity. In any case, what is important is that Sternhell mentions as a fundamental trace of the regimen, the combination between social support and a strong Nationalist spirit and sacrifice because and for the State.

Paul H. Lewis (1980) wonders whether Peron's government was Fascist and concludes that it was indeed. I cannot present all his arguments here, but the basic features of Fascism according to Lewis are: 1. mobilization of the masses through propaganda and the unification of the Nation under one ideology; 2. approximation to a social utopia with no economic classes and an aggressive nationalization and; 3. impulse towards Totalitarianism.

Lewis' theoretical position presents many differences with respect to Buchrucker's arguments. In the first place, Lewis does not consider that Peron has been a leader taken to power by the working class, because, according to this author, the leader only counted with a third of the votes of the organized workers (246), and, also, in 1921 Mussolini's Fascist party counted with approximately 152.000 people and 23.000 of them belonged to workers. These data show that both government attracted sectors of the workers in a much more similar way than other academics show. In the second place, both regimes were structured in a military and hierarchical style. In the third place, both controlled the unions, and even though the increase of work-

ers' salaries was an important point for Peron and not for Mussolini, this can be explained through the unfavourable economic situation in the post war world. In Peron's case, the economic situation was the opposite of the Italian's. In fourth place, even if Peron's government functioned with a political opposition, the latter did not enjoy much power nor did it have access to the media. Mussolini's government faced political opposition until 1925.

Emilio Gentile (2005) explains that "the objective of Fascism was a political revolution (...) *the architecture and the functions of an Unitarian State needed to be reformed in order to build a "new State"* (177). In his argument Gentile also connects Fascism with the "*political organization of the big modern masses*" (187), noting then that the masses played a vital role in Fascism. I share these ideas with Gentile, and they could be applied to the manipulation of the education by the *Peronism*.

Taking the above-mentioned definitions as referents, I will understand Fascism as a regime that:

- A. Involves a political revolution, which implies important structural changes in the society and in National politics. This was a particular revolution. For example, while Marxism entails a complete change in society, Fascism is about total control over it (Totalitarian trend).
- B. Mobilizes the masses through massive propaganda to unify the Nation under an ideology and a strong leader.
- C. It is based on National Socialism's ideology.

A work by E.A. Miller (1930) was selected, which is a product of academic work based on an autobiography as a teacher in Italy during the 1920's. He describes the Fascist regime and the changes introduced by the State in primary schools in Italy. He takes on the process of school modernization and the professionalization of the faculty, and also the goals pursued by the reforms encouraged by the State.

With regards to primary education in Italy, I have used a work written by Fank J. Coppa (1995), who describes the conflict between the State and the Church for the monopoly of primary schools in

Italy during Mussolini's time. The author shares the idea that both institutions (the Church and the State) are interested in the educative system, mainly due to the power it entails in the indoctrination of the children during the schooling process.

In order to analyze education during Peron's government, I have chosen a book by Mariano Plotkin (1993). He advances a very clear position whereby Peron used the schools as a tool to inculcate his discourse to the people.

The historical perspective is taken from a book by Adriana Puiggrós (1993). It describes the process of change from the reform of the educative laws as a State policy during the *Peronism*.

As extra information, I conducted an interview with Lilia Mabel Capra, born in 1924 and a secondary school student during 1940-1944. After she finished those studies, she did a Professorate specialized in harmony, instituted by Peron's Ministry of Education. Ms. Capra spoke of her experience and what she saw and understood during that period.

Historical contextualization

Within the relevant historical context for this paper, the relationship between the Catholic Church and the educative system stands out. In its origins, education was under the control of the Catholic Church. This institution thus warranted a great quota of power over the society. Within this framework, it will be interesting to explore a source of masses' control. The way in which the governments of Italy and Argentina took over the educative system in order to generate a feeling of national belonging will be analyzed.

In Argentina, the education was secularized from the Church in 1884 through Law no. 1420 which established mandatory and laic primary education. Therefore, the new educative system was placed under the jurisdiction of the National Council of Education (public State authority). In 1910 José María Ramos Mejía instituted a studies plan called "patriotic education" to generate patriotic feelings in the immigrants' children (Plotkin 145). However, in 1913 it ceased to be used because Ramos Mejía stopped being part of the National Coun-

cil of Education. Even if it seems insignificant, this was the government's first step to use the education with a political/national aim.

With the 1943 coup, the military took the educative reform as one of their main political points. Elbio Anaya was the first Ministry of Education, Justice and Public Instruction. From there, he purported to take Nationalism to the society. He declared that "*the final objective of public education was the formation of character and the inspiration of the individual and the family in the patriotic and social behaviour and in the austere principles of Christian morality*" (Plotkin 147). This event marks a return to the ideas of Ramos Mejía, and also towards religious education in Argentina.

In Italy, the education had always belonged to the Church. In 1848 the government of Turin in the Piedmont State passed the *Law of the School* which made the schools turn from ecclesiastical to civilians. This meant that the bishops were left out of the election of the teachers. In 1861 the State of Italy was created, and when Count Gabrio Casati was named Ministry of Education in 1859, he instituted a law to separate the State from the Church, transferring the education to the State. Casati sought to unify Italy; however, he faced grave problems: massive illiteracy and lack of Italian identity. Therefore, he normalized the educative system to form a population loyal to the government and not to the Church. Coppa explains Casati's action in the following terms: "*they have created Italy, and now they needed to create Italians*" (138). Under this law, the families could choose that their children do not participate in religion classes. Then, in 1871 the law was modified again so that the parents had to expressly specify when they wanted religious education for their children.

Other two important changes in Italy were: The *Coppino Law* (1877) whereby school was mandatory for children between six and nine years old passed by Michele Coppino, the new Ministry of Public Instruction; and the *Daneo-Credaro Law* (1911) which transferred education from the towns to the jurisdiction of the provinces.

In both countries –before Mussolini and Peron's government–

the educative systems were run by the Church until their secularization in a government's attempt to unify the country and create a sense of belonging to the Nation. Religious education came to be optional.

Explanation of the variables to be factored in, the dimensions and the indicators

- Independent variable: Fascism (using my definition as a basis).
Indicators:
 1. Existence of a revolutionary political pretension (structural changes).
 2. Mobilization of the masses through propaganda.
 3. Political Predominance of the Nationalist-Socialist Ideology.

- Dependent Variable: educative system.
Indicators:
 1. Religious teaching in schools.
 2. School's reading curricula.
 3. Control structure of the educative system.

Analysis of the object of study, depending on the constructed variables on the basis of the theoretical framework and the development of a preliminary research of exploratory character

Firstly, I will analyze the two separate cases with the same methodological structure of variables and indicators, and then the conclusions will compare the two cases.

I will analyze the Italian case following the framework I designed in point no. 6.

I. Variable: Fascism.

1. Indicator: Existence of a political revolutionary pretension (structural changes).

Sternhell notes that in 1915 Mussolini appeared as a "*revolutionary of an unknown type until then*" (331) and wanted a "*national rebirth*" and to

“sweep the old world” (338). The leader of Italy was not willing to follow the ruling way of his predecessors, his ideas were revolutionary. When Gentile speaks of Italian Fascism, he says that, “*the objective of the Fascism was a political revolution (...) which would transform the architecture and the functions of a Unitarian State and build a new one*” (177).

Mussolini carried out his political revolution through many measures, but, as he used to brag, “*Giovanni Gentile’s educative programme was one of the most Fascist reforms they had done*” (Coppa 142). Giovanni Gentile was a very important philosopher during Mussolini’s time and was also the first Secretary of Education. Once Gentile’s reforms were implemented, the Subsecretary, Dario Lupi, said that all of them stemmed from the need for the schools to identify with the current state, *with the victory of Fascism and the victory of a Nation over itself* (Miller 513). Mussolini, as the example of a Fascist leader who every academic refer to –despite the existence of many definitions of fascism– was willing to publicly declare that his school reforms were Fascist changes.

I. Variable: Fascism.

2. Indicator: Mobilization of the masses through propaganda.

Kershaw holds that the Fascist movements differentiate themselves from other forms of political organizations “*in the conditions of growth and the objectives and the function of these movements*”, (Kershaw 57). In his revolutionary movement, Mussolini pursued the objective of transforming the bases of popular education, and in order to attain such objective, he needed to restructure the educative system. Such transformation had a direct political importance. Mussolini thought that “*it is the State that educates its population in the civil virtue, gives it a conscience of a mission and builds unity*” (Coppa 137). Mussolini and Gentile had discovered a mechanism to disseminate their Nationalist-Socialist propaganda; they were using the educative system to inculcate their ideas of unity and a Nation of masses. In his discourse, Gentile connects the Fascism with “*the political organization of the great modern masses*” (187), noting then that the masses played a vital role in Fascism.

Mussolini started his political career in the Socialist Party, and took some Socialist ideas until his arrival to power. However, once in power, these ideas were denaturalized. "*Nevertheless, his social policy has no other aim but to warrant the good functioning of the system and the perfect fidelity of the worker towards the Nation*" (Sternhell 336). He mobilized the masses through reforms which were introduced as social assistance, but in reality were propaganda with a strong political intention.

Mussolini manipulated the relationship with the Church according to his political goals through the reincorporation of religion in the State. It was possible to construct the Pope's position regarding the issue as accepting the idea that a political leader was allowed to use the religious doctrine as a way of achieving political goals. Pope Pius wrote in 1929: "*in order to complete his work in the area of education, it will be necessary, convenient and opportune that the State forms conquerors and trains them for conquest ... except that ... one has planned to train for the conquest of truth and virtue*" (Miller 511). This was basically an invitation or a challenge for Mussolini to "*declare and prove in actions that the intention of the government's programme was training for the conquest of truth and virtue*" (Miller 511). The Pope was admitting the use of education as a form of political propaganda.

I. Variable: Fascism.

3. Indicator: Political predominance of the National-Socialist ideology.

The development of Mussolini's politics towards Fascism goes through several stages. Sternhell indicates that prior to First World War, Mussolini had lost his faith in Socialism deciding that it was the Nation what should be put in first place. However, this "*does not induce Mussolini at all to abandon Socialism conceived as a continuing march towards social reforms*" (Sternhell 327). Socialism ideas are retaken in Mussolini's discourse when he created the Fascist party in 1919. In its beginning, Nationalism was conceived by Mussolini as an instrument to achieve the ultimately Socialist utopia's goal, but even-

tually the National turned into the most important, and from then, Fascism emerged.

II. Variable: Educative system.

1. Indicator: The religious teaching in schools.

Lupi thought that direct intervention on spiritual education was the key to achieve cooperation under one ideology (Miller 512). In order to accomplish such objective, Giovanni Gentile reintroduced optional religious education in schools in 1924, with the Gentile Reform (Coppa 142). Subsequently, on February 11th, 1929 the *Concordat*³ was legalized. It defined the place of the Church in relation with the State, and among other laws, made primary and secondary schools' religious instruction mandatory (Coppa 143). In his discourse Mussolini did not believe that the State could exist separately from the Church, and held that both should work together (Coppa 143) to attain a unified Nation. Thus, not only did Mussolini introduce religion, but he gained the Church's support. The existing tensions were minor and in the majority of the cases, there was an agreement between the Church and the State, especially after the *Concordat* of 1929.

In this way, Mussolini, advanced from the State onto a traditionally private realm. As nothing could exist outside the State, "*the moral and spiritual education of the youth was coordinated and supervised by the government*" (Coppa 137). This shows that Mussolini wanted a moral and spiritual unity for everyone to be part of the Nation under the same ethic, *his ethic*. In other words, Mussolini was not interested in saving the souls so they go to heaven, but in producing capable and ardent workers, and brave soldiers for this world. "*The religion which was introduced in schools was Catholic; however, its objective was patriotic and nationalist*" (Miller 523).

³ Note of the author: The *Concordat* meant a significant increase of power for the Church because through this instrument the State returned the formerly expropriated lands, and made religion mandatory for the public educative system.

II. Variable: Educative system.

2. Indicator: The scholastic reading plans.

Miller, in his trip to Italy, noted that primary education had gone through an important change inside the classrooms, a sense of modernity and progress. He considered especially interesting the modernization and the flexibility of the formalities; and that in each classroom, religion, health, constructive work, and music had been introduced (518). All of these direct reforms were implemented by Gentile. In these terms, Miller deemed the reforms to be positive.

In this author's opinion, there were nine goals in the reforms introduced by Gentile. Goal number nine is very interesting insofar as the direct intervention on the reading. It foresaw that the State should organize the schools from the first grade to university so they serve the aspirations and interests of the Italian Nation, and prepare the population to take its place in the new Italy— and be ready, if necessary, to die for it and, what could be harder, to work day by day in a factory or in the fields to rejuvenate it (Miller 515).

II. Variable: Educative system.

3. Indicator: The control structure of the educative system.

Mussolini had the idea of an ethical and united State, and in 1925 he declared that “*everyone inside the State, nothing outside it, and nothing against it*” (Shepard B. Clough and Salvatore Saladino, 1968 in Coppa, 137). Mussolini's policy did not conceive a place for the autonomy of the institutions outside the control of the State, including the educative system.

In order to establish a greater control, Mussolini and Gentile carried out many structural reforms, I cannot cite every one of them here, but the three most important ones were as follows.

1. They eliminated many areas of the State bureaucracy and its obstacles. Posts were removed and the existing structure was changed into a more expeditious one.
2. The teachers were chosen more carefully, requiring the choice of the vocation at the age of eleven years old, and then the State

would put them in an eight-year training programme. The institutions for the license of primary schools teachers were reduced from 140 to 87, and the curricula were rewritten. If a teacher was deemed as non-compatible with the general policy of the government, he or she was then fired (Miller 519).

3. The complete examination's methodology was restructured to achieve a better selection of students for university education.

Connecting the variables

In Italy, Mussolini performed a revolution in the educative system through reforms which were directly Fascist, Mussolini said so himself very clearly. Sternhell argues that "*never had a political party expressed in a more radiant way the objectives of its policy and the means to carry it out*" (354). Mussolini mobilized the masses installing Nationalist-Socialist propaganda in the social shaping institution par excellence: the school. He performed a purge in the system to eliminate teachers who opposed the regime. He created a new social structure with the emphasis on Nationalism.

I will analyze the Argentinean case according to the framework established in point six.

I. Variable: Fascism.

1. Indicator: Existence of a revolutionary political pretension (structural changes).

Peron, coming from the Military, imprinted a verticalist and personalist character onto his party. Its organizative structure reproduced the military structure. All the decisions were taken from the top down to the bases (Lewis 247). He, from the government, introduced fundamental changes, mainly in the workers' lives, through legislative reforms which favoured them, as for instance, the Law of Annual holidays and the Law of Minimum Salary. He also increased the number of political rights, recognizing the right to vote for the women, with Evita's help. Thus, the masses grew social and politically under the *Peronism* and Peron's umbrella.

Peron's government also made use of the reincorporation of reli-

gion in schools as a tool to gain the support of the Church, just like Mussolini's government did. Torre describes the idyll between the Church and the *Peronist* State, and says that "*education was the most obvious, but not the only element of this approach*" (452). During his first term in office, Peron grew closer to the Church because he needed to gain social and political support. Therefore, to warrant more control over the educative system, he placed Catholic and Nationalist people in key posts.

I. Variable: Fascism.

2. Indicator: Mobilization of the masses through propaganda.

Peron's government, just like Mussolini's, aimed to achieve a unity (the *Peronist* unity), and to do that, it used a quasi-spiritual discourse. Plotkin explains that "*the Peronists tried to occupy with its symbolic system the totality of the public symbolic space, turning impossible the existence of alternative systems, and generating what Peron called 'spiritual unity'. This political imaginary was not destined to reinforce the legitimacy of a political system defined in abstract terms, but to ensure the undisputed loyalty of different sectors of the society to the Peronist regime and in particular, to the person of Peron*" (7). This totalitarian tendency is the same registered in the case of Mussolini regarding the educative system.

Peron was known for his grand speeches, but he also needed some form of social indoctrination which would guarantee the loyalty of future generations. The scholastic institution, during the years in which it was on the Church's hands, seemed as the appropriate channel for these goals due to its mandatory nature and thus easily management by the State.

Peron's government defined a policy of very strong propaganda. Plotkin says that "*the Peronist regime used the public educative system as a tool for the creation of a Peronist mystic*" (143). Peron took advantage of an existing institution which reached the majority of the population to show its 'compassion' and to expand its doctrine to the children's minds. It used it as a "*mechanism of political socialization of the youth*" (Plotkin 143).

I. Variable: Fascism.

3. Indicator: Political predominance of the Nationalist-Socialist ideology.

The *Peronism* was far from adopting the characteristics of the European Nationalist-Socialist movements. However, it did recuperate the Nationalist ideology from its origins and once in power, it was materialized in the leader's speeches. This ideology was used as a resource to define who were the "friends and the enemies of the motherland." The political flag of the *Peronism* was social justice (in terms of distribution). It is interesting to note that the "*discourses of the launch of the [Peron's] reform spoke of Justicialism⁴ (...)*" (Torre 457). Even though social justice was far from being considered as a Socialist utopia of a classless society, it had a strong content of equal distribution.

Few refute that the *Peronism* was a Nationalist party, but many hold that it was a populist Nationalism, not a Socialist one, as Mussolini's. Nonetheless, social and political justice, combined with Nationalism could be regarded as a hybrid stemming from the particular economic, social and political context of the second post-war period. The corroboration of this affirmation exceeds the limits of this paper, but what is important for this work is that Peron was also looking for an ideology which would incorporate the Nation as the most important institution, and would highlight the people's responsibility to support him in this challenge.

II. Variable: Educative system.

1. Indicator: Religious teaching in schools.

In the *Peronist* regime, the "*campaign for the legalization of religious teaching was delegated to Eva Perón and other public officers identified with the Catholic world*" (Torre 457). On December 31st, 1943 the Catholic Education Decree was passed, foreseeing the possibility of opting for a "Morality" class, should the parents so requested. Nevertheless, towards 1946 the 97,49 % of the children had

⁴ N. of .T: the term "Justicialism" was used by the Peronist party to refer to Social Justice.

received Catholic education. Introducing religion in the classes was a way of centralizing the control and of bringing near the young people to the political objectives of the government.

II. Variable: *Educative system.*

2. Indicator: Scholastic reading plans.

According to Peron's government, and to the First Five-Year Plan (a plan which covered much more than education, and through which the State policy was materialized), of 1947, pedagogy of National primary education should include: a spiritual component, professionalized-oriented technique, man's training for the Nation and the link with reality, that would have a balance between materialism and excessive idealism (Puiggrós 237). The text of the Second Five-Year Plan establishes that: "*the school texts will be structured according to the principles of the National Doctrine and will include special references to the goals the present plan sets up for every activity of the Nation*" (Plotkin 143). This declaration is directly addressed to the glorification of the State within the schools and their reading plans.

Peron's regime saw the potential of the "*ideological inculcation*" offered by the texts, and included words such as *Privileged, Justicialism, the Good Fairy, Happy Children, Just Motherland, Peron's Argentina*. Peron addressed the faculty on September 19th, 1947: "*We have structured a new planning, which will probable lead to new pedagogic methods in the teaching in the Republic of Argentina.*" Therefore, they built the bases of the Argentinean pedagogic revolution by replacing "My mum loves me" by "Evita loves me" in the elemental reading textbooks. Moreover, after Eva Peron's death, the book *The reason of my life* became a mandatory textbook.

The following are phrases taken from a workbook by Luis Arena, "*Workbook of the Reading method*", which are obviously of a propagandist nature: *Evita loved everybody, Peron is very generous, Evita is in heaven, we trust Peron, ¡Hurray for Juan Domingo Peron! I am proud, I carry the Peronist medal, everybody loves Peron, everybody sings: ¡Hurray for Peron!* As these workbooks were mandatory, everyone who attended school was formed with these readings.

In an interview with Lilia Mabel Capra, I asked her how school changed when Peron arrived in power. She was then in secondary school, but remembers some changes implemented in primary education during that time. She answered that school was a very political environment and that she was arrested for political reasons. She affirms that *“education at the primary level was mandatory and one could not escape from buying a book with a photo of Evita’s horrible hair in the cover”*. Regarding secondary school, she says, *“I had to be part of the Secondary School’ Students Union. We had to attend the sport tournaments and all that, either you go or you become isolated”*. With respect to religion in secondary schools, she states *“I was not religious, I am still not, but I did not want to separate myself from my group, I did not want to be different. I recall that there was a girl who professed another religion, and thus took the moral class”*. She explains that for her, *“the middle class could not be part of the Peronism because that was not a real democracy; it was more suffocating than that”*.

This is of course a negative point of view, but the fact that she remembers to this date the impact that Peron’s government had, is an important piece of evidence of the reality of school’s reforms and the totalitarian tendencies of the government.

II. Variable: Educative system.

3. Indicator: The control structure of the educative system.

Peron acted immediately over the educative system which was deemed as a question of the State. Puiggrós says that *“the year 1947 saw what was probably the strongest advance of anti-Liberalism in the organization of the scholastic system. The Religious Teaching Law was accompanied by other norms which sought to take the autonomy from the organs of the system, and to take away the power from the community in benefit of the government regarding curricula decisions and scholastic organization”* (235). In 1947 the National Council of Education was transferred under the control of the Ministry of Justice and Public Instruction, in other words, it ceased to be an independent organ to become subordinated to the direct control of the govern-

ment. It is interesting to note that prior to Peron's arrival in power, the growth rate of the enrolment of primary teaching had fallen from a 2,6% to 0,4%, but after that, in 1946 the rate climbed again to 2,1% and in 1955 it ascended to 3,1% (Torre 296).

In 1944 José Ingacio Olmedo was put in charge of the intervention to the National Council of Education. One of his first interventions was destined to make sure that all of the faculty body was loyal to the Nationalist-Catholic ideology. He created the Teachers' Superior School to indoctrinate teachers, which ceased to exist in 1945 owing to pressures from abroad and from the provinces of the country, and Olmedo lost his position. Nevertheless, the interest on the part of the government in the loyalty of the teachers continued to be intact and in 1943, 32 teachers were dismissed due to "activities contrary to the Nationality" and 22 for "immorality."

Comparison of variables

In Peron's government, drastic changes took place. The educative system was politically taken over by the government and the textbooks were changed to disseminate *Peronist* propaganda (its leaders, its values and its models). The mobilization of the masses on the part of Peron is indisputable, and his party exists until today. The reintroduction of religion in the educative system and the modification of the control structure were intense changes. I cannot conclusively determine that Peron's government was a Fascist one, but the educative reforms had the same characteristics and goals than those carried out by Mussolini (which were definitively Fascists), and, in this sense, it is possible to extrapolate that Peron's reforms were fascists.

The connections between the reforms and goals of the reforms completed by both the government Mussolini (1922-1932) and Peron (1944-1950) were important. In Fascism, propaganda and indoctrination movements are salient phenomena, and the educative reform of Mussolini was, in his own words, his most Fascist reform. Consequently, Peron's government was not necessarily Fascist; however, **compared to the reforms performed by the universal example of a Fascist government, Mussolini, Peron's educative reforms were Fascists.**

I have demonstrated significant similitudes between the educative reforms in the two case studies. The parallels can be found in the reintroduction of religion in primary education as a mechanism of social and political control, the radical transformations in the contents of scholastic reading, in its aesthetic in combination with Nationalist propaganda and *Peronist* models, and the State control over the educative institution.

The behaviour of the indicators in both cases showed that the educative reforms had Fascist features of the regime in different intensity, and that they both used the propaganda to mobilize the masses into the Nationalist ideology. They also showed that both governments reintroduced religion in the classrooms (for non-Catholic goals), that they both completed changes in school readings looking to exalt the Nation and themselves in the children's minds, and that they both controlled the scholastic institution. In both cases, the ideological and political control pervaded the symbolic (cultural) with deep social repercussions.

I submit that the educative reforms' processes of Mussolini and Peron were a mechanism, a very important tool, of a Fascist government. On the basis of the contributions made, it is possible to hold that Perón took many of Mussolini's ideas for his educative reforms.

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Portrait of the Anti-Semitic

Jean Paul Sartre

Prologue

As Jean Paul Sartre understands it and as it really is, anti-Semitism can be defined as that attitude whose virtue *“a man total or partially attributes the misfortunes of his country and his own misfortunes to the presence of Jewish elements in the community where he lives, and purports to remedy such state of affaires by depriving the Jews of some of their rights, or by setting them aside from economic and social functions, or by expelling them from the territory, or by exterminating them all”*.

Now, it is true that such attitude entails, at first glance, an opinion on the Jews or a judgment call regarding them. However, every opinion, every judgment call, has a logical justification. The hatred always has determinant motives as well.

If we were to ask those who declare themselves anti-Semitic and do not hide their hatred towards the Jews if they have ever been maltreated, humiliated, harmed and made victims of some injustice by men or women of the old race of Israel, the immense majority of the cases would reply negatively. And it is also possible that if we prolonged the questioning, they would recognize that Jews are intelligent and hard-working.

At this point, we already find something astounding and we need to ratify the terms used before; it is not about opinions or judgment

calls. It is about blind passion, charged with irrationality in which there is no point in looking for logical justifications.

The anti-Semitic does not think like a man, i.e. according to the experience or reason, but as an energumen without any links to the rules which make a respectable and decent thought possible.

Sartre's analysis constitutes a great example of lucidity and depth. The face of the anti-Semitic appears before our eyes illuminated "*a giorno*" and we are able to see through a magnifying glass, the hidden features, the lines and nuances of the portrait.

Strip of all accessory, reduced to its dearly essence, the anti-Semitic is a modern Manichean and the anti-Semitism, a form of Manicheanism. The anti-Semitic divides the kingdom of the beings into two parts; one of them, which naturally belongs to the zone of good; and the other is the zone of evil, the damned religion of the Jews. And if it is argued that among the Jews, just as among all beings, there are good and bad men, adorable and odious creatures, he escapes the controversy just as he does every time someone tries to bring him to the terrain of prove and logical evidence.

Blind passion does not argue, does not try to convince, but to impose; it uses the insolence, the brutal punches, instead of the valid reasons. And dominated by this passion, the anti-Semitic just stops in the extreme. Since he hates the Jew, since the Jew represents the evil, he wants to exterminate him.

I recall that in certain opportunity, I found myself next to the great Argentinean writer Alberto Gerchunoff, in a meal to which I had been invited, and where almost all of the guests were Jewish. I said that it was necessary to be with the race in which everyone is immerse like the drop of water in the travelling cloud, but against racism, and that Anti-Semitism seems to me to be a timid form of anthropophagy. Afterwards, while meditating on my own words, it occurred to me that some of my listeners might have taken them as a verbal excess, as a rhetoric hyperbole born in the heat of improvisation.

Nevertheless, in Sartre, who has not improvised, I find a similar statement. "Destroyer by occupation he says— sadistic with a pure

Heart, the anti-Semitic is, in the deepest of his heart, a criminal. What he wishes, what he prepares is the death of the Jew. Incidentally, not all the enemies of the Jew, openly claim his death, but the measures they suggest, which aimed at this degradation, or his humiliation, his extirpation, are similar of that murder which they meditate among themselves; they are symbolic homicides”.

Many years ago, right before the end of the last world war, I had the occasion to meet the Jewish writer Benjamín Fondane in Buenos Aires. He had just had published a book that for many motives was very interesting to me. Its title was *La Conscience Malheureuse*, the unfortunate conscience, and was more in line with Chestov and Kierkegaard than with Heidegger. I remember that we touched upon, among many other subjects, that of Charles Peguy, Bernard Lazaro’s great friend, whom he had admired very much and now admired a little less, in contrast with my invariable fervour for the author of *Notre Jeunesse*, and I had the certainty of being face to face with a pure man, tortured by the metaphysics problems of existence. When the war begun, Fondane enlisted himself in the French troops and once dismissed, he knew that the risks in occupied France had not ceased for him, owing to his condition as a Jew. However, he could not bear the confinement, even if voluntary. One day, he was arrested and eliminated in a gas chamber. The news of the perishing of such a harmless being, just because he was Jewish impressed me more than the repeated information that I often read in the papers about the sacrifice of thousands and millions of beings in the same way and for the exact same reason. It was then that I felt the personal experience of the Nazi barbarism and I felt the raw pain of the persecution and the sacrifice of the Jews.

“Enemy of the Jews –Sartre writes– the anti-Semitic needs him; an anti-Democrat, he is a natural product of the democracies and can only manifest himself in the frame of a republic”. The first part of this judgment is exact: the anti-Semitic is always anti-Democratic for the same reason that he is against equality; but the second one is erroneous because as old and modern eloquent examples show, the anti-Semitism also materializes itself outside the republic.

Everything which contradicts equality is in conflict with democracy, and as Mariano Moreno already said in the legal reasons of the decree of suppression of honours of December 6th, 1810 published in *La Gaceta* of the 8th, with these eternal words: “*any despot can make his slaves sing anthems of freedom; and any mechanical chant is very compatible with chains of oppression of those who intonate them. If we want the peoples to be free, we should religiously respect the sacred dogma of equality*”.

The May Revolution was carried out under the sign of equality as much as under the sign of freedom. The Assembly of the Year XIIIth, top executer of its postulates, suppressed the Tribunal of the Saint Inquisition and with that, it banned the crime of heresy, it established freedom of wombs regarding black slaves, it bestowed the indigenous the same legal status as the white by suppressing the “*encomienda*”¹, the “*mita*”² and the “*yaconazgo*”³, it eliminated nobility titles, blood and birth privileges, personal privileges and the primogeniture that

- ¹ N. of T.: it was a system of tutelage which put the Indians under the orders of the Spaniards, used for the first time in Paraguay and then used in the province of Tucuman. The rights of *encomienda* were non-inheritable usufructs granted by the Spanish Crown. The Spaniard settler received the mission of converting the Indian into Christianity in exchange of forced labour or the payment of a tribute in cash or in kind. (Rock, David *Argentina 1516-1987. Desde la colonización Española hasta Raul Alfonsín*. Ed. Alianza, Buenos Aires, 1991, pp. 49-50. Original Title: “Argentina 1516-1987. From Spanish Colonization to the Falklands War” Translated by Nestor Miguez, The regent of the University of California, 1985)
- ² N. of T.: it was a drafting system of selected Indigenous persons for public works and forced labour in the mines and agricultural areas imposed by the Spaniards during the Incaic period en in the High Peru and in Tucuman. (Rock, David *Argentina 1516-1987. Desde la colonización Española hasta Raul Alfonsín*. Ed. Alianza, Buenos Aires, 1991, pp. 49-50. Original Title: “Argentina 1516-1987. From Spanish Colonization to the Falklands War” Translated by Nestor Miguez, The regent of the University of California, 1985)
- ³ N. of T.: it was a system used during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, whereby an uprooted Indian was subject to forced labour and inserted into new communities as a movable good belonging to the settlers. (Rock, David *Argentina 1516-1987. Desde la colonización Española hasta Raul Alfonsín*. Ed. Alianza, Buenos Aires, 1991, pp. 49-50. Original Title: “Argentina 1516-1987. From Spanish Colonization to the Falklands War” Translated by Nestor Miguez, The regent of the University of California, 1985)

turned the eldest son into a privileged person. Anti-Semitism, self-evident form of inequality which purports to place outside the law women and men of a race, is violently against the Argentinean tradition, which was born with the motherland itself and has nourished the spirit of our people, according to the mandate of the fore fathers.

In the May Revolution, through the Decree of October 1812, Bernardino Rivadavia, as the Secretary of the Tripartite Government, opened our doors to all foreigners from any origin and source who wished to come, without any other condition but to respect our laws and to refrain from disturbing the public order. Under the colony, on the other hand, in order to be able to come to the Indies, a special permit issued by the highest authorities of the metropolis was required to avoid the entrance into the possessions of overseas of Moorish and Jews. It can thus be submitted, with literal exactitude, that the cause of May is the cause of the human genre, bone of the fraternity among the different races on earth.

Sartre's magnificent essay that you are about to read could have been written by Moreno, Belgrano or Rivadavia, or by the eminent figures who shaped our Constitution of 1853.

Carlos Alberto Erro

If a man total or partially attributes the misfortunes of his country and his own misfortunes to the presence of Jewish elements in the community where he lives, if he purports to remedy such state of affairs by depriving the Jews of some of their rights or by setting them aside from certain economic and social functions, or by expelling them of the territory or by exterminating them all, it is said that he has anti-Semitic opinions.

This opinion turns one to meditation. It is the word used by the owner of the house in a discussion which runs the risk of becoming sour. It suggests that all views are equal, it soothes and gives the thoughts a harmless physiognomy, assimilating tastes. All tastes exist in nature, all opinions are allowed; there is no need to argue about tastes, colours and opinions. In the name of Democratic institutions, in the name of freedom of opinion, the anti-Semitic claims the right to

preach anywhere about the anti-Jewish crusade. At the same time, as we are used, since the French Revolution, to regard each object with an analytical spirit, i.e. as a composite which can be separated into its elements, we observe people and characters as mosaics in which each stone coexists with the others, without this coexistence affecting its nature.

Therefore, the opinion of an anti-Semitic seems to us a molecule susceptible of entering into combination, without alteration, with any kind of molecule. A man can be a good father and a good husband, a scrupulous citizen, lover of literature, a philanthropist, and also be an anti-Semitic. He can care for fishing or the pleasures of love, tolerant regarding religion, full of generous ideas about the condition of the indigenous people in Central Africa, and also detest Jews. He does not want them –it is usually said – because his experience has shown him that they were mean, because statistics have informed him that they were dangerous, because certain historical factors have influenced his judgment. This opinion seems to be the effect of exterior causes and those who wish to study will neglect the person of the anti-Semitic to consider the percentage of Jews mobilized in 1914, the percentage of Jews who are bankers, industry owners, doctors, lawyers, or the history of Jews in France since its origins. They will discover a rigorously objective situation called anti-Semitism, from which they will be able to draw a map or to establish variations from 1870 to 1944. Thus, anti-Semitism seems at the same time, as a subjective taste which enters into composition with other tastes to form a person, and as an impersonal and social phenomenon which can be expressed through numbers and middle terms, which is conditioned by the economic, historical and political constants.

I am not saying that both conceptions are necessarily contradictory. I am saying that they are dangerous and false. In rigour, I would admit that it is possible to have an “opinion” on the winegrowing policy of the government, i.e. that we could decide based on certain reasons, to condemn or to approve the free importation of Argel’s wines: it is, in such case, a matter of giving a point of view on the administration of things. However, I refuse to label as an opinion a

doctrine which is expressly aimed at certain people, and which tends to rob them of their rights or to exterminate them. The Jew, against whom the anti-Semitic fights, is not a schematic and administrative being due to his situation or his acts, just as in the code. It is a Jew, son of Jews, who can be recognized by his physic, the colour of this hair, and perhaps his garments, and according to some, his character. anti-Semitism does not fall in the category of thoughts protected by the right to freedom of opinion.

Furthermore, it very much differs from a thought. It is, above all, a passion. It can present itself, no doubt, in the shape of a theoretical proposition. The "moderated" anti-Semitic is a polite man who would softly say to us: *"I do not detest Jews. I simply think it is preferable, for whatever reason, that they only take part in a small portion of the Nation's activity"*. Nevertheless, eventually, at a certain moment, provided we have earned his trust, he will add with more abandonment: *"Look, there must be something in the Jews; they physically disturb me"*. This argument, which I have heard a hundred times, deserves to be examined. Firstly, it depends on a passionate logic, because could we imagine someone seriously saying "There must be something in the tomato because I abhor eating it"? However, this shows that anti-Semitism, under its more moderate, more evolved forms continues to be a syncretic totality which expresses itself through discourses of reasonable appearance but which can lead to bodily modifications. Some men are suddenly left impotent should they find that the woman they sleep with is Jewish. There is repugnance towards the Jew just as there is repugnance towards the Chinese or the Black men in certain communities. This repulsion does not stem from the body, since one can love a Jew if one ignores his or her race; it communicates the body through the spirit. It is a commitment of the soul, but it is so deep and so complete that it extends to the physiologic part, just as in the case of hysteria.

This commitment has not been provoked by experience. I have questioned a hundred people on their anti-Semitism. Most of them have limited themselves to enumerate the defects that tradition assigns to the Jews: "I abhor them because they have ulterior motives;

they are intriguing, sticky, viscous, tactless, etc”. – But at least do you see some of them?- “Oh I would be very weary of that!” A painter once told me: “I am hostile towards the Jews because with their critics’ custom, they encourage indiscipline onto our servants”. Let us see more precise experiences. A young talentless actor holds that Jews have prevented him from having a career in theatre, keeping him in secondary roles. A woman said to me: “I have unbearable arguments with furriers; I have been robbed; they have burnt the fur I had trusted them. Well, they were all Jewish”. However, why did you choose to hate Jews instead of the furriers? Why the Jews or the furriers instead of a particular Jew or a particular furrier? Because in her there was an inclination towards anti-Semitism. A colleague in high school once told me the Jews “irritated” him due to the injustices committed by the Judaized social bodies in their favour. “A Jew was once admitted as adscript the year I was failed, and you will not have me believe that that guy, whose father came from Krakow or from Lemberg, understood better than I did a poem by Ronsard o an eclogue by Virgilio”. On the other hand, he confessed that he despised the title which “any imbecile can obtain” and that he did not prepare himself for the examination. Thus, he possessed two interpretation’s systems to explain his failure, just like the crazy, when they let themselves be carried away by their delirium and pretend to be the kings of Hungary, and if brusquely questioned, they would confess to be shoemakers. Their thought moves in two planes, without feeling the slightest annoyance because of it. Moreover, it will occur to them to justify their laziness stating that one would be silly to prepare an exam where Jews enjoy a preference over the good French people. Furthermore, he was number twenty-seven on the final list. There were twenty-six before him, twelve who had passed and fourteen who had failed. Had the Jews been excluded from the examination, would have he gained anything from it? And even if he had any chance of being designated once one of the approved candidates was eliminated, why eliminate Weil, the Jew and not Mathieu, the Norman or Arzell, the Breton? For my colleague to feel indignant, he had to have had adopted beforehand a certain idea about the Jew, his nature and his social role.

And for him to decide that among twenty-six luckier competitors it was the Jew who had stolen his place, he had to have had *a priori*, in his life behaviour, a preference for passionate lines of reasoning. Far from begetting the notion of the Jew from experience, the former, on the contrary, illuminates the experience; if the Jew did not exist, the Anti-Semitic would invent him.

Be as it may it will be said; but lacking experience, should not one admit that certain historical data explain anti-Semitism? Because, at the end of the day, it was not born from thin air. It will be easy for me to show that the history of France does not teach anything about the Jews: they were oppressed until 1789; afterwards, they participated as they could in the life of the Nation, taking advantage, no doubt, of the free competition to occupy the place of the weak, no more and no less than the French themselves. They did not commit a grave crime against France nor a great treason. And if there has been an intention to establish that the number of Jewish soldiers in 1914, was inferior to what it should have been, it was because someone has had the curiosity to consult the statistics, because it is not one of those facts which is astounding in itself for the spirits, and no mobilized person could have, *motu proprio*, be amazed by the fact that there were no Hebrews in the narrow sector that was their universe. However, after all, all the reports given to us by history about Israel's role depend essentially on our conception of the history. I believe that is better to borrow from a foreign country a manifest example of "Jewish treason" and calculate the repercussions that such treason could have in the contemporary anti-Semitism. During the Polish revolts which stained with blood the XIXth Century, the Jews of Warsaw- who the Tsars, as a policy treated with caution- demonstrated very timidly towards the rebels; that is why, since they did not intervene in the insurrections, they managed to keep, and even increase, the amount of their business in a country ruined by oppression. I ignore if this fact is correct. The truth is that many Poles believe to be so, and that this "historical fact" contributes to turn them against the Jews. Nevertheless, if I examine things closer, I discover in them a vicious circle; the tsars -we are told- did not mistreat the Jews of Poland while they happily ordered

“pogroms” against those from Russia. These different behaviours responded to a same cause: the Russian government regarded the Jews from Russia and Poland as impossible to assimilate, and according to the needs of their policy they would had have them hanged in Moscow or in Kiev, because they threatened to weaken the Muscovite empire, or in order to maintain the discord among the Poles. These, on the contrary, just manifested hatred and disgust towards the Polish Jews, but the reason was the same: according to them, Israel could not assimilate itself to the collectivity. Treated as Jews by the Russian Tsar, as Jews by the Poles; bestowed, even against their wish, of Jewish interests of a foreign community, why is it surprising that those minorities had conducted themselves according to the representation others had of them? In other words: what is essential is not the “historical fact” but the idea of the Jew that the agents of history made for themselves

And when today Poles hold a grudge against the Jews due to their past behaviour, they are encouraged by the same idea: in order for one to think about reproaching the guilt of the grandparents to the grandchildren, it is necessary, above all, to have a very primitive sense of the responsibilities. However, this is not enough: it is also necessary to form certain conception of the offspring according to what the parents have been: it is necessary to believe that the minors are capable of doing what their eldest did; it is necessary to convince oneself that the Jewish character is bequeathed. Thus, the Poles of 1940 treated the Hebrews as Jews because their ancestors of 1848 behaved in the same manner than their contemporaries.

And maybe, in other circumstances, this traditional representation had determined that the Jews of today should behave like those of '48. It is thus the idea that one has about the Jew what seems to determine history, and it is not the “historical fact” what makes the idea emerge. And since we are also told about “social facts”, let us observe them better and we should find the same circle: there are too many Jewish lawyers, we are told. But, is anybody complaining about the fact that there are too many Norman lawyers? If every Breton was a doctor, would they not limit themselves to say “Bre-

tagne supplies doctors to the whole of France?" Oh, they would reply that it is in no way the same thing! Without a doubt, but we should then have to regard the Normans as Normans, and the Jews as Jews. Therefore, regardless of our standpoint, the idea of the Jew emerges as essential.

Thus, it is apparent to us that no external factor can inculcate into the Anti-Semitic his anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism is a complete and spontaneous free choice, a global attitude which is not only adopted with regards to the Jews, but with regards to men in general, to history, and to society; it is, at the same time, a passion and a conception of the world. Doubtless, some of their features will be more noticeable in one anti-Semitic than in another. However, they are all present at the same time and mutually determine themselves. We will try to describe this syncretic totality.

Earlier, I drew attention to the fact that anti-Semitism is presented as a passion. Everybody has understood that it is an affection of hatred or rage. However, normally, hatred and rage are responses: hatred towards who makes me suffer, towards who scorns me or insults me. We have just seen that anti-Semitic passion could not possess such character: it comes before the facts who should beget it, it seeks to feed itself from them, and it has to interpret them in its own way so they become really offensive. And yet, if we speak of the Jew to the anti-Semitic, he will show himself irritated. If we, moreover, recall that we must always consent the anger that could manifest and which, according to a right expression, one becomes angry, we would agree that the anti-Semitic has chosen to live in a passionate tone. It is not strange that one chooses a passionate life over a reasonable life. However, normally, we love the object of passion: women, glory, power, money. Since the anti-Semitic has chosen hatred, we are forced to conclude that what he loves is the passionate state. Generally, it an affection genre which we do not like at all: he who passionately wishes a woman is passionate because of the woman and despite the passion: we do not trust passionate reasoning aiming to show in whatever possible way the opinion which has dictated love or jealousy or hate; we do not trust passionate deviation and what has been called

neonoideism. This is, on the contrary, what the anti-Semitic chooses above all. However, how can crooked reasoning be chosen? Because what ones pines is the impermeability. The sensible man searches moaning, he knows that his reasoning is only probable, that other considerations will no doubt come to refute it; he never knows well where he is heading to; he is "open" to any type of suggestions, it may be confused and vacillating. Nevertheless, there are persons who are attracted by the permanence of the stone. They want to be stout and impermeable; they do not want to change: where would the change lead them? It is about an original fear of oneself and about a real fear. And the content of the truth does not terrify them, a thing they do not even suspect, but the form of the form itself of what is the true, that object of indefinite approximation. It is as if their own existence was perpetually in suspense. However, they want to exist completely and immediately. They do not want acquired opinions, but innate ones; as they fear reasoning, they want to adopt a way of life in which reasoning and search have a subordinated role, in which one only seeks for what one has been already found, and one returns to be what one already was. And for that, there is nothing more than passion. Only can a strong sentimental prevention offer a fulgurant certainty, only can they have reasoning under control, only can that remain impermeable to experience and subsist during a whole life. The anti-Semitic has chosen hatred because hatred is a faith: he has originally chosen to devalue the words and reasons. How comfortable he is now! How futile and light the discussions over the rights of the Jews seem to him now! He has situated himself from the beginning in a different terrain. Should he accede, as courtesy, to defend his standpoint for a moment, he presents himself to that, but he does not surrender: he simply purports to project his intuitive certainty over the plane of the discourse. A while ago, I quoted some "phrases" of anti-Semitics, all equally absurd: "I hate Jews because they encourage indiscipline onto the servants; because a Jewish furrier has robbed me, etc." However, we do not believe that anti-Semitics are totally fooled by the absurdity of these answers. They know that their discourses are light, questionable, but they have fun with them: its adversary has the duty to

use the words in a serious way since he believes in them; they have the right to play. They even enjoy playing with the discourses because when they give comic reasons, they discredit the seriousness of their speaker; they take pleasure in bad faith because for them, it is not about persuading with good arguments, but it is about intimidating or disorientating. If we pressure them, they withdraw into themselves, they reply with a proud phrase that the time for arguing has passed; it is not that they fear being convinced: they are just afraid of feeling ridiculous or that their embarrassment could have a bad effect on a third person who they wish to attract to their party. If the anti-Semitic is then impermeable to reasons and experience, as it has been explained, it is not due to the fact that his conviction is strong; it is because he has already chosen to be impermeable.

He has also chosen to be terrible. People are afraid to irritate him. Nobody knows to what extremes the deviations of his passion will lead them; however, he knows because his passion has not been provoked from the outside. It is right at hand, he lets it go exactly as he wants, as soon as he lets the bridles go, as soon as he yanks them back. He is not afraid of himself, but he reads in the eyes of others a disturbing image and accommodates his words and gestures to such image. This exterior model saves him from searching inside himself for his personality; he has chosen to be purely exterior, to never return to himself, to not be anything by the fear he inspires in others. Even more so, he runs from the intimate conscience which he has of himself. However, he will ask himself if he was only like this regarding the Jews. If in other aspects he would behave sensibly? I reply that such a thing is impossible; observe a fisherman that in 1942, irritated by the competition of two Jewish fishermen who hid their race, one day decided to take the pen and denounce them. People assured that in other senses, he was sweet and cheerful, the best son of the world. But I do not believe it: a man who regards as natural to denounce men cannot have our same conception of what is human; even those for who he is benevolent, he does not see them with our eyes; his sweetness, his generosity are not similar to our sweetness, our generosity; the passion cannot be circumscribed.

The anti-Semitic gladly recognizes that the Jew is intelligent and

hardworking; he would even consider himself beneath the other in this aspect. It is not a big deal for him to confess it: he has put these qualities between brackets. Or, to phrase it better, their value stems from those who possess them; the more virtues the Jew has, the more dangerous he will be. And the anti-Semitic does not build illusions about what he is. He regards himself as average, even less, a mediocre deep down; there is no example of an anti-Semitic vindicating over the Jews an individual superiority. However, one should believe that he is embarrassed by his mediocrity when in fact, he is pleased by it; I would even say he has demanded it. He is a man that fears every kind of solitude, both the genius' and the murderer's: he is a man of multitudes; even if his stature is small, he would always be as cautious as to bend for fear of emerging from the flock and be left face to face with himself. If he becomes an Anti-Semitic is because he cannot do it alone. The phrase: "I hate Jews" is a phrase pronounced in a group; when pronouncing it, one adheres to a tradition and a community. The mediocre's one. Thus, it is worth remembering that he is not necessarily humble or modest because he has accepted mediocrity. On the contrary; there is a passionate pride of the mediocres, and anti-Semitism is a tentative to value the mediocrity in order to create the "elite" of the mediocres. In the anti-Semitic's opinion, Jewish intelligence can thus be calmly despised, just as every other virtue the Jew possesses: they are an "*ersatz*" which the Jews use to replace that balance mediocrity they will always lack. The true French man, who has taken roots in his province, his country, sustained by a tradition of twenty centuries, usufructing from an ancestral wisdom, guided by tested customs does not need intelligence. His virtue is based on the assimilation of qualities deposited by the work of a hundred generations over the objects surrounding them, in their property. However, it is clear that it is about inherit property, not the one which is bought. There is incomprehension on the part of the anti-Semitic of the diverse forms of modern property: money, stocks, etc.; they are abstractions, reasonable beings which relate to the abstract intelligence of the Semitic; the action does not belong to anybody since it can belong to everybody, and it is also a sign of wealth, not a concrete

good. The anti-Semitic only conceives a primitive and territorial type of approval based on a real magical relationship of possession and in which the possessed object and its possessor are united by a mystic participation link; he is the poet of the real estate. This transfigures the proprietor and gives him a particular and concrete sensitivity. This sensitivity is of course, not addressed to the eternal truths, to the universal values; what is universal is the Jew, since he is an object of the intelligence. What that subtle sense will achieve to apprehend is, on the contrary, what the intelligence does not manage to see. In other words, the principle of anti-Semitism is that concrete possession of a particular object magically bestows the sense of such object. Maurras states: a Jew will always be incapable of understanding the following verse by Racine:

Dans l'Orient désert, quel devint non ennui

¿And why I, the mediocre, could understand what the freest, more cultivated intelligence has not been able to grasp? Because I own Racine, Racine in my mother tongue and in my land. Maybe the Jew speaks purer French than me, maybe he is even a writer; I do not care. He has spoken the language for twenty years; I have spoken it for a thousand. The correctness of his style is abstract, is acquired; the grammar errors are in agreement with the genius of the language. Here, we recognize the argument that Barrés turned against the recipients of a scholarship. Why would someone be amazed by it? Are the Jews not scholarship recipients? I do not have to do anything to deserve my superiority and I cannot lose it either. It has been definitely bestowed to me; it is a thing.

We should not confuse this religious superiority with the value. The anti-Semitic does not wish to possess values. Value is sought like the truth, it is not easily discovered, it has to be deserved, and once earned, it is forever doubted; a false step, a mistake, and it vanishes; that is why we do not have a break from one extreme of our life to the other, we are responsible for what we are worth. The anti-Semitic runs from the responsibility like he runs from his own con-

science, choosing for himself the mineral permanence, he has chosen for his morality a scale of petrified values. No matter what he does, he knows he will remain in the pinnacle of the scale; no matter what the Jew does, he will never climb from the first step. We start to decry the sense of the choice that the anti-Semitic does for him; he chooses the irremediable because of fear of freedom, the mediocrity for fear of solitude, and from this mediocrity and because of pride, he builds a rigid aristocracy. For these diverse operations, the existence of the Jew is absolutely necessary: without him, compared to whom will he be superior? Moreover; in the face of the Jew, and only in the face of the Jew, the anti-Semitic becomes a legal subject. If, because of a miracle and according to his wish, every Jew was exterminated, he would find himself being a doorman or a shopkeeper in a highly hierarchically arranged society where the quality of "true French" will be sold by a ridiculous price and everybody would own it: he would lose the feeling of ownership over this country because nobody would argue against it, and that deep equality which brings him near the noble and the rich would abruptly disappear, because it would basically have a negative connotation. His failures, which he assigns to the disloyal competition of the Jews, would have to be urgently imputed to another cause or ask himself running the risk of falling into the attitude, a melancholic hatred towards the privileged classes. Therefore, he has the misfortune of vitally needing the enemy whom he wants to extirpate from the Nation. Everything that intelligence can acquire, everything that money can buy, he leaves to him; but it is only the wind. The only things that count are the irrational values, and these are precisely what his enemies would never be able to have. Thus, the anti-Semitic adheres, as a starting point, to a *de facto* irrationalism. He opposes the Jew as the feeling opposes the intelligence, as the particular opposes the universal, as the past opposes the present, as the concrete opposes the abstract, as the owner of real estate opposes the owner of movable goods. On the other hand, most of them -perhaps- belong to the little bourgeoisie from the cities; they are public officers, small tradesmen who own nothing. However, it is precisely by rising against the Jew that they acquire, all of a sudden,

the conscience of being proprietors: when they identify the Hebrew as the thief, they place themselves in an enviable position of the persons who could be robbed: since the Jew wants to rob France, then France belongs to them. Therefore, they have chosen anti-Semitism as a means to achieve their quality as owners. Does the Jew have more money than them? Even better; because money is Jewish they will be able to despise it as they despise intelligence. Do they have fewer goods than the petty nobleman, than the rich farmer from Beauce? It does not matter, it will be enough for them to foment in them a vindictive wrath against those thieves from Israel; they will immediately feel the presence of the entire country. The true Frenchmen, the good Frenchmen are all equal, because each one of them possesses the undivided France. Therefore I will gladly call anti-Semitism the “snobbism” of the poor. Indeed, I believe that most rich people use this passion instead of abandoning themselves in it; they have things to do. Usually, it propagates in the middle classes, precisely because they do not own land, or castles or houses, just cash and some stocks in the bank. It was not random that the little German bourgeoisie in 1925 was anti-Semitic. This “stiff collar proletariat” was carefully seeking to distinguish itself from the real proletariat. Ruined by the great industry, taunted by the Junker, all its love went to the Junker and to the great industrialists. He surrendered itself to anti-Semitism with the same impetus he placed on wearing bourgeois clothes; because the workers were internationalists, because the Junker owned Germany and he wanted to own it as well. The anti-Semitism it not only the cheer of hating; it seeks to obtain positive pleasures: by treating the Jew as an inferior and pernicious being, one affirms his or her belonging to an “elite”, which differs from the modern “elites” which are based on merit or work, it is similar to a aristocracy by birth.

This egalitarianism that the anti-Semitic seeks with such determination does not have anything in common with the equality of the programme of democracies. This equality should be achieved in an economic and hierarchically arranged society, and must be compatible with the diversity of functions.

However, if the anti-Semitic replevies the Arian equality, it is

against the hierarchy of the functions. It does not entail the division of work and it does not concern itself with it: each citizen can vindicate the title of being French, not because he cooperates from this post, in his craft and with the rest of the economic, social and cultural life of the Nation, but because he has, just as everybody else, an indispensable, innate right over the undivided property of the country. Therefore, the society conceived by the anti-Semitic is a society of juxtaposition, as it was foreseen since his ideal of property is real estate. And because, in fact, there are plenty of anti-Semites, each one of them purporting to build in the heart of the organized society, a community which functions through mechanic solidarity. The degree of integration of each anti-Semitic in this community, as his egalitarian tint, are fixed by what I would call the temperature of the community. Proust has shown, for example, that the "*anti-Dreyfusism*" brings the Duke closer to the driver and that the bourgeois families, thanks to their hate towards Dreyfus, forced the doors of the aristocracy. It is because the egalitarian community invoked by the anti-Semitic is of the type of community of the crowds or of those instant societies which emerge from the lynching or the scandal. The equality in it is the product of the indifferentism of the functions. The social link is the wrath; the collectivity does not have any other goal but to exercise over certain individuals a diffusive repressive sanction; the impulses and the collective representations which are imposed upon it are stringer when imposed on individuals who are not defined by an especial function. Therefore, people drown in the crowd and the modes of thinking, the group reactions are of the primitive type. Certainly, those collectivities are not born from anti-Semitism: a racket, a crime, an injustice can make them brusquely emerge. However, at that moment, they are short-lived formations which soon vanish without leaving any vestiges. As anti-Semitism survives the big crises of hate against the Jews, the society formed by the anti-Semites remain in a latent state during the normal periods and every anti-Semitic holds that he belongs to it. Incapable of understanding modern social organization, he longs for the periods of crisis in which the primitive community suddenly appears and reaches its fusion temperature. He

wishes that he would suddenly fuse into the group and be dragged by the collective torrent. This viewpoint has an atmosphere of a "pogrom" when he claims the "union of all Frenchmen". In that sense, anti-Semitism in a democracy is an overlapped form of what is called the struggle of the citizen against the powers. Let us interrogate one of those young turbulent men who placidly breach the Law and join many others in the beating of a Jew in a desert street; he will tell us that he desires a strong power which examines the overwhelming responsibility of thinking by himself; being the republic a weak power, is driven to indiscipline for the love of obedience. However, does he wish a strong power? In reality, he reclaims for the others a rigorous and, for him a no-responsibility order; he wants of place himself above the Law, escaping, at the same time, from the conscience of his freedom and his solitude. Thus, he uses his subterfuge: the Jew participates in the elections, there are Jews in the government; hence, the legal power is vitiated in its base; in fact: it does not exist, and it is legitimate not to pay attention to its decrees: it is not, however, about disobedience; one cannot disobey what it does not exist. Therefore, for the anti-Semitic there will be a real France with a real but diffuse government and no specialized organs, and a Judaized abstract and official France against which it is necessary to rise. Of course, there is the permanent rebellion carried out by the group: the anti-Semitic will not, in any case, be able to act and think on his own. And the group itself could be conceived under the appearance of a minority group; because a party is obliged to invent its programme, to draw a political line, what matters is initiative, responsibility, and freedom. Anti-Semitic associations do not want to invent anything, they refuse to assume responsibilities, they will be horrified to consider that they represent a certain fraction of the French opinion, because in that case, it will be necessary to set up a programme, search for legal means of actions. They rather presume that they manifest the undivided real feeling of the country in its total purity, its total passivity. Every anti-Semitic is, then in variable degrees, the enemy of the regular powers; he wants to be the disciplined member of an undisciplined group; they adore the order, but the social order. It could be said that he

wants to provoke the political disorder to restore the social order, and the social order appears under the features of an egalitarian and primitive juxtaposition society, with high temperature, where the Jews are excluded. These principles allow him to benefit from a strange independence which I will call backwards freedom. It is because authentic freedom assumes its responsibilities and the anti-Semitic's freedom stems from subtracting all of its responsibilities. Floating between an authoritarian society which does not exist yet and an official and tolerant society which he does not authorize, the anti-Semitic can allow himself to do that without fear of being regarded as an anarchist, which will horrify him. The profound seriousness of his goals, which any phrase or speech can express, gives him the right to certain lightness. He is mischievous, naughty, he beats, purges, steal for the good cause. If the government is strong, anti-Semitism decreases unless it is not the in the government's programme itself. However, in this case, it changes its nature. Enemy of the Jews, the anti-Semitic needs them; anti-democratic, it is a natural product of the democracies and it can only manifest itself in the frame of a republic.

We begin to understand that anti-Semitism is not a simple "opinion" about the Jews and that it comprises the whole person of the anti-Semitic. However, we have not finished with him yet. Because he does not limit himself to provide moral and political directives; it is mainly a procedure of thought and a conception of the world. One could not, in fact, affirm what he affirms without implicitly referring to certain intellectual principles. The Jew –he tells us- is absolutely evil, his virtues –if he has any-, from the moment that they are virtues of the Jew, turn into vices; the works that emerge from his hand necessarily carry a mark: if he builds a bridge, the bridge is bad because it is Jewish from one end to the other. The same action done by a Jew and by a Christian does not have the same sense: the Jew passes onto everything he touches some execrable quality. The first thing banned by the Germans was the access of Jews to swimming pools: they considered that if the body of a Hebrew submerged in that captivated water, it would stain it completely. If we try to formulate with abstract prepositions the principle to which such measure refers, we will deduct that a whole is more than the sum

of its parts and also something different to them, the whole determines the sense and the profound character of the parts which form it. There is no virtue of courage which could indifferently enter the character of a Jew or the character of a Christian like oxygen indifferently forms the air with nitrogen and argon, the water with hydrogen, but every person is a whole that cannot be deconstruct, who has his courage, generosity, way of thinking, laughing, drinking and eating. What does this mean but that the anti-Semitic has chosen to resort in order to understand, to the spirit of synthesis? The spirit of synthesis allows him to conceive himself as forming an indissoluble unity with the whole of France. In the name of the spirit of synthesis, he denounces the purely analytic and critic intelligence of Israel. However, it is necessary to determine exactly: for many years now, the Rightwing, the Leftwing, the Conservatives and the Socialists have invoked synthetic principles against the spirit of analysis which presided over the foundation of the bourgeoisie democracy. They could not be the same principles for both of them, or at least, both use them differently. How do the anti-Semites use them?

We will not find anti-Semitism among the workers. It is –as some would explain it- because there are no Jews among them. However, this explanation is absurd precisely because they had, assuming that the alleged fact was true, to complain about this absence. The Nazi knew this: when they wanted to extend their propaganda to the proletariat, they launched the “slogan” of the Jewish capitalism. However, the working class thinks synthetically about the social situation; it is just that they do not use the anti-Semitic methods. It does not cut the whole according to ethnic data but according to the economic functions. The bourgeoisie, the peasants’ class, the proletariat: these are the synthetic realities it deals with: and in these totalities, it will distinguish secondary synthetic structures: workers’ unions, employers’ unions, “trusts”, “cartels”, parties. Therefore, the explanations given about the economic historical phenomena perfectly cohabit in the differentiated structure of a society based on the division of work. History emerges, according to it, from the interplay of the economic organisms and the integration of the synthetic groups.

The majority of the anti-Semites is found, on the contrary, in the middle classes, i.e. among men who enjoy a level of life similar or

superior to the Jews, or if preferred, among the non-productive (employers, tradesmen, liberal professions, transport area, parasites). The bourgeois, in fact, does not produce, he runs, administers, distributes, buys, sells; his function is to directly relate with the consumer, it means that his activity is based on the constant commerce with men, whereas the worker, in the exercise of his craft, is in permanent contact with things. Each one judges history according to his profession. Formed by his everyday action over the raw material, the worker sees the society as the product of the real forces operating according to rigorous laws. His dialectic “materialism” means that he regards the social world in the same manner as the material world. The bourgeois, on the contrary, and the anti-Semitic in particular, have chosen to explain the history by the action of individual wills. Do they not depend on those same wills in the exercise of their profession?⁴ They behave as the primitives with respect to social facts living the wind or the sun, a small soul. Intrigues, cabalas, perfidy of one, the courage and virtue of the other; this determines the rhythm of his business; this determines the rhythm of the world. Anti-Semitism, a bourgeois phenomenon thus appears as the will to explain the collective events by the particulars’ initiative.

And it occurs, without question, that the proletariat caricatures in its signs and papers the “bourgeois” just like the anti-Semitic caricatures the “Jew”. But this exterior similarity should not deceive us. What produces the bourgeois, from the workers’ standpoint, is his position as a bourgeois, i.e. a linkage of external factors; and the bourgeois himself reduces to the synthetic unity of his exterior discernible manifestations. It is an ensemble linked with conduits. To the anti-Semitic, what makes the Jew is the presence in him of the “Jewry”, Jewish principle analogous to the phlogiston or the dormant virtue of opium. We should not be deceived: the explanations about the inheritance and the race have arrived later, they are like the thin scientific coating of this primitive conviction; long before Men-

⁴ I make an exception regarding the engineer, the business man and the man of science, whose trades bring them closer to the proletariat, and who, in any event, are not frequently anti-Semitic.

del and Gobineau, existed a horror towards the Jew and those who experimented could have only explained it by saying, as Montaigne used to say about his friendship with La Boétie, “because is him, because is me”. Without this metaphysic virtue the activities given to the Jew will be rigorously incomprehensible. In what other way, in fact, should we conceive the obstinate craziness of the Jewish rich tradesman who ought to wish, if it was reasonable, the prosperity of the country where he works, but on the contrary, according to some, is enraged on ruining? In what other way can we understand the terrible internationalism of men for whom their families, affections, customs, interests, nature and source of wealth should be an attachment to a determinate country? The subtle ones speak of a Jewish will to dominate the world: however, even there, if we do not have the key, the manifestations of such will run the risk of seeming unintelligible, because as soon as they show us behind the Jew the international capitalism, the imperialism of the “trust” and the arm racers, then there is the bolshevism, with a knife between the teeth, and there is no hesitation in making equally responsible for Communism the Hebrew bankers and the miserable Jews who populate the des Rosiers street of the Capitalist Imperialism, to whom Communism should inspire horror. However, everything becomes clear if we renounce to demand from the Jew a reasonable behaviour according to his interests, if we discern it, on the contrary, a metaphysic principle pushes him to do evil in every circumstance, even though in order to do that he must destroy himself. This principle is, without a doubt, a magical one: on the one hand, it is an essence, a substantial form, and the Jew, no matter what he does, cannot modify it; just like fire, it cannot cease to burn. And, on the other hand, as it is necessary that the Jew is loathed, and one does not loath a temblor from the earth or the phylloxera, this virtue is also freedom. It is only that such freedom is limited: the Jew is free to do evil, not good; he has only enough free will to carry the responsibility of the crimes he commits, but he does not have enough power to reform himself. A strange freedom which instead of proceed and constitute the essence, is completely subdued, which is only an irrational quality and still is, despite all, freedom.

There is only one creature, that I know of, so absolutely free and so chained to evil: it is the spirit of Evil itself, it is Satan. That is why the Jew is so assimilated to the spirit of Evil. His will, opposite to the Kantian will, is a will purely wished, free and universally evil, it is the Evil will. Through him, Evil arrives in earth; everything wrong in society (crises, wars, hungers, catastrophes and rebellions) is directly or indirectly imputable to the Jew. The anti-Semitic is afraid to discover that the world is poorly done: in that case, it would be necessary to invent, modify, and men would own their own destiny again, endowed with a distressing and infinite responsibility. Therefore, the evil of the universe is circumscribed to the Jew. If the nations wage war, it is not because the idea of nationality in its present form implies the idea of imperialism and conflict of interests. No; it is because the Jew is there, behind the governments, creating discord. If there is a struggle of classes, it is not because the economic organization is far from being perfect: it is because the Jewish leaders, the agitators with crooked noses, seduce the workers. Therefore, anti-Semitism is, in its origins, Manicheanism; it explains the march of the world through the struggle of the principle of Good against the principle of Evil. Between those two principles no arrangement is conceivable: it is necessary that one of them triumph and that the other be annihilated. Let us observe Celibe: his vision of the world is catastrophic; the Jew is everywhere, the earth is lost; the Arian must not compromise, he must not make a pact. But beware! If he breathes, he has lost his purity, because the same air that penetrates his bronchus is polluted. Would this not be said in the sermon of a Cathari? Céline could hold the Socialist thesis of the Nazis because he was paid. In the bottom of his heart, he did not believe in them: collective suicide, non-procreation, death, is the only solution for him. Others—Maurras or the F.P.P.⁵—are less discouraging: they foresee a long fight, sometimes doubtful, with the final triumph the Good; it is Ormuz against Ahriman. The reader should have understood by now that the anti-Semitic does not resort to Manicheanism as a secondary principle of explanation. However,

⁵ “French Popular Party”.

the original choice of Manicheanism explains and conditions anti-Semitism. It is necessary then, to ask ourselves what it can mean for a man of today, this originating election.

Let us compare, for an instance, the revolutionary idea of the struggle of classes with anti-Semitic Manicheanism. In the eyes of a Marxist, the class struggle is not a combat of Good against Evil at all; it is the conflict of interests among human groups. The revolutionary adopts the point of view of the proletariat, firstly, because that class is his; and secondly, because it is oppressed and since it is the most numerous, its luck will tend to be confused with the luck of humanity, and the consequences of its victory will necessarily entail the suppression of classes as well. The purpose of the revolutionary is to change the organization of society. In order to do that, it is necessary to destroy the old regime, but that is not enough: above all, it is necessary to build a new order. If, by an impossible, the privileged class would like to take part in the Socialist construction and there was evidence of its good faith, there would not be any valid reason to reject it. And if it continues to be highly improbable that it happily offers its assistance to the Socialists, it is because its situation as a privileged class prevents it from doing so, and not because some interior demon is pushing it to behave badly. In any event, if some fractions of this class parted way, they could eventually be incorporated to the oppressed class and those fractions will be judged according to their acts, not their essence. "I laugh at your eternal essence", Politzer used to tell me.

On the contrary, the anti-Semitic's Manicheanism places the emphasis on destruction. It is not about a conflict of interests, but the damages caused by an evil power to society. Therefore, the Good consists, above all, in destroying Evil. Under the bitterness of the anti-Semitic, an optimistic belief that harmony, once Evil is suppressed, will be re-established is hidden. Its task is then, exclusively negative, there is no need to build a society, but to purify the society that already exists. In order to reach that objective, the contribution of the good will Jews would be useless and even inauspicious; moreover, a Jew cannot have good will. A Knight of Good, the anti-Semitic is sacred;

the Jew is sacred as well in his own way; sacred like the untouchables, like the indigenous cursed by taboo. Therefore, the struggle is taken to the religious plane and the end of the combat can only be a sacred destruction. This position offers multiple advantages: firstly, it favours laziness of spirit. We have seen that the anti-Semitic does not understand modern society at all; he would be incapable of conceiving a constructive plan; his actions cannot be placed at the level of the technique, it remains in the terrain of passion. A long term enterprise, he prefers the explosion of an analogous rage to the love of the Malay. His intellectual activity is entrenched in the interpretation: he searches for a sign of the presence of a wicked power in the historical events. Thus, their puerile and complicated infections relate them to the great paranoids. However, anti-Semitism channels the revolutionary gushes until the destruction of certain men, not the institutions'; an anti-Semitic crowd will believe to have done enough after murdering some Jews and burning some synagogues. He represents then, a safety valve for the proprietaries classes which encourage him and thus replace a dangerous hatred against the regime by a benign hatred against the individual. But above all, that candid dualism is mainly soothing for the anti-Semitic; if it is enough to suppress Evil; it means that the Good is already given. There is no need to look for it in the midst of the angst, or invent it, patiently discuss it when it is found, tested in action, its consequences verified and finally assume the responsibilities of the moral election they have made. The big anti-Semitic rages do not randomly hide optimism, the anti-Semitic has decided over the Evil to avoid deciding over the Good. The more I surrender to combat Evil, the less I am tempted to question the Good. The Good is not talked about; it is always implicit in the discourses of the anti-Semitic and always remains implicit in his thought. When he accomplishes his mission of sacred destroyer, the Lost Paradise will reform by itself. In the meantime, he is so absorbed by the amount of tasks that the anti-Semitic does not have time to reflect on it; he is always in the gap, the combat, and each one of his indications is a pretext which separates him from searching the Good in the midst of the angst.

But there is more, and here we engage in the domain of the psychoanalysis. The Manicheanism covers a deep attraction to Evil. To the anti-Semitic, Evil is his portion, his "job". Others will come later and will deal with the Good, if there is place for it. The anti-Semitic is in the advanced posts of the society, he turns his back to the pure virtues he defends; his occupation is Evil, his duty is to discover it, denounce it, and measure its extension. Thus, he is only occupied with accumulating anecdotes which reveal the lubricity of the Jew, his appetite for profit, his shams and his treasons. The anti-Semitic washes his hands in the dirt. Let us reread "The Jewish France" by Drumont; this book of "high French morality", is a collection of ignoble and obscene stories. Nothing reflects the complex nature of the anti-Semitic better, because he has not wanted to choose its Good and has, out of fear of being singled out, allowed others to impose their Good upon him, his moral is never based on the situation of the values or on what Plato called Love; they manifest themselves just through their strictest taboos, through the most rigorous and free imperatives. However, that which contemplates without rest, that of which it has the intuition and, like fondness, it is Evil. He can enjoy it until obsession in the recount of obscene and criminal actions which disturb his perverse inclinations; however, because he attributes them to those infamous Jews whom he exhausts with his despise, he satiates himself without compromising.

I have met a Protestant man in Berlin whose desire took the form of indignation. Women in bathing suits infuriated him; he gladly looked for this rage and spent his life in swimming pools. The anti-Semitic is the same. Therefore, one of the components of his hatred is a profound and sexual attraction for the Jews. It is above all, a curiosity fascinated by Evil. However, it stems, I think, particularly from sadism. We would not understand anything about anti-Semitism, in fact, if we did not remember that the Jew, the object of so much execration, is perfectly innocent and, I would dare say, harmless. Therefore, anti-Semitism worries about speaking to us about secret Jewish associations of danger and clandestine French Masonries. However, if he finds a Jew face to face, most of the times the latter is a weak being

who is badly prepared for violence, and cannot even defend himself. This individual weakness of the Jew, which surrenders him tied by the hands and the feet, to the “pogroms”, is not ignored by the anti-Semitic and he takes anticipatory pleasure from it. Therefore, his hate towards the Jew cannot be compared to what the Italians felt in 1830 for the Austrians, the French of 1942 for the German. In these two last cases, the hated were oppressors, tough, cruel and strong men who possessed weapons, money, and power capable of doing more damage to the rebels than they could have ever dreamed of causing them. In such hatreds, the sadist inclinations do not have a place. However, to the anti-Semitic Evil is incarnated in unarmed and little frightful men, he never finds himself in the painful need of being heroic. He is allowed to hit and torture Jews with impunity; they might resort to the laws of the Republic, but they are soft laws. The sadist attraction of the anti-Semitic towards the Jews is so strong that it is not strange that one sworn enemy of Israel is surrounded by Jewish friends. Of course, he considers them as “exceptional Jews”. He states: “They are not like the rest of them”. In the workshop of the painter I was talking about earlier, the one who did not reprove the murders of Lublin, there was a portrait of a Jew in a preeminent space, for whom he felt affection and who had been shot by the Gestapo. Nevertheless, his claims of friendship are not real, because when talking, he did not even consider the possibility of saving the “good Jews” and despite the fact that he recognized some virtues in those he knows, he will not admit that his interlocutors could have known other equally virtuous Jews. In fact, he pleases himself in protecting certain Jews as a sort of investment of his sadism; he is happy to have the vivid image of a people being execrated. Often, anti-Semitic women feel a mixture of repulsion and sexual attraction towards the Jews. I have met one of them, who had intimate relations with a Polish Jew. Sometimes she slept with him allowing him to caress the chest and shoulders, but nothing more. She enjoyed feeling him being respectful and submissive, guessing his violent, refrained and humiliated wish. With other non Jewish men she maintained a normal sexual commerce. In the words “a beautiful Jew” there is a very particular sexual connotation,

very different to what can be found in the words “a beautiful Rumanian”, “a beautiful Greek”, “a beautiful American”. It has a hale of rapes and murders. The beautiful Jew is the one who random Cos-sacks used to drag by the hair in the streets of her burning village; the pornographic works consecrated to the stories of flagellation offer the Hebrews a place of honour. However, it is not necessary to poke into clandestine literature. Since Rebecca of Inonhoe to the Jew from Gilles, passing through the ones from Ponson di Terrail, the Jewish women have had a very defined function in most serious novels; frequently raped or savagely beat, they sometimes escape dishonour through death, but it is logical that it happens, and the ones who keep their virtue are the docile servants or the humiliated lovers of indifferent Christians who marry Arian women. Nothing else is needed, I think, to show the sexual symbolic value acquired by the Jewish women in folklore.

Destroyer by training, sadist with a pure heart, the anti-Semitic is, in the deepest of his heart, a criminal. What he wishes, what he prepares is the death of the Jew. Not all of the Jew’s enemies, incidentally, honestly claim his death, but the measures proposed by them aimed at his degradations, his humiliation, his extirpation, they are conducive to that murder that they meditate inside themselves, they are symbolic homicides. It is just that the anti-Semitic has the conscience on his part, he is a criminal for a good reason. It is not his fault after all, if his mission is to reduce Evil with Evil. The real France has delegated its high powers of justice. Doubtless, he does not have the intention to use them everyday, but we should not be deceived, those brusque rages which suddenly posses him, those thundering insults he launches against the “youtres” are other types of capital executions; the popular conscience has guessed it when the expression “eat Jews” was invented. Thus, the anti-Semitic has chosen to be a criminal and a white criminal; even in this aspect, he has escaped responsibilities, he has censored his homicide instincts, found the means to satisfy it without confessing them. He knows he is bad, but he passes Evil as Good, because a whole people await the liberation from him, he considers himself as a sacred evil. Through some sort of reversion

of all values, of which we can find examples in certain religions –the sacred prostitution from India, it is the Rage, the hatred, the plunder, the homicide, all forms of violence which are inherent to him –according to the anti-Semitic- the esteem, the respect, the enthusiasm; and in the exact moment he is intoxicated by evil, he feels the lightness and the peace given by a tranquil conscience and the satisfaction of an accomplished duty.

We have finished the portrait. Many people who declare to abhor Jews should not recognize themselves in it. They do not want that either. They would not cause them any evil, but they would not raise one finger to prevent them from being chased. They are not anti-Semitic, they are nothing, they are nobody and because, despite everything; it is necessary to seem something, they echo the rumour, they repeat it without thinking in doing harm, without thinking at all, some formulas learnt give them the right to access certain sectors. Thus, they know all the delicacies of being just a vane noise, of filling their heads with a huge affirmation which seems so much more respectable than when they borrowed it. In them, Anti-Semitism is a justification; moreover, the utility of these persons is such that he would gladly abandon that justification for any other one, as long as it was “distinguished”. It is because anti-Semitism is distinguished as all manifestations of a collective soul which tends to create a hidden and conservative France. All the empty heads think that by repeating any time they please that the Jew is harmful for the country, they fulfil one of those initiating rites which make them participate in the social sources of energy and heat; in that sense, anti-Semitism has kept something of the human sacrifices. It presents, also, a serious advantage for the people who know their own deep inconsistency and a hurl; it allows them to seem passionate and it is a rule since romanticism to confuse passion with personality. These second-hand anti-Semites cheaply adorn themselves with an aggressive personality. One of my friends used to quote an old cousin of his who used to go to his house to eat, saying with certain respect: “Julio cannot stand Englishmen”. My friend did not remember that any other thing had been said about his cousin Julio. However, that was enough, there

was a tactical compromise between Julio and his family; they avoid talking about the English in front of him and this concern gave him the appearance of existing before the eyes of his fellow men, whereas his fellow man was concerned with the pleasant feeling of participating in a sacred ceremony. And afterwards, in certain chosen circumstances, someone, after careful thought, would launch, in a seemingly innocently way an allusion to Great Britain or its domains, then cousin Julio would pretend to be angry, feeling he exists during that moment; and everybody would be happy. Many are anti-Semitic like cousin Julio is an Anglophobic and, of course they do not realize at all what their attitude really means. Pure reflects, stems shaken by the wind, of course they would not have invented anti-Semitism had the conscious anti-Semitic not existed. However, it is them who, with all indifference, warrant the continuity of anti-Semitism and the relay of generations.

Now we are able to understand him. He is a man who is afraid. Not of the Jews, incidentally, but of himself, his conscience, his freedom, his instincts, his responsibilities, afraid of loneliness, of change, of the society and the world, afraid of everything, except of the Jews. He is a coward who do not want to confess his cowardice; a murder who represses and censors his tendency to homicide without being able to refrain it and who, still, does not dare to kill, safe through an effigy or anonymously within a crowd; an unhappy man who does not dare to rebel for fear of the consequences of his rebellion. By adhering to anti-Semitism, he does not simply adopt an opinion, he chooses himself as a person. He chooses the permanence and impenetrability of the stone, the total irresponsibility of the warrior who obeys his bosses –but does not have a boss–. He chooses not acquiring anything, not deserving anything, but to claim that everything be given to him by birth –and he is not a noble–. Lastly, he chooses that the Good be a consummated fact, out of question, out of reach, and does not dare to contemplate for fear of being forced to discuss it and having to find another one. The Jew is a pretext for him; in other countries they use the black person, in others, the yellow. The existence of the Jew simply allows the anti-Semitic to drown in an embryo

stage his anxieties, persuading himself that his post in the world was always determined, that such post was waiting for him and that he, by tradition, has the right to occupy it. In brief, anti-Semitism is the fear before the human condition. The anti-Semitic is a man who wants to be a rock, implacable, furious torrent, devastating lighting, anything but a man.