



ANTISEMITIC DISCOURSE

in Britain 2014

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

EXPLICIT antisemitism against Jews per se, simply for their being Jewish, remains rare in British public life and within mainstream political media discourse.

In 2014, CST received an unprecedented number of reports of antisemitic incidents. This was due to levels of antisemitism during the relatively lengthy conflict in July and August, between Israel and Hamas in Gaza and southern Israel.

Levels of antisemitic discourse are far harder to consistently observe and measure, than quantitative antisemitic incidents and hate crimes. Nevertheless, many people contacted CST (and other Jewish organisations), expressing their feelings that the conflict was creating a climate of unusually heightened antipathy and hostility to British Jews. Numerous newspaper columnists and other public commentators voiced the same concerns, stating that the public mood against Jews had never before felt as it did.

This was the first conflict involving Israel at a time when social media is all pervading, more so (especially Twitter) than during the last major conflict between Israel and Hamas in 2009. This resulted in a quicker spread of antisemitic discourse, threats and themes than previously seen during any such conflict: visible to witnesses, perpetrators and victims. For example, the hashtag *#Hitlerwasright* trended on Twitter, was portrayed on placards and was shouted in verbal abuse against Jews.

In Britain, the use of Nazism to attack Israel, Zionists and Jews was the dominant antisemitic theme during the conflict, in both discourse and incidents reported to CST. Calling British Jews child or baby killers was the second most common theme in antisemitic incidents. It is impossible to prove what role - if any - this old antisemitic theme of Jews as child killers played

in mainstream media coverage of the conflict, or in widespread political activism during it.

Numerous leading politicians strongly condemned the antisemitism of July and August 2014.

Two opinion polls in May 2014 (before the summer conflict) found that 8% and 7% of British people are unfavourable towards Jews. Findings about Jews having power or control suggest this core feature of antisemitism still resonates with millions of British people.

2014 reinforced the importance of social media to the spread and visibility of antisemitism today. The concerted hatred directed via Twitter at Luciana Berger, a Jewish Labour MP, was an extreme example of how one person can suffer repeated and targeted abuse: facilitated by the instantaneous public free speech nature of social media.

The Parliamentary vote for Palestinian statehood in October 2014 sparked reactions that explicitly or implicitly evoked antisemitic conspiracy charges, against either British or American Jewish and pro-Israel lobbies. This echoed accusations commonly heard during the July-August conflict, that some form of conspiracy or fear was determining Government and mainstream media reactions to the conflict.

There were five cases concerning antisemitism at the highest levels of English football (not including the ongoing use of "Yid" around Tottenham Hotspur FC). These were: the disciplining of player Nicolas Anelka for his "quenelle" salute; linked controversies involving manager Malky Mackay and chairman Dave Whelan; the disciplining of player Mario Balotelli, for unwittingly posting an antisemitic cartoon; and Liverpool FC removing a Jewish New Year message from social media due to the level of antisemitic abuse it attracted.

The British National Party returned to being openly antisemitic, evoking Nazi

antisemitic charges within contemporary anti-globalisation and anti-capitalist rhetoric.

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INTRODUCTION

THIS CST *Antisemitic Discourse in Britain* report analyses written and verbal communication, discussion and rhetoric about antisemitism and related issues in Britain during 2014. It is published annually by CST.¹

'Discourse' is used in this report to mean 'communicative action': communication expressed in speech, written text, images and other forms of expression and propaganda.²

The report concentrates upon mainstream discourse. It cites numerous mainstream publications, groups and individuals, who are by no means antisemitic, but whose behaviour may impact upon attitudes concerning Jews and antisemitism.

THE REPORT is not a survey of marginal or clandestine racist, extremist and radical circles, where antisemitism is much more common. Where such material is quoted within this report, it is usually for comparison with more mainstream sources; or because of the wider influence that such material may have.

CST distinguishes antisemitic discourse from actual antisemitic incidents and hate crimes against Jews or Jewish organisations and property.³

The 2006 *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism*⁴ noted the importance and complexity of antisemitic discourse and urged further study of it. By 2008, the Parliamentary inquiry process had led to the issuing of the first progress report of the Government's taskforce against antisemitism. This stated of antisemitic discourse:

"Antisemitism in discourse is, by its nature, harder to identify and define than a physical attack on a person or place. It is more easily recognised by those who experience it than by those who engage in it.

"Antisemitic discourse is also hard to identify because the boundaries of acceptable discourse have become blurred to the point that individuals and organisations are not

*aware when these boundaries have been crossed, and because the language used is more subtle particularly in the contentious area of the dividing line between antisemitism and criticism of Israel or Zionism."*⁵

This British Nazi cartoon from 1962 is a stark warning of the potential antisemitic resonance of some contemporary mainstream depictions of "Zionist" or "pro-Israel" lobbies.



1. Previous reports are at the publications page of the CST website: www.cst.org.uk

2. Paul Iganski and Abe Sweiry, *Understanding and Addressing the 'Nazi card': Intervening Against Antisemitic Discourse*. London: European Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism (2009)

3. CST's annual *Antisemitic Incidents Report*, available at www.cst.org.uk

4. *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism*. London: The All-Party Parliamentary Group Against Antisemitism (September 2006). <http://www.antisemitism.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/All-Party-Parliamentary-Inquiry-into-Antisemitism-REPORT.pdf>

5. *All-Party Inquiry into Antisemitism: Government Response: One year on Progress Report*. London: The Stationery Office (12 May 2008), p.12. <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm73/7381/7381.pdf>

ANTISEMITIC DISCOURSE AND ANTISEMITISM

ANTISEMITIC discourse influences and reflects hostile attitudes to Jews and Jewish-related issues.

PHYSICALLY, antisemitic discourse may contribute to an atmosphere in which antisemitic hate crimes against Jews and Jewish institutions are more likely to occur. Psychologically, it can make Jews feel isolated, vulnerable and hurt.

The purpose of this report is to help reduce antisemitism, by furthering the understanding of antisemitic discourse and its negative impacts on Jews and society as a whole.

Antisemitic impacts of legitimate debate and media coverage

Antisemitic impacts may arise from entirely legitimate situations that have no antisemitic intention.

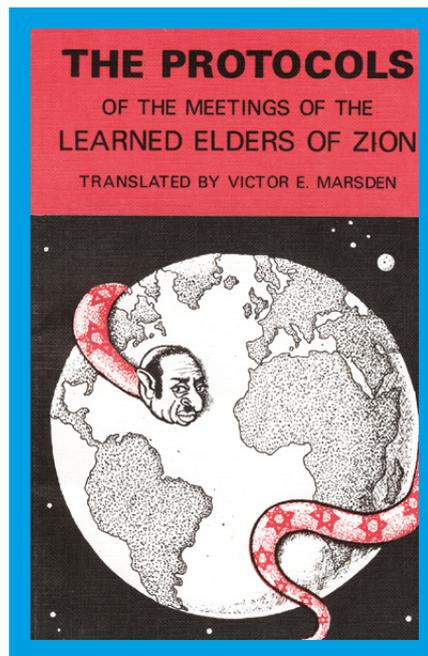
Statistics show that hate crimes against perceived members of any particular group can be triggered (or exacerbated) by public discourse or events related to that particular group. For example, antisemitic incident levels typically rise in relation to some public events and stories involving Jews, Jewish institutions, or Jewish-related subjects such as Israel.⁶

Negative media coverage of, or political comment on, Jewish-related events may be entirely legitimate, fair and in the public interest. Nevertheless, those debates can encourage antisemitism or cause concern to Jews. This is more likely if such commentary involves inflammatory language or the use of traditional antisemitic imagery, or appears to single out one particular object or individual for scrutiny due to their being Jewish.

The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the world's largest regional security organisation,

explained the relation between antisemitic discourse and hostility in these terms:

"Expressions of anti-Semitism in public discourse remain a serious issue of concern as they exacerbate hostile attitudes towards Jews. They have the potential to fuel anti-Semitic incidents, leading to greater insecurity in the Jewish communities and in societies across the OSCE region..."⁷



The notorious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* claims to reveal a supposed secret Jewish conspiracy to take over the world, depicted in this British version by a Jewish snake circling the globe.

Championed by both far right and Islamist extremists, it includes chapters on Jewish control of war, politicians, finance and media. The *Protocols* contains old antisemitic themes that still resonate, impact and evolve in modern politics, media and discourse.

6. Shown repeatedly in CST's annual *Antisemitic Incidents Report*. Also, Paul Iganski, Vicky Kielinger & Susan Paterson, *Hate Crimes Against London's Jews*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research (2005)

7. http://www.antisemitism.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/odgal0026r1_summary_report1.pdf

UK JEWISH LIFE: putting antisemitism into context

ANY overall assessment of the condition of British Jewry demands proper consideration of both positive and negative aspects. Britain's diverse Jewish communities have many examples of success, vibrancy and confidence. Nevertheless, antisemitic hate crimes, antisemitic discourse and wider antisemitic attitudes in society are issues of considerable importance for British Jews.

Overview

Jewish life in Britain today is diverse, and most Jews are well integrated into wider society. Government and others often cite the Jewish community as the benchmark of successful minority integration.

British Jews have full equal rights and protection in law, including against antisemitic incitement and abuse. Jews who wish to live a Jewish life can do so in many ways, including educational, religious, cultural or political activities. Generally, overt antisemitism is deemed socially unacceptable and Jews have succeeded in many spheres of public and private life. Nevertheless, the long history of antisemitism, and its remaining manifestations, can cause significant concerns.

The 2005–06 *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism* noted “that there is much truth” in the apparent contradiction between the positive situation of British Jewry, and contrary feelings of vulnerability and isolation.⁸

History

Jews arrived in the British Isles in Roman times, but organised settlement followed the Norman conquest of 1066. Massacres of Jews occurred in many cities in 1190, most notably in York. In 1290, all Jews were expelled by King Edward I, but some converts to Christianity and secret adherents to Judaism remained.

Following the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492, a covert Jewish community became established in London. The present British

Jewish community, however, has existed since 1656, when Oliver Cromwell formally invited Jews to return to this country.

By the early nineteenth century, Jews had largely achieved economic and social emancipation. By the end of the nineteenth century, Jews also enjoyed political emancipation. From 1881 to 1914, the influx of Russian Jewish immigrants saw the Jewish community's population rise from c.60,000 to c.300,000. Many Jews can trace their arrival in Britain back to this wave of immigration. Others can trace their British identity back considerably further. Considerable numbers of Jews of other national origins have arrived in recent years and decades, from countries including South Africa, Israel and France.

Demography

A total of 263,346 people answered “Jewish” to the voluntary question on religion in the 2011 UK census. For the first time, the 2011 census showed Jews living in every local authority in England and Wales.⁹

Just under two-thirds of British Jews live in Greater London. Other major Jewish centres are in Manchester, Leeds, Gateshead, Birmingham and Glasgow.

The religious composition of the Jewish community is highly diverse, and ranges from the strictly Orthodox to non-practising.

8. *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism*, p.1

9. Simon Roker, 'Census 2011: The Jewish breakdown', *Jewish Chronicle* (13 December 2012) <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/94111/census-2011-the-jewish-breakdown>

WHAT IS ANTISEMITISM? Background and concepts

IN ESSENCE, antisemitism is discrimination, prejudice or hostility against Jews.

The word 'antisemitism' came into use in the late nineteenth century to describe pseudoscientific racial discrimination against Jews, but is now used more generally to describe all forms of discrimination, prejudice or hostility towards Jews throughout history, and has been called "*the Longest Hatred*".¹⁰

It may be spelled as 'antisemitism' or as 'anti-Semitism'. CST uses 'antisemitism', as this spelling limits the notion that there is such a thing as 'Semitism' to which one may be 'anti' (i.e., in opposition to).

Antisemitism: background

History shows that increases in anti-Jewish sentiment or actions often reflect growing extremism or divisions within society as a whole. Antisemitism is a subject that should be of concern not only to Jews, but to all of society.

The near destruction of European Jewry in the Nazi Holocaust rendered open antisemitism taboo in public life. The strong association of antisemitism with the Nazi Holocaust can lead to the mistaken assumption that antisemitism is an exclusively far right phenomenon that essentially ended after World War Two, and that it is always genocidal.

Throughout history, anti-Jewish attitudes have taken many forms, including religious, nationalist, economic and racial-biological. Jews have been blamed for many phenomena, including the death of Jesus; the Black Death; the advent of liberalism, democracy, communism and capitalism; and for inciting numerous revolutions and wars.

A dominant antisemitic theme is the allegation that Jews are powerful and cunning manipulators, set against the rest of society for their evil and timeless purpose. The notion of Jewish power, (for example as codified within the notorious forgery¹¹, *The Protocols of*

the Elders of Zion), distinguishes antisemitism from other types of racism, which often depict their targets as ignorant and primitive.

Types of antisemitism

Antisemitism is a global phenomenon, occurring even where there are no Jews. Its manifestation and expression may range from violent thuggery and murder to literary, philosophical and political discourse. Antisemitism has been described as an ideology in its own right; but others say it is undeserving of such status and should rather be regarded as a polluter of ideologies.¹² Its persistence in some form or other is not doubted, yet precise definitions of antisemitism, its scale and the nature of its contemporary appearance can cause heated debate.

Differing definitions of antisemitism

Much has been written and discussed regarding what constitutes antisemitism. The definitions shown below are intended as a constructive guide to differing interpretations, but are the briefest of introductions to what is a very large topic.

Steve Cohen argued that antisemitism is defined by its ideological nature:

"The peculiar and defining feature of

10. Robert S. Wistrich "*Anti-Semitism The Longest Hatred*", Methuen, 1991 and Screen Guides for Thames Television "*The Longest Hatred*", 1991.

11. Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*. London: Serif Books (1996), original publ. 1965

12. Anthony Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2010), p.xliv

*anti-semitism is that it exists as an ideology. It provides its adherents with a universal and generalised interpretation of the world. This is the theory of the Jewish conspiracy, which depicts Jews as historically controlling and determining nature and human destiny. Anti-semitism is an ideology which has influenced millions of people precisely because it presents an explanation of the world by attributing such extreme powers to its motive force – the Jews.*¹³

Anthony Julius has argued that English antisemitism comprises “several kinds of anti-Semitism”; and he identifies four kinds that wholly or substantially “have an English provenance”:

- *“A radical anti-Semitism of defamation, expropriation, murder, and expulsion – that is, the anti-Semitism of medieval England, which completed itself in 1290, when there were no Jews left to torment.”*
- *“A literary anti-Semitism – that is, an anti-Semitic account of Jews continuously present in the discourse of English literature...through to present times.”*
- *“A modern, quotidian anti-Semitism of insult and partial exclusion, pervasive but contained...everyday anti-Semitism experienced by Jews...through to the late twentieth century.”*

- *“A new configuration of anti-Zionisms, emerging in the late 1960s and the 1970s, which treats Zionism and the State of Israel as illegitimate Jewish enterprises. This perspective, heavily indebted to anti-Semitic tropes, now constitutes the greatest threat to Anglo-Jewish security and morale...By ‘tropes’ I mean those taken-for-granted utterances, those figures and metaphors through which more general positions are intimated, without ever being argued for.”¹⁴*

Brian Klug describes the importance of the imaginary ‘Jew’ (as distinct to the reality of Jews). He depicts the antisemitic caricature of this imaginary ‘Jew’ as:

“The Jew belongs to a sinister people set apart from all others, not merely by its customs but by a collective character: arrogant yet obsequious; legalistic yet corrupt; flamboyant yet secretive. Always looking to turn a profit, Jews are as ruthless as they are tricky. Loyal only to their own, wherever they go they form a state within a state, preying upon the societies in whose midst they dwell. Their hidden hand controls the banks, the markets and the media. And when revolutions occur or nations go to war, it is the Jews – cohesive, powerful, clever and stubborn – who invariably pull the strings and reap the rewards.”¹⁵

13. Steve Cohen, *That's Funny, You Don't Look Anti-Semitic*. Leeds: Beyond the Pale Collective (1984), p.11

14. Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora*, pp.xxxvi–xxxvii

15. Dr Brian Klug, ‘The Concept of Anti-Semitism’, speech to Oxford University Chabad Society (7 June 2009) http://www.oxfordchabad.org/templates/articlecco_cdo/aid/922682/jewish/Anti-Semitism-Symposium.htm

ANTISEMITISM: legal definitions

LEGISLATIVE definitions of antisemitism are primarily intended for Police and judicial use in identifying antisemitic incidents and crimes, rather than defining discourse. Nevertheless, these definitions can provide useful tools for helping consider what may, or may not, constitute antisemitic discourse.

Race Relations Act

The 2005–06 *All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism* summarised antisemitism by reference to the Race Relations Act 1976 as follows:

“Broadly, it is our view that any remark, insult or act the purpose or effect of which is to violate a Jewish person’s dignity or create an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment for him is antisemitic.

“This reflects the definition of harassment under the Race Relations Act 1976. This definition can be applied to individuals and to the Jewish community as a whole.”¹⁶

Government definitions of racism

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry definition of a racist incident has significantly influenced societal interpretations of what does and does not constitute racism, strengthening the importance of the victim’s perception.

The *All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism* invoked the Lawrence inquiry when it said of these issues:

“We take into account the view expressed in the Macpherson report of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry that a racist act is defined by its victim. It is not acceptable for an individual to say ‘I am not a racist’ if his or her words or acts are perceived to be racist.

“We conclude that it is the Jewish community itself that is best qualified to determine what does and does not constitute antisemitism.”¹⁷

The Government command response to the Parliamentary inquiry concurred, stating:

“The Government currently uses the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry definition of a racist incident which is an incident that is perceived as racist by the victim or any other person, and this would include antisemitism. This is a very wide and powerful definition as it clearly includes the ‘perception’ of the victim and others.”¹⁸

European Union Monitoring Centre / Fundamental Rights Agency

In 2002–03, the Monitoring Centre conducted a study of antisemitism in Europe that included an important recommendation to “define antisemitic acts”, as a necessary building block for European Police forces to collect data about antisemitic hate crimes.¹⁹

Subsequently, the Centre issued a “*Working Definition*” primarily as a tool for use by law enforcement when deciding whether crimes are antisemitic or not. This is an important prerequisite for the standardisation of data on antisemitism: enabling cross-comparison and assessment of European nations’ policing and prosecuting of antisemitism.

The *Working Definition*’s list of behaviours that “could, taking into account the overall context” indicate antisemitism, include various anti-Israel acts and attitudes. Some anti-Israel and anti-Zionist activists argue that this unfairly renders their behaviour antisemitic. Some pro-Israel activists claim that the *Working Definition* defines and outlaws certain anti-Israel attitudes and acts as antisemitic.

16. Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism, p.1

17. Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism, p.1

18. All-Party Inquiry into Antisemitism: Government Response. London: The Stationery Office (29 March 2007), p.3. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/228610/7059.pdf

19. <http://www.european-forum-on-antisemitism.org/working-definition-of-antisemitism/english/>

Both parties ignore the *Working Definition* caveat about “overall context”, in order to suit their political goal.

The claims and counter-claims regarding the *Working Definition* are made more complex by the Monitoring Centre having been replaced by the Fundamental Rights Agency: which, by European statute, has a different role to that of the Centre and therefore no longer publishes

the *Working Definition* on its website.

Nevertheless, the specific need for a standardised pan-European definition of antisemitism remains, as does the overall need for definitions that aid understanding of the issue. Consequently, the *Working Definition* remains an important definition and is used by various institutions in Britain, Europe and beyond.

BRITISH JEWS: relationship with Zionism and Israel

ZIONISM and Israel are, in part, Jewish responses to the long and often tragic history of antisemitism.

The complex dynamics between antisemitism, anti-Israel activity and anti-Zionism are central to the nature, content and impact of much contemporary debate about British antisemitism; and also to debate surrounding the issue, including British Jews’ concerns about antisemitism.

OVERWHELMINGLY, British Jews do not come from Israel and their families have been British for at least two or more generations. Nevertheless, Israel plays an important role in the self-identity of many British Jews.²⁰ This manifests in the practical sense of physical, emotional and family links that many Jews enjoy with Israel and Israeli citizens, as well as in the psychological sense of perceiving Israel as representing Jewish identity, refuge and rebirth in the post-Holocaust age.

In recent years, Israel has been subject to repeated criticism and outright hostility from relatively large sections of the liberal-left, including media, campaigning groups, trade unions, politicians, churches and the NGO sector. British Jews hold varying perspectives on the legitimacy and motivation of this behaviour, ranging from those who play a leading part in anti-Israel activity, to those who regard these actions as antisemitic.

20. According to one survey in 2010, 95% of UK Jews have visited Israel; 90% see it as the “ancestral homeland” of the Jewish people; 72% consider themselves to be “Zionists”. David Graham and Jonathan Boyd, *The Attitudes of Jews in Britain towards Israel*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research (July 2010) <http://www.jpr.org.uk/downloads/JPR%20Israel%20survey%20report%2015.pdf>

ANTISEMITISM AND ANTI-ZIONISM

LIKE RACISM, antisemitism can feed off criticism of Jews, Israel or Zionism, regardless of how fair or unfair, antisemitic or legitimate, that criticism may be.

ANTI-ZIONISM

THE TERM 'anti-Zionism' describes a wide range of hostile attitudes towards Jewish self-determination, and particularly towards Jewish nationalism and Israel as a Jewish state.

'Anti-Zionism' is often a complex and contested term, because definitions of Zionism itself mean different things to different people. In particular, mainstream Jewish definitions of Zionism differ markedly from far left, far right and Islamist definitions – all of which tend to use (and denigrate) Zionism as a term of political abuse.

Not all anti-Zionists are antisemites and anti-Zionism is not necessarily antisemitic. Nevertheless, when the mainstream Jewish understanding of the word 'Zionism' is misrepresented, this encourages antisemitic impacts and attitudes.

Jews and anti-Zionism

In the decades before World War Two, anti-Zionism was a relatively widespread and respected position within mainstream Jewish politics. Many Jewish anti-Zionists opposed the idea of creating a Jewish state because they feared it would threaten the political and civic status of Jews in Diaspora communities. Others opposed Zionism because they believed that revolutionary socialism would emancipate Jews alongside the rest of humanity. Many strictly Orthodox Jews opposed Zionism on theological grounds.

After the Holocaust and the creation (and survival) of Israel, Jewish opposition to Zionism declined markedly. Today, other than within strictly Orthodox or small Marxist groups, even many of Israel's fiercest Jewish critics would not describe themselves as anti-Zionist.

National Front sticker combining Jewish Star of David symbol with "against Zionism".



ANTI-ZIONISM AND CRITICISM OF ISRAEL

CRITICISM of Zionism or Israel may not be antisemitic per se, but it risks becoming so when traditional antisemitic themes are employed; when Jews are randomly targeted as a result; when Jewish concerns are disregarded or, worse, deliberately misrepresented as being fake cover for Israel; and when Jewish historical and religious ties with Israel are denied.

Antisemitism, anti-Zionism and anti-Israel criticism or hatred are not the same as each other. They can, however, be hard to untangle and distinguish from one another.

It is not necessarily antisemitic to criticise Israel or Zionism, even if the criticism is harsh or unfair. Gauging antisemitic motives and impacts largely depends upon how the following interact:

- **Motivation:** To what extent is the criticism, or outright hatred, driven by the Jewish nature of Israel and/or Zionism?
- **Content:** Does the criticism, or hatred, use antisemitic or otherwise discriminatory language, themes and motifs?
- **Target:** Are local Jews being singled out as recipients for criticism, bias or hatred that ostensibly derives from anti-Israel or anti-Zionist enmity?
- **Response to concerns:** Are local Jewish concerns about the above sincerely and equally heard? Or, are Jewish concerns viewed with hostility and singled out for scorn?
- **Repeat behaviour:** Does the offender repeat their behaviour, knowing the consequences and concerns that will be raised?

Anti-Zionist and antisemitic conspiracy theories

A more contemporary non-Jewish anti-Zionism

that opposes Jewish needs and interests is found within far right, far left and extreme Islamist circles. This includes the various antisemites who reside in these political movements. These different political groupings employ 'Zionism' and 'Zionist' to pejoratively label political enemies. They discuss and perceive Zionism in terms of conspiratorial power and evil that are strikingly similar to antisemitic depictions of Jewish behaviour.

Employing the word 'Zionist' where the word 'Jew' would have previously appeared in open antisemitic discourse may, or may not, be deliberate obfuscation on the part of the user. Nevertheless, it essentially fulfils the same psychological and political purpose as open antisemitism once did.

This antisemitic 'anti-Zionism' has, at its core, a construction of 'Zionism' as a political, financial, military and media conspiracy that is centred in Washington and Jerusalem, and which opposes authentic local interests. It is commonly found in extremist discourse, and sometimes alluded to in more diluted forms in mainstream discourse.

Unlike Jewish pre-war anti-Zionism, these modern anti-Zionists are not motivated by a concern for Jewish political and civic rights.

The *All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism* noted:

"One of the most difficult and contentious issues about which we have received evidence is the dividing line between antisemitism and criticism of Israel or Zionism.

"...discourse has developed that is in effect antisemitic because it views Zionism itself as a global force of unlimited power and malevolence throughout history. This

*definition of Zionism bears no relation to the understanding that most Jews have of the concept; that is, a movement of Jewish national liberation, born in the late nineteenth century with a geographical focus limited to Israel. Having re-defined Zionism in this way, traditional antisemitic notions of Jewish conspiratorial power, manipulation and subversion are then transferred from Jews (a racial and religious group) on to Zionism (a political movement). This is at the core of the 'New Antisemitism' on which so much has been written."*²¹

Other continuities between historical antisemitic themes and the type of modern anti-Zionism that is antisemitic can include:

- Alleging that Jewish holy books preach Jewish supremacy or chosenness and that this is the basis for alleged Zionist racism.
- Dehumanising and demonising language comparing Jews to rats, cancer, plague and bacteria is now repeated in some depictions of Zionists and Israel. This reduces its target to a pest or disease to be cleansed.
- Scapegoating Jews as 'the Other'; blaming them for local and global problems; and demanding their destruction or conversion as a vital step in building a new, better world is echoed in the notion that Zionism is uniquely illegitimate, and that its destruction is paradigmatic of theological and political struggles for the future of the world.
- The image of Jews as alien corruptors of traditional, authentic society and established morality endures in today's portrayals of Zionists as somehow hijacking other peoples' true will and nature, and thereby polluting domestic politics and society.

This photograph, taken on an anti-Israel demonstration in central London on 26 July 2014, shows Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu as a vampire, controlling US President Obama and UK Prime Minister Cameron. It is old antisemitic imagery used in a modern setting.



21. Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism, p.17

OPINION POLLS: Antisemitic attitudes in 2014

TWO OPINION polls on UK antisemitic attitudes were published in May 2014. Both showed similar results, with 8% and 7% of Britons having unfavourable attitudes towards Jews.

THESE FIGURES were relatively low compared to other countries surveyed, and lower than UK attitudes to Muslims and Roma. Nevertheless, attitudes toward “Jews” (not “Zionists” or “pro Israelis”) having power and control, suggest that this core distinguishing feature of antisemitism still resonates with millions of British people.

Anti-Defamation League (ADL)²²

The ADL polled over 53,000 people in over 100 countries and assessed 8% of people as having antisemitic attitudes. The questions are shown below, with the percentage of respondents having replied “probably true”:

The figures are lower than in most other countries, but:

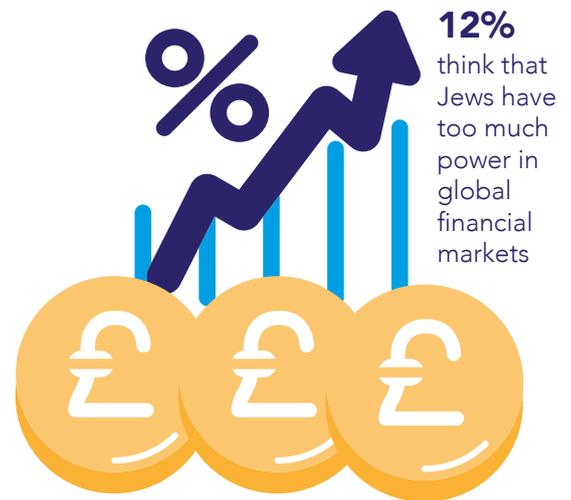
28% agree it is “probably true” that Jews don’t care what happens to anyone but their own kind

27%...Jews are more loyal to Israel than to the UK

19%...Jews have too much control over the US government

14%...Jews have too much control over the global media

12%...Jews have too much power in international financial markets



11%...Jews have too much control over global affairs

11%...Jews have too much power in the business world

10%...Jews still talk too much about what happened to them during the Holocaust

9%...Jews think they are better than other people

7%...people hate Jews because of the way Jews behave

6%...Jews are responsible for most of the world’s wars

Pew Global Attitudes European Survey²³

Pew conducted a telephone survey of 1,000 British adults. 7% were negative towards Jews, 83% were positive. This contrasted with 50% negative, 38% positive to “Gypsies or Roma”; and 26% negative, 64% positive to Muslims. The Pew survey stated:

2% hold “very unfavourable” views of Jews (2% in 2009)

5% hold “unfavourable” views (4% in 2009)

54% hold “favourable” views (57% in 2009)

29% hold “very favourable” views (24% in 2009)

10%

think that Jews still talk too much about what happened to them during the Holocaust



22. <http://global100.adl.org/#country/united-kingdom/2014>

23. http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2014/05/2014-05-12_Pew-Global-Attitudes-European-Union.pdf

BRITISH ANTISEMITISM AND THE ISRAEL – HAMAS CONFLICT

Summary

THE CONFLICT between Israel and Hamas from 8 July to 26 August 2014 saw a highly significant surge of antisemitism throughout western Europe, including Britain, where CST recorded the unprecedented total of 1,174 antisemitic incidents.²⁴

This was the most marked escalation in antisemitism for five years, since the conflict between Israel and Hamas from 27 December 2008 to 18 January 2009.

The antisemitic impact of the 2014 conflict appeared to be even greater than in 2009, primarily due to three factors:

- The contemporary ubiquitous nature of social media, resulting in examples of British and European (especially French) antisemitism, being 'shared' and therefore part-experienced by social media users.
- The far longer duration of the 2014 conflict (47 days compared to 22).
- 2014 continued the overall trend of significant outbursts of antisemitic violence, abuse and isolation that has been endured by Jewish communities since 2000. The antisemitic impact of each outburst adds to both the prior accumulation of perpetrators' hatreds, and to the experiences and fears of victims.

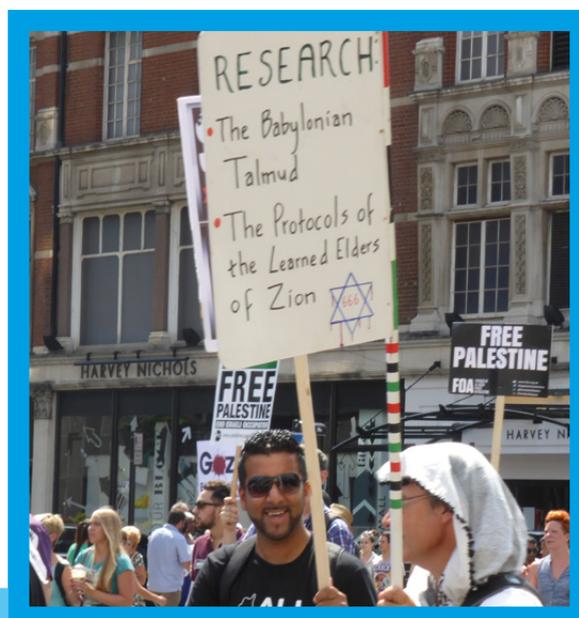
The antisemitism led to higher levels of anxiety amongst British Jews than witnessed in recent memory, but also saw numerous public statements analysing and opposing antisemitism from leading politicians and media commentators (see p.26).

THE PHOTOGRAPH on the right shows an antisemitic placard from a large anti-Israel demonstration in central London on 26 July 2014.

The Star of David has blood dripping from it and contains the numbers 666, denoting the devil.

The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion is a notorious antisemitic tract alleging a Jewish conspiracy to the world.

The Babylonian Talmud is a religious Jewish commentary text that is commonly abused



24. https://cst.org.uk/data/file/0/e/Incidents_Report_-_Jan-June_2015_1438092642.pdf. (This figure of 1,174 incidents for 2014 is higher than the previously published figure of 1,168 incidents, due to late reports reaching CST between February and June 2015.)

and attacked by antisemites.

The *Workers Liberty* website tells what happened when the demonstrator was challenged for this placard²⁵:

"...I told the man that racism had no place on the demonstration, that his presence harmed the Palestinian cause, and that the document he was promoting was a racist hoax. In the course of what was probably a not very coherent tirade from me, I mentioned that I was Jewish.

"Well, you're blinded by your bias because you're a Jew," he said. "Only Jews make the arguments you're making."

Thereafter the "discussion" became more heated, and several onlookers were drawn in. Several people backed me up, but several defended him.

Their defences ranged from, *"he's opposing Zionists, not Jews,"* to *"he's not racist, Zionism is racist!"* to the perhaps more honest *"Jews are the problem. If you're a Jew, you're racist, you're what we're demonstrating against."* One man, topless, but wearing a balaclava, said *"fuck off, unless you want your fucking head kicked in..."*

25. <http://www.workersliberty.org/node/23455>

DISCURSIVE THEMES OF ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS DURING JULY AND AUGUST 2014

ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS showed two main themes. The primary theme utilised Nazism to malign Jews. The secondary theme accused Jews of being child killers.

542 ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS were recorded by CST in July and August 2014, the overwhelming majority reported to CST by members of the public who had suffered or witnessed them. 258 of the 542 incidents (48 per cent) made direct or indirect reference to the conflict.²⁶

In 45 incidents, offenders compared Israel or Jews to Nazis.

In 57 incidents, slogans such as “Hitler was right” or “Hitler should have killed you all” were used in an anti-Israel context.

In total, 171 incidents involved the use of Nazi or Holocaust-related discourse. Strikingly, only 43 of the 171 incidents contained evidence of being motivated by far right ideology. This shows that antisemites come from a range of political backgrounds (and none), and use

language that they associate with Jews, or believe is most hurtful to Jews.

In 48 incidents, phrases such as “child murderers” or “baby killers” were used against British Jews, synagogues and other random Jewish targets.

The below cartoon was posted by Taji Mustafa, UK spokesman of international Islamist group Hizb ut-Tahrir. It evokes the antisemitic blood libel, in which Jews are accused of murdering non-Jewish children and consuming their blood in religious rituals. The Arabic on the knife reads “Arab silence”, but the person holding the knife bears a Star of David. The Stars and Stripes on the fork also suggests an antisemitic conspiracy theory regarding alleged Jewish control of America.



26. By comparison, from January to June 2014, 18 per cent of incidents referred in some way to Israel or Gaza.

JEWISH COMMUNITY REACTION TO ANTISEMITISM, AND TO ANTI-ISRAEL AND ANTI-ZIONIST ACTIVITIES

IN ADDITION to receiving an unprecedented number of reports concerning actual antisemitic incidents during July and August 2014, CST also experienced an extremely large increase in the number of phone calls and emails from worried Jewish members of the public; and CST staff participated in numerous public meetings at which heartfelt concerns were loudly voiced.

This reflected a Jewish communal reaction of heightened anxiety and concern that was expressed to CST and other Jewish groups, and also in Jewish, national and international media.

These concerns were widespread, but were often expressed regarding not only the UK, but also what was simultaneously happening overseas, especially in France. Furthermore, these concerns frequently cited not only explicitly antisemitic behaviours, but also anti-Israel actions, especially demonstrations and boycott activities. (Surveys show that most British Jews do not regard criticism of Israel as antisemitic, but a majority do regard boycotts of Israel as antisemitic.²⁷)

THERE IS STRONG DEBATE regarding what is and is not antisemitic within anti-Israel and anti-Zionist activity, but the summer of 2014 again showed the chilling impact that such activities can have for many Jews: regardless of participants' intentions, or whether their actions are objectively antisemitic or illegal. Jewish fears and reactions do not automatically render anti-Israel activities antisemitic, or illegitimate, but are essential to understanding the concerns of many Jews, and others, regarding contemporary

antisemitism and its key anti-Israel and anti-Zionist components.

Two specific anti-Israel boycott related actions caused the most consternation: the Tricycle Theatre's attempt to have the Jewish Film Festival return its Israeli Embassy funding, and the removal of kosher goods from the shelves of a Sainsbury's store in central London, taken out of fear that anti-Israel protestors would target them (see p.24).

USE OF NAZISM

THE USE OF NAZISM to attack Israel, Zionists and Jews is antisemitic, because it deliberately employs the Jewish nature of the Holocaust to attack its targets: and does so to provoke and upset.

THE ANTISEMITISM is multiplied by the relative lack of use of Nazism against other non-Jewish associated targets: imagery of swastikas or Hitler are far more visible and

normalised within anti-Israel demonstrations and social media, than in any other public space.

These photographs, taken on an anti-Israel demonstration in central London on 26 July 2014, show swastikas and Nazism being used to attack Israel: replacing the Star of David in Israel's flag with a swastika.



#HitlerWasRight

One indicator of the extent of antisemitism during the summer of 2014, was the trending on Twitter of the hashtag #HitlerWasRight. Part of the trending was due to people opposing the hashtag, but the phenomenon epitomised the contemporary role of social media in facilitating and fuelling debate, both legitimate and racist.

The “Hitler was right” theme occurred within 57 separate antisemitic incidents reported to CST and also in placards on anti-Israel demonstrations: showing that social media both reflects and fuels popular sentiment, including racism.

This photograph is taken on an anti-Israel demonstration in central London on 11 July 2014.



John Prescott

John Prescott, Deputy Prime Minister to Tony Blair during the Iraq War, was strongly criticised after his *Sunday Mirror* article²⁸ of 27 July 2014 spoke of Jews and the Holocaust, whilst describing Gaza as a “concentration camp” and a “ghetto”, two expressions strongly associated with Jewish suffering. Prescott wrote:

“...[Israel] is acting as judge, jury and executioner in the concentration camp that is Gaza...”

“What happened to the Jewish people at the hands of the Nazis is appalling. But you would think those atrocities would give Israelis a unique sense of perspective and empathy with the victims of a ghetto.”

28. *Sunday Mirror* 27 July 2014, ‘Israel’s bombardment of Gaza is a war crime – and it must end’

ANTI-ISRAEL ACTIVISTS: Reactions to antisemitism

ORGANISERS of left wing secular anti-Israel and anti-Zionist groups, such as the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC) and Stop the War (STW), expressed opposition to antisemitism and claimed to be excluding it from within their demonstrations. Such opposition was often expressed as being due to the history of antisemitism; universal anti-racist principles; and because antisemitism damages the Palestinian cause.

Mainstream Jewish concerns were neither accurately addressed nor acknowledged, and were often framed as being overhyped and immoral attempts to shield Israel from criticism. Taken in total, this partial opposition to antisemitism risked reinforcing hostility to mainstream Jews and their concerns.

Leading anti-Israel demonstrations contained examples of antisemitic placards (for example, see p.13, 15, 19 and 20) that were not removed by stewards, but such racist material was not widespread and did not characterise the demonstrations. Speakers included self-identified Jews and overt antisemitism against Jews per se was avoided: but Israel, Zionism and Zionists were routinely demonised.

Stop the War

Stop the War has been the main organiser of Britain's largest anti-Israel street demonstrations since the early 2000s, combining anti-Israel hatred with opposition to British and American foreign policy, especially the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan. It includes both far left and Islamist groupings and was chaired by Jeremy Corbyn MP until shortly after his election as Labour Party leader.

On 29 July 2014, Stop the War's website carried an article by its convenor Lindsey German, entitled "Are the demonstrations against Israel's attack on Gaza anti-Semitic?". The sub-headline attacked those expressing concerns as being "Apologists for Israel's barbarism".²⁹

Having attacked Israeli MPs and British journalists (mainstream Jewish groups were not mentioned), German did firmly state that antisemitism should be opposed, but did so whilst still partly doubting the current concerns, writing:

"No one should be complacent about anti-Semitism, whatever form it takes. There has undoubtedly been an increase in incidents in a number of European countries, and this is alarming, even if as yet it does not yet represent "a wave of anti-Semitic attacks" sweeping Europe."

Antisemitism Denial in *The Independent* - Mira Bar Hillel

Mira Bar Hillel's opinion article³⁰ of 7 August 2014 for the website of *The Independent*, was perhaps the most extreme example of abusive antisemitism denial to be published by a mainstream media outlet during the conflict. Entitled, "Despite claims that antisemitism is on the rise in the UK, its Israel's critics who need protection", the article included:

"...Around the world, Jewish communities are now trying to regain the sympathy they forfeited by blindly supporting the devastating Israeli offensive. The traditional way of doing this is to announce a rise in anti-Semitism and whipping up fears of "another holocaust"."

29. <http://stopwar.org.uk/index.php/news/are-the-demonstrations-against-israel-s-attack-on-gaza-anti-semitic>
"Apologists for Israel's barbarism allege that pro-Palestinian marches opposing the attack on Gaza are rife with anti-Semitism"

30. <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/despite-claims-that-antisemitism-is-on-the-rise-in-the-uk-its-israels-critics-who-need-protection-9651586.html>

Hillel also stated that antisemitism had not increased. Following CST's intervention this was amended by *The Independent* to clarify that it was her own opinion.

On 1 September 2014, *The Independent* published another Bar Hillel article, responding to a *Jewish Chronicle* article by David Aaronovitch, noting the need for a vocal "Jewish lobby" to oppose antisemitism. Bar Hillel used this to make various accusations about the supposed concealed power of the "pro-Israel lobby", naming the Conservative and Labour Friends of Israel groups and describing the pro-Israel lobby as "multi-tentacled and incredibly powerful": imagery that echoed traditional antisemitic themes of Jewish power.

Having discussed the supposed power of the pro-Israel lobby, her article ended by referencing "the Jewish" lobby saying, "Maybe it is for this covert use of power that has led Aaronovitch to wonder where the UK's Jewish lobby is. But for many of us, it is becoming clearer and clearer that it has been here all along."

The Independent subsequently removed Bar Hillel's "multi-tentacled" reference from the article, but did not publicly acknowledge this (despite publicly apologising for having inserted an incorrect hyperlink to Conservative Friends of Israel in the same sentence).³¹

31. <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/the-truth-about-the-uks-proisrael-lobbies-9702262.html>

DAVID WARD MP: Centre of controversy

AT THE TIME of the conflict, David Ward (Liberal Democrat) was the MP for Bradford East. Ward was criticised for strongly anti-Israel tweets³² (that he subsequently removed): and then himself became the focus of arguments and counter-arguments.

WARD was interviewed about his tweets by BBC Radio Five Live on 23 July 2014, immediately after a CST spokesman had answered the interviewer's questions about the rise in antisemitism at that time. Ward ignored the spokesman entirely, dismissively saying, *"we've heard it all before...criticism of Israel...people jump straight on the antisemitism bandwagon."*³³

When later in the conflict George Galloway (Respect) MP for Bradford West, declared Bradford an *"Israel-free zone"*, Ward warned, *"it is quite dangerous talk, because the danger is of course that anybody from a Jewish background – because people will not necessarily differentiate – is then subject to abuse and anti-Semitic acts."*³⁴

BBC Journalist

The below tweet in defence of Ward, by BBC journalist Anish Shaikh, evoked the antisemitic charge of Jewish money controlling politicians. (Shaikh subsequently deleted this twitter account.)



Ed McMillan MEP

The offensive nature of the below tweet by Ed McMillan MEP (Liberal Democrat), defending Ward from criticism, will be understood if the word "Jews" were to be replaced by "blacks".



Alexei Sayle

The comedian Alexei Sayle's 24 July 2014 interview on BBC Radio Two was a strong example of the demonisation of those expressing concern at antisemitism: in this case, directed against Emma Barnett of *The Daily Telegraph* who had written a heartfelt article expressing her sincere fears. Sayle and Barnett are both Jewish.

Sayle called Barnett a *"pro-Israel propagandist"* who was using antisemitism *"to discredit the entire Palestinian cause."* After interventions he did acknowledge *"there are idiots out there who will be antisemitic,"* before then saying *"I hate Jihadists...Muslim fundamentalism...Israeli fundamentalism. And that's what Emma Barnett is supporting...the murder of children. The murder of women. That's what she's supporting. From a fascist, Zionist ideology. And that's what this article is. It's just propaganda."*

Barnett ended by telling Sayle to get a lawyer and thanked him *"for proving my exact point."*

32. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/liberaldemocrats/11031458/Liberal-Democrat-MP-censured-for-saying-he-would-fire-a-rocket-at-Israelis-is-cleared-by-his-party.html>

33. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-28443230>

34. http://www.asianimage.co.uk/news/11396366.Police_investigating_Galloway_comments/

ANTI-ISRAEL AND ANTI-ZIONIST IMPACTS ON JEWISH LIFE: Bradford, Scotland, Sainsbury's and Tricycle Theatre

THE FOLLOWING examples, all from August 2014, caused much anxiety for many British Jews.

ON 2 AUGUST, George Galloway (Respect MP for Bradford West told party activists in Leeds, *"We have declared Bradford to be an Israel-free zone."* His demand that no Israelis be permitted into Bradford, prompted widespread concern, whilst his distinguishing between Israel and Jews in the same speech went largely unnoticed. One typical email to CST was from a Jewish student in the city, expressing fears about returning to study there after the summer break.

On 4 August, Respect Party activist Yvonne Ridley tweeted *"We have a Scottish-wide tour planned, working to make Scotland a Zionist-free zone."* Scottish Jewish representative group SCOJEC (Scottish Council of Jewish Communities) called Ridley's tweet "outrageous"³⁵ and the worst event for Scottish Jews at this time. Ridley denied that she meant Jews. During the controversy, Nicola Sturgeon MSP (then deputy leader of the Scottish Nationalist Party) did not attend a rally in Glasgow that she and Ridley were due to be at together.

On 16 August, a Sainsbury's supermarket manager removed chilled kosher goods from a display in Holborn, central London, fearing that they would be targeted and damaged by anti-Israel protestors. The decision sparked dismay and anger³⁶ that kosher food was now at risk of removal from shops, due to the numerous examples of anti-Israel boycott protestors disrupting stores and shopping centres throughout the UK.

On 5 August, North London's Tricycle Theatre said it would not host the UK Jewish Film Festival as planned, because the festival received £1,400 funding from London's Israeli Embassy. The Tricycle had hosted the event for eight years and offered to refund the £1,400, but this was refused by the festival organisers.

Sir Nicholas Hytner, Director of the National Theatre, defended the Tricycle, saying³⁷ *"It is entirely understandable they felt obliged to insist that no government agency should sponsor the festival. It greatly saddens me that the UKJFF have unwisely politicised a celebration of Jewish culture."*

Tricycle chairman Jonathan Levy said that the theatre³⁸ *"will be pleased to host the UKJFF provided it occurs without support or other endorsement from the Israeli government."*

In response, leading Jewish representative groups stated, *"This decision is shameful and shows that boycotts of Israel inevitably lead to the harassment of Jewish culture and individuals."*³⁹

The *Jewish Chronicle* noted the rise in antisemitic incidents and social media hatred before describing the theatre's decision as:⁴⁰

"...the most worrying incident for many years. It is open racism – singling out an apolitical Jewish cultural festival for special treatment and demanding that its organisers conform to a political view spelt out by the theatre. It is bullying of a minority, separating out 'good'

35. http://www.scojec.org/news/2014/14viii_antisemitism/antisemitism.html

36. <http://www.theguardian.com/business/2014/aug/17/sainsburys-removes-kosher-food-anti-israel-protesters>

37. <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/121189/uk-jewish-film-festival-banned>

38. *ibid*

39. <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/121189/uk-jewish-film-festival-banned>

40. <http://www.thejc.com/comment-and-debate/leader/121188/racism-kilburn>

Jews who disown Israel from 'bad' Jews who don't. And it is, for all the denials, a form of antisemitism – making a demand of a Jewish charity that it makes of no other organisation..."

A Guardian editorial noted the distinction between the Israeli Embassy and the Israeli Government, before making important points as to how that impacts upon the identity of many British Jews:⁴¹

"It was this connection with Israel as a country that UK Jewish Film refused to give up...that reflects something crucial about contemporary Jewish identity: that most, not all, Jews feel bound up with Israel, even if that relationship is one of doubt and anxiety. To demand that Jews surrender that connection is to tell Jews how they might...live as Jews. Such demands have an ugly history. They are not the business of any public institution..."

ANTISEMITISM WITHIN ANTI-ISRAEL BOYCOTT

THE BELOW screenshot is taken from the Facebook page of the Bradford Boycott Israel group, on 12 August 2014. The discussion concerned which supermarkets to boycott in protest against Israel and shows how easily comments about Jews can enter such a discussion.

Mumtaz Ghaffar In order to change the system, we must first become the system.
 6 · August 11 at 7:17pm

Meggy Khan Asda is owned by jews so are lidl and aldi who are owned by jew brothers from Germany best solution is to stop buying products made in isreal
 3 · August 12 at 1:42am

Henna Henna Asda is part of Walmart family. Walmart is a big home goods chain store in America which is 100% Jew owned.
 1 · August 12 at 1:10am

Saima Saleh Zionism is ruling the world! Never voting conservative!
 2 · August 11 at 11:43pm

Sophia Jackson Asda is owned by walmart and walmart is owned by jews who fund isreal boycott all asda's!!
 August 12 at 4:52pm

41. <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/aug/08/guardian-view-gaza-rise-antisemitism>

SUMMER 2015: Leading political and media denunciations of antisemitism

THE SURGE of antisemitism in the summer of 2014 led many politicians and media commentators to strongly condemn the phenomenon. In some cases, their speeches and articles made little or no distinction between antisemitism per se and anti-Israel campaigning, reflecting the disparate sources of such unease for many Jews and others.

EXAMPLES included the following:⁴²

Prime Minister David Cameron MP

wrote to Chief Rabbi Ephraim Mirvis on 10 September 2014 to mark the annual pre-High Holy Day Conference of Rabbis. The PM stated:

"...as we reflect on events this summer, it is more important than ever that Britain says loudly and clearly that there can never be any excuse for antisemitism. As a Government we are committed to doing everything we can in the fight against antisemitism..."

...a Jewish friend once asked me whether it will always be safe for his children and grandchildren to live in Britain. The answer to that question will always be "yes". I hope that in years to come we will reach a point where that question will not even be asked."

Home Secretary Theresa May MP wrote⁴³ in the Jewish Chronicle on 28 August 2014:

"...we must be on guard against hatred and bigotry and any sign of a resurgence of antisemitism..."

...So let me be very clear: there is absolutely no place in our country for antisemitism. Whatever form it takes – physical attacks, offensive graffiti, or vile comments online – targeting a person or a group based on their race, religion or belief is something against which we must all take a stand."

Scottish Labour Party leader Jim

Murphy MP wrote in the Glasgow Herald on 13 August 2014:⁴⁴

"...One of the great strengths in our democracy is that we can argue passionately about the Middle East. With that freedom comes responsibility and we should speak out when some go beyond criticism of Israel into the entirely darker sphere of anti-semitism..."

...Many Jewish constituents have been in touch with me in recent days. It shouldn't be left to Jews to speak out against the existence of anti-semitism in our midst. It is all of our human and democratic responsibility – no matter our faith and regardless of our view on the Middle East – to renew our opposition to the world's oldest hatred."

Scotland's First Minister Alex Salmond

MSP met with Scottish Jewish community leaders on 22 August 2014 upon their request to discuss rising antisemitism, and accompanying fears being expressed by Scottish Jews; and aspects of anti-Israel campaigning arising from the Israel-Hamas conflict:⁴⁵

"We had a productive discussion where I made it clear that we will not tolerate any form of racial or religious prejudice, and that the full force of the law would be brought down on the perpetrators of any antisemitic incidents in Scotland."

"All hate crimes are deplorable and have no place in modern Scotland – I support all efforts to stamp out this unacceptable behaviour."

42. <https://cst.org.uk/news/blog/2014/09/12/government-opposition-to-antisemitism>

43. <http://www.thejc.com/comment-and-debate/comment/121792/we-will-do-more-combat-antisemitism>

44. http://m.heraldsotland.com/opinion/13174598.Agenda_/

45. http://www.scojec.org/news/2014/14viii_antisemitism/antisemitism_2.html

Scotland's Lord Advocate and the Chief Constable also expressed their support for the Jewish community and opposition to antisemitism at this time.

Chief Whip Michael Gove MP gave a detailed rebuttal and analysis⁴⁶ of antisemitism to the Holocaust Educational Trust on 9 September 2014. It was extremely well received by those present and included the following:

"...We need to stand together against prejudice, against hate, against the resurgent, mutating, lethal virus of antisemitism – now more than ever..."

...In the aftermath of the Second World War, everyone was agreed. Antisemitism could have no place in a civilised society. The articulation of prejudice towards the Jewish people was the gateway which led to Auschwitz by way of Nuremberg – exclusion and then extermination...

...Or so it seemed back then. Today, across Europe, there has been a revival of antisemitism that the enormity of the Holocaust should have rendered forever unthinkable...

...When banners at pro-Palestinian rallies carry slogans such as "Stop Doing What Hitler Did To You" or "Gaza is a Concentration Camp" then a line has been crossed...

...We need to be clear about what is going on here. There is a deliberate attempt to devalue the unique significance of the Holocaust, and so remove the stigma from antisemitism...

...And even as this relativisation, trivialisation and perversion of the Holocaust goes on, so prejudice towards the Jewish people grows...

...We need to speak out against this prejudice. We need to remind people that what began

with a campaign against Jewish goods in the past ended with a campaign against Jewish lives. We need to spell out that this sort of prejudice starts with the Jews but never ends with the Jews. We need to stand united against hate. Now more than ever...

...I believe that, in the face of this prejudice, there has, so far, been insufficient indignation: an insufficient willingness to recognise that civic freedom is indivisible: that an attack on one is an attack on all...

...There is an iron law in history: the more secure the Jewish people are in a nation, the freer and happier that nation is. Throughout world history, the test of which nations are most advanced and most liberal is the security of the Jewish population..."

The Times editorial of 24 July listed examples of antisemitic attacks across Europe, before stating:⁴⁷

"...These are grotesque, atavistic forces that have only the loosest acquaintance with the modern politics of the Middle East, and disturbing ideological antecedents in European history.

...It is a legitimate if debatable political viewpoint that Israel has taken too little care to avoid civilian casualties in Gaza. It is something else entirely when the Jewish state, a refuge for a persecuted people and a vibrant democracy, is compared to Nazi Germany and accused of committing genocide. Yet that has now become a familiar trope in anti-Israel demonstrations, shared by – of all bizarre associations – the revolutionary left and militant theocratic Islamists."

46. <http://www.thejc.com/comment-and-debate/essays/122444/we-need-fight-hate-now-more-ever>

47. The Times 24 July 2014 leader article "The Longest Hatred. Ugly sentiments are surfacing in anti-Israel demonstrations in Europe"

The Guardian editorial of 8 August criticised the Tricycle Theatre (see page 24) and noted antisemitic attacks in Britain and Europe, before stating:⁴⁷

"...The common thread here is the conflation of Jews with Israeli conduct.

It should not need saying, but it does: people can be as angry as they like at the Israeli government, but to attack a synagogue, threaten children at a Jewish school, or throw a brick through the window of a Jewish grocery store is vile and contemptible racism. It cannot be excused by reference to Israeli military behaviour. The two are and should be kept utterly distinct.

Some may counter that that is impossible, given the strong attachment of most Jews to Israel. But this is less complicated than it looks. Yes, Jews feel bound up with Israel, they believe in its right to survive and thrive. But that does not mean they should be held responsible for its policy, on which some may disagree and over which they have no control.

Nor should they be required to declare their distance from Israel as a condition for admission into polite society. We opposed such a question being put to all Muslims after 9/11 and, though the cases are not equivalent, the same logic applies here. This is a test for those who take a strong stance in support of the Palestinians, but in truth it is a test for all of us."

Lord Daniel Finkelstein, wrote a double page article in *The Times* on 21 August, entitled "For most of my life, antisemitism was not an issue. Now it is".⁴⁹ This included:

"...In the long history of the Jews, there are very few better places or times to live than right here, right now.

...for all that I am about to write, I know what this country is and I love it. I intend to live here all my life and die here...

Yet just recently, things are a bit different. Almost every Jew feels it. I know I'm not alone.

...For most of my life, antisemitism was not an issue...

...Within the last week, just to give you a feel for it, I have been sent two separate tweets with different content by people claiming the "Jewish Holocaust is a hoax" – one, tellingly, providing a link from the Iranian television website. And another tweet about how "they" are "well funded and own the media". These were not sent, by the way, to advance an argument, just to let me know that those sending it were on to me.

...All this has been going on for quite a while. Yet there is no question about it, Gaza has made things worse...

This is a great country to live in and in many ways it is getting better. After all, Sainsbury's in Holborn even has a kosher food counter that it can close down. Yet most of us Jews, wherever we are in the world, have a niggling feeling that perhaps it might be a good idea to keep a suitcase packed, and many of us have had, at least once, a conversation about where we would go if we had to.

I don't have such a suitcase. I won't need it, I know I won't. But if I told you that I didn't understand it, I'd be lying."

Other notable examples of articles explaining Jewish concerns included:

EMMA BARNETT in *The Daily Telegraph* 23 July, "Gaza conflict: As a British Jew, I am now scared to talk about Israel and Gaza. It is

48. *The Guardian* 8 August 2014 leader article "The Guardian view on Gaza and the rise of antisemitism"

49. "For most of my life, antisemitism was not an issue. Now it is". *The Times* 21 August 2014

terrifying to see those who oppose Israel's war in Gaza turn against all Jews".

HUGO RIFKIND in *The Times* 12 August, "Suddenly it feels uncomfortable to be a Jew".

HADLEY FREEMAN in *The Guardian Comment is Free* website 8 August, "Please don't tell me what I should think about Israel".

RICHARD FERRER in *The Independent Voices* website 29 July, "We ignore the new anti-Semitism taking hold at our peril". (*The Independent* was forced to disable the comments chain beneath this article, due to the quantity of antisemitic comments it attracted.)

ED MILIBAND MP: subject of antisemitism?

THERE WAS some debate in 2014 (and up until the 2015 General Election) as to whether or not antisemitism played a role in mainstream portrayals of Labour leader Ed Miliband MP.

The case was not at all clear cut, showing the difficulty of making such assessments, especially in the relative absence of overt antisemitism. The question is, however, an important one, as indicating the potential power (or not) of antisemitism as a real political force in Britain today.

THOSE CLAIMING that antisemitism played a role did so largely on the basis of it being subconscious on the part of the perpetrators. They noted the repeated use of words such as "intellectual", "geeky", "weird" and "north London" to describe Miliband and overall portrayals of his being somehow alien or 'not one of us': and argued that this both revealed (and played to) a very deep-seated unconscious antisemitism.

The use of photographs of Miliband eating a bacon sandwich was also referenced by

those claiming antisemitism. Taken on 21 May 2014 as he embarked upon a Local and European elections tour, these photographs were repeatedly used against Miliband until the 2015 General Election (for example, the front page of *The Sun*^{50 51}, the day before the Election).

By way of contrast, UKIP leader Nigel Farage was portrayed as authentically British. For example, when Farage ate a bacon sandwich, the *Daily Mail* noted⁵², "he did much better than Ed Miliband."

50. 'Save our Bacon', *The Sun* (6 May 2015)

51. <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/may/06/sun-front-page-antisemitic-save-our-bacon-ed-miliband>

52. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2778886/That-s-Ed-Farage-shows-Labour-leader-eat-bacon-buttie-campaigns-election.html>

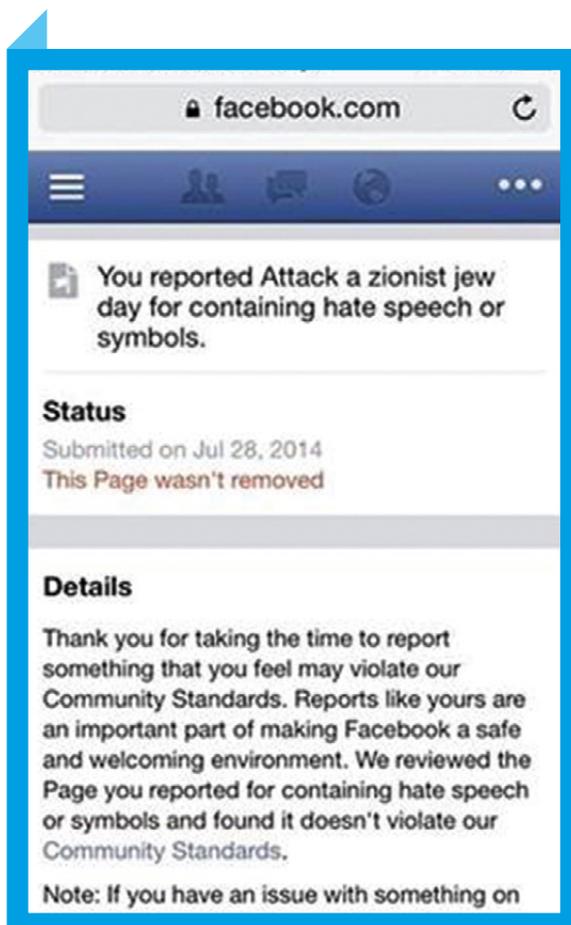
SOCIAL MEDIA AND ANTISEMITISM

2014 REINFORCED the position of social media as a key component in contemporary antisemitism. In overall terms, this was seen by the widespread profusion of antisemitism during the Israel-Hamas conflict (see trending *#HitlerWasRight*, p.20). The danger of a more concerted social media campaign was also vividly shown, as British and American neo-Nazis repeatedly targeted Luciana Berger, a Jewish Labour MP.

Social media platforms (especially Twitter and Facebook) were strongly criticised for their inability, or unwillingness, to prevent or remove offensive material. CST worked constructively with Twitter to improve their performance, but the problem persists.⁵³

Facebook: "Attack a Zionist Jew Day"

The inconsistency of Facebook "Community Standards" policies was shown by its initial decision that a page entitled "Attack a Zionist Jew Day" did not violate its hate speech policies. Strong protests immediately followed and Facebook quickly reversed its decision.



Ed Miliband MP: using Facebook to highlight and challenge antisemitism

Labour Party leader Ed Miliband MP addressed the subject of antisemitism in an unusual and personal Facebook posting⁵⁴ on 4 November 2014. Partly prompted by the neo-Nazi campaign of antisemitic social media abuse against Luciana Berger MP and Louise Ellman MP, it included the following:

"...The shocking attacks on my colleagues Luciana Berger and Louise Ellman have also highlighted the new channels by which anti-Semites spread their vile views..."

...Some have told me how, for the first time in their lifetime, they are scared for their children's future in our country. Others have expressed a general unease that this rise in anti-Semitism could signal that something has changed – or is changing – in Britain..."

...We need a zero-tolerance approach to anti-Semitism in the UK and to reaffirm our revulsion to it in all its forms..."

...A zero-tolerance approach to anti-Semitism and prejudice in all its forms here in Britain will go hand-in-hand with the pursuit of peace in the Middle East as a key focus of the next Labour government's foreign policy."

53. Much of these efforts came to fruition in 2015, leading to an improvement in Twitter's removal of antisemitism, but the situation remains highly problematic due to the scale and nature of Twitter

54. <https://www.facebook.com/edmiliband/posts/856173464401616>

ANTISEMITISM IN FOOTBALL

PARTLY based on information provided by CST^{55 56}, West Bromwich Albion Football Club (WBA) striker Nicolas Anelka was found guilty of an aggravated rules breach for his “quenelle” goal celebration. Arguments continued over the use of the word “Yid” against, and by, supporters of Tottenham Hotspur Football Club, but two other controversies in 2014 concerned the old antisemitic trope of Jews and money.

Nicolas Anelka and “quenelle”

On 27 February 2014, WBA striker Nicolas Anelka was banned for five matches and fined £80,000 for having made a “quenelle” gesture⁵⁷ after scoring in a match on 28 December 2013. Anelka denied antisemitic intent, but the gesture (an inverted Nazi salute, popularised by banned antisemitic provocateur Dieudonne) breached anti-racism regulations.

CST had explained the quenelle to the Football Association (FA) and the wider media after Anelka’s action. The FA brought the charges to its Independent Regulatory Commission (IRC), which agreed that the quenelle “is strongly associated with anti-Semitism” and agreed with an expert witness who stated, “the majority of people in France would clearly have understood that.”⁵⁸

Nevertheless, the Commission also found that Anelka had “not intended to express or promote antisemitism.” This, despite his admitting that he had attended a Dieudonne show, had met him and that the quenelle was to dedicate his goal to “Dieudonne as a friendly gesture.” CST expressed its thanks to the FA for its prosecution of the case, but voiced disagreement of the IRC’s logic and sentencing.

Mario Balotelli

Liverpool striker Mario Balotelli received a one-match ban after using Instagram to post a Super Mario picture that he did not realise was antisemitic. (Super Mario is both Balotelli’s nickname and the name of the character shown on the right.)

Daily Mail sports columnist Martin Samuel explained⁵⁹ the offence, “...Mexicans and blacks endure a mild physical stereotype, and Jews are portrayed as greedy, money-grabbers...the whole post uses the guise of anti-racism to build up to an anti-Semitic pay off line, which sadly passed Balotelli by...”

Malky Mackay and Dave Whelan

In August 2014, it was revealed⁶⁰ that football manager Malky Mackay was under investigation by the FA for racist text messages, including one that referred to football agent Phil Smith, reading “Go on, fat Phil. Nothing like a Jew that sees money slipping through his fingers.”

In November, Mackay was appointed



55. <https://cst.org.uk/news/blog/2014/02/27/cst-statement-on-the-fa-verdict-regarding-nicolas-anelka>

56. <https://cst.org.uk/news/blog/2014/03/07/fa-ban-for-nicolas-anelka-the-written-report>

57. <https://cst.org.uk/news/blog/2013/12/29/nicolas-anelka-and-dieudonne-the-quenelle-is-an-antisemitic-salute>

58. Football Association Regulatory Commission. The Football Association and Nicolas Anelka (25 and 26 February 2014)

59. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/football/article-2859623/Mario-Balotelli-not-bad-guy-s-foolish-doesn-t-think-consequences.html>

60. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/football/article-2730307/Malky-Mackay-lain-Moody-investigated-FA-sexist-racist-homophobic-text-messages-time-Cardiff.html>

manager of Wigan Athletic Football Club by its chairman, respected businessman, Dave Whelan. Responding to questions about Mackay's tweets⁶¹, Whelan replied that he did not view them as offensive, in part saying "Jewish people chase money more than everyone else".

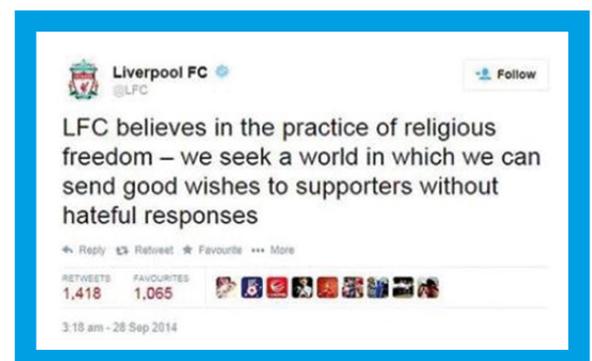
Whelan issued a subsequent apology:⁶² "If there are Jewish people offended by what I have said then I would apologise immediately...All my Jewish friends realise that I would never insult a Jewish person, I have no reason to – they are a great race of people. I do a lot of business with them, they are very honest people, hard-working people and I would never insult a Jewish person."

Liverpool FC: Jewish New Year message removed

On 26 September 2014, Liverpool Football Club tweeted a message wishing its "Jewish supporters around the world a happy new year". The club received so many antisemitic tweets in reply, that they deleted the original message, before replacing it with a statement in favour of religious freedom. The two tweets are shown below:



Antisemitic reactions to Liverpool FC's Rosh Hashanah message.



61. <http://www.theguardian.com/football/2014/nov/20/wigan-dave-whelan-accused-antisemitism-jewish-people>

62. <https://cst.org.uk/news/blog/2014/11/21/jews-money-football-and-antisemitism>

DIEUDONNE BAN

IN FEBRUARY 2014, the antisemitic French agitator Dieudonne M’Bala M’Bala announced his intention to travel to the UK in support of fellow-French footballer Nicolas Anelka, who was facing disciplinary action by the FA for his use of the “quenelle” gesture (see p.31).

The Home Office promptly banned Dieudonne⁶³ from entering the UK.⁶⁴

VOTE FOR PALESTINIAN STATEHOOD – JEWS CONTROL POLITICIANS

THE VOTE on 13 October 2014 by MPs to recognise Palestinian statehood caused a number of reactions, explicitly or implicitly echoing the staple antisemitic conspiracy charge that Jews control politicians: expressed either as “Jewish” or “pro-Israel” lobbies. The control charge was variously made against both British and American lobbies.

The most serious case concerned David Ward MP and the Liberal Democrats, as the party excused his actions, despite Ward’s previous behaviour and contrary to prior assurances the party had given to Jewish groups.

Liberal Democrats, David Ward MP and Baroness Jenny Tonge

David Ward MP (see also p.23 of this report) and Baroness Jenny Tonge have long been criticised for condemning Israel with language that risks evoking antisemitism. Both Ward and Tonge are Liberal Democrats, and their repeated behaviour has led to many complaints from Jewish organisations and others to the Liberal Democrat Party.

Ward used Twitter, as shown on the right, to claim that those MPs who opposed the vote for Palestine were “pro-Israel” and needed to be exposed.⁶⁵

CST criticised Ward’s behaviour, stating: “No doubt David Ward will furiously deny meaning any such thing, but the old antisemitic accusation of Jewish money



controlling compliant politicians inevitably comes to mind...if Ward does not wish to be misunderstood then he must avoid such provocations: but he already knows that, as do his party leaders.”⁶⁶

The Liberal Democrat Party did not act against Ward, despite Jewish organisations believing that he had clearly breached previous assurances about the need for

63. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/03/dieudonne-banned-uk-nicolas-anelka-quenelle>

64. <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/115400/dieudonn%C3%A9-ban-welcomed>

65. His reference to Peter Osborne concerns a television documentary from 2009, regarding the UK pro-Israel lobby. Osborne stated that he found no evidence of a conspiracy, but many ignored this.

66. <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/124800/lib-dems-will-not-take-action-over-david-wards-israel-control-tweet>

"proportionate and precise" language⁶⁷ and taking "greater care" on Twitter.⁶⁸ A Party spokesman's response lessened the accusation that Ward had made; and altered the matter from being about Ward's duty of care, to whether or not Ward had alleged Jewish control of MPs:

"The tweet specifically related to David's concerns some supporters of Israel actively lobbied MPs to try to prevent the recognition of Palestine. It is in no way a suggestion Jewish people are trying to control MPs."

In the House of Lords, Baroness Tonge came to Ward's defence, claiming that anyone challenging the pro-Israel lobby will be "disposed of by our leaders," She stated:⁶⁹

"...Those of us who challenge the [pro Israel] lobby are threatened and disposed of by our leaders as best they can. David Ward, my colleague in the other place, is currently fighting yet another battle against the lobby as I speak..."

...All lobbies are dangerous and undemocratic; the pro-Israel lobby is not the only one, but it is particularly dangerous in this context. Money and influence win over truth and justice, and the West sinks lower and lower in the world's esteem because of it."

Andrew Bridgen MP

Andrew Bridgen MP (Conservative, North West Leicestershire) stated friendship for Israel, whilst also describing an American "Jewish lobby" to which "the world's superpower...is very susceptible":

"...given that the political system of the world's superpower and our great ally the United States is very susceptible to well-funded powerful lobbying groups and the power of

the Jewish lobby in America, it falls to this country and to this House to be the good but critical friend that Israel needs."

Alan Duncan MP

Following the Palestine vote, Alan Duncan MP (Conservative, Rutland & Melton) said that antisemitism "should be crushed in all its forms", but the next day stated "we all know" American politics is "dominated" by a "very powerful financial lobby".⁷⁰

The lobby remarks came in a BBC Radio Four 'World at One' interview on 14 October 2014. Duncan said the Palestine vote was needed in part because:

"...we all know that the United States is in hock to a very powerful financial lobby which dominates its politics..."

Interviewer Martha Kearney did not challenge this, nor did she ask the specific identity of the lobby, which was therefore left for the listener to freely interpret.

The previous night Duncan spoke⁷¹ to the influential Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) on Israeli settlements. He voiced strong opposition to antisemitism and to "the Israeli lobby", whilst also attempting to distinguish between British Jews and the Israeli lobby:

"I deplore anti-Semitism. It should be crushed in all its forms and we should never seek to diminish its significance or downplay its impact on the Jewish community."

...it is wrong to correlate Israel with all Jews: so is it also wrong to conflate all Jews with Israel... Jewish people don't just play an important part in British life: they are crucial to it. All should value the UK's Jewish community and its deep contribution to the fabric of Britain. As such they

67. <https://cst.org.uk/news/blog/2013/07/26/from-liberal-democrats-to-star-of-david-pigs>

68. <http://www.libdemvoice.org/lib-dem-chief-whip-on-david-ward-i-do-not-intend-to-take-further-action-in-relation-to-the-tweet-42031.html>

69. <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/124997/lord-mitchell-attacks-hypocrisy-%E2%80%99-anti-israel-campaigners>

70. <https://cst.org.uk/news/blog/2014/10/14/alan-duncan-mp-opposes-antisemitism-and-a-very-powerful-financial-lobby>

71. <http://www.alanduncan.org.uk/articles/alan-delivers-speech-on-israeli-settlements>

should, and do, play a full part in or politics.

But our politics has rules...our political funding should not come from another country...or be unduly in hock to another country. This rule seems to apply to every country except when it comes from Israel. Jewish voters in the UK should be welcomed as supporters of, and donors to, their favoured political party...

...stop conflating, as we have for too long,

British Jews with the Israeli lobby. They are distinct, and failing to recognise this treats the entire Jewish community as if they are homogenous, when of course they are not.

We need British Jews for the Conservative, Labour, or other UK parties; not the Israeli lobby for any party. The time has come to make sure above any doubt that the funding of any party in the UK is clearly decoupled from the influence of the Israeli state..."

BBC DISCUSSION – JEWISH DONORS, JEWISH LOBBY, MANSION TAX

A DISCUSSION on the late night BBC News Newspaper Review of 8 November 2014 showed how easily perceptions can move between British Jews, money and Israel. In this case, discussion of Jewish donors to the Labour Party risked depicting these individual donors as a collective lobby, who cared not about Labour: but about Israel and their own tax rates.

THE DISCUSSION concerned the following day's front page of *The Independent on Sunday*, headlined "Jewish donors drop 'toxic' Ed Miliband". This factually reported dissatisfaction by some Jewish donors with the Labour leader's support for the Palestine vote and was not an antisemitic article.

The article's "Jewish donors" became "Jewish lobby" in the studio discussion, and Miliband was described as "brave and principled..."

people take their money away, so he [Miliband] can't win, can he?" At this stage, the BBC host Tim Willcox suggested:

"a lot of these prominent Jewish faces will be very much against the mansion tax".

The two studio guests responded that many non-Jews also opposed Miliband's proposed mansion tax.

MEND – 300 YEARS OF “PRO-ISRAEL LOBBY”

MEND (Muslim Engagement and Development) is a UK Muslim advocacy group “challenging Islamophobia and anti-Muslim discrimination”. It is the successor to iEngage, a group that CST described as “having a troubling attitude to antisemitism”. MEND continues this trend, using hostile language and themes about Jews and Zionists that risk setting Muslims against Jews.⁷² This includes the notion that Zionists are part responsible for anti-Muslim media coverage; and that government and police support for Jewish security measures and opposition to antisemitism, is somehow in competition with the Muslim community’s own needs in these regards.

MEND’S CHIEF EXECUTIVE Sufyan Ismail reacted to the vote of British MPs in favour of Palestinian statehood by telling mosque audiences that it was “the first time in British history” that the “Israel lobby’s presence in the United Kingdom” had been defeated, saying “we battered them”. This was a clear case of “Israel lobby” being substituted for “Jewish lobby”, or for “Jewish community” within the absurd and conspiratorial claim that

it had lost no vote for 300 years. Ismail said:⁷³

“The other night in Parliament, for the first time in British history, first time in 300 years of the Israeli lobby’s presence in the United Kingdom, first time in British history they lost a vote in Parliament. Do you know this? And the Muslim community didn’t just beat the Israeli lobby, we battered them.”

ECONOMIST REMOVES OFFENSIVE CARTOON

IT IS THE NATURE and purpose of political cartoons to provoke strong reactions, based upon emotional and analytical understandings of the imagery contained. This leaves cartoons prone to accusations and interpretations of racism: even if this is not the intention of the artist or publisher.

IN JANUARY, the respected *Economist* magazine apologised for an offensive cartoon it had printed, that risked inferring Jewish or Israeli control of US President Obama.⁷⁴

The cartoon showed President Obama trying to shake hands with Iranian President Rohani, but being restrained by an ankle shackle, attached by a chain to the seal of the US Congress. The seal contained two Stars of David, denoting either Jewish or Israeli control

of Congress. Furthermore, the shackle on Obama’s ankle risked evoking the imagery of anti-black slavery. The actual article accompanying the cartoon made no explicit mention of Israel or its lobby.

The magazine removed the cartoon from its main website, stating: “The print edition of this story had a cartoon which inadvertently caused offence to some readers, so we have replaced it with a photograph.”

72. <https://cst.org.uk/news/blog/2015/04/15/fighting-hatred-together-or-setting-communities-apart>

73. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ojugvuZdJek&feature=youtu.be>

74. <http://blogs.timesofisrael.com/the-economist-how-the-jews-control-congress/>

BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY RETURNS TO OVERT ANTISEMITISM

THE BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY (BNP) has been Britain's largest overtly antisemitic and racist political party since its modern inception in 1982. The BNP suffered electoral collapse in the 2014 European Elections.⁷⁵

AT VARIOUS TIMES in recent years, the BNP claimed to have rejected antisemitism and moved on from its explicitly neo-Nazi past. This was wholly rejected by British Jews and others, reinforced by BNP leader Nick Griffin's equivocations about the Holocaust and its denial.

In 2014, the BNP returned to its antisemitism, now mixing old style Nazi hatred with contemporary anti-capitalism, including themes and language that can also be found within modern far left and New Age circles: but regularly rooted in the fundamentally Nazi charge that Jewish money controls politicians to destroy white Europe, by conflict and other means.

In January 2014, the BNP website⁷⁶ used the below vampire image⁷⁷, with a Jewish Star



of David and the words "TRANSNATIONAL JUDENSTADT" to illustrate a picture entitled "Golden Dawn leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos arrested on the orders of international Zionists".⁷⁸

Juden is German for Jews. Stadt is German for city. The association of Jews with vampires is a medieval antisemitic charge that includes the blood libel, alleging Jews drink the blood of their innocent victims. In this setting, the term "international Zionists" is clearly intended as an antisemitic cypher.

On 5 March 2014, the BNP issued a statement⁷⁹ on the crisis in Ukraine, using pre-World War Two Nazi allegations that Bolshevism was a Jewish (not Soviet) movement. It combined this with entirely modern language about "extreme Zionism... and globalism of neo-cons":

"...naive Ukrainian nationalists blame Russia for the murder of millions during the 1930s, the Bolsheviks were overwhelmingly not Russian...

...the radical Jewish racism and supremacism and anti-Christian hatred that in the 1930s produced the Bolshevik terror, now largely find their outlet in the extreme Zionism, anti-white fanaticism and globalism of the neo-cons."

On 12 March 2014, BNP leader Nick Griffin (then still an MEP) spoke in a European Parliament debate on asylum. His speech echoed Nazi allegations that Jews conspire with the left and the right to destroy the white races. Griffin used the term "final solution",

75. BNP votes fell from 943,598 votes in 2009, to 179,694 votes in 2014, losing both its MEPs.

76. <http://www.bnp.org.uk/news/national/golden-dawn-amnesty-international-and-charitable-status>

77. Originally from the 1922 German horror film *Nosferatu*

78. Golden Dawn is a Greek far right group.

79. <http://www.bnp.org.uk/news/national/ukraine-official-statement>

but not the word "Jew":

"An unholy alliance of leftists, capitalists and Zionist supremacists has schemed to promote immigration and miscegenation...the criminal elite seeks new ways to camouflage their project...the real aim stays the same: the biggest genocide in human history, the final solution of the Christian European problem. This crime demands a new set of Nuremberg trials and you people will be in the dock."

Griffin's European Parliament speech was similar to one he had recently given⁸⁰ at a far right conference in Rome, in which he warned against globalisation and *"another Zionist war"*. He alleged that Europe's nations were being *"murdered"* and that this was *"cold-blooded, calculated and deliberate by the Zionists, the neo-Cons and the capitalists."*

Griffin also referenced *"vampire banks"* and European *"elites"* that are *"not politicians, they are banksters' puppets"*.

BNP videos featuring the party's Youth Organiser, Jack Renshaw, showed that a newer generation of BNP activists was now inheriting this mixture of modern and old fashioned antisemitism.

In *BNP Youth Fight Back*, young people ask who is responsible for Britain's ills. The first answer given is *"the banksters"*, quickly followed by:

"The heartless Zionists, whose interests are foreign interests, who send out soldiers

to fight and die for the private profit of greedy politicians."

In *Spreading Truth to Youth*, Renshaw uses the expression *"anti-bankster"*, attacks the Rothschilds, denies antisemitism and claims that *"Talmudic"* Jews are regarded by other Jews as *"Satanists"* (Judaism has no such concept). He then denies that the party is:

"racist, fascist, or whatever...eh...Talmudic word you want to throw at us."

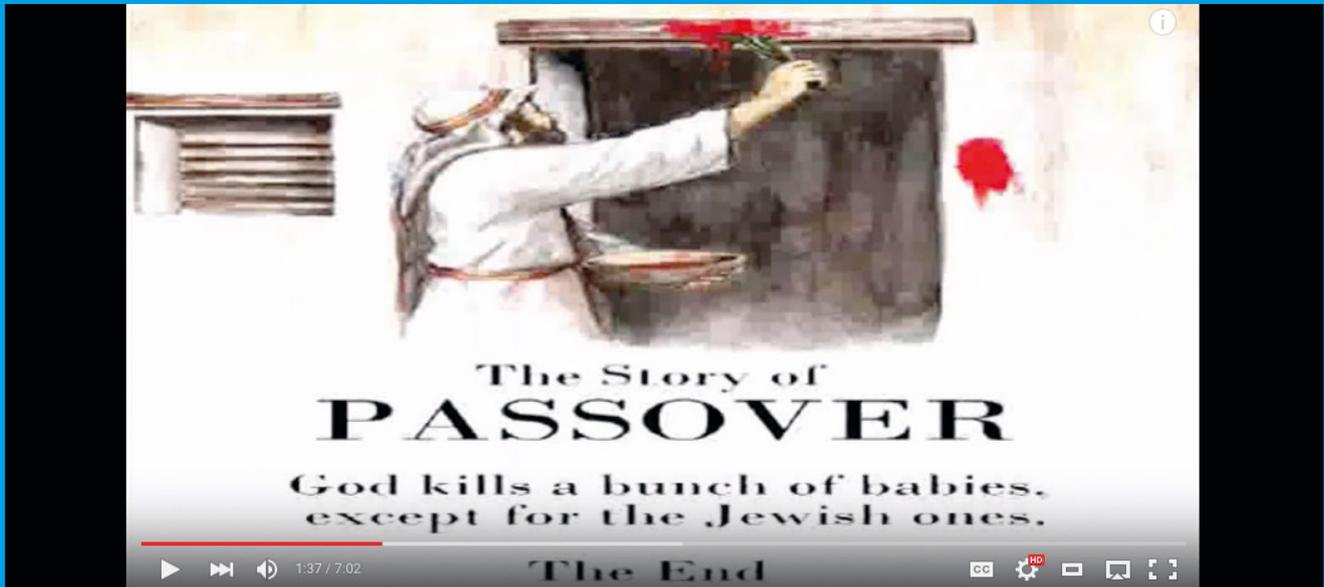
The film *Nationalism not Globalism*, shows a public speech by Renshaw in which he says the European Union is the opening of a *"global New World Order"*, wrought by *"cultural Marxists"* and *"capitalists"*. He attacks *"the banksters"*, alleging that the Rothschilds want to enslave the world in debt, before alleging *"cultural Marxists"* and *"financial institutions"* are:

"trying to mongrelize the races of the planet."

Renshaw's speech ends with applause drowning out the last words of his proclamation that:

"Eventually when nationalists get to power...we'll be able to hang those treasonous [applause]".

80. Europe Rises Again <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kA4YHuZvaWc>



BLOOD SACRIFICE FOR MCDONALD'S (DVD) feat Zionist Rabbi Abe Finkelstein & James Wickstrom (HQ)



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This image, taken from YouTube, shows an antisemitic film that combines anti-Judaism with contemporary activism targeting McDonalds. This particular film was brought to the attention of CST, by a member of the public, who saw it being promoted on a Facebook group of Bradford based anti-Israel activists, during the Israel-Hamas conflict of July–August 2014.

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Front cover: The photograph on the cover shows an antisemitic placard from a large anti-Israel demonstration in central London on 26 July 2014.

CST'S MISSION

- To work at all times for the physical protection and defence of British Jews.
- To represent British Jews on issues of racism, antisemitism, extremism, policing and security.
- To promote good relations between British Jews and the rest of British society by working towards the elimination of racism, and antisemitism in particular.
- To facilitate Jewish life by protecting Jews from the dangers of antisemitism, and antisemitic terrorism in particular.
- To help those who are victims of antisemitic hatred, harassment or bias.
- To promote research into racism, antisemitism and extremism; and to use this research for the benefit of both the Jewish community and society in general.
- To speak responsibly at all times, without exaggeration or political favour, on antisemitism and associated issues.



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