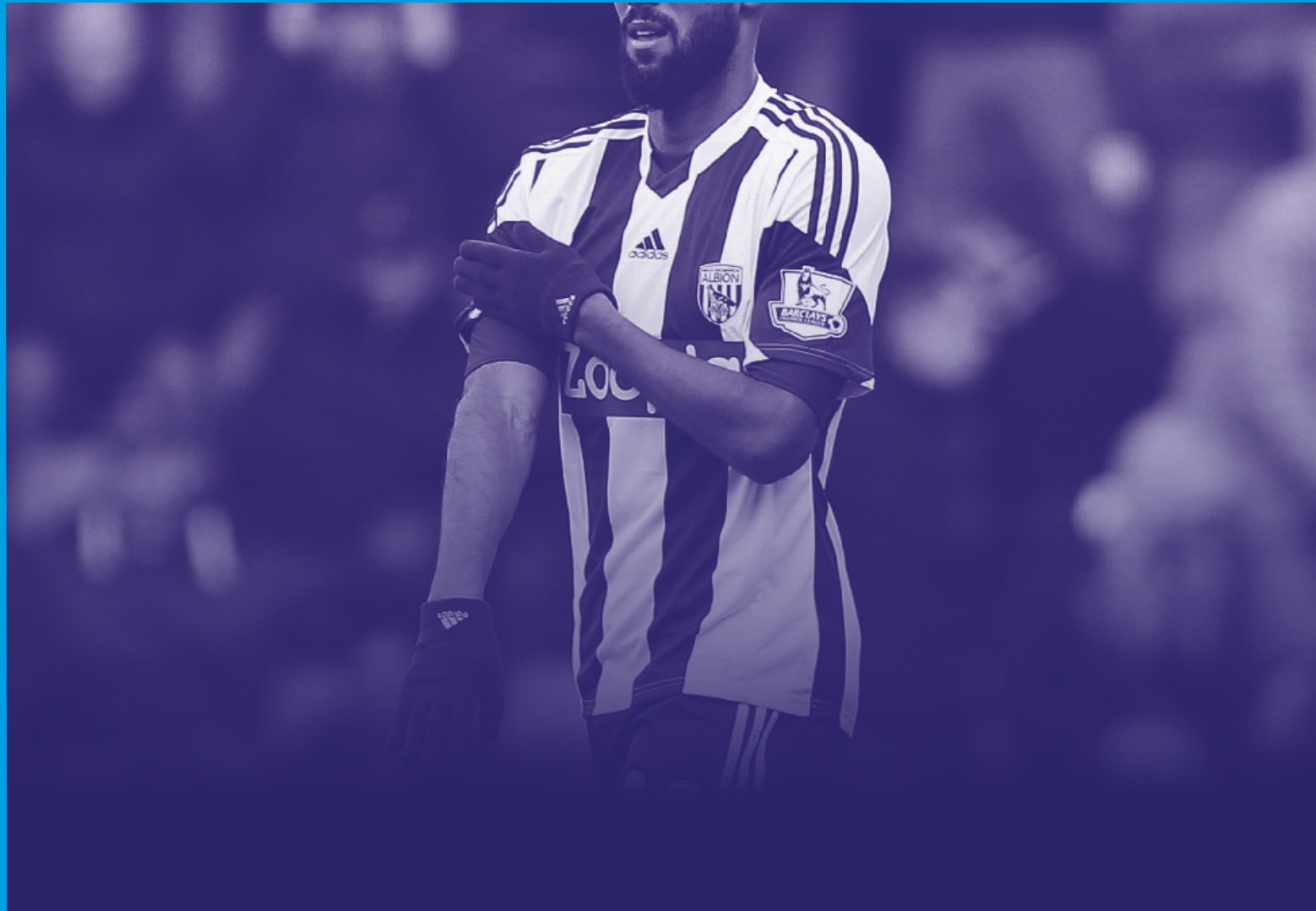




PROTECTING OUR  
JEWISH COMMUNITY



# ANTISEMITIC DISCOURSE

in Britain 2013

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Front cover: Footballer Nicolas Anelka performing a quenelle salute. This is explained in detail on page 34.

This Facebook page repeats the classical antisemitic blood libel for a contemporary, social media audience.

The screenshot shows a Facebook page for a group named "Jewish ritual murder". The page header includes the Facebook logo, the group name, and a search icon. The main content area features a large banner image. On the left side of the banner is an icon depicting a crucifixion. The central part of the banner shows a religious painting of a saint with a halo, set against a background of a church with multiple domes. On the right side of the banner is a sculpture of a figure being tortured. Overlaid on the banner is the text "REI KIEVSKI and SAINT SIMONING" in yellow, "Jewish ritual murder" in white, and "Community" in white. A "Like" button is visible in the bottom right corner of the banner area. Below the banner are navigation tabs for "Timeline", "About", "Photos", "Likes", and "Videos".

Below the navigation tabs, the page shows a "PEOPLE" section with a right-pointing arrow, indicating 750 likes. There is a button to "Invite your friends to like this Page". An "ABOUT" section is also visible with a right-pointing arrow. A disclaimer states: "Comments that are offensive, obscene, vulgar, irrelevant to this page or classified as spam will be removed".

On the right side of the page, there are options to "Post" or "Photo / Video". Below these is a text input field with the placeholder "Write something on this Page...". A post from the group is visible, dated "15 September", with a small icon and the text "Jews admit ritual consumption of Muslim and Chr success in life".

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## 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.

However, over two-thirds of British Jews say that they have encountered antisemitic remarks on the internet, and over three-quarters of British Jews feel that the problem of antisemitism on the internet is getting worse.

Historically, antisemitism has included allegations of Jewish conspiracy, wealth, power, manipulation, immorality and hostility to others. Echoes of these allegations, while rarely made explicitly against Jews, can be found in some mainstream discourse about Israel, Zionists or 'the Jewish lobby'. The further one moves from the mainstream, for example into more extreme activist groups or websites, the more pronounced and obviously antisemitic these echoes become.

Conspiracy theories about hidden 'Jewish', 'Zionist' or 'pro-Israel' influence in politics and the media continue to be expressed by people from different parts of the political spectrum, in mainstream and extremist circles. Different examples in 2013 involved then-BNP leader Nick Griffin, former BBC correspondent Tim Llewellyn and Iranian TV channel Press TV.

British Jews say that they are more likely to hear antisemitic remarks from people with 'a left-wing political view' or 'a Muslim extremist view' than from 'someone with a right-wing political view'.

Most British Jews do not believe that criticism of Israel is antisemitic. However, most British Jews do believe that a person who boycotts Israeli goods, or who compares Israel to Nazi Germany, is probably antisemitic.

Holocaust commemoration increasingly acts as a trigger for antisemitic expressions, particularly those that involve comparing Israel to Nazi Germany.

Over a third of British Jews say that they have heard antisemitic remarks in political or academic settings, including at schools. In 2013, social media comments by David Ward MP and two *Daily Mail* articles about Ed Miliband MP were examples where some British Jews felt that antisemitic language was used in political settings.

Several episodes in 2013 regarding alleged use of antisemitic discourse hinged on nuanced interpretations of language and imagery, and of the gap between a person's stated intentions in their language and the way that their choice of words or imagery are perceived by others.

The role that a quick and meaningful apology can play in answering concerns about antisemitism was highlighted by contrasting situations involving David Ward MP; and the *Sunday Times* newspaper. While both apologised, only the latter did so unequivocally and without further offence.

Antisemites have, in the past, used Jews as a scapegoat to explain their own failings or weaknesses. An example of this in 2013 can be found in the claim by Lord Ahmed that Jewish-owned media organisations were responsible for his 2009 conviction for dangerous driving.

The potential for religious attitudes to the Israel-Palestine conflict to provide a framework for the expression of theological hostility to Judaism was highlighted by the Church of Scotland's 2013 report, *The inheritance of Abraham? A report on the 'promised land'*.



Overt opposition from pro-Palestinian activists to antisemitic ideas and remarks found within the pro-Palestinian movement remains inconsistent and weak.

The problem of abusive antisemitic language at football matches, and the use of the 'Y-word' by fans of Tottenham Hotspur, remained issues of media and public debate. However, only 6 per cent of British Jews say that they have heard antisemitic remarks at sporting events.

"American Zionists incubating another Hitler", [presstv.com](http://presstv.com)



## INTRODUCTION

**THIS** CST *Antisemitic Discourse in Britain* report analyses written and verbal communication, discussion and rhetoric about antisemitism and related issues in Britain during 2013. It is published annually by CST.<sup>1</sup>

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

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.

*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.*<sup>5</sup>

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

The 2006 *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism*<sup>4</sup> 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*

1. Previous reports are at the publications page of the CST website: [www.cst.org.uk](http://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](http://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.

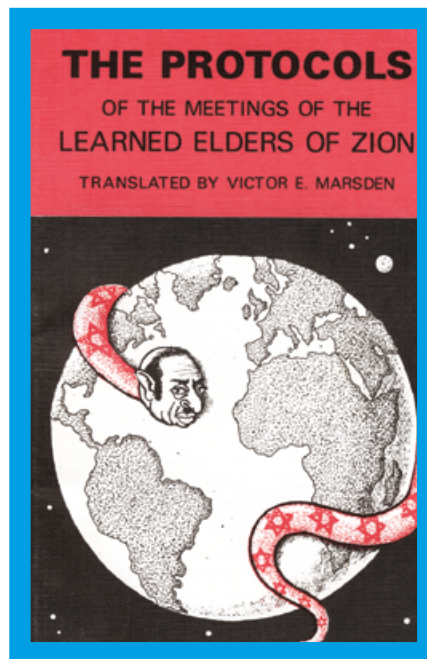
Statistics show that hate crimes against perceived members of any particular group can be triggered (or exacerbated) by public discourse or events related to that particular group. For example, antisemitic incident levels typically rise in relation to some public events and stories involving Jews, Jewish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

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..."<sup>7</sup>*



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](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.<sup>8</sup>

### 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.<sup>9</sup>

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*".<sup>10</sup>

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 – codified within the notorious forgery<sup>11</sup>, *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.<sup>12</sup> 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.*<sup>13</sup>

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.”*<sup>14</sup>

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.”*<sup>15</sup>

13. Steve Cohen, *That's Funny, You Don't Look Anti-Semitic*. Leeds: Beyond the Pale Collective (1984), p.11. Antisemitism, p.1

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](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.”<sup>16</sup>*

### 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.”<sup>17</sup>*

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.”<sup>18</sup>*

### European Union Monitoring Centre / Fundamental Rights Agency

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

Subsequently, the Centre issued a “*Working Definition*” primarily as a tool for use by law enforcement when deciding whether crimes are antisemitic or not. It helps standardise data, enabling better cross-comparison of actions against antisemitism.

The “*Working Definition*” has, however come to epitomise arguments over contemporary antisemitism. Its list of behaviours that “could, taking into account the overall context” indicate antisemitism, include mention of various anti-Israel acts and attitudes. Anti-Israel and anti-Zionist activists, ignoring the “overall context” caveat, have argued that the definition unfairly renders their behaviour antisemitic; and pro-Israel activists have argued that the “*Working Definition*”

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](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/>

outlaws certain anti-Israel attitudes and acts as antisemitic. Furthermore, the actual Monitoring Centre no longer exists, having been superseded by the Fundamental Rights Agency, which, by European statute, has a

different role to that of the Centre, and which no longer publishes the “*Working Definition*” on its website. The definition remains a source of controversy.

## 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 British antisemitism, and to the concerns of British Jews 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.<sup>20</sup> 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 the interaction of the following factors:

- **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."*<sup>21</sup>

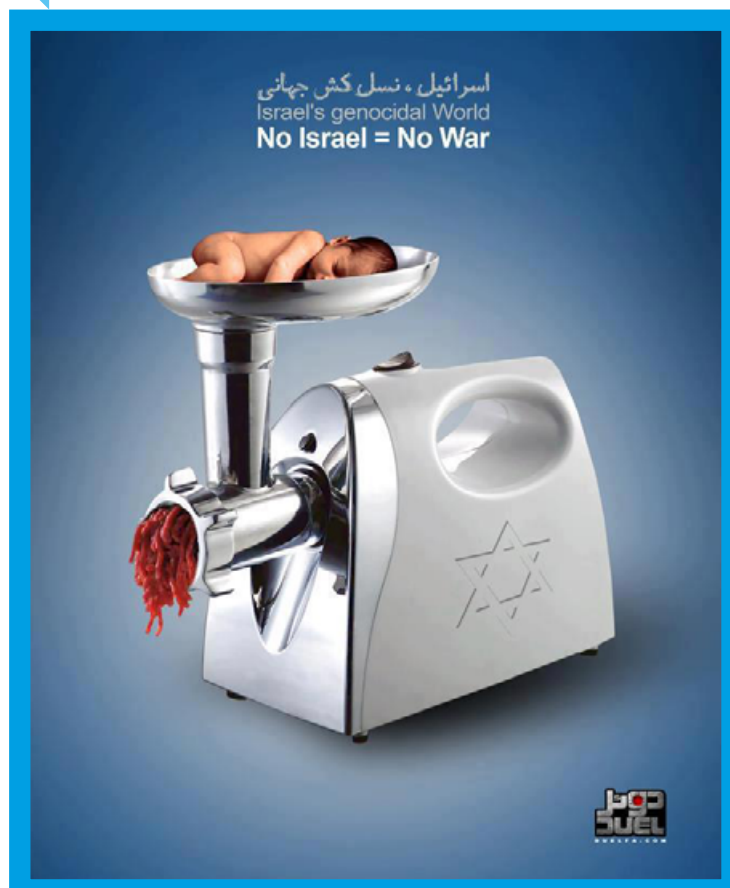
Other continuities between historical antisemitic themes and the type of modern anti-Zionism that is antisemitic can include:

- 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.

An antisemitic image shared on Facebook. The image of a dead baby being put through a meat grinder resonates with the classical antisemitic notion of the blood libel, in which Jews were accused of murdering non-Jewish children in order to use their blood for religious purposes. In this image, the meat grinder includes a Jewish Star of David on its side. This combination of antisemitic iconography sits under a slogan that accuses Israel of genocide while also calling for Israel not to exist.



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

## EU SURVEY: What statements and actions about Jews and Israel do Jews consider to be antisemitic?

**IN NOVEMBER 2013**, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) published a groundbreaking survey of Jewish people's experiences and perceptions of hate crime, discrimination and antisemitism in eight EU member states, including the United Kingdom, covering around 90% of Jews in the EU.<sup>22</sup>

The survey asked respondents whether they considered different statements about Jews and Israel to be antisemitic, and also asked in what contexts they heard those antisemitic statements most often.

The survey was carried out online from September to October 2012 by the polling company Ipsos MORI, working with the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR) in the UK. Across Europe, 66% of respondents said they consider antisemitism to be a "very big" or "fairly big" problem in their countries. In the UK, 48% of respondents said that antisemitism is a very big or fairly big problem (the lowest figure of all eight countries surveyed), while 52% said that it is "not a very big problem" or "not a problem at all".

The survey found that British Jews were more likely to attribute antisemitic sentiments to a person who used classical antisemitic tropes to be antisemitic, than they were for people who criticise Israel or who campaign against it. For example, 80% of British Jews said that a person who says "The Holocaust is a myth or has been exaggerated" is "Definitely antisemitic"; 77% said that a person who believes "Jews are responsible for the current economic crisis" is "Definitely antisemitic"; and 67% said the same about a person who claims "Jews have too much power in the UK".

Only 6% of British Jews said that they would consider a person to be "definitely antisemitic" if they criticised Israel, while 27% said that they would consider such a person to be "probably antisemitic". Therefore around

a third of British Jews think that somebody who criticises Israel is definitely or probably antisemitic, while around two-thirds said that such a person is "Probably not antisemitic" or "Definitely not antisemitic".

However, these proportions are reversed in the survey results for two specific kinds of anti-Israel attitudes and activity. Sixty-seven per cent of British Jews said that somebody who "Supports boycotts of Israeli goods/products" is definitely or probably antisemitic, while 77% said the same about a person who says that "Israelis behave 'like Nazis' towards Palestinians". Jonathan Boyd, Executive Director of the JPR, summed up the meaning of these results in the following terms:

*"The implication is that most Jews surveyed appear to hold the view that whilst criticism of Israel is not antisemitic per se, it can become so when it is manifested in particular ways. In essence, criticism of the Israeli government is by no means off the table. Like any other government, the Israeli government should be held to account for its actions, as it is regularly by Israelis themselves in the country's media, civil society and polling booths. But when the nature of that criticism tips over into these more hostile or aggressive realms, it is experienced as much more prejudicial."<sup>23</sup>*

22. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Discrimination and hate crime against Jews in EU Member States: experiences and perceptions of antisemitism*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union (2013) [http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2013-discrimination-hate-crime-against-jews-eu-member-states-0\\_en.pdf](http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2013-discrimination-hate-crime-against-jews-eu-member-states-0_en.pdf); see also Laura D. Staetsky and Jonathan Boyd, *The Exceptional Case? Perceptions and experiences of antisemitism among Jews in the United Kingdom*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research (July 2014) [http://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/Perceptions\\_and\\_experiences\\_of\\_antisemitism\\_among\\_Jews\\_in\\_UK.pdf](http://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/Perceptions_and_experiences_of_antisemitism_among_Jews_in_UK.pdf)

23. Jonathan Boyd, 'Is Criticism of Israel Antisemitic?' (14 November 2013) <http://jewish-peoplehood.blogspot.co.uk/2013/11/is-criticism-of-israel-antisemitic.html>

Respondents were also asked about where they had encountered antisemitism, and the results suggested that the internet, in politics and academia are contexts where Jews encounter language that they perceive to be antisemitic. Sixty-eight per cent of British Jews said they had come across antisemitic statements on the internet, and 77% thought that the problem was getting worse. Thirty-nine per cent of British Jews said that they had heard antisemitic statements in political speeches (such as in Parliament) and 37% said they had heard them at political events (for example, meetings or demonstrations). Thirty-seven per cent of British Jews said they had heard antisemitic statements in an academic setting, which includes universities and schools. This was the highest figure of any of the eight EU countries in the poll. In contrast, only 6% of British Jews had encountered antisemitism at a sporting event.

When asked to describe the person or people who they had heard make negative statements about Jews in the past 12 months, 57% of UK respondents said that it was "Someone with a left-wing political view"; 56% said it was "Someone with a Muslim extremist view"; 33% said it was "Someone with a right-wing political view"; 14% said it was "Someone with a Christian extremist view"; and 25% said it was none of those or that they did not know.

## DAVID WARD MP: on Holocaust Memorial Day, "Jews...inflicting atrocities on Palestinians"

**DAVID WARD MP** marked Holocaust Memorial Day by signing the Book of Commitment in the House of Commons with a statement that conflated Jews with Israel, and implied that both were guilty of inflicting comparable "atrocities" on Palestinians. This was the first of a number of statements by Ward that caused offence during 2013, resulting in him losing the Liberal Democrat party whip for two months.

The episode highlighted the importance of choosing language carefully when criticising Israeli policy, and the confusion and offence that can ensue when this does not happen.

**DAVID WARD** is the Liberal Democrat Member of Parliament for Bradford East. The full statement that he wrote in the Book of Commitment read:

*"Having visited Auschwitz twice – once with my family and once with local schools – I am saddened that the Jews, who suffered unbelievable levels of persecution during the Holocaust, could within a few years of liberation from the death camps be inflicting atrocities on Palestinians in the new State of Israel and continue to do so on a daily basis in the West Bank and Gaza."*

Ward placed this statement on his website and tweeted a link to it, with a photograph of himself signing the Book of Remembrance.

In response to the statement, Karen Pollock MBE, Chief Executive of the Holocaust Educational Trust, said:

*"I am deeply saddened that at this sombre time, when we remember those who were murdered by the Nazis, Mr Ward has deliberately abused the memory of the Holocaust causing deep pain and offence – these comments are sickening and unacceptable and have no place in British politics."*

Ward initially defended his statement by saying: *"I'm accusing the Jews who did it, so if you're a Jew and you did not do it I'm not accusing you. I'm saying that those Jews who did that and continue to do it have not learned those lessons."* However, at the request of the Liberal Democrats he apologised, saying:

*"I never for a moment intended to criticise or offend the Jewish people as a whole, either as a race or as a people of faith, and apologise sincerely for the unintended offence which my words caused...[however] I will continue to make criticisms of actions in Palestine in the strongest possible terms for as long as Israel continues to oppress the Palestinian people."*

He also gave a formal undertaking to the Liberal Democrat Chief Whip, Alistair Carmichael MP, that he *"will not again use the phrase 'the Jews' in this context"* and he removed the statement from his website. Ward followed this up by emailing the Jewish News newspaper to ask: *"Can you ask the Board of Deputies if they're in agreement that I should replace the words 'the Jews' with 'the Jewish community'? If so, I am perfectly happy to do so."* He also asked Jewish News: *"Can you provide me with a more acceptable choice of words that I could use to criticise the treatment of the Palestinians?"*<sup>24</sup>

24. <http://archive.totallyjewish.com/news/sorry-seems-to-be-the-hardest-ward/>



In an interview with the *Guardian*, Ward alleged that claims of offence over his choice of words were artificial and he would have come under pressure from “a huge operation...a machine...designed to protect the state of Israel”, irrespective of his choice of words. In doing so, he implied that those Jews who had objected were acting on behalf of Israel rather than expressing genuine feelings of their own. He said:

*“There is a huge operation out there, a machine almost, which is designed to protect the state of Israel from criticism. And that comes into play very, very quickly and focuses intensely on anyone who’s seen to criticise the state of Israel. And so I end up looking at what happened to me, whether I should use this word, whether I should use that word – and that is winning, for them. Because what I want to talk about is the fundamental question of how can they do this, and how can they be allowed to do this.*

[...]

*“What I am absolutely convinced of, is that no form of words would have been acceptable. We would have been having this same conversation if I’d not used those words. It would simply have been on something else.”<sup>25</sup>*

In this interview, Ward denied having compared Israel’s actions with the Holocaust, while also suggesting that Israel’s actions were comparable to Nazi pre-genocidal persecution of Jews and others during the 1930s.

Next, Ward’s website published a critique by a writer called John Hilley of this *Guardian* interview. Hilley further defended Ward’s use

of “the Jews” by claiming: “...he wasn’t, in any meaningful sense, generalising all Jews, merely saying that Israel, a Jewish state, and one that does purport to speak for all Jews, was/is now in the process of persecuting Palestinians.” Hilley then implied that Israel is “setting out to annihilate [the Palestinian] people”. This article remains on Ward’s website.<sup>26</sup>

In July, Ward again drew criticism of his choice of language to criticise Israel when he tweeted the following:

*“Am I wrong or am I right? At long last the #Zionists are losing the battle – how long can the #apartheid State of #Israel last?”*

The response of the Liberal Democrats was to withdraw the party whip from Ward for two months because “questioning the state of Israel fails the test of language that is ‘proportionate and precise’.” On this occasion, Ward referred to “Zionists” rather than “the Jews” and he was not accused of using antisemitic language.

In November, at a time of heightened media scrutiny of Roma communities, Ward tweeted:

*“What a shame there isn’t a powerful, well funded Board of Deputies for #Roma”.*

This evokes the classical antisemitic notion that Jewish organisations use financial power to influence policy and public debate. However, the party decided, after consulting with Ward, that his intention was to express support for Roma rather than to offend Jews, and he was not punished.

25. <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/feb/06/david-ward-not-racist>

26. <http://davidward.org.uk/en/article/2013/659668/guardian-continues-the-hounding-of-david-ward>

## THE *DAILY MAIL*, ED MILIBAND MP AND THE “JEALOUS G-D OF DEUTERONOMY”

IN SEPTEMBER, the *Daily Mail* published a long feature article about the political and family background of Ralph Miliband, father of current Labour Party leader Ed Miliband MP. The article referred to Ralph Miliband’s Jewish ancestry and accused him of disloyalty to Britain. It was written by a Jewish journalist, Geoffrey Levy.

After protests, a *Daily Mail* editorial used an Old Testament reference in defence of its original article. Jewish commentators differed publicly over whether or not the articles were antisemitic.

THE INITIAL article began with a portrait of Ralph Miliband, described as “a Jewish immigrant”, paying homage at the grave of Karl Marx in Highgate Cemetery, London, shortly after his arrival in the UK in 1940. The headline described him as “The man who hated Britain” and the article claimed that “Ralph’s Marxism was uncompromising.” The article also claimed that “Ed Miliband was obsessed with maintaining his father’s legacy” and suggested that he sought the leadership of the Labour Party in order to pursue his father’s socialist vision.

The *Daily Mail* article quoted from Ralph Miliband’s diary, written at age 17: “The Englishman is a rabid nationalist. They are perhaps the most nationalist people in the world...you sometimes want them almost to lose (the war) to show them how things are.”

The article then commented: “This adolescent distaste for the British character certainly didn’t stop him availing himself of the fine education that was on offer in this country, or spending the rest of his life here.” It then noted that Ralph Miliband served for three years in the Royal Navy during the war.<sup>27</sup>

Ed Miliband complained about this article and demanded a right of reply, because he felt that it misrepresented his father’s views. He did not claim that the article was antisemitic. The *Daily Mail* gave Ed Miliband a right of

reply, but also published an editorial comment defending the original piece. In attempting to justify its position, the editorial stated:

*“We do not maintain, like the jealous G-d [not sic] of Deuteronomy, that the iniquity of the fathers should be visited on the sons. But when a son with prime ministerial ambitions swallows his father’s teachings, as the younger Miliband appears to have done, the case is different.”<sup>28</sup>*

Ed Miliband continued to maintain that the articles were not antisemitic, telling the BBC: “I’m always incredibly careful about throwing around the idea that the paper or somebody is anti-Semitic or racist unless there is real evidence for that. I don’t believe that of the Mail; that’s not been my issue.”<sup>29</sup>

However, other commentators expressed divergent views regarding whether or not antisemitism played a role in the articles. For those who thought that antisemitism did play a role, this reference to the “jealous G-d of Deuteronomy” was cited as evidence. For example, *Jewish Chronicle* and *Guardian* columnist Jonathan Freedland wrote:

*“What was that doing there, that sudden and redundant reference to the vindictive G-d of the Old Testament? In the context of a piece about a foreign-born Jew, it felt like a*

27. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2435751/Red-Eds-pledge-bring-socialism-homage-Marxist-father-Ralph-Miliband-says-GEOFFREY-LEVY.html>

28. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2435751/Red-Eds-pledge-bring-socialism-homage-Marxist-father-Ralph-Miliband-says-GEOFFREY-LEVY.html>

29. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/politics-24395790>

subtle, if not subterranean hint to the reader, a reminder of the ineradicable alienness of this biblically vengeful people.

*"It is not obvious; the Mail ran no hook-nosed caricatures. That's why even my most sensitive colleagues spoke of a whiff rather than a stench.*

*"But antisemitism in Britain often works in that way: latent and hinted at, rather than overt. And, when it comes to Jews, the Mail's core accusations have a long and unhappy history. Jews have perennially been charged with disloyalty, even those Jews, like Miliband Snr, who have worn their country's uniform and risked their lives in war. For decades the extreme right, in a variant of the centuries-old claim of a global Jewish conspiracy, blamed Jews for communism or 'Judeo-Bolshevism'. And here was the Mail banging out both those old tunes on the gravestone of Ralph Miliband."<sup>30</sup>*

John Mann MP, the chairman of the All-Party Parliamentary Group Against Antisemitism and a Labour backbencher, accused the Daily Mail of a "classical age-old antisemitic smear about disloyal Jews." However, Conservative MP Lee Scott said that "Any tone of xenophobia or prejudice didn't come across to me in the original article, but I was looking at it from a political angle."<sup>31</sup>

Alex Brummer, a Jewish Chronicle columnist, Daily Mail city editor and a vice-president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, defended the Daily Mail in a column in the newspaper. He wrote:

*"Indeed, the cynical attempts by Lord Kinnock, the political Left and the Labour*

*Party to shift the debate about the Mail article that explored Ed Miliband's late father Ralph's views on politics, international affairs and economic models, to one about alleged anti-Semitism within the Associated Newspapers group is absolutely deplorable.*

*"When it comes to anti-Semitism, I, as a practicing Jew in the orthodox tradition, regard myself as something of an expert with very sensitive antennae.*

[...]

*"But throughout my time at the Mail, the paper's loyalty to Israel, as a beacon of democracy and economic success in a region of often ghastly sectarian dictatorships, has never wavered. Moreover, it is a newspaper that has nurtured and promoted Jewish staff in every editorial department."<sup>32</sup>*

30. <http://www.thejc.com/comment-and-debate/comment/111995/was-daily-mail-piece-antisemitic>

31. <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/111993/daily-mail-accused-antisemitic-attack-over-miliband-story>

32. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-2444472/ALEX-BRUMMER-Its-deplorable-say-Mail-anti-Semitic.html>

## SUNDAY TIMES CARTOON ON HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL DAY: blood and antisemitism

THE *SUNDAY TIMES* published a cartoon by Gerald Scarfe that depicted Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu using blood to cement a wall that had parts of bodies trapped within it. The bodies trapped in the wall appeared to be of various religions or ethnicities. The cartoon was published on Holocaust Memorial Day. The reaction to its publication showed the capacity of certain images to offend, even if they are not intended to be antisemitic.

**CRITICISM** of the cartoon focused on its depiction of Netanyahu using blood while causing the death or suffering of innocents, which some observers felt evoked the medieval antisemitic trope of a 'blood libel', in which Jews have been accused of murdering non-Jewish children and using their blood in religious rituals. The Board of Deputies of British Jews lodged a complaint with the Press Complaints Commission on the basis that the cartoon was reminiscent of the antisemitic imagery of the blood libel:

*"It depicts Benjamin Netanyahu bricking up Palestinians and using blood for mortar, which is shockingly reminiscent of the blood libel imagery more usually found in parts of the virulently antisemitic Arab press. Its use is all the more disgusting on Holocaust Memorial Day, given the similar tropes levelled against Jews by the Nazis. This far exceeds any fair or reasonable criticism of Israeli policies."*<sup>33</sup>

Rachel Shabi, writing in Haaretz, argued that the cartoon was not antisemitic but that the resonance of its blood imagery meant it should not have been published:

*"I don't think the cartoon is anti-Semitic...But it is nonetheless a vile and offensive cartoon, because of all that spurting blood-as-cement and the inevitable blood libel associations. I know this isn't absolutely water-tight, technically, or unanimous, or straightforward; I know many think that I should just get over*

*it, but there it is: it triggers unease over the association of a Jew with another people's blood.*

[...]

*"Of course, cartoonists are free to publish what they like, and we are free to argue about the merits of their work afterwards, but why choose to pitch at this level? Given enduring, and well-founded, Jewish sensitivities over certain imagery, it is manifestly preferable to caricature and castigate Israeli leaders without the buckets of blood. There is hardly a shortage of material."*<sup>34</sup>

The *Sunday Times* defended the cartoon on the grounds that it was typical of Gerald Scarfe's acerbic style, and that the timing was coincidental:

*"This is a typically robust cartoon by Gerald Scarfe. The Sunday Times firmly believes that it is not antisemitic. It is aimed squarely at Mr Netanyahu and his policies, not at Israel, let alone at Jewish people. It appears today because Mr Netanyahu won the Israeli election last week."*<sup>35</sup>

Writer and commentator Kenan Malik noted that the cartoon lacked gratuitous Jewish symbolism, while the use of blood was itself typical of Scarfe's style:

*"Scarfe's cartoon is not about Jews, nor*

33. [http://www.bod.org.uk/live/content.php?Item\\_ID=130&Blog\\_ID=709](http://www.bod.org.uk/live/content.php?Item_ID=130&Blog_ID=709)

34. <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/criticize-israel-but-without-the-vile-and-offensive-cartoons-1.500395>

35. <http://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2013/feb/04/sundaytimes-binyamin-netanyahu>

even about Israeli actions in general, but specifically about Netanyahu's policies. Netanyahu is not identified as a Jew. He is not, for instance, wearing a kippa, nor is he wrapped in a Star of David. The cartoon is certainly vicious, grotesque, brutal, spiteful. That, however, is the nature of political cartoons, which often take malicious glee in skewering their subject through cruel exaggeration. 'Almost all political cartooning', as Scarfe's fellow cartoonist Martin Rowson has put it, 'is assassination without the blood'. Scarfe, in particular, turns every political figure, from Margaret Thatcher to George W Bush, from Vladimir Putin to Tony Blair, into a hideous caricature, liberally splashing his work with blood and gore."<sup>36</sup>

Two days after the cartoon was published, the owner of the *Sunday Times*, Rupert Murdoch, tweeted a public apology for the cartoon, writing: "Gerald Scarfe has never reflected the opinions of the *Sunday Times*. Nevertheless, we owe major apology for grotesque, offensive cartoon."<sup>37</sup> The same day, *Sunday Times* editor Martin Ivens also apologised after meeting representatives of CST, the Board of Deputies and the Jewish Leadership Council. The following Sunday, the newspaper published an apology that accepted the principle that using the "historical iconography" of antisemitism should be avoided:

*"It is one thing for a newspaper to attack and caricature a leader — and it is as legitimate to attack Israeli leaders in cartoons as anyone else. But it is another thing to reflect in a caricature, even unintentionally, historical iconography that is persecutory or anti-semitic.*

*"The image we published of Binyamin Netanyahu, the Israeli prime minister, which appeared to show him revelling in the blood of Palestinians, crossed a line. Publication of the cartoon would have been a mistake on any day but the fact that last Sunday was Holocaust Memorial Day compounded the error.*

*"We realise that we caused grave offence, however unintended, which detracted from a day that marks one of the greatest evils in human history."<sup>38</sup>*

36. <http://kenanmalik.wordpress.com/2013/01/30/gerald-scarfe-anti-semitism-and-the-danish-cartoons/>

37. <https://twitter.com/rupertmurdoch/status/295964833394851840>

38. <http://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2013/feb/04/sundaytimes-binyamin-netanyahu>



## LORD AHMED:

### Jews “who own newspapers and TV channels”

**THE LABOUR** peer Lord Nazir Ahmed of Rotherham was accused of giving an interview to a Pakistani TV station in which he blamed his 2009 prison sentence for dangerous driving on the influence of Jewish-owned media organisations. He further claimed that this alleged Jewish pressure was in response to his support for the Palestinians. The interview was broadcast in Pakistan in 2012 but only came to light in the UK in 2013 when it was published by *The Times* newspaper.

**LORD AHMED** had been jailed for 12 weeks in February 2009 for his involvement in a fatal car crash on the M1 motorway which resulted in the death of 28-year-old Martyn Gobar. In the Urdu-language TV interview, he claimed that this was an unusually severe punishment, and claimed: *“My case became more critical because I went to Gaza to support Palestinians. My Jewish friends who own newspapers and TV channels opposed this.”* He further alleged that the judge who heard his case had been promoted by former prime minister Tony Blair due to his involvement in *“an important case involving a Jewish colleague of ours”*.<sup>39</sup>

*The Times* newspaper accompanied its reporting of this story with a powerful editorial comment that placed Lord Ahmed’s comments in the context of antisemitic conspiracy theories:

*“Modern Britain is a benign place in which to be Jewish. By dint of talent and enterprise, many British Jews have attained success in public, professional, cultural and commercial life. Fashionable prejudices evident in popular culture even two or three generations ago (consider the stereotypical depictions of Jews by John Buchan or Agatha Christie) are distasteful anachronisms.*

*“Yet, as the historian Conor Cruise O’Brien observed, anti-Semitism is a light sleeper. We report today that this historically stubborn*

*prejudice figures in the intellectual make-up of a parliamentarian and prominent Muslim. Lord Ahmed of Rotherham, a Labour peer, served a prison sentence in 2009 for his involvement in a fatal car accident. Speaking in Urdu in a television interview in Pakistan, Lord Ahmed attributed his sentence to a Jewish conspiracy to punish him for his support of the Palestinians.*

*“It is tempting to dismiss Lord Ahmed’s comments as pitiful rantings by an obscure politician. Unfortunately, they are worse. They express an ideology (or, more accurately, a pathology) that still disfigures discourse in some parts of the world and that animates a sub-culture of Islamist extremism. A community leader and representative of a democratic party should confront anti-Semitism. Instead, Lord Ahmed exemplifies it.*

[...]

*“There will not be lasting peace in the Middle East with a just settlement between a sovereign Palestine and a secure Israel while conspiracy theories about the Jews are disseminated. Inoculating young and impressionable British Muslims from the theocratic hatreds of al-Qaeda requires the confronting of hoary anti-Semitic myths. How shameful, how scandalous, that a British parliamentarian should instead be promoting them.”<sup>40</sup>*

39. <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/article3713009.ece>

40. <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/opinion/leaders/article3712868.ece>

The Labour Party immediately suspended Lord Ahmed's membership, pending a disciplinary process. Party leader Ed Miliband was quoted as saying that *"There's no place for anti-Semitism in the Labour Party, and frankly anybody who makes those kinds of comments cannot be either a Labour Lord or a Labour Member of Parliament."*<sup>41</sup> Lord Ahmed apologised two weeks after the *Times* story was published, saying that *"I only believe in facts and to be honest I should have stuck with the facts rather than with conspiracy theories. I completely and unreservedly apologise to the Jewish community, to the judiciary, to the newspaper owners."* He offered a further apology to Ed Miliband, saying, *"He's of the Jewish faith and I'm sorry that I embarrassed him or anybody else in the Labour Party."*<sup>42</sup> However, Lord Ahmed resigned from the party two days before his disciplinary hearing, saying that he did not recollect ever having made the original comments and could not expect a fair hearing.

41. <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/article3713242.ece>

42. <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/article3725312.ece>

## THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND'S REPORT ON ISRAEL AND JUDAISM

**THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND** published a report about the State of Israel and its place in Jewish theology that drew protests from representative Jewish bodies for both Scotland and the wider UK. The report was withdrawn and a revised version adopted after a meeting between the Church and Jewish leaders.

**TITLED** *The inheritance of Abraham? A report on the 'promised land'*, the report was produced for adoption by the Church's General Assembly. It used interpretations of Jewish theology to challenge the legitimacy of Jewish statehood in Israel. The Church's moral right to make such interpretations was challenged by Jewish communal leaders, who also questioned the accuracy of its specific claims. The original version of the report also included offensive language that made pejorative comparisons between Judaism and Christianity.

After a meeting between the Church of Scotland, the Scottish Council of Jewish Communities (ScoJec) and the Board of Deputies of British Jews, a revised version of the report was issued that omitted some of the more offensive sections and included a recognition of Israel's right to exist and a condemnation of terrorism. The new report also committed the Church to ongoing dialogue with the Jewish community.

The original report used New Testament sources to undermine or reject Jewish theological understandings of Israel. For example:

*"There has been a widespread assumption by many Christians as well as many Jewish people that the Bible supports an essentially Jewish state of Israel. This raises an increasing number of difficulties and current Israeli policies regarding the Palestinians have sharpened this questioning.*

*"This assumption of biblical support is based on views of promises about land in the Hebrew Bible. These views are disputed. The guidance in the Bible, notably the interpretation in the New Testament, provides more help in responding to questions about land and covenant.*

[...]

*"Jesus offered a radical critique of Jewish specialness and exclusivism, but the people of Nazareth were not ready for it...Jesus' cleansing of the Temple means not just that the Temple needs to be reformed, but that the Temple is finished.*

[...]

*"If Jesus is indeed the Yes to all God's promises the promise to Abraham about land is fulfilled through the impact of Jesus, not by restoration of land to the Jewish people. Jesus gave a new direction and message for the people of God, one which did not feature a special area of land for them."*

A particularly troubling section was based on the writings of an American writer called Mark Braverman, in which the "particular exclusivism" of Judaism was contrasted unfavourably with "the universalist, inclusive dimension" of Christianity. The idea that Jews are exclusive and feel superior is a common trope of classical antisemitism:

*“Braverman is adamant that Christians must not sacrifice the universalist, inclusive dimension of Christianity and revert to the particular exclusivism of the Jewish faith because we feel guilty about the Holocaust. He is equally clear that the Jewish people have to repent of the ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians between 1947 and 1949. They must be challenged, too, to stop thinking of themselves as victims and special, and recognise that the present immoral, unjust treatment of Palestinian people is unsustainable.*

*“Braverman challenges, too, what he calls ‘revisionist Christian theology’, more widely known as Western post-Holocaust theology, i.e. theology which takes away Jesus’ radical critique of Jewish theology and practice in order to provide no excuse for Christian anti-Semitism. In this approach, he claims, the Jewish people are and remain God’s chosen. This gives them the right to land, to triumph over enemies and a sense of specialness. Other people’s part in this is limited to being pushed aside to make way for occupation, being agents of God’s punishment of the Jews for their disobedience and witnessing to God’s glory through Jewish survival and prosperity.*

*“As long as Zionists think that Jewish people are serving God’s special purpose and that abuses by the state of Israel, however wrong and regrettable, don’t invalidate the Zionist project, they will believe themselves more entitled to the land than the Palestinian people. A final difficulty is Jewish ‘exceptionalism’...”*

The report also claimed, falsely, that *“The visionary geographic concept Eretz Yisrael*

*Ha’Shlema (from the Nile to the Euphrates) was fundamental to [David] Ben-Gurion’s ideology.”<sup>36</sup>*

ScoJec issued a statement that condemned this report in unusually strong terms:

*“The document from the Church and Society Council on The Inheritance of Abraham? is an outrage to everything that interfaith dialogue stands for. It reads like an Inquisition-era polemic against Jews and Judaism. It is biased, weak on sources, and contradictory. The picture it paints of both Judaism and Israel is barely even a caricature. The arrogance of telling the Jewish people how to interpret Jewish texts and Jewish theology is breathtaking.”<sup>44</sup>*

ScoJec also complained that the report had been produced without any prior dialogue with the Jewish community. Another meeting between the Church, ScoJec and the Board of Deputies was facilitated by the Council of Christians and Jews. Following this meeting, the Church withdrew the report and issued a revised version for consideration by its General Assembly. All of the extracts from the report that are highlighted above were either removed or heavily amended. The new report also included an admission of the hurt caused by the original version:

*“Since the publication of the General Assembly reports in April 2013, the Church and Society Council’s report The Inheritance of Abraham? A report on the ‘promised land’ has been the subject of international controversy. Whilst no stranger to controversy, working as we do on difficult issues at the interface of religion and politics, we have become aware that some of the language*

43. [http://www.scojec.org/news/2013/13v\\_cos/inheritance\\_of\\_abraham-original.pdf](http://www.scojec.org/news/2013/13v_cos/inheritance_of_abraham-original.pdf)

44. [http://www.scojec.org/news/2013/13v\\_cos/cos.html](http://www.scojec.org/news/2013/13v_cos/cos.html)

used in the report used to describe attitudes and beliefs held by some members of the Christian and Jewish communities have caused worry and concern in parts of the Jewish Community in Israel and beyond. This was never our intention. We can be robust in putting our point across, but in this instance we acknowledge that some of the words we have chosen may have been misunderstood, which created an anxiety in the Jewish Community. It is in this light that we are happy to offer this clarification.

*“The Church and Society Council welcomes dialogue with Scotland’s and Britain’s Jewish community for whom the land of Israel is understandably special and may be considered part of their self-identity. Talking has helped increase both our faiths’ understanding, and has underlined the importance for continued dialogue. This is not about Christianity taking one side and Judaism the other. Both our faiths have a widespread and diverse membership, with a wide range of views on theological as well as political matters. What can bring us together is our commitment to understanding and engagement, and our willingness to work together, and to keep on talking.”<sup>45</sup>*

ScoJec welcomed parts of the revised report, in particular that:

*“The new document confirms a number of views that the Church has assured us always formed part of its policy. These include the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security, and condemnation of all acts of terrorism, violence, and intimidation...There is also the addition of a direct repudiation of claims that one faith should consider itself to have superseded another. And critically, there is a commitment to ongoing dialogue in the amended Deliverance.”*

However, ScoJec noted while some of the language in the report had changed, it retained its underlying anti-Zionist message:

*“...we continue to have very grave concerns about the lack of balance in the document’s approach to the Middle East conflict, even in its revised form. Although most of the excesses of language in the original report have been modified, the unacceptable underlying message remains unaltered.*

[...]

*“We also regret that the Church and Society Council has given no thought to the impact of its document on Jewish people here in Scotland...the undisputed increase of anti-zionist activity in Scotland adversely affects their lives as Jews in Scotland, and makes them feel uncomfortable, alienated, and unsafe. We are therefore saddened that the Church has not seen fit to meet us to discuss how they could contribute to better relations between communities in Scotland, but instead has issued a document that contributes to that climate.”<sup>46</sup>*

45. [http://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0010/14050/the\\_inheritance\\_of\\_Abraham.pdf](http://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0010/14050/the_inheritance_of_Abraham.pdf)

46. [http://www.scojec.org/news/2013/13v\\_cos/cos\\_3.html](http://www.scojec.org/news/2013/13v_cos/cos_3.html)

# CONSPIRACY THEORIES ABOUT ZIONISTS AND JEWS

**THE YEAR 2013** saw political activists from different backgrounds articulate antisemitic conspiracy theories, sometimes using the word ‘Zionist’ instead of ‘Jewish’. British National Party (BNP) chairman Nick Griffin MEP, former BBC correspondent Tim Llewellyn and Iranian Press TV offer three different examples that illustrate this use of conspiratorial language.

## Nick Griffin’s “Zionist gangsters”

In October 2013, Nick Griffin (who has since stepped down as BNP chairman) gave a speech in the European Parliament in which he referred to *“the attempted murder of Golden Dawn [a Greek far right party] at the behest of EU bureaucrats, German bankers and Zionist gangsters.”*<sup>47</sup>

Griffin used “Zionist” on several other occasions in 2013 to describe what he perceived to be conspiracies, either against the BNP or for war in Syria. For example, he described the far right street movement the English Defence League (EDL) as *“a Zionist/neo-con franchise operation”*<sup>48</sup> and he tweeted that former EDL leader and political rival Tommy Robinson was *“owned by Zionists right from start.”*<sup>49</sup> He also dismissed reports that the Syrian Government had used chemical weapons as *“neo-con/Zionist war propaganda.”*<sup>50</sup>

In November, Griffin visited Poland where he spoke at a rally of the far right Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski (National Rebirth of Poland, NOP). Griffin’s speech included this claim that *“Powerful Zionists want to destroy us”*:

*“Poles who go to England see that it is dominated by immigrants. It’s the same in France and Germany. This is a deliberate attempt to control Europe. Powerful Zionists want to destroy us. We, the nationalists, must stand together to fight for a white, nationalist and radical Europe.”*<sup>51</sup>

## Tim Llewellyn’s “Jewish lobby”

Former BBC Middle East correspondent Tim Llewellyn insisted to a pro-Palestinian meeting in London that *“Jewish”* was a more appropriate adjective than *“Zionist”* to describe the *“lobby”* that is out to *“get you”*. He was speaking at the book launch of *Memo to the Editor*, a collection of letters written by Ibrahim Hewitt, the senior editor of the pro-Islamist website Middle East Monitor. The meeting was titled *“Critiquing the media’s approach to the Israel-Palestine conflict”* and was held at the Frontline Club in London. Joining Hewitt and Llewellyn on the panel was David Hearst, then of the *Guardian*, and the debate was chaired by Mark McDonald of Labour Friends of Palestine and the Middle East.

During the debate, Hewitt asked Hearst why *“most editors wilt under pressure”*. He went on:

*“Is it because, I can see it in the BBC, they’re fright—you know, these people are quite aggressive, right. The Jewish lobby is not much fun. They come at you from every direction.”*

Hewitt interrupted to say, *“No, it’s a pro-Israel lobby”*. McDonald then also stated:

*“I mean that’s a very important thing to say, that it’s not a Jewish lobby. Can I interrupt a second. It’s not a Jewish lobby. It might be a Zionist lobby. It might be a pro-Israel lobby.”*

47. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xnhub-STkUY>

48. <http://www.bnp.org.uk/news/national/warmongers-and-their-puppets-just-who-keeping-edlbfp-life-support-machine>

49. <https://twitter.com/nickjgriffinbnp/status/387939393941803008>

50. <https://twitter.com/nickjgriffinbnp/status/370478232665354240>

51. <http://www.krakowpost.com/article/7244>



Llewellyn replied:

*"Yes, but they use the Jewish connection to get you."*

McDonald half agreed:

*"Yes, but it's not necessarily a Jewish lobby..."*

Hewitt and McDonald appeared to suggest that "pro-Israel lobby" or "Zionist lobby" are not antisemitic phrases and therefore refer to fundamentally different notions than the idea of a "Jewish lobby". However, while Llewellyn was willing to concede the point on the use of appropriate language, he insisted that his central point remained valid. He also contrasted "friends of Israel" with supporters of Palestine, who are "all British":

*"Alright, it's an Israeli lobby. Oh, it's friends of Israel let's say. Let's not be too polite about them, because they're not very polite about us. But why are we afraid of them? That's what I don't understand. You know, I mean, I'm – we're all British."*

Later in the meeting, Llewellyn returned to this question of correct language:

*"We talk about the Jewish lobby, the Israeli lobby, the friends of Israel. There is this people like us thing..."*

*"The BBC is pressured because it's part of a Governmental system. There's no question about the friends of Israel are big in each three political parties".*

During the question and answer session at the end of the debate, one audience member reflected Llewellyn's contrasting of "friends of Israel" with "British" people, and related the

behaviour of supporters of Israel to what she viewed as intrinsic Jewish traits:

*"AIPAC, America's Jewish Israeli lobby, they are soooo [sic] well organised. And we're too nice. Whether we're the Palestinians, or the British, we are awfully nice, we as you say, go make a cup of tea. They don't make cups of tea...they are desperately tough...Moses said that they were a hard-necked people. They are. And they are so well organised..."<sup>52</sup>*

### Iran's Press TV: "Zionist Jews" behind America's "misery"

The Iranian state-run TV station Press TV continued to publish antisemitic material on its English-language website. The most egregious example was an article about "American Zionists' control of the United States of America", that blamed "Zionist Jews" for "every misery" in America. Whereas Nick Griffin spoke solely of "Zionists", and Tim Llewellyn spoke of a "Jewish lobby" before being instructed to change his language to "Zionist" or "pro-Israeli" lobby, this article used both "Zionist" and "Jewish", sometimes together.

Written by M.I. Bhat, the article was originally published on the American website Veterans Today.<sup>53</sup> The Press TV version was illustrated by a picture of a Nazi flag with a Star of David in place of the swastika.



52. <http://www.frontlineclub.com/critiquing-the-medias-approach-to-the-israel-palestine-conflict/>

53. <http://www.veteranstoday.com/2013/11/07/are-the-american-jews-incubating-another-hitler/comment-page-1/>

It included the following antisemitic conspiracy allegations:

*"A lot has been said and written on the American Zionists' control of the United States of America – banks, Wall Street, media, Hollywood, markets, politicians, foreign policy, indeed the whole life of Americans.*

[...]

*"Who in the world doesn't know American Congress and Senate, Governors and even City Mayors, are totally and abjectly sold out, body and soul, to the American Zionists' dollars much before they come to occupy their exalted office positions. It is no more a 'conspiracy theory.' Here we have the highest political office not just confirming it but practically demonstrating and openly beating drums about it globally. And in the process also confirming hordes of Americans who have written yottabytes on the subject. America is enslaved by Israel.*

[...]

*"Why doesn't the White House plead directly with the people Americans have elected to take political decisions? Wouldn't that be more logical and commensurate with the American constitutional requirements?*

*"Well, that could be true in a true democracy. Where democracy itself has been reduced to mere competition in securing Jewish funding and acceptance by Zionist media, taking constitutional course is way-off an expectation. As one of the slave pack, Obama knows who owns the elected and therefore where he could get his desired results. So, he bows before the Masters of the United States.*

[...]

*"Blogosphere is drowned in the anguish and wails of the concerned Americans about the present state of their country – looting of ordinary families by American Zionist banksters, homelessness, job losses and falling wages, rising unemployment and poverty, drug addiction, sexual promiscuity and pornography, suicides, daily shoot-outs and murders, broken political structure so typically demonstrated by the recent Government shutdown, spying of and hated alike by friends and foes. A disgraceful picture from Government to an ordinary citizen, as if of a Third World country.*

*"To their every misery Americans trace Zionist Jews in America and Israel at the root. They see miniscule population of American Zionist Jews determining, dominating, and controlling every aspect of their lives – social, moral, political, judicial and economic. The stats and arguments presented in support are shockingly very similar to those heard and reported for the post-WWI Germany."<sup>54</sup>*

### Roger Waters' pig and Baroness Deech

Musician Roger Waters used a model of a flying pig with a Star of David on it during his live show in 2013. Some observers felt that this use of a Star of David was antisemitic and linked it to his previous criticisms of Israel. Waters also made a gratuitous reference to the Jewish-sounding maiden name of one of his critics.

Waters has used inflatable flying pigs as a prop in his live stage show for many years. He has also previously used a Star of David alongside other religious and corporate symbols. In 2010, he had been criticised by the Anti-Defamation League for juxtaposing a Star of David with a dollar sign.<sup>55</sup>

During his 2013 tour, Waters used a flying pig that bore a Star of David alongside other

54. <http://www.presstv.com/detail/2013/11/09/333845/american-zionists-incubating-new-hitler/>

55. <http://www.rollingstone.com/music/news/roger-waters-changes-controversial-wall-video-20101007>

Roger Waters' giant inflatable pig, hoisted above a concert audience, bearing a Star of David alongside corporate and political symbols and slogans.



symbols. This became the subject of an article in the Israeli media in July after an Israeli attending one of Waters' concerts in Belgium complained about the symbol.<sup>56</sup>

The pig is considered an unclean animal in Jewish dietary law, and past antisemites have sometimes depicted Jews as pigs. In an open letter denying allegations of antisemitism, Waters wrote:

*"Like it or not, the Star of David represents Israel and its policies and is legitimately subject to any and all forms of non violent protest. To peacefully protest against Israel's racist domestic and foreign policies is NOT ANTI-SEMITIC.*

[...]

*"Also the pig in question represents evil, and more specifically the evil of errant government. We make a gift of this symbol of repression to the audience at the end of every show and the people always do the right thing. They destroy it."<sup>57</sup>*

The following month, Waters again caused offence after the BBC decided to edit pro-Palestinian comments made by another

musician, Nigel Kennedy, from a broadcast of the annual Proms concerts. The media reports of this decision included statements by Baroness Ruth Deech, a former BBC governor, criticising Kennedy.<sup>58</sup> Waters' statement included a gratuitous reference to Deech's maiden name, Fraenkel, that could have been interpreted as an attempt to inform readers that Deech is Jewish. Waters wrote:

*"Nigel Kennedy the virtuoso British violinist and violist, at The Recent Promenade Concerts at The Albert Hall in London, mentioned that Israel is apartheid. Nothing unusual there you might think, then one Baroness Deech, (Nee Fraenkel) disputed the fact that Israel is an apartheid state and prevailed upon the BBC to censor Kennedy's performance by removing his statement. Baroness Deech produced not one shred of evidence to support her claim and yet the BBC, non political, supposedly, acting solely on Baroness Deech's say so, suddenly went all 1984 on us. Well!! Time to stick my head above the parapet again, alongside my brother, Nigel Kennedy, where it belongs. And by the way, Nigel, great respect man."<sup>59</sup>*

Various pro-Palestinian groups supported Waters' statement in different ways. The Stop The War Coalition published the statement on its website, but with the words "Nee Fraenkel" omitted and replaced by "...". The Electronic Intifada website published Waters' statement in full, including the words "Nee Fraenkel". The Palestine Solidarity Committee released a statement supporting Waters and Kennedy that included a link to Waters' full statement, but did not reproduce the statement itself. Neither Waters, nor any of his supporters, explained the relevance of including or omitting "Nee Fraenkel".<sup>60</sup>

In December, Waters gave an interview to

56. <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4409388,00.html>

57. <https://www.facebook.com/notes/roger-waters-the-wall/an-open-letter-from-roger-waters/688037331210720>

58. <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/110366/bbc-cut-kennedy-slur-proms-broadcast>

59. <https://www.facebook.com/notes/roger-waters-the-wall/a-note-from-roger-waters-august-18-2013/697457193602067#sthash.AnOp181y.dpuf>

60. <http://www.stopwar.org.uk/news/pink-floyd-israel-boycott-letter>; <http://www.palestinecampaign.org/official-statement-from-nigel-kennedy-on-bbc-censorship/>; <http://electronicintifada.net/blogs/asa-winstanley/pink-floyd-stars-new-israel-boycott-letter-family-rock-and-roll>

a campaigner for the movement to boycott Israel in which he compared Israel to Nazi Germany and claimed that “the Jewish lobby” is very powerful in America. He also used the interview to express his support for boycotting Israel. He said:

*“I would not have played for the Vichy government in occupied France in the Second World War, I would not have played in Berlin either during this time. Many people did, back in the day. There were many people that pretended that the oppression of the Jews was not going on. From 1933 until 1946. So this is not a new scenario. Except that this time it’s the Palestinian People being murdered.*

[...]

*“The parallels with what went on in the 30’s in Germany are so crushingly obvious that it doesn’t surprise me that the movement that both you and I are involved in is growing every day.*

[...]

*“Well, where I live, in the USA, I think, A: they are frightened and B: I think the propaganda machine that starts in Israeli schools and that continues through all the Netanyahu’s bluster is poured all over the United States, not just Fox but also CNN and in fact in all the mainstream media.*

[...]

*“This has been a very hard sell particularly where I live in the United States of America. The Jewish lobby is extraordinary powerful here and particularly in the industry that I work in, the music industry and in rock ‘n roll as they say. I promise you, naming no names, I’ve spoken to people who are terrified that if they stand shoulder to shoulder with me they are going to get f\*\*\*\*d. They have said to me ‘aren’t you*

*worried for your life?’ and I go ‘No, I’m not’.”<sup>61</sup>*

### Gilad Atzmon and the “Seek Speak Spread Truth” conference

Gilad Atzmon is an ex-Israeli jazz musician who is shunned by most of the pro-Palestinian movement for making statements they believe to be antisemitic. In December, he spoke at a conference in London that featured conspiracy theories from speakers and audience members about “Zionists”, “Freemasons”, “the Illuminati” and others. Atzmon used his speech to explain why he is opposed to “Jewishness”, and also why he refuses to say “Zionist” instead of “Jew”.

Atzmon said early in his speech that “I’m not antisemitic, I’m just anti-Jewish”. He explained that people had tried to persuade him to say “Zionist” instead of “Jew” but that he refuses to do so. His speech included the following extracts:

*“[I am] an opponent of Jewish power...”*

*“...we are dealing with Jewish power...”*

*“I actually don’t like to talk about Jews. I never speak about Jews. I speak about Jewishness. I speak about the ideology...I also realise that the Jew, the Jews, what is the Jew? The Jew is actually, this is a joke yes...[Atzmon fakes a drum roll]...the Jew is the character. No sorry, the Jews, who are the Jews? The Jews are the people who give a bad name to the Jew.”*

*“...even the Palestinians are so Judefied that they themselves cannot contemplate freely about their situation.”*

*“Atheist Jews...they hate the rabbis, they hate the synagogues, but they always end up burning churches. They never burn synagogues.”*

61. <http://www.counterpunch.org/2013/12/06/an-interview-with-pink-floyds-roger-waters/>

Tahra Ahmed, the organiser of the “Seek Speak Spread Truth” conference, comments on Facebook that Gilad Atzmon’s speech “really went for the jugular of Jewish power”.

One of the other speakers at the conference was an American called Les Visible. His speech included a reference to Israel as “A crime syndicate masquerading as a nation” and the claim that “tribe members” were behind atheism, Zionism and other social movements:

“... a particular group of people. A crime syndicate masquerading as a nation over in the Middle East. They put it together as a country so they could have a sovereign autonomy in a location to commit international crime. This is what they do. [applause]



Tahra Ahmed

25 November · Edited

Its been about 48 hours since Seek Speak Spread Truth ended with a riveting jazz concert by Gilad and his band. Gilad's own talk was riveting too, more thought provoking and provocative even by his standards! He really went for the jugular of Jewish power. But first Alan Hart kicked the morning off with a very stimulating

[...]

“Atheism is the product of the same people who brought you Zionism. Go into who is running the show and you’ll see, ho, ho, ho, all tribe members. Go to every alternative sexual organisation, they’re almost exclusively tribe members. And why...this ain’t accidental, they’re doing this on purpose...”<sup>62</sup>

## ANTISEMITISM IN FOOTBALL: the Y-word and the quenelle

**THE YEAR 2013** saw the issue of antisemitism in football repeatedly discussed in the national media. This included the use of the ‘Y-word’ by supporters of Tottenham Hotspur, and the deployment of antisemitic insults towards Spurs by rival fans. The issue of antisemitism was also raised after the West Bromwich Albion footballer Nicolas Anelka celebrated a goal by performing the ‘quenelle’, a gesture popularised by antisemitic French comedian and agitator Dieudonné M’Bala M’Bala.

**IN MAY**, Spurs played Chelsea in a Premier League match. One fan tweeted on social media that he heard Chelsea fans singing the chant “Adolf Hitler, he’s coming for you”. Another fan tweeted that he heard the chant “Spurs are on their way to Auschwitz”.

While these Spurs fans used social media to highlight antisemitism, other fans use it to express antisemitism directly. Antisemitic tweets during and following this particular match included the following:

“In our club we have problem, and that problem is the Jew. He takes all Jenkins money, he only score 1 goal. **THROW SHECHTER DOWN THE WELL**”

“**BIGGEST JEW C\*\*TS IN ENGLAND, YOU KNOW WHAT YOU ARE**”

“Fucking Jew c\*\*ts costing me 20 quid p\*\*\*ks”

“Takes off Oscar and puts on a f\*\*\*\*\*g Jew.”  
(This is a reference to then-Chelsea player

62. <http://blog.thecest.org.uk/?p=4631>; <http://blog.thecest.org.uk/?p=4608>

63. <http://blog.thecest.org.uk/?p=4294>



Yossi Benayoun, who is Israeli.)

*"We'll be running round Tottenham with are [sic] willies hanging out Singing I've got foreskin haven't you F\*\*\*\*\*G JEW"<sup>63</sup>*

In September, the Football Association announced that Spurs fans would be arrested for using the 'Y-word', which fans claim to use as a badge of honour for the club. Some fans were subsequently arrested but the charges were dropped. CST issued a statement that did not support arrests, but that did call for Spurs fans to stop using the word:

*"CST and our partners at Maccabi GB have never stated that Spurs fans should be criminalised or given banning orders for using the Y-word. We have consistently said that Spurs fans' use of the Y-word does not remotely compare with, nor in any way legitimise, the vile and unacceptable antisemitic abuse that is all too often heard from opposing fans.*

*"Nevertheless, although the way that Spurs fans usually use the Y-word does not justify prosecution, it remains an offensive word that can upset many Jews both inside and outside the football context. Ultimately, ridding football of antisemitism needs to involve Spurs fans voluntarily dropping the Y-word from their songbook."<sup>64</sup>*

In December, Nicolas Anelka performed a quenelle salute after scoring a goal for West Bromwich Albion. The quenelle involves pointing one arm straight down with hand extended, while placing the other hand across the body and onto the upper arm that is extended. It was popularised, and quite possibly invented, by Dieudonné M'Bala M'Bala, a French comedian-cum-political activist who has been found guilty

of antisemitism by French courts on several occasions. In France, the gesture was the focus of a social media craze in 2013, whereby people perform the quenelle in locations that would be offensive to Jews. This has included people performing the quenelle at Auschwitz; at the Western Wall in Jerusalem; at the Holocaust memorial in Berlin; outside synagogues and Jewish shops; and even outside the Ozar Hatorah school in Toulouse, where French jihadist Mohammed Merah shot dead three children and a teacher in 2012.

Anelka denied that his quenelle was antisemitic and said that it was "just a special dedication to my comedian friend Dieudonné." The match was broadcast live in France and the French Sports Minister Valerie Fourneyron tweeted that "Anelka's gesture is a shocking provocation, disgusting. There's no place for anti-Semitism on the football field."<sup>65</sup> CST and others called for the FA to investigate Anelka for a breach of their disciplinary code. They did so, and in February 2014, Anelka was banned for five matches and fined £80,000.

A supporter of Dieudonné M'Bala M'Bala performs a quenelle salute outside the Ozar Hatorah school in Toulouse, where French jihadist Mohammed Merah shot dead three children and a teacher in March 2012.



64. <http://blog.thecest.org.uk/?p=4500>

65. <http://www.france24.com/en/20131229-french-footballer-nicolas-anelka-trouble-over-antisemitic-gesture-Dieudonne/>



## 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.

## CST CONTACT DETAILS



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