



Antisemitic Discourse in Britain in 2010

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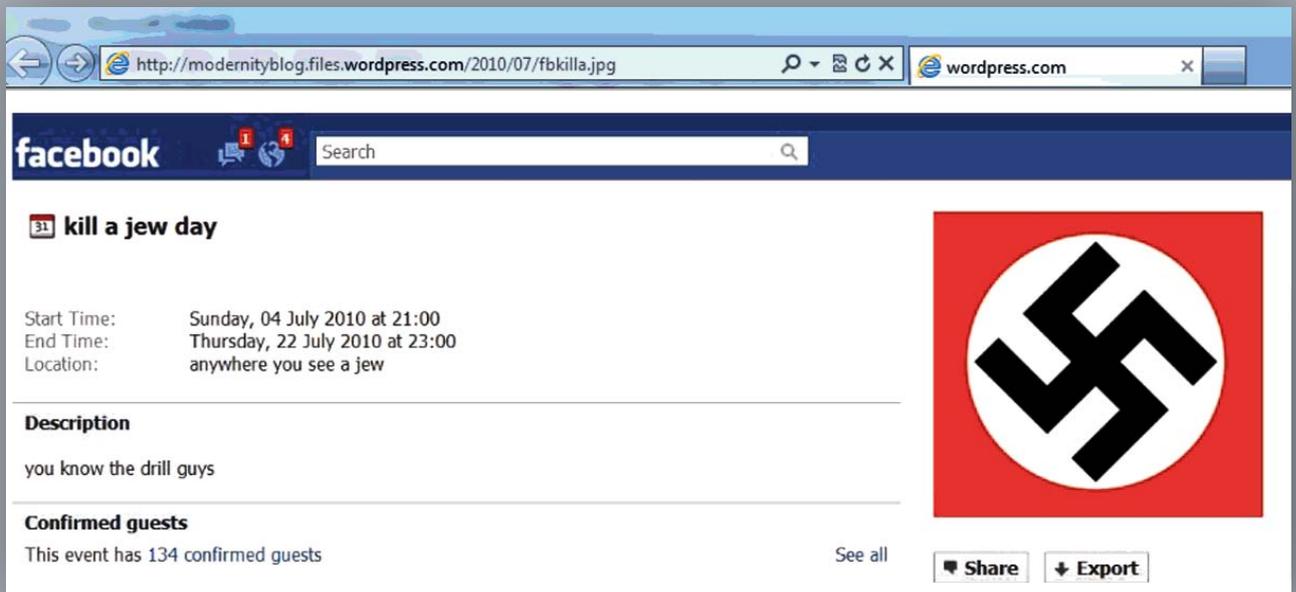


kill a jew day

Start Time: Sunday, 04 July 2010 at 21:00
End Time: Thursday, 22 July 2010 at 23:00
Location: anywhere you see a jew

Description





This graphic shows "kill a jew day" page on facebook, but is taken from the anti-racist website *Modernity Blog* that brought the story to public notice. This page and others like it, were subsequently removed.

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Poll: CNN firing shows Zionist control



Wed Jul 21, 2010 8:57AM

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CNN's firing of a journalist for honoring the late Grand Ayatollah Fadlallah is a case of intellectual terrorism and Zionistic clout in western media, a poll finds.

Nearly two-thirds (65.99%) of respondents participating in the latest Press TV poll have described CNN's recent move to sack its Middle East senior editor Octavia Nasr as an instance of intellectual terrorism reflecting the influence of Zionists on mainstream western media outlets.

Meanwhile, over 20 percent of those polled believe that Zionists control the western media.

Less than ten percent of the participants maintain that CNN had the right to question Nasr's integrity.

Nasr was fired due to her paying tribute to the late Lebanese Shia cleric in a message on the micro-blogging site Twitter earlier this month.

"Sad to hear of the passing of Seyyed Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah... One of Hezbollah's giants I respect a lot," Nasr wrote.

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The antisemitic accusation that Jews run the media is an old one. Here, Iranian broadcaster, Press TV, updates the accusation in a global poll alleging "Zionist control" of American broadcaster, CNN.

Executive summary

- Explicit antisemitism is rare in British public life and within mainstream political and media discourse.
- Where explicit antisemitism does exist, it tends to occur in circles that exhibit racism against all minorities. Explicit antisemitism is also found within the propaganda, ideology and influence of extreme Islamist groups.
- There was little overt antisemitism within mainstream 2010 General Election campaigning or in relation to economic troubles. This was a welcome and important indicator of the marginal nature of overt antisemitism today. A notable exception was in remarks made by Labour MP Gerald Kaufman (who is Jewish), when he told a pro-Palestinian meeting that "*right-wing Jewish millionaires*" part-own the Conservative Party.
- Anti-Israel and anti-Zionist discourse are not significant features of British public life, but are increasingly prevalent in some liberal-left sections of society, including activist groups, trade unions and mainstream media.
- The use of Holocaust analogies in anti-Zionist and anti-Israel discourse is antisemitic, as it is premised upon the Jewish nature of these phenomena, and carries direct hurt to Jews. In 2010, the official UK Holocaust Memorial Week was abused for anti-Zionist campaigning purposes, including in the House of Commons on Holocaust Memorial Day itself (in an event chaired by Labour MP Jeremy Corbyn).
- Traditional antisemitic themes alleging Jewish conspiracy, power, wealth, cunning and enmity against others, resonate within some examples of anti-Israel and (especially) anti-Zionist discourse, but are usually voiced against 'Zionists' or 'pro-Israelis', rather than explicitly against 'Jews' per se.
- Rhetoric against 'Zionism', 'Zionists' or 'pro-Israelis' risks fostering reflexive hostility against British Jews and their representative bodies, including racist stereotyping and bias against Jews deemed 'pro-Israel' and the rejection of Jewish concerns about antisemitism in Israel-related contexts.
- A poll by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research indicated that 72% of British Jews self-identify as Zionists and 82% of British Jews regard Israel as playing a "*central*" or "*important...role in their Jewish identities*". These statistics indicate how so-called 'anti-Zionist' campaigning may cause hurt to most British Jews – by affecting their sense of well-being, and how others perceive them.
- In Scotland, 2010 saw the investigation and prosecution of an English man, for posting antisemitic statements in the comments thread of an article on the website of the *Scotsman* newspaper.
- Two notable books discussing antisemitism were published in 2010: Anthony Julius' study of English antisemitism, *Trials of the Diaspora*, and Howard Jacobson's novel, *The Finkler Question*, winner of the 2010 Man Booker literary prize.

Introduction

This CST *Antisemitic Discourse in Britain* report analyses written and verbal communication, discussion and rhetoric about Jews and Jewish-related issues in Britain during 2010. It is published annually by CST¹.

Discourse is used in this report to mean 'communicative action': communication expressed in speech, written text, images and other forms of expression and propaganda².

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.

CST distinguishes antisemitic discourse from actual antisemitic incidents³, which are race hate attacks against Jews or Jewish organisations and locations.

Racist or political violence is influenced by extremist discourse, particularly the manner in which perpetrators may be emboldened by support (real or imagined) from opinion leaders and society for their actions.

The 2006 *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism*⁴ noted the importance and complexity of antisemitic discourse and urged further study of it. By 2008, the Parliamentary inquiry process had led to the issuing of the first progress report of the Government's taskforce against antisemitism. This stated of antisemitic discourse⁵:

"Antisemitism in discourse is, by its nature, harder to identify and define

than a physical attack on a person or place. It is more easily recognised by those who experience it than by those who engage in it.

"Antisemitic discourse is also hard to identify because the boundaries of acceptable discourse have become blurred to the point that individuals and organisations are not aware when these boundaries have been crossed, and because the language used is more subtle particularly in the contentious area of the dividing line between antisemitism and criticism of Israel or Zionism."

1 CST's 2007, 2008 and 2009 reports may be read at <http://www.thecst.org.uk/index.cfm?Content=7>

2 Paul Iganski and Abe Sweiry. "Understanding and Addressing the 'Nazi card' – Intervening Against Antisemitic Discourse". European Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism, London.

3 CST's annual *Antisemitic Incidents Reports* may be read at <http://www.thecst.org.uk/index.cfm?Content=7>

4 *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism*. Published September 2006, London: The Stationery Office. The report may be viewed on the website of the Parliamentary Committee Against Antisemitism: www.thepcaa.org

5 *All-Party Inquiry into Antisemitism: Government Response: One year on Progress Report*. Published 12 May 2008, London: The Stationery Office. Also at <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.

It can fuel antisemitic race hate attacks against Jews and Jewish institutions, and may leave Jews feeling 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 upon Jews and society as a whole.

Antisemitic impacts of legitimate debate and media

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

Statistics show that perceived members of an ethnic or religious group can suffer hate crime attacks when public events related to that group occur. This dynamic is repeated in antisemitic incident levels⁶ rising in relation to public events involving Jews, Jewish institutions or Jewish-related subjects such as Israel.

Media coverage of, or political comment on, such public events may be entirely legitimate and overwhelmingly in the public interest. Nevertheless, those engaging in these debates also have a responsibility to understand the potential consequences of their discourse, and should avoid inflaming tense situations by the use of gratuitous language and insinuation.

⁶ Shown repeatedly in CST's annual *Antisemitic Incidents Reports*: <http://www.thecst.org.uk/index.cfm?content=7>. Also, Iganski, Kielinger, Paterson. "Hate Crimes Against London's Jews". Institute for Jewish Policy Research, London, 2005.

THE PROTOCOLS OF THE MEETINGS OF THE LEARNED ELDERS OF ZION TRANSLATED BY VICTOR E. MARSDEN



The notorious *Protocols* claims to reveal a supposed secret Jewish conspiracy to take over the world in this British version by the 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.

UK Jewish life: putting antisemitism into context

British Jewry should be defined by its success and vibrancy, rather than by antisemitism. Nevertheless, antisemitic race hate attacks and antisemitic discourse are issues of considerable importance for British Jews.



Billboard in north Manchester during Chanukah, funded by the Home Office Victims Fund.

Overview

Jewish life in Britain today is diverse and extremely well integrated into wider society. Indeed, the Jewish community is often referred to by Government and others as the benchmark of successful minority integration.

British Jews have full equal rights and protection in law, including against antisemitic incitement and attack. Jews who wish to live a Jewish life have every opportunity to do so, be it educational, religious, cultural or political. Overt antisemitism is socially unacceptable.

Despite their achievements, many Jews regard themselves, and future generations, as potentially vulnerable to antisemitic attitudes and impacts. The 2005–06 *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism* noted *"that there is much truth"* in the apparent contradiction between the extremely positive situation of British Jewry, and feelings of vulnerability and isolation⁷:

"In his oral evidence, the Chief Rabbi stated: 'If you were to ask me is Britain an antisemitic society, the answer is manifestly and obviously no. It is one of the least antisemitic societies in the world.'

"However, the President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews told us, 'There is probably a greater feeling of discomfort, greater concerns, greater fears now about antisemitism than there have been for many decades.' Having considered all of the evidence submitted, we are of the opinion that there is much truth in both of these ostensibly contradictory views."

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 removed King Edward's 1290 expulsion.

By the early 19th century, Jews had virtually achieved economic and social emancipation. By the end of the 19th 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. This met with antisemitic agitation from trade unions, politicians and others.

Demography

There are an estimated 300,000 to 350,000 Jews in Britain, two-thirds of whom live in Greater London. Jews live throughout Britain, predominately in urban areas. Other major Jewish centres are in Manchester, Leeds, Brighton and Glasgow.

The religious composition of the Jewish community is highly diverse, and ranges from the strictly Orthodox to non-practising. Many Jews can trace their British identity back to the most significant influx of Jewish immigration, from Russia at the turn of the 20th century. Others can trace their British identity considerably further. There is also a considerable number of Jews of other national origins who have arrived in recent years and decades, from countries including South Africa, Israel and France.

The Jewish population is in decline due to low birth rate, intermarriage and emigration. The strictly orthodox minority is experiencing sustained growth due to larger family sizes and may in future comprise the majority of the Jewish community.

⁷ *Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism*. Published September 2006, London: The Stationery Office. The report may be viewed on the website of the Parliamentary Committee Against Antisemitism: <http://www.thepcaa.org/Report.pdf>

What is antisemitism? Background and concepts

In essence, antisemitism is discrimination, prejudice or hostility against Jews.

The term 'antisemitism' is also used to describe all forms of discrimination, prejudice or hostility towards Jews throughout history.

Antisemitism: background

History shows that antisemitic escalations are an early warning of growing extremism 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, but it has led many to wrongly categorise antisemitism as an exclusively far right phenomenon that is essentially frozen in time.

Antisemitism predates Christianity and is referred to as "*the Longest Hatred*"⁸. Its persistence is not doubted, yet precise definitions of antisemitism are heatedly debated.

Antisemitism repeatedly adapts to contemporary circumstances and historically has 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 *The Protocols of the Elders of*

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

Today, antisemitic race hate attacks have approximately doubled since the late 1990s. This phenomenon has occurred in most Jewish communities throughout the world, and there is a clear global pattern whereby overseas events (primarily, but not exclusively, involving Israel) trigger sudden escalations in local antisemitic incident levels. The situation is made far worse by ongoing attempts at mass casualty terrorist attacks by global jihadist elements against their local Jewish communities.

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 attempted genocide, to literary, philosophical and political discourse. Antisemitism has been described as an ideology in its own right; but Anthony Julius has argued that it is undeserving of such status and should rather be regarded as a polluter of ideologies.

Antisemitism as ideology

The ideological component of antisemitism was summarised by Steve Cohen, as follows:

"The peculiar and defining feature of anti-semitism is that it exists as an ideology. It provides its adherents with

⁸ Edward H. Flannery. *The Anguish of the Jews: Twenty-Three Centuries of Antisemitism*. First published 1965. Reprinted: Paulist Press, 2004. See "Google books". Also, Robert S. Wistrich. *Anti-Semitism: The Longest Hatred*. Methuen, 1991 and Screen Guides for Thames Television: *The Longest Hatred*, 1991.

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 Jews⁹.”

‘English antisemitisms’

Anthony Julius has argued that anti-Jewish hostility today mixes “several kinds of anti-Semitism”; and he identifies four kinds of antisemitism 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 for¹⁰.”

Antisemitic imagination: ‘The Jew’

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 follows:

“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 rewards¹¹.”

9 Steve Cohen. *That's Funny, You Don't Look Anti-Semitic*. Beyond the Pale Collective, Leeds, 1984. <http://www.engageonline.org.uk/resources/funny/index.html>

10 Anthony Julius. *Trials of the Diaspora*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010.

11 Brian Klug. *The Concept of Antisemitism*. Speech, Oxford University, 2009. Also, “Submission of Evidence to the All-Party Inquiry into Antisemitism”. December 2005.

Antisemitism: legal definitions

Legislative definitions of antisemitism are primarily intended for Police and judicial use in identifying antisemitic incidents and crimes, rather than for defining discourse. Nevertheless, these definitions provide important 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 follows¹²:

"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."

Stephen Lawrence Inquiry

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

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."

The Government command response to the Parliamentary inquiry concurred, stating¹³:

"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."

European Monitoring Centre/Fundamental Rights Agency

The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, now renamed the Fundamental Rights Agency, is the European Commission's anti-racism watchdog group. In 2002–03, the centre conducted a study of antisemitism in Europe that included a recommendation to "*define antisemitic acts*", as a necessary prerequisite for European Police forces to collect data about antisemitic race hate crimes.

Following this, the centre, assisted by Jewish groups, developed a short "*working definition*" of antisemitism which "*could, taking into account the overall context*", indicate antisemitism in cases of crime and bias.

¹² Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism.

Published September 2006, London: The Stationery Office. The report may be viewed on the website of the Parliamentary Committee Against Antisemitism: www.thepcaa.org <http://www.thepcaa.org/Report.pdf>

¹³ All-Party Inquiry into Antisemitism: Government

Response: One year on Progress Report. Published 12 May 2008, London: The Stationery Office. Also at <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm73/7381/7381.pdf>

The "working definition" is primarily intended for use by law enforcement when deciding whether crimes are antisemitic or not. It standardises the classification and measurement of antisemitism, and is an important and innovative aid for the protection of Jews in some European countries. Despite this, it has been strenuously opposed by anti-Israel activists who wrongly claim that its true goal is to suppress anti-Zionist and anti-Israel expression.

Cross-Government Hate Crime Action Plan

In law, the Lawrence inquiry recommendations were built upon by new anti-hate-crime legislation, issued in 2009.

14 www.gos.gov.uk/497417/docs/247610/882951/.../hatecrimeactionplan

Cross-Government Hate Crime Action Plan

What is hate crime?

Hate incident
Any non-crime incident

Hate crime
Any criminal offence

which is perceived, by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by hostility or prejudice based on a person's actual or perceived disability, race, religion and belief, sexual orientation or whether they are transgender.

Hate crime strands

- Disability
- Race
- Religion and belief
- Sexual orientation
- Transgender

The Government's official PowerPoint explanation of its Hate Crime Action Plan¹⁴.

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 multiple dynamics between antisemitism, anti-Israel activity and 'anti-Zionism' are fundamental to the nature, content and impact of contemporary British antisemitism, and to the concerns of British Jews.

In recent years, Israel has been subject to repeated criticism and outright hostility from relatively large sections of the liberal left, including campaigning groups, trade unions, politicians, journalists 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 the anti-Israel activity, to those who regard actions against the world's sole Jewish state as antisemitic per se.

Antisemitism is a form of racist and political activism. Because of its very nature, antisemitism can feed off criticism of Jews, Israel or Zionism, regardless of how fair or unfair, antisemitic or legitimate, the criticism may be.

As discussed elsewhere in this report, 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 for its vitriol; 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.

Hostility to the very notion of a Jewish state, and calls for the actual destruction of 'Zionism' or Israel, transcend mere criticism, and directly threaten the morale and self-identity of most British Jews. (See page 5 of this

report, showing polling data in which 82% of British Jews describe Israel as "*important*" to their self-identity.)

Antisemitism, Anti-Zionism and Anti-Israelism

Antisemitism, anti-Zionism and anti-Israelism are not the same as each other. They can, however, be very hard to untangle and distinguish.

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:

- **Motivation:** To what extent is the enmity driven by the Jewish nature of Israel and/or Zionism?
- **Content:** Does the enmity use antisemitic or otherwise racist exclusivities, themes and motifs? The more deliberate and/or unfair the usage, the more antisemitic the criticism.
- **Target:** Are local Jews being singled out as recipients for criticism or bias that ostensibly derives from anti-Israel or anti-Zionist enmity?
- **Response:** Are local Jewish concerns about the above sincerely engaged with?

Anti-Zionism: "in effect antisemitic"

A 2010 survey indicated that 72% of British Jews self-define as 'Zionists'.

Encouraging antisemitism across political extremes

'Anti-Zionism' is widely professed by activists in far right, far left and extreme Islamist circles, including the various antisemites who reside there. These different political groupings employ 'Zionism' and 'Zionist' as a pejorative term, using it as desired against whatever, or whomever, they oppose.

The diverse developments and overlapping contents of today's 'anti-Zionisms' contain striking similarities with traditional antisemitic themes of Jews as the demonised 'Other', and of Jews as being the conspiratorial power behind war, financial and political systems, and the media.

Masking the word 'Jew' with the word 'Zionist' obscures both the antisemitic origins and continuities of such discourse, and enables a deepening cycle of further refinement, obfuscation and ignorance on the part of its propagators and users.

Employing the word 'Zionist' where once the word 'Jew' would have appeared in open antisemitic discourse may, or may not, be deliberate; but it essentially fulfils the same psychological and political purpose as open antisemitism once did.

When mainstream journalists and politicians use the word 'Zionism' as a pejorative term, it reinforces the above 'anti-Zionist' processes, further complicates definitions of antisemitism, and makes it harder for Jews (and others) to succinctly explain their concerns.

'Anti-Zionism', in its content, motivation and physical antisemitic impacts, can differ greatly across the varying ideological streams (e.g., far left, far right, Islamist, anti-globalisation) within which it occurs. Nevertheless, 'Zionist' resonates across these ideologies as denoting a political, financial, military and media conspiracy that is centred in Washington and Jerusalem, and which opposes authentic local interests.

Furthermore, the prejudices of conscious antisemites are reinforced by the ever-evolving 'anti-Zionist' lexicon of words, phrases and charges. This discourse resonates with antisemites, who interpret terms such as 'pro-Israel' or 'well-financed' as coded public echoes of their own privately held (and publicly restricted) opinions.

'Anti-Zionists' in anti-Israel lobby groups deem themselves to be sincerely opposed to antisemitism; and such circles are extremely welcoming to Jews. Nevertheless, when it suits their purpose, they will commonly ignore, misrepresent or attack concerns expressed by the bulk of the Jewish community.

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."

Lessons from anti-racism

Israel's critics can reduce the antisemitic content and impact of their actions by utilising basic anti-racist principles. They should avoid inflammatory catch-all terms such as 'Israel's supporters' and 'Zionists' – both of which can be easily understood to mean most Jews, but are frequently used in a demonising and dehumanising manner. They should avoid replicating older antisemitic narratives and themes in modern form. Furthermore, anti-Israel actions such as boycotts should at least be acknowledged by their proponents as activities that will genuinely concern and isolate many Jews.

Continuities between antisemitism and anti-Zionism

There are numerous continuities between historical antisemitic themes and modern anti-Zionism. These include the following:

- Alleging that Jewish religion and/or culture promote Jewish supremacy and that this is the Jewish basis for alleged Zionist racism.

- The image of the shadowy, powerful 'Zionist' repeats antisemitic charges that Jews are loyal only to each other, and that leading Jews conspire to control media, economy and Government for their evil ends.
- Dehumanising and demonising antisemitic 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, encouraging the notion that 'cleansing' or 'extermination' must occur.
- Scapegoating Jews as the 'Other', blaming them for local and global problems, and demanding their destruction or conversion as a vital step in the building of 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. In the UK, this is especially visible in mainstream depictions of American Zionists.
- Historically, Jewish-born adherents of other modes of identity, such as Christianity, nationalism or communism, had to show that they had cast off their 'Jewishness'. Today, there are those (mainly on the anti-Israel left) who uniquely demand that Jews declare their attitude to Israel, before they will be decently treated.

Anti-Jewish-community and antisemitic impacts of anti-Zionism

Anti-Israel and anti-Zionist discourse risk numerous negative impacts against the bulk of the Jewish community, despite the fact that such discourse, particularly from the liberal left, media, charities and trade unions, may not be inspired by antisemitism. Indeed, some activists may specifically warn against the danger of antisemitic outcomes arising from their activities, because they understand that hostile discourse about Israel and Zionism may – however inadvertently – have explicitly antisemitic impacts.

Anti-Jewish-community and antisemitic impacts arising from anti-Israel and, in particular, anti-Zionist discourse include the following:

- Heightening the likelihood of British Jews and British Jewish organisations falling victim to antisemitic race hate attacks over controversies involving Israel and/or Zionists. These attacks have increased significantly since the year 2000. Combined with the threat of antisemitic terrorism, they risk Jewish safety and morale, and require a security response that imposes further psychological and financial burdens upon Jews.
- Providing concealment, encouragement and self-legitimation for antisemites.
- Depicting the Jewish state as a uniquely racist or imperialist enterprise. This serves to threaten, isolate and demonise all those who believe that Jews have a right to statehood. Indeed, anyone showing support for Israel or Zionism risks being defined and castigated for this behaviour, rather than being gauged by any of their other actions and beliefs.
- The fostering of a reflexive hatred, fear, suspicion or bias against Jews per se, which leads to Jews and Jewish organisations being prejudicially treated due to the supposed nature of their support for Israel or Zionism.
- Extreme hostility to mainstream Jewish representative bodies that actively support Israel.
- The use of 'Zionist' as a pejorative description of any organised Jewish (or Jewish related) activity, such as the '*Zionist Jewish Chronicle*', or the '*Zionist CST*'. These bodies are then maltreated for being allegedly Zionist, rather than properly engaged with.
- Antisemitism is not judged or opposed in its own right, but is reacted to according to its supposed relationship with anti-Israel or anti-Zionist activism. No other minority's concerns about hate crime are treated so partially and harshly by the self-professed anti-racism movement. In particular, antisemitism from anti-Israel sources is often ignored, downplayed or flatly denied.
- Holocaust commemoration is sometimes judged by its supposed utility to Zionism and is reacted to on that basis. This includes denigrating Holocaust memorial dates and events by using them as opportunities for pro-Palestinian activism.

- Employing anti-Israel rhetoric or actions specifically because they have unique resonance for Jews. For example, comparing Israel to Nazi Germany, or advocating an academic boycott of Israel on the basis that education is a particularly Jewish trait.
- Enacting anti-Israel activities, especially boycotts, that inevitably impact against local Jews far more than on any other sector of society.

Multicultural identity: British Jews, Zionism and Israel

Modern Britain is multicultural, with many citizens sharing a strong sense of pride in both their British identity and other familial, national or religious components that comprise their sense of self. This pertains to numerous shared identities, such as black West Indians, Muslim Kashmirs, Sikh Punjabis, or Irish Catholics. These identities may be widely celebrated on occasions such as the Notting Hill Carnival, melas and St Patrick's Day parades.

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

2010 Identity Survey: British Jews, Zionism and Israel

In January and February 2010, the Institute for Jewish Policy Research conducted a survey of British Jewish attitudes to Israel and Zionism¹⁵.

The survey is highly important when considering the (real and potential) impacts of anti-Zionist and anti-Israel discourse and activity. It shows the strong self-identification of most British Jews with Israel, and demonstrates how mistaken and malicious it is for anti-Zionists to depict Zionists as warmongers, racists and the like.

Eleven per cent of respondents had suffered a recent "antisemitic insult or attack"; and just over half of these victims believed that this antisemitic incident (or crime) was related to the abuser/assailant's "views on Israel".

A total of 4,081 British Jews responded to the survey, with their responses being weighted for disproportionate bias (such as sex, religious affiliation and education) by the researchers. Findings included the following:

"British Jews and Israel and Zionism"

- "72% categorize themselves as Zionists; 21% do not see themselves as Zionists, and 7% are unsure. Generally speaking, the more religious respondents say they are, the more likely they are to describe themselves as Zionist."
- 82% say Israel plays a "central" or "important but not central" role in their Jewish identities. 76% "feel that Israel is relevant to their day-to-day lives in Britain".
- 95% have visited Israel. 90% regard Israel as the "ancestral homeland" of the Jewish people. 87% say that Jews in Britain are part of a global Jewish "Diaspora".
- 77% feel that Jews have a special responsibility for Israel's survival (including 54% of non-Zionist respondents). 31% agree that Israel has a responsibility for "ensuring the safety of Jews around the world".

15 David Graham and Jonathan Boyd. *Committed, concerned and conciliatory: The attitudes of Jews in Britain towards Israel*. Jewish Policy Research, London, July 2010. <http://www.jpr.org.uk/downloads/JPR%20Israel%20survey%20report%2015.pdf>

- 67% do "not" feel any conflict of loyalty regarding Britain and Israel. 60% say that Israel is either "not" an issue or only "one of several" issues that influence their voting behaviour.

"British Jews: antisemitism and Israel"

- 23% had witnessed some form of antisemitic incident in the previous year. Of these, over half (56%) believed the incident "was 'probably' or 'definitely' related to the abuser/assailant's views on Israel."
- 11% had been subjected to a verbal antisemitic insult or attack in the 12 months leading up to the survey. Over half of these victims (56%) believed the incident "was 'probably' or 'definitely' related to the abuser/assailant's views on Israel."
- 26% "feel uncomfortable living in Britain because of events in Israel". Respondents living in parts of the country with fewer Jews were the most likely to feel uncomfortable.

"British Jews: attitude to the Israel-Palestine conflict"

- 78% favour a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. 56% feel that non-Jewish minorities in Israel suffer discrimination. 55% consider Israel "to be 'an occupying power' in the West Bank (Judea/Samaria)" (including 48% of Zionist respondents).
- 74% oppose the expansion of existing Israeli settlements in the West Bank (including 70% of Zionist respondents). 67% favour Israel exchanging land for peace (including 62% of Zionist respondents).

The Jewish conspiracy: money, power, control and intimidation

The charge of secret Jewish power distinguishes antisemitism from all other types of racism.

In 2010, various conspiracy-type allegations were expressed at public pro-Palestinian meetings, including Martin Linton MP referring to "*long tentacles of Israel in this country*" and Gerald Kaufman MP claiming "*right-wing Jewish millionaires*" part-own the Conservative Party.

In mainstream media, the *Independent* newspaper (again) claimed that America is subservient to "*pro-Israel*" activists, and described one such lobby group as "*Jewish*". BBC Radio 4 failed to challenge a supposed expert interviewee who claimed that 500,000 Jews around the world "*will help the Mossad*".

Conspiracy accusations reinforce the notion that Jews and/or Zionists are disloyal to all but their own kind, thereby fostering mistrust and antagonism towards all Jews and/or those who are assumed to be 'Zionists'. Such statements are very rarely rebuked by the organisers of anti-Israel events; and subsequent apologies are often grudging and partial.

Background: Jewish power, dual loyalty and the conspiracy charge

Notions of Jewish power and conspiracy are central to antisemitic discourse and derive from the need to explain how Jews had sufficient power to kill Jesus.

In more modern times, the allegations became codified in the notorious hoax *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, influencing antisemitic discourse within Nazism and other ideologies.

The term 'dual loyalty' refers to the notion that Jews are only really ever loyal to each other. This underpins the conspiracy charge.

Today, the 'Jewish power' accusation is relatively rare. Accusations of 'Zionist power' are, however, quite common. Those using such language may not be antisemitic, but the 'Jewish' and 'Zionist' power discourses share striking similarities in both their actual composition and their scapegoating function.

Responsible behaviour

The risk of exciting antisemites should not prevent media coverage or public comment on pro-Israel, Zionist or Jewish lobbies. It does, however, mean that politicians, journalists and others should recognise the risks in the subject matter and behave responsibly, as they would in other sensitive areas.

Conspiracy theories and antisemitism

The attraction of any conspiracy theory lies in its ability to coherently (if wrongly) explain how a complex world works. It also has a strong scapegoat function that explains away any failures on the part of its proponent.

All of this renders its proponents ignorant. When media, politicians, academics and others propagate conspiracy charges, it renders their readers, viewers, followers and students similarly ignorant; and the cycle of ignorance and scapegoating is reinforced.

The 'conspiracy charge' and *The Protocols*

The 'conspiracy charge' contains one, or more, of the following allegations:

- Jews have great, hidden power.
 - intellectually
 - financially
 - politically
 - in media
- Jews conspire together.
- Jews are disloyal, oppose all others and cannot be trusted.
- Jews manipulate others to do their public bidding.

Today, *The Protocols* is in the official charter of the Palestinian-Islamist group Hamas, which is itself part of the global Muslim Brotherhood movement. This signifies how embedded antisemitic conspiracy theory is within much Arab, Muslim and Islamist anti-Israel discourse (both popular and official).

Antisemitic conspiracy and American policy

In mainstream circles, conspiracy theory is most commonly found (or insinuated) in discussion of how American politics and media relate to Israel. To a lesser extent, these charges also risk being raised in discussion about UK politicians and media.

The following allegations are commonly made:

- American (and UK) diplomacy towards Israel is dictated by the pro-Israel/Zionist lobby.
- American (and UK) media coverage of Israel is subservient to pro-Israel/Zionist interests.

- Any and all critics of Israel within American (and UK) politics or media will be denounced as antisemites and their careers will suffer terribly as a consequence.

The assertion that a sovereign nation's actions regarding Israel will, above all other considerations, be decided by the (largely covert) financial, political and media control of pro-Israelis/Zionists (or Jews) is both overly simplistic and highly resonant with pre-Holocaust claims about Jewish conspiracies.

Of course, some politicians, political parties, media figures and media groups may well be pro-Israel, but this does not amount to the overarching power and prioritisation of goals that the conspiracy charge alleges. Furthermore, such allegations endure regardless of timescale and context, and largely regardless of which Government is in place, or which media figures and groups hold influence.

The notion that any, and all, criticism of Israel will result in being meaningfully denounced as an antisemite is grotesquely exaggerated.

The unstated implication is that pro-Israeli/Zionist power is so overwhelming, or intimidating, that one's career will be terminated. However, few, if any, of the individual journalists or politicians cited in this CST discourse report faced sanction by media or party heads for their behaviour. This in itself shows the sheer nonsense of such claims.

Antisemitic consequences of conspiracy charges

When Jews and others point out the antisemitic root, or resonance, for refined and ostensibly anti-Zionist conspiracy charges, they are often dismissed as Zionist or pro-Israel frauds. This further reinforces the conspiracy charge and its attendant perversion of the word 'Zionism', and further distances anti-Israel and pro-Palestinian circles from Jewish majority perspectives and concerns.

Jewish money power: Gerald Kaufman MP and Martin Linton MP at Friends of Al Aqsa meeting, Parliament

The antisemitic conspiracy charge was originally expressed in the Christian religious context of Jews being in league with the Devil, in order to kill the Son of G-d. In the Middle Ages, this religious notion was joined by the growing socio-economic association of Jews with money and finance. By the early 20th century, Jews were negatively associated with capitalism and global commerce.

Metaphors and imagery for the conspiracy charge can recur in many different contexts (for example, symmetries between Nazi, Soviet and Arab propaganda). Such memes may be deliberate or ignorant on the part of the proponent, yet still reveal the enduring danger of antisemitic mythology. One such recurring word, used to depict Jewish or Zionist multifaceted control, is "tentacles"¹⁶.

A meeting in Parliament on 23 March 2010, organised by the Islamist pro-Palestinian group Friends of Al Aqsa, saw two Labour MPs repeating the notions of money power, one using

the word "tentacles". Neither MP was challenged on this at the meeting.

Gerald Kaufman MP stated:

"Just as Lord Ashcroft owns most of the Conservative Party, right-wing Jewish millionaires own the rest."

Martin Linton MP stated:

"There are long tentacles of Israel in this country who are funding election campaigns and putting money into the British political system for their own ends."

Kaufman, who is Jewish, failed to apologise when subsequently asked to do so by the *Jewish Chronicle*. Linton, founding chair of Labour Friends of Palestine, part-apologised, saying:

"I'm sorry if a word [tentacles] I used caused unintended offence because of connotations of which I was unaware, but completely understand and sympathise with."

Nevertheless, Linton stood by his claims about "funding...for their own ends", citing a 2009 *Dispatches* documentary in his defence, but failing to cite its presenter having warned that he had not found "anything resembling a conspiracy".

16 <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/30211/labour-asked-withdraw-anti-zionist-mps>

The *Independent*: Jewish lobbies and grovelling American presidents

In March 2010, the *Independent* newspaper published two articles about the annual Washington conference of America's leading pro-Israel lobby group, AIPAC. The first of these asserted that President Obama would be in Indonesia to avoid having to "grovel" to AIPAC. Six days later, the same commentator, Rupert Cornwell, described AIPAC as "the Jewish lobby group"¹⁷.

Cornwell's initial article bemoaned President Obama's supposed failure to stand up to Israel, implying that he was powerless to do so¹⁸:

"In fact, his [Obama's] greatest error was not to think through the clout of America's pro-Israel lobby."

Cornwell then cited the arguments against a 2007 book that had claimed to reveal pro-Israeli influence over US Government foreign policy. He added that American support for Israel's 2009 conflict with Hamas proved that

"...power lies in the perception of power, and no organisation in Washington is perceived to wield more power than AIPAC, the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee."

The varying depictions of AIPAC as a "pro-Israel lobby" and as a "Jewish lobby group" show the ease with which an anti-Israel accusation can become an anti-Jewish one. Worse still, in March 2009, the *Independent's* coverage of that year's AIPAC conference (also written by Rupert Cornwell) had made exactly the same error, as had yet another *Independent*

article in June 2009, by Washington correspondent David Osborne. On both 2009 occasions, the paper published letters from CST in protest at this confusion of terminology. CST's latter correspondence ended¹⁹:

"At root, the failure to distinguish between Israelis, pro-Israelis and Jews is the same analytical meltdown that occurs in the minds of those who physically attack and threaten British Jews every time there is a flare-up in the cycle of violence between Israelis and Palestinians. The Independent really ought to do better."

Middle East Monitor: modern UK Islamist conspiracy and 'dual loyalty' charges

"...Zionist-inspired narrative...swallowed to-date along with the no doubt very tasty kosher food..."

MEMO (Middle East Monitor) is led by former senior Muslim Council of Britain figure Daud Abdullah. It is an increasingly important element in those British Islamist lobbying circles that include Friends of Al Aqsa (see above: hosts of Kaufman and Linton) and Palestinian fundraisers Interpal.

In April 2010, *MEMO's* website featured an article by Islamist activist Yvonne Ridley, which also used "tentacles", regarding (British) prosecutions of anti-Israel demonstrators²⁰:

"For too long have we allowed the long, poisonous tentacles of Zionism and Islamaphobia [sic] to twist and weave their way into British courts. Ordinary, law-abiding citizens of faith and no faith have had enough of seeing our courtrooms hijacked by those

17 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/peace-talks-could-be-delayed-for-a-year-warns-israel-1926177.html>

18 <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/rupert-cornwell/rupert-cornwell-obama-wont-restrain-israel--he-cant-1922958.html>

19 <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/letters/letters-the-northern-irish-educational-system-1644914.html>

20 <http://www.middleeastmonitor.org.uk/articles/europe?format=feed&type=rss>

who believe some are more equal than others when it comes to freedoms and liberties.

"...there's no place for Zionist meddling in the judiciary..."

In September 2010, MEMO's website evoked dual-loyalty charges, questioning Matthew Gould's suitability to be British ambassador to Israel, on account of his being Jewish. It also depicted David Miliband as a member of "North London's increasingly influential Jewish community", and pondered if David Cameron's appointment of Gould was "playing the Jewish card"²¹:

"Can a Jewish ambassador to Israel ever be truly objective when advising his home government on relations with the Jewish state?...Despite Matthew Gould's claim to be 'a career diplomat', his previous service as the principal private secretary to Labour's David Miliband (also a member of North London's increasingly influential Jewish community) when he was Foreign Secretary suggests that Conservative Mr. Cameron is indeed playing the Jewish card with this appointment. But for whose benefit: Britain's or Israel's?"

"...Mr. Gould is entitled to migrate to Israel, settle there and obtain 'automatic citizenship' of the Jewish state. He is, in all but name, a person with dual citizenship rights, albeit with one set of rights pending until his retirement from British government service...[C]an he serve what are to all intents and purposes two masters at the same time?"

In November 2010, MEMO's website carried an article by Interpal's leader, Ibrahim Hewitt, that used Chancellor George Osborne's speech at the 250th anniversary dinner of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, in order to hint at antisemitic conspiracy²².

The Hewitt article was stridently anti-Israel and anti-Zionist, but also wove numerous Jewish-related references into these criticisms, and depicted the Board as an agent of Israel. It began by implying that Jews have always been feted by senior politicians, who "almost...pay homage at the court" of the Board²³:

"It is heartening that a senior British politician can still find the time to attend a minority community function to offer praise and support for its contribution to British society. What made George Osborne's [Board] speech...a bit different is that this was nothing out of the ordinary. It is almost de rigueur for politicians to pay homage at the court of the Board of Deputies and, in the process, pledge allegiance to, sorry, support for the State of Israel."

The word "almost" softened Hewitt's claim and was followed by a depiction of the Board as:

"...an institution that stands as an example for other minorities in Britain to admire[:] strong, active, wealthy and close to those in power, regardless of which party they happen to belong to."

Hewitt then made an egregious comment about "rabbi-like" and implied that the Board was financially controlling the chancellor:

21 <http://www.middleeastmonitor.org.uk/resources/commentary-and-analysis/1512-memo-comment-is-britains-new-ambassador-to-israel-really-going-to-be-objective>

22 For many years, the Board has been a lightning rod for such allegations. Where once they were directed at the Board for being 'Jewish', they now depict it as 'Zionist'.

23 <http://www.middleeastmonitor.org.uk/articles/europe/1784-george-osborne-needs-a-reality-check>

"Mr. Osborne's opening remarks included rabbi-like humour...They were probably rolling in the aisles by this stage. Osborne had the audience in his pocket. Or maybe it was the other way round."

Next, the article criticised Israel whilst also repeating Osborne's points about antisemitism and providing safety. Nevertheless, Hewitt then made a gratuitous reference to a "gas chamber":

"The [tear gas] canisters' labels were explicit that they should not be fired in confined places otherwise they turn the room into something akin to a gas chamber."

The article ended with further anti-Israel and anti-Zionist comments, and yet another Jewish-related remark, this time concerning "kosher":

"Mr. Osborne. Perhaps you need a visit to Gaza to see for yourself and come to the table with a balanced and informed view instead of the Zionist-inspired narrative that you have swallowed to-date along with the no doubt very tasty kosher food at the dinner on Tuesday."

Lord Phillips: Holocaust influence and the American Jewish lobby

On 3 November 2010, Lord Phillips of Sudbury spoke at a Palestine Solidarity Campaign event in the Palace of Westminster. Bloggers reported him speaking against Israel and saying²⁴:

"Europe cannot think straight about Israel because of the Holocaust and America is in the grip of the well-organised Jewish lobby".

Phillips replied, rebutting claims of being anti-Israel²⁵, but saying nothing of the reported Holocaust and Jewish lobby remarks.

Guardian Comment is Free: partial retraction of "global domination" claim

On 29 December 2010, the Guardian Comment is Free website ran a pro-Palestinian article by John Whitbeck. The subheading summarised it as²⁶:

"Nations covering 80–90% of the world's population recognise Palestine as a state. The US, subservient to Israel, stands out."

The article amplified the "subservient" accusation, stating that "rogue state" is applied to "any country that actively resists Israeli-American global domination." It then referred to America's "slavish subservience to Israel".

CST discussed the article with the *Guardian*, explaining why this language was redolent of antisemitic conspiracy theory. On 17 January 2011, it was amended online, with "global domination" and "slavish" removed. Nevertheless, the core word "subservience" remained, both in the subheading and the article.

BBC Radio 4 broadcast: half a million Jews "who will help Mossad"

The January 2010 assassination in Dubai of a Hamas leader was widely blamed on Israel's Mossad intelligence agency. Ensuing media attention included BBC Radio 4's *PM* programme interviewing Gordon Thomas, author of *Gideon's Spies*, who stated²⁷:

24 <http://www.thejc.com/blogpost/lord-phillips-america-grip-well-organised-jewish-lobby>

25 Phillips said that he "passionately supports" Israel's existence and had volunteered to fight on Israel's behalf in the 1973 war.

26 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/dec/29/us-israel-palestine-independence>

27 <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/28777/million-jews-aid-mossad-says-writer-radio-4>

"...[Mossad] have a whole back-up system...These are people who are local residents, Jewish people who will help the Mossad and there are estimated to be in the world about half a million, some people say a million, I tend to say half a million from what I've learnt from the Mossad people."

Eight to nine million Jews live outside Israel, worldwide, so Thomas' claim means that (at an absolute minimum) over one in twenty diaspora Jews may be called upon by Mossad. It is, therefore, a very rare concretisation of the somewhat widespread Jewish-Israeli conspiracy and dual-loyalty charges. The BBC did not challenge the assertion on air, later saying:

"The sentiments expressed by Gordon Thomas were clearly his own opinions. They came at the end of the interview...and there was no time to come back on them."

The Sunday Times: Oliver Stone alleges Jewish control of US media and foreign policy

Controversy followed a *Sunday Times* interview with American film director Oliver Stone in which he repeated the antisemitic charge about Jews running American media, and echoed that of Jews running American foreign policy²⁸.

Stone's comments appeared at the end of an interview with Camilla Long and they were not challenged in the article:

[Stone:] *"Hitler did far more damage to the Russians than [to] the Jewish people, 25 or 30m."*

[Long asks:] *"Why such a focus on the Holocaust then? 'The Jewish domination of the media,' he [Stone] says. 'There's a major lobby in the United States. They are hard workers. They stay on top of every comment, the most powerful lobby in Washington. Israel has f***** up United States foreign policy for years.'"*

Following protests from Israeli and American Jewish groups, Stone apologised (via Jewish-owned PR company Rubenstein Communications) for his comments about Jews and the media:

"In trying to make a broader historical point about the range of atrocities the Germans committed against many people, I made a clumsy association about the Holocaust, for which I am sorry and I regret."

"Jews obviously do not control media or any other industry. The fact that the Holocaust is still a very important, vivid and current matter today is, in fact, a great credit to the very hard work of a broad coalition of people committed to the remembrance of this atrocity – and it was an atrocity."

The failure to mention his American foreign policy allegation led to further protest, and another apology:

"...it was wrong of me to say that Israel or the pro-Israel lobby is to blame for America's flawed foreign policy...Of course that's not true, and I apologize that my inappropriately glib remark has played into that negative stereotype²⁹."

28 <http://blog.thecst.org.uk/?p=1764>

29 <http://www.jpost.com/ArtsAndCulture/Entertainment/Article.aspx?id=182995>

Anti-Israel rhetoric

The risk of antisemitism requires mainstream figures and media to behave responsibly when indulging in such rhetoric.

As stated elsewhere in this report, anti-Israel rhetoric is not necessarily antisemitic; and the risk of fuelling antisemitism should not prevent its propagation. It is neither CST's purpose, nor intention, to argue the case for Israel. Nevertheless, the risk of antisemitism requires mainstream figures and media to behave responsibly when indulging in such rhetoric.

John Pilger, the *New Statesman*: Jews "culpable...should their silence persist"

A *New Statesman* article by John Pilger approvingly cited the notorious Gilad Atzmon, and said that Jews around the world would be "culpable" for the "murderous, racist toll of Zionism...should their silence persist".

Atzmon is of Israeli-Jewish origin, but has renounced his past identity³⁰ and is widely regarded as antisemitic (including within anti-Zionist circles such as the Socialist Workers Party). Despite this, Pilger's article referred to Atzmon's "fellow Jews" and described him as merely an "expatriate Israeli musician".

Pilger's article was entitled "Listen to the heroes of Israel" and was premised upon his praise for Rami and Nurit Elhanan, the Israeli founders of Parents Circle – Families Forum, a joint initiative by Israelis and Palestinians who have lost loved ones in the conflict between their respective peoples. Pilger then wrote³¹:

"...proof of the murderous, racist toll of Zionism has been an epiphany for many people; justice for the Palestinians,

wrote the expatriate Israeli musician Gilad Atzmon, is now 'at the heart of the battle for a better world'.

"However, his fellow Jews in western countries, such as Britain and Australia, whose influence is critical, are still mostly silent, still looking away, still accepting, as Nurit said, 'the brainwashing and reality distortion'.

"And yet the responsibility to speak out could not be clearer, and the lessons of history – family history for many – ensure that it renders them culpable should their silence persist. For inspiration, I recommend the moral courage of Rami and Nurit."

The *New Statesman* subsequently published a letter of complaint from CST which explained the antisemitic dangers of Pilger's article. The letter concerned antisemitism, but was headlined by the *New Statesman* as "On Israel". It read³²:

"Having correctly demanded public decency about Muslims and Islam (15 February), the NS keeps publishing John Pilger's feverish rhetoric against Jews and Zionism ('Listen to the heroes of Israel', 1 March).

"Pilger lambasts 'the murderous, racist toll of Zionism' and approves Gilad Atzmon depicting the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in a recent essay as being 'at the heart of the battle for a better world'. Atzmon states: 'Considering Zionism is a murderous, racist, expansionist ideology, it is natural to stress that people who are affiliated

³⁰ <http://thescotsman.scotsman.com/features/39I-thought-music-could-heal.3804991.jp?CommentPage=1&CommentPageLength=1000>

³¹ <http://www.newstatesman.com/international-politics/2010/03/pilger-israel-rami-nurit>

³² <http://www.newstatesman.com/2010/03/march-labour-car-foot-atzmon>

with Israel and Zionism must be removed immediately from any political, government, military or strategic posts and so on.'

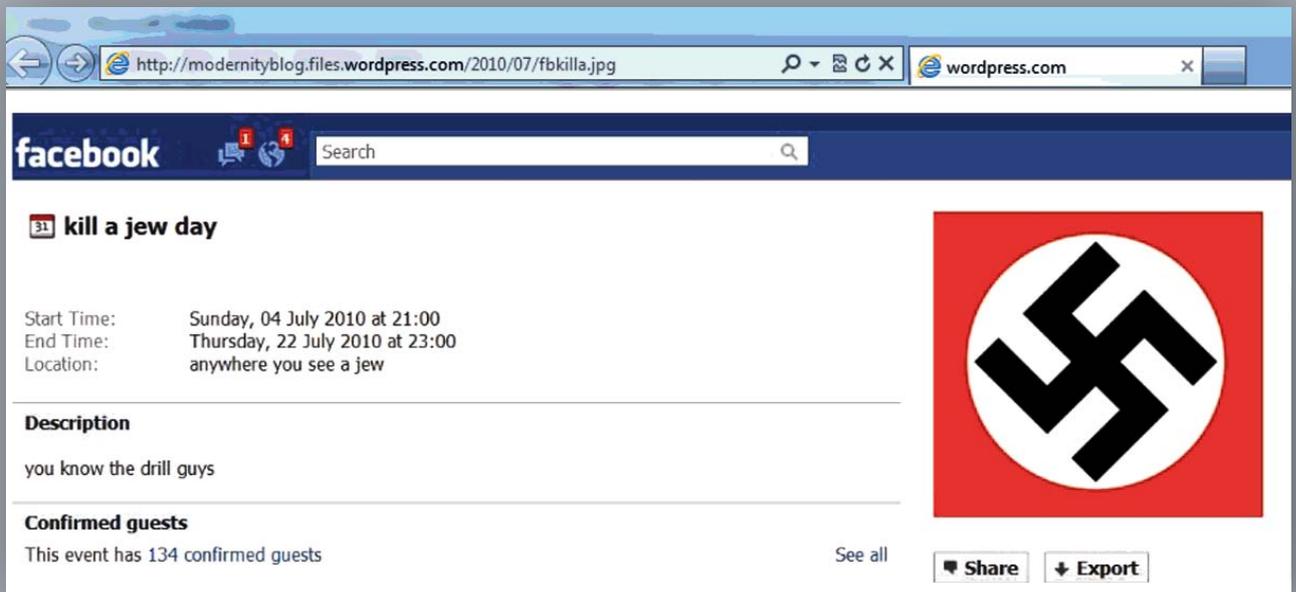
"Nevertheless, Atzmon stresses that he doesn't mean Jews, unlike Pilger, who asserts '[Atzmon's] fellow Jews in western countries...whose influence is crucial, are still mostly silent...it renders them culpable should their silence persist'. Pilger must know that Jews have extensive and bloody experience of their tiny number being collectively blamed for preventing the birth of a better world. In any other context, NS editors would recognise such claims of mass culpability as racist."

Pilger responded, describing the letter as *"a useful example of the moral and intellectual perversion that apologists for Israel now display with increasing desperation"*³³. He also wrongly claimed that the title of his article had been omitted from CST's letter so that it could more easily castigate him. The *New Statesman* issued a subsequent *"clarification"* of this point, but refused to apologise further for Pilger's insulting depiction of CST³⁴.

33 Pilger's response appears to have been removed from the *New Statesman's* website.

34 <http://www.newstatesman.com/2010/03/march-letter-american-john>

Facebook "kill a jew day"



The screenshot shows a web browser window with the address bar containing <http://modernityblog.files.wordpress.com/2010/07/fbkillajew.jpg> and a tab for wordpress.com. The Facebook interface includes the search bar and the event title "kill a jew day" with a calendar icon. The event details are as follows:

| | |
|-------------|---------------------------------|
| Start Time: | Sunday, 04 July 2010 at 21:00 |
| End Time: | Thursday, 22 July 2010 at 23:00 |
| Location: | anywhere you see a jew |

The description reads: "you know the drill guys". Under "Confirmed guests", it states "This event has 134 confirmed guests". To the right of the text is a red square containing a white circle with a black swastika. At the bottom right, there are "Share" and "Export" buttons, and a "See all" link.

This graphic shows "kill a jew day" page on facebook, but is taken from the anti-racist website *Modernity Blog* that brought the story to public notice. This page and others like it, were subsequently removed.

Public comments on British antisemitism

In 2010, there were two especially notable public comments regarding British levels of antisemitism and its relation to anti-Israel attitudes.

Interviewed by the journal *The Tablet* in July, Israeli President, Shimon Peres, noted "pro-Arab" and "anti-Israel" sentiment amongst the UK establishment. Asked if this was due to antisemitism, Peres replied:

"Yes, there is also anti-Semitism. There is in England a saying that an anti-Semite is someone who hates the Jews more than is necessary. But with Germany, [Israel's] relations are pretty good, as with Italy and France."

Peres quickly clarified his comments, saying that he had the "highest regard" for Britain's opposition to Nazi Germany³⁵. His spokesman stated:

"President Peres never accused the British people of anti-Semitism...The president does not believe that British governments are motivated by anti-Semitism, nor were they in the past."

Interviewed by the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* in November, writer Martin Amis stated³⁶:

"I live in a mildly anti-Semitic country, and Europe is mildly anti-Semitic, and they hold Israel to a higher moral standard than its neighbours. If you bring up Israel in a public meeting in England, the whole atmosphere changes. The standard left-wing person never feels more comfortable than when attacking Israel. Because they are the only foreigners you can attack. Everyone else is protected by having dark skin, or colonial history,

or something. But you can attack Israel. And the atmosphere becomes very unpleasant. It is traditional, snobbish, British anti-Semitism combined with present-day circumstances."

35 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/israel/7921391/Shimon-Peres-denies-calling-British-anti-Semites.html>

36 <http://www.haaretz.com/weekend/week-end/writing-is-freedom-1.325599>

Holocaust denial and minimisation

Holocaust denial generally concentrates upon disputing the existence, or usage, of Nazi gas chambers and crematoria. Holocaust minimisation concedes that Jews were murdered, but seeks to minimise the number of Jewish deaths. Holocaust denial and minimisation are widely regarded as illegitimate and essentially antisemitic (and are illegal in some countries).

British National Party (BNP): Holocaust denial and minimisation

The year 2010 saw the high point of BNP electoral fortunes, with party leader Nick Griffin and veteran activist Andrew Brons becoming the party's first elected Members of the European Parliament. This brought much media scrutiny upon Griffin and the BNP, with both being accused of Holocaust denial – a subject that exemplified whether or not the BNP should be regarded as somehow respectable. The BNP failed such scrutiny.

Despite the importance of the issue for his own, and the party's, reputation, Griffin fell short of explicitly acknowledging that approximately 6 million Jews were killed. Under close questioning, he repeated a discredited Holocaust minimisation claim, that (inflated) Soviet figures of 4 million Auschwitz deaths were included in mainstream historians' 6 million death toll. His comments included the following³⁷:

"...my doubts were, specifically with the six million figure...used as a moral club to prevent any sensible debate about immigration...It's nothing to do with anti-semitism or anything.

"...it emerged that the authorities of Auschwitz downgraded the scale of the murders there from four million to a still shattering and appalling 1.1 million. So you're 2.9 million short.

"...[intelligence records] makes it quite possible to believe that a million people were shot to death on anti-partisan warfare...you are no longer missing the 2.9. You are missing nearly two million...anyone who questions this [6 million] is held up as anti-semitic. Whereas, it's nothing to do with antisemitism at all."

He then continued, inferring that the power of unspecified "interest groups" legally compelled him to accept the 6 million figure. (Note: Holocaust denial is illegal in some European states, but not in Britain.) He said:

"It's about the rights of free speech, or the right of the states and powerful vested interest groups, to prevent free speech. That's what it's actually about. But because everyone's misunderstood or it leads one to jail, I have no doubt whatsoever that the others, the missing ones, must have been there so clearly the six million figure is correct."

BNP Councillor: "300,000" Jewish Holocaust deaths

Steve Batkin, a BNP councillor in Stoke and a governor at two schools, told a local mainstream news blog³⁸:

"I've always believed about 300,000 people died in the Jewish Holocaust, not 6 million."

When asked how he reached this conclusion, Batkin replied:

³⁷ <http://www.totalpolitics.com/articles/4093/in-conversation-with-nick-griffin.shtml>

³⁸ <http://pitsnpots.co.uk/news/2010/05/stoke-bnp-councillor-responds-nazi-salute-photo>

"I have read quite a lot about European history, about the Second World War, and although I realise a lot of Jews died, in my opinion there's no way there was that many Jews in Europe at that point in time which could have possibly sustained that amount of deaths."



Still taken from YouTube video showing release from prison of Ernst Zundel, a Holocaust denier and author of *The Hitler we Loved And Why*.

Richard Edmonds greets Holocaust denier

On 1 March 2010, veteran neo-Nazi Holocaust denier Ernst Zundel was released from a German prison after five years imprisonment for Holocaust denial³⁹. He was greeted by a small

group of supporters including Richard Edmonds, a member of the BNP's Advisory Council. Throughout the 1980s, Edmonds (whilst deputy leader of the BNP) had distributed the notorious Holocaust denial broadsheet *Holocaust News*.

³⁹ <http://blog.thecst.org.uk/index.php?s=zundel>

Holocaust abuse and anti-Israel activism

The sheer scale, importance and collective trauma of the Holocaust renders it a subject of the highest sensitivity for Jews.

Acknowledging the Holocaust, but doing so in order to attack Jews, or Jewish projects (in particular Zionism and Israel), is a grotesque abuse of Jewish history and memory, capable of causing direct and significant emotional hurt to Jews.

Comparing the Holocaust, or Nazi Germany, to Israel, is a deeply insidious abuse that distorts the reality of both the Holocaust and Middle East conflicts. It trivialises (and therefore implicitly denies the essence of) the Holocaust, attempts to displace Jews as its victims (replacing them with Palestinians), and risks providing a retroactive part-justification, or part-rationalisation, of Nazi Jew-hatred.

The abuse and trivialisation of the Holocaust is relatively common in anti-Israel campaigning circles, where it is perpetrated, or willingly tolerated, by Members of Parliament, journalists and human rights campaigners, amongst others. This manifests primarily as:

- Repeatedly using, or repeatedly tolerating, expressions such as 'Gaza equals the Warsaw Ghetto'.
- Holocaust memory abuse (such as the use of Holocaust memorial dates and events for pro-Palestinian activism).
- Acceptance of links to websites and activists from far right, Islamist and Iranian sources that deny, relativise or minimise the Holocaust.
- Denying, distorting or ignoring concerns about Holocaust denial, minimisation or abuse in Israel-related contexts.

Socialist Workers Party (SWP): "Go back to Auschwitz" obfuscation

In June 2010, controversy surrounded Israel's killing of nine people aboard the *Mavi Marmara* ship, as Israeli forces prevented a Turkish-flagged flotilla of boats from reaching Gaza. An editorial in the SWP weekly, *Socialist Worker*, reacted angrily to a BBC *Panorama* programme that essentially accepted Israel's version of events⁴⁰. This included the BBC referring to the antisemitic catcall "*Shut up, go back to Auschwitz*", said in a radio transmission from one of the boats in response to the Israeli Navy having contacted the flotilla.

The initial Israeli release of radio transmissions between the Israeli Navy and the flotilla had included the claim that "*Shut up, go back to Auschwitz*" had been said from the *Mavi Marmara*. The recording's validity was challenged, leading Israel to release the entire tape and to state that it did not know which boat had transmitted the antisemitic remark. The Israeli statement included the following⁴¹:

"...So to clarify: the audio was edited down to cut out periods of silence over the radio as well as incomprehensible comments so as to make it easier for people to listen to the exchange. We have now uploaded the entire segment of 5 minutes and 58 seconds in which the exchange took place and the comments were made.

"This transmission had originally cited the Mavi Marmara ship as being the source of these remarks, however, due to an open channel, the specific ship or ships in the 'Freedom Flotilla' responding to the Israeli Navy could not be identified..."

40 <http://www.socialistworker.co.uk/art.php?id=22163>

41 <http://idfspokesperson.com/2010/06/05/clarification-correction-regarding-audio-transmission-between-israeli-navy-and-flotilla-on-31-may-2010-posted-on-5-june-2010/>

The *Socialist Worker* editorial claimed this clarification as "*admitting that the recording had been doctored*". Its attack implied (but did not explicitly state) that "*go back to Auschwitz*" had been faked:

"...Immediately after the [Marmara] attack the IDF said that its soldiers had been shot, though it soon had to withdraw this allegation. It released a recording it claimed was broadcast from the flotilla, telling the Israelis, 'Shut up, go back to Auschwitz.'

"The IDF soon backed off, admitting that the recording had been doctored. But both these allegations were included in the 'evidence' presented by Panorama..."

Scottish Palestine Solidarity Campaign

The Scottish Palestine Solidarity Campaign (SPSC) is a particularly active lobby group. It regularly indulges in extreme anti-Israel rhetoric, including the linkage of Israel and Nazi Germany.

The extent of SPSC's animus towards majority Jewish perspectives on Israel and Zionism was keenly illustrated in its 19 September depiction⁴² of the *Jewish Telegraph* newspaper as "a mainstream Zionist publication" (after the Jewish newspaper ran a reader's letter that asked why Mossad had not been "ordered to eliminate" a prominent Jewish Israeli journalist whom SPSC had hosted).

SPSC used this cartoon⁴³ showing the tracks of the death camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau superimposed upon Israel's security barrier. The cartoon sprang to prominence after winning first prize in the notorious Iranian cartoon competition of 2006 that denigrated the Holocaust.

SPSC's caption for the cartoon used the word "solution", evoking the Nazi final solution:

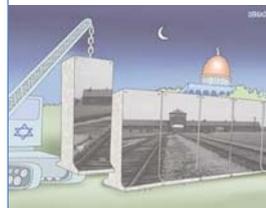
"Israel's filthy Wall – what is Israel's solution to 'too many Palestinians' in Palestine?"

This cartoon, using Stars of David and a tank to construct an image of Hitler, featured on SPSC's website alongside an article about a UK arms factory and Israel⁴⁴.

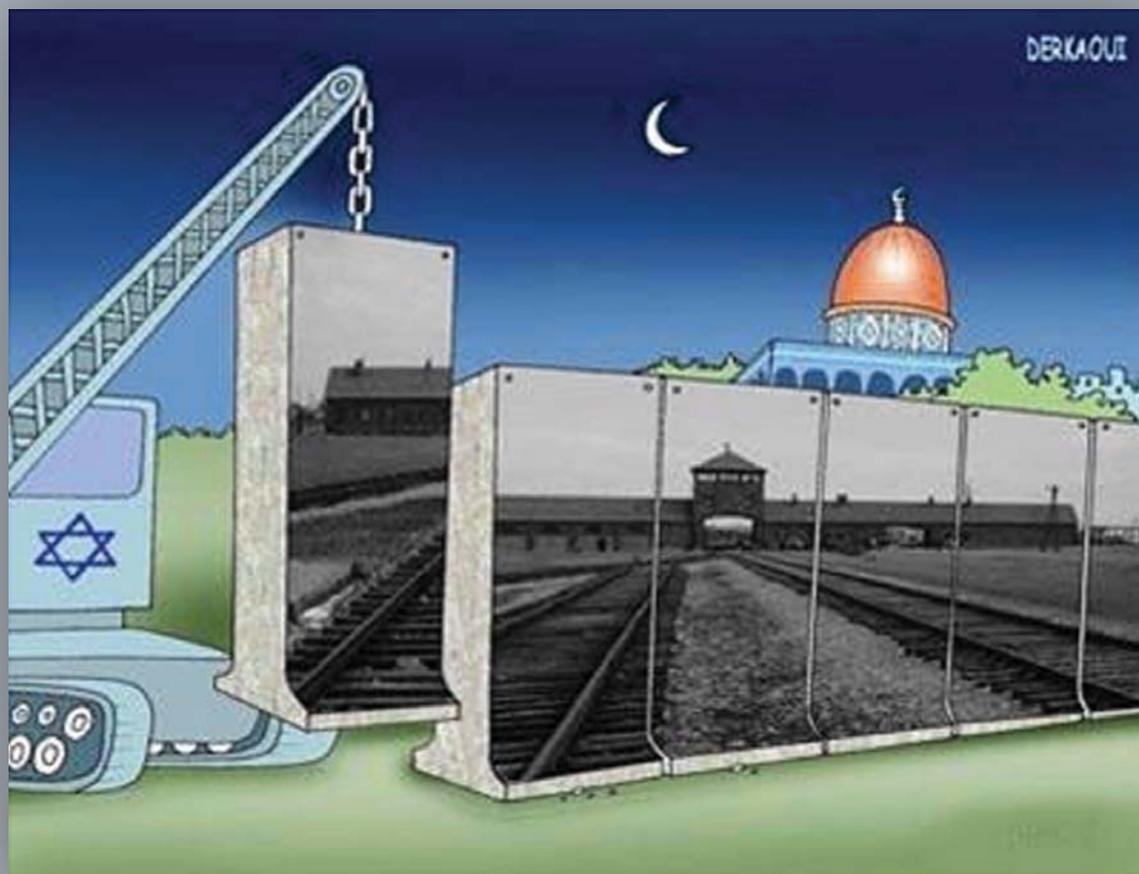
42 <http://williambowles.info/2010/09/19/zionist-incitement-to-violence-against-spssc-speakers-gideon-levy-and-ben-white/>

43 SPSC used the cartoon to (approvingly) illustrate a press release from an Israeli peace group. http://www.scottishpsc.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3536:dutch-police-move-against-company-servicing-illegal-israeli-west-bank-occupation&catid=573:news&Itemid=200549

44 http://scottishpsc.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3466:zionist-leader-attacks-judge-who-acknowledged-murderous-nature-of-israels-gaza-massacres&catid=502:news&Itemid=200435



These cartoons, abusing the Holocaust and Nazi Germany for anti-Israel campaigning, featured on the website of the Scottish Palestine Campaign.



Lee Jasper at Islamic Human Rights Commission meeting

For many years, Lee Jasper was one of Britain's best known anti-racism activists, culminating in his work as Director for Policing and Equalities⁴⁵ for then-London Mayor Ken Livingstone.

On 17 January 2010 (10 days before Holocaust Memorial Day), Jasper spoke at the Genocide Memorial Day event of the pro-Iranian-regime group the Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC).

Jasper gave a detailed analysis of the slave trade, colonialism and racism, but also stated:

"We are one year on from Gaza, it seems to me almost unimaginable that a people such as the Jewish community who suffered so grievously under the yoke of Nazism and fascism should forget the fundamental lesson of that oppression and the state of Israel...around Palestine...seeks to do to others exactly that which was done to them by the Nazis⁴⁶."

The content of these comments, especially on this date and within the broader context of an otherwise serious theoretical presentation on racism, was a significant betrayal of principles by a man of Jasper's standing.

The Morning Star: Holocaust abuse in readers' letters column

The *Morning Star* has long been associated with British communism⁴⁷ and describes itself as "*still the only English-language socialist daily newspaper published in the world*". It is fiercely anti-Israel, but an exchange of letters in November 2010, including the headlines given them by the paper,

displayed intensifying Holocaust abuse in the service of anti-Israel sentiment.

The controversy began when George Abendstern (who came to Britain as a Jewish refugee from Nazi Germany) objected to a prior letter that had called for states for Israelis and Palestinians. He stated:

"...[Zionist Jewish immigrants] have no regard for the indigenous people of Palestine and may yet turn to the 'final solution'. This the world has to prevent⁴⁸."

When author Phil Katz objected to "*final solution*" being used⁴⁹, Abendstern's (Jewish) partner, Linda Clare, then replied:

"...If knowingly bombing populated areas with white phosphorus does not stem from the same mentality as the gas chambers did I would like to know the difference. Methods of mass killing have moved on since 1945. The effect is the same."

The *Morning Star* entitled Clare's letter as "*Israeli road could lead to a holocaust*", despite it not featuring the word 'holocaust'⁵⁰.

The arguments continued in the letters column, with one writer stating: "*Zionism aims to exterminate the Palestinian people*", and another letter from Abendstern referring directly to the Holocaust:

"...Finally Mr Katz has a problem with the term 'final solution'.

"Fine by me – shall we call it a 'holocaust' instead?"

45 This included Jasper working with CST on occasion.

46 <http://www.inminds.com/genocideday2010.php>

47 Currently linked to the (UK) Communist Party; see http://www.comunist-party.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=89&Itemid=150

48 <http://www.morningstaronline.co.uk/news/content/view/full/97249>

49 <http://www.morningstaronline.co.uk/news/content/view/full/97382>

50 <http://www.morningstaronline.co.uk/news/content/view/full/97428>

The newspaper headlined this final letter as:

"Israel is happy to exterminate Palestinians"⁵¹.

"Never again for anyone – Auschwitz to Gaza"

Dr Hajo Meyer toured Britain alleging parallels between Israel and Nazi Germany. Entitled *"Never again for anyone – Auschwitz to Gaza"⁵²*, the tour part-coincided with official UK Holocaust memorial events, and included a meeting at the House of Commons (chaired by Jeremy Corbyn MP) on Holocaust Memorial Day itself, and a meeting at Goldsmiths, University of London, the night before.

Meyer is a Holocaust survivor, and an activist in the International Jewish anti-Zionist Network, co-organisers of the tour along with the Scottish Palestine Solidarity Campaign (SPSC). His extreme stance was summarised by the *Glasgow Herald* headline⁵³:

"Auschwitz survivor: 'Israel acts like Nazis'".

Meyer's actual presentation⁵⁴ included his describing the leading Holocaust author, Elie Wiesel, as the *"high priest"* of Zionists' *"Holocaust Religion"*⁵⁵:

"Judaism in Israel has been substituted by the Holocaust Religion whose high priest is Elie Wesel..."

"...Its content [Holocaust Religion] is that 'we Jews have the monopoly on suffering', 'nobody has suffered or ever will suffer like the Jews have therefore what ever we do to the Palestinians is less than what we suffered, and can be

done without feeling guilty".

Meyer spoke alongside a video link from Gaza by Dr Haidar Eid, a leading Palestinian activist in the international campaign to boycott Israeli academia. Eid's presentation included the claim that Nazism had *"won"*, because its *"victims"* had now essentially become the new Nazis:

"If there is something to learn from Gaza 2009, it is that the world was absolutely wrong to think that Nazism was defeated in 1945. Nazism has won because it has finally managed to Nazify the consciousness of its own victims..."

SPSC objected to the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust's refusal to advertise the tour, stating⁵⁶:

"...We call upon the HMD website to immediately publicise these important events: otherwise the impression will spread that the memory of the Holocaust is being selectively used to further an agenda in support of British and Israeli militarism."

51 <http://www.morningstaronline.co.uk/content/view/full/97785>

52 http://www.scottishpsc.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3172:2010-jan-20th-holocaust-survivor-starts-uk-tour-at-edinburgh-sheriff-court&catid=255&Itemid=100345

53 <http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/politics/auschwitz-survivor-israel-acts-like-nazis-1.1000918>

54 Entitled "The misuse of the Holocaust for political purposes".

55 <http://www.inminds.com/never-again.php>

56 http://www.scottishpsc.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3164:hmd-trust-refuses-to-publicise-meeting-with-auschwitz-survivor&catid=459:the-case-against-israel&Itemid=200377

Campus: impacts of heated political debate

For decades, university campuses have been a microcosm of wider political argument over the Middle East. Now, anti-Israel boycotts are threatened by some lecturers and students alike; and on occasion, Jewish students can perceive themselves to be especially isolated and vulnerable on their campuses.

Jewish student bodies and Jewish communal representative groups have repeatedly expressed concern about this continuing situation. These concerns have been supported by Government, largely acknowledged by national and local student unions, but are resolutely denied by many anti-Israel academics. The response of university authorities has been varied. Some have striven to calm student tensions, whilst others cite freedom of speech yet care little when such freedoms are abused.

One constructive attempt to balance freedom of speech with protection from hate speech and tension was a proposal by the Union of Jewish Students (UJS) whereby university authorities would agree to video student meetings in case anything arose that required possible legal or disciplinary actions. This was adopted by some campuses.

Antisemitic rhetoric and the London School of Economics (LSE)

A talk at LSE's Palestine Society (8 December 2010) by Arab media commentator Abdel Bari Atwan epitomised the complex nature of campus antisemitism, its tolerance within anti-Israel circles and its impact upon student welfare⁵⁷.

The talk's title, "How much influence does the Zionist Lobby exert on US & UK Foreign Policy?", had led Israeli and Jewish student groups to fear antisemitic content, and the Students' Union agreed to monitor the event. Nevertheless, Bari Atwan

referred four times to the "Jewish lobby" (rather than the Zionist or pro-Israel lobby) and shouted at Jewish students, "You bombed Gaza". Other students called their Jewish counterparts "Nazis"⁵⁸.

The event was chaired by senior LSE lecturer Professor Martha Mundy, co-convenor of the British Committee for the Universities of Palestine. Pro-Israeli students (with whom Mundy disagreed) complained that she treated them unfairly. Subsequent complaints by Jewish students revealed that the meeting had been filmed, but by the Palestine Society rather than the Students' Union. The Police investigated Bari Atwan's remarks, but no arrests were made.

Carly McKenzie, UJS campaigns director, said⁵⁹:

"We support freedom of speech, but that freedom also comes with responsibility. Those involved with the organisation and regulation of this event have failed to live up to that responsibility, despite prior assurances to the contrary. The comments made by Atwan and others tapped into classic antisemitic tropes of 'Elders of Zion' conspiracy, accusations of Jewish dual loyalty, equation of Jews with Nazis and blaming Jews in general for particular actions of the Israeli government."

"Universities should be safe spaces for students, free from hatred. These shocking incidents highlight the importance of better regulation of extremist speakers on our campuses."

57 <http://www.ujs.org.uk/news/582/ujs-chair-alex-dwek-s-speech-on-tackling-hate-speech-on-campus/>

58 <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/42342/police-probe-antisemitic-speech-lse>

59 <http://www.totallyjewish.com/news/national/c-15406/jewish-students-called-nazis-at-lse-debate/>

Far right groups, Jews, Israel and anti-Muslim politics

Since the 1980s, many British and European far right groups have adopted policies that render them less open to charges of Nazism and indiscriminate racism. This includes these groups welcoming Jewish, black and homosexual members, and focussing upon Muslims and Islam as their primary target. The anti-Muslim policies range from legitimate debate to Islamophobia and random hate crimes against Muslims.

British Jews overwhelmingly rejected overtures from the British National Party and the English Defence League. Media coverage of both groups' supposed pro-Jewish and pro-Israel activities vastly exceeded the reality of the situation.

In some cases, far right shifts genuinely reflect generational and cultural change. In others, they are opportunistic attempts at rebranding discredited ideologies, leaders and groups. In particular, support for Israel is professed because it is seen as a bulwark against Islam and because support for the Jewish state enables far right groups to not only deny accusations of antisemitism but to claim to Jews that they are the only ones willing to stand and defend Israel.

Such policies pose serious political risks for British and European Jews (and, of course, for Muslims also). In particular, Jews are portrayed as being natural allies for crass anti-Muslim racism. There are, indeed, many Jews who have deep concerns about Muslim communities' overall attitudes to Israel, Zionism and Jews, but inter-communal relations can only be further worsened if Jews are regarded as somehow naturally allied to racist far right politics.

Jews reject BNP and EDL: anti-Zionists allege and fabricate collusion

In Britain, 2010 saw two distinct groups – the British National Party (BNP) and the English Defence League (EDL) – laying claim to somehow being pro-Jewish and pro-Israel. Jews overwhelmingly rejected both groups⁶⁰, and CST and other leading UK Jewish bodies repeatedly urged that there be no compromise with anti-Muslim racism⁶¹.

Despite Jewish communal rejection of both the BNP and EDL, some anti-Zionist groups excitedly claimed that there were ideological and activist links between mainstream Zionism and Islamophobia. This gross misrepresentation was aided by widespread media photographs of EDL members using Israeli flags as provocations at their demonstrations in Muslim neighbourhoods.

In October 2010, the *Jewish Chronicle* was forced to cancel a readers poll, "Should Rabbis work with the EDL?", after Boycott Israel Network activists started voting "yes" in order to maliciously embarrass Zionists and the *Chronicle's* (Jewish) readership⁶².

Terry Gallogly, chairman of York Palestine Solidarity Campaign, urged: "People might like to vote in this poll if only to embarrass [sic]...the Zionist Federation".

Tony Greenstein (a Jewish anti-Zionist activist) replied to Gallogly: "Done so and voted – in favour of course. Please try to make sure that people on BIN [Boycott Israel Network] vote and to vote yes. It will be quite good for us that a JC [*Jewish Chronicle*] poll comes out in favour of working with the EDL!!!"

60 <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/30876/jewish-organisations-team-fight-political-racism>

61 <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/39434/the-english-defence-league-and-surfing-rabbi>

62 <http://www.thejc.com/blogpost/anti-zionists-urge-rabbis-work-edl>

The *Observer* corrects EDL “senior rabbi” claim

Media hype about Jewish activism within EDL peaked when Rabbi Nachum Shifren of California spoke to an EDL demonstration outside London’s Israeli embassy in October 2010.

Rabbi Shifren, a former activist in Israel’s extremist Kach movement, was wrongly described in an *Observer* newspaper piece as “a senior US rabbi”. Following intervention by CST and others, the newspaper published a correction, stating: “Rabbi Shifren holds no office and should not be regarded as ‘senior’ within the US rabbinate”⁶³.

63 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/theobserver/2010/dec/12/for-the-record?INTCMP=SRCH>

The *Independent*: article attacking Orthodox Jewish community

Independent columnist Christina Patterson sparked outrage with her article of 28 July 2010, "*The limits of multi-culturalism*"⁶⁴. *Jewish Chronicle* writer Miriam Shaviv described it as⁶⁵:

"...one of the ugliest, most vile pieces ever published in the British press."

The article appealed for Stamford Hill's Jews to integrate more with other communities in this diverse London neighbourhood. There is nothing intrinsically illegitimate in such an appeal, but the article was a thoroughly insensitive polemic against Jews, and also against Muslims (whom it attacked at length for genital mutilation).

The *Independent* extracted the following to highlight the article's content:

"When I moved to Stamford Hill, I didn't realise that goyim were about as welcome in the Hasidic Jewish shops as Martin Luther King at a Ku Klux Klan convention."

The word 'goyim' is a Yiddish term that translates as 'nations' and refers to non-Jews. It is often wrongly believed to translate as 'cattle' and is used to allege that Jews hold non-Jews in contempt. Patterson utilised "goyim" in juxtaposition with scornful references to Jews supposedly behaving as if they were "chosen by God":

"I didn't realise that a purchase by a goy was a crime to be punished with monosyllabic terseness, or that bus seats were a potential source of contamination, or that road signs, and parking restrictions, were for people who hadn't been chosen by God."

There then followed a lengthy attack upon female genital mutilation in Muslim communities, before Patterson resumed the "goy" theme:

"There is, I'm sure, nothing in the Koran to indicate that hacking off a girl's labia is an all-round great idea, just as there's nothing in the Torah to say that Volvos should always be driven with a mobile phone in hand, and goyim should be treated with contempt."

Amongst other rhetorical attacks, Patterson wrote that she is made "sad" by Jewish eight-year-old boys who have "presumably...been taught" that "a normal-looking woman" (i.e., Patterson) "is dirty, or dangerous, or, heaven forbid, dripping with menstrual blood".

The next week, the *Independent* carried another article by Patterson, concerning the reaction to her piece⁶⁶. It was trailed on the front page of the newspaper as:

"Christina Patterson: I've been called a bitch, a racist and an anti-Semite".

The article itself put these reactions into a wider context, explaining: "...of the literally hundreds of emails I've received, only about a dozen have been negative". It then explained why she had written the previous article, but included sections that gave cause for further concern. One sentence could be taken to imply that Stamford Hill's Jews may turn violent against others (despite that community's past and current behaviour and morality):

64 <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/christina-patterson/christina-patterson-the-limits-of-multiculturalism-2036861.html>

65 <http://www.thejc.com/blogpost/the-limits-multi-culturalism>

66 <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/christina-patterson/christina-patterson-we-need-to-talk-about-integration-2042312.html>

"Where it [multiculturalism] doesn't work is...in these cultures that people learn to be suspicious of everything that's different. And it isn't a long journey from suspicion to hate to attack."

Patterson's closing sentence could be taken to imply that those who complained about her previous article are not as British as she is:

"You can call me what you like. But don't let's call the Brits a bunch of cowards."

On 5 August, the *Independent* published three letters about the articles. These included the following allegations⁶⁷:

"...the evidence from these two articles can lead to no other conclusion than that Ms Patterson is anti-semitic and islamophobic..."

"...I am seriously concerned that her irrationality arises from an unexamined prejudice against orthodox Jews."

"...her stigmatisation of entire cultural niches, based on the activities of the few, goes well beyond bad manners...you have demonstrated the tyranny of liberalism for all to see."

67 <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/letters/letters-perspectives-on-pakistan-and-taliban-2043381.html>

Antisemitism in UK-Saudi school texts

BBC's *Panorama* revealed the use of Saudi Arabian antisemitic text books within a network of over 40 British Saudi-linked part-time educational establishments, attended by approximately 5,000 Muslim children⁶⁸.

This included schoolchildren being asked to list the "*reprehensible qualities*" of Jews and statements that Jews are "*cursed by G-d*" and resemble "*monkeys and pigs*". Fifteen-year-olds were taught:

"Zionists want to establish world domination for Jews by inciting world conflict."

Secretary of State for Education Michael Gove condemned the teachings and stated that Ofsted school inspectors would report upon such schools in future.

⁶⁸ "British schools, Islamic rules". *Panorama*, BBC TV, 22 November 2010.

Prosecution for online comments in the Scotsman blog

In recent years, CST and other Jewish organisations have repeatedly voiced concern about hateful readers' comments in the comments chain sections of mainstream media blogs.

An important and potentially precedent-setting legal case ended in November 2010⁶⁹ with the conviction in Scotland of Mohammed Sandia for antisemitic remarks in the comments chain of an article on the website of the respected *Scotsman* newspaper.

The case also demonstrated political and judicial backing for the local Scottish Jewish community's concerns.

The offending remarks had included:

"[Jews are a] genetically mutated inbred tribe. Jews are not fit to breathe our air and should be attacked wherever you see them; throw rocks at their ugly, hook-nosed women and mentally ill children, and light up the REAL ovens."

Sandia's defence lawyer described him as "a man with a great interest in world affairs and politics, and an ardent supporter of the Palestinian cause, as many people are today". Sandia admitted breaching the 1986 Public Order Act but denied any intention to incite antisemitic violence. This was rejected by Sheriff Gordon Liddell, who asked how Sandia's words "could be suggestive of anything other than violence..." Sheriff Liddell deferred sentence for 12 months, saying:

"You clearly have hate in your heart and I pity you for that. I'm concerned to protect the public from your

activities – and a fine is out of the question given what you have done."

The case had been instigated by SCOJEC (the Scottish Council of Jewish Communities) in March 2008, when the offending comments had appeared. SCOJEC brought comments in both the *Glasgow Herald* and the *Scotsman* to the attention of both the Police and the Press Complaints Commission.

The commission declined involvement on the grounds that the comments had not involved editorial discretion. SCOJEC wrote to all Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) and received supportive replies from over half of them; and many MSP's wrote directly to the editors of the *Herald* and *Scotsman* in protest at the comments having appeared. Furthermore, Scotland's first minister and lord advocate "both wrote to editors to remind them of their responsibility to monitor their websites."

The investigation and prosecution of the case is also worthy of note, as⁷⁰:

"Sandia was charged with publishing his comments at the newspaper's address in Edinburgh, despite the fact that he posted his comments from London and the offence they caused was reported in Glasgow".

69 http://www.scojec.org/news/2010/10xi_sandia.html

70 http://www.scojec.org/news/2010/10xi_sandia.html

Literary achievements

The year 2010 saw the publication of two important and critically acclaimed books dealing with the subject of antisemitism.

Trials of the Diaspora, by Anthony Julius⁷¹, is a detailed and lengthy study of the history of English antisemitism from medieval times to the modern day. (Part of its content is on p11 of this report, under the title 'English Antisemitisms'.)

The Finkler Question, by Howard Jacobson⁷², was awarded the 2010 Man Booker literary prize. It is a darkly comic tale that includes much discussion of the nature of Jewishness, antisemitism and anti-Israel sentiment. The "*final sections*" have been described as:

"...a series of fairly transparent author's messages warning about the uncomfortably close links between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism, and savaging the glib parallels drawn by Israel's critics between the Holocaust and the events in Gaza⁷³."

71 Anthony Julius.
Trials of the Diaspora.
Oxford University
Press, Oxford, 2010.

72 Howard Jacobson.
The Finkler Question.
Bloomsbury, 2010.

73 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/bookreviews/7916464/The-Finkler-Question-by-Howard-Jacobson-review.html>

Ernst Zundel and the BNP

March 5th, 2010 by CST

[Ernst Zundel](#), veteran Holocaust Denier and the author of *The Hitler We Loved And Why*, was released from [Mannheim Prison](#) in Germany on Monday after serving five years for Holocaust Denial. He was greeted by a small gathering of friends and supporters, as you can watch here (Zundel appears after about 5 mins):



You won't be surprised to see that Michele Renouf was present and gave Zundel a big bunch of flowers to celebrate his freedom.

If you had been at all taken in by the BNP's efforts to rebrand away their neo-Nazi, Holocaust denying heritage, you might be surprised to see BNP [Advisory Council](#) member Richard Edmonds taking photos of Zundel as he emerges (at about 7:10, with glasses, a bald patch and a dark green jacket). Edmonds' presence is confirmed by a report on [Zundel's website](#) [warning: link to offensive website].

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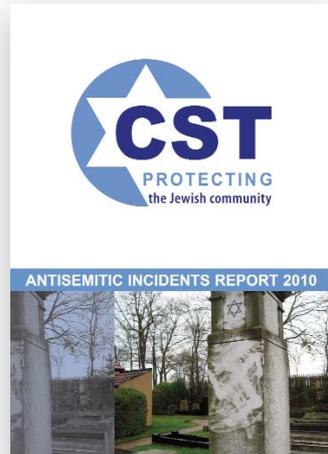
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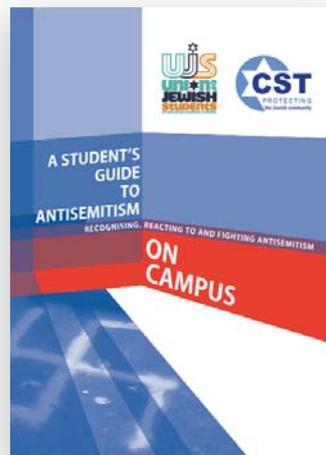
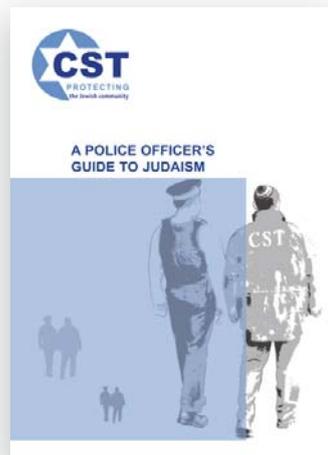
This graphic shows a typical page of CST's blog. The blog is regularly updated and is a valuable resource for those seeking news, commentary and analysis of contemporary antisemitism and related issues. It may be accessed via CST's website www.thecst.org.uk, or directly at <http://thecest.org.uk/blog>

Other CST publications

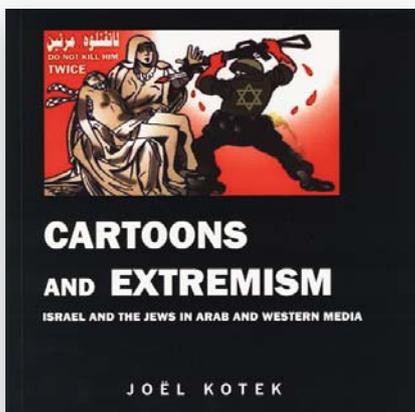
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