CST

PROTECTING

the Jewish community

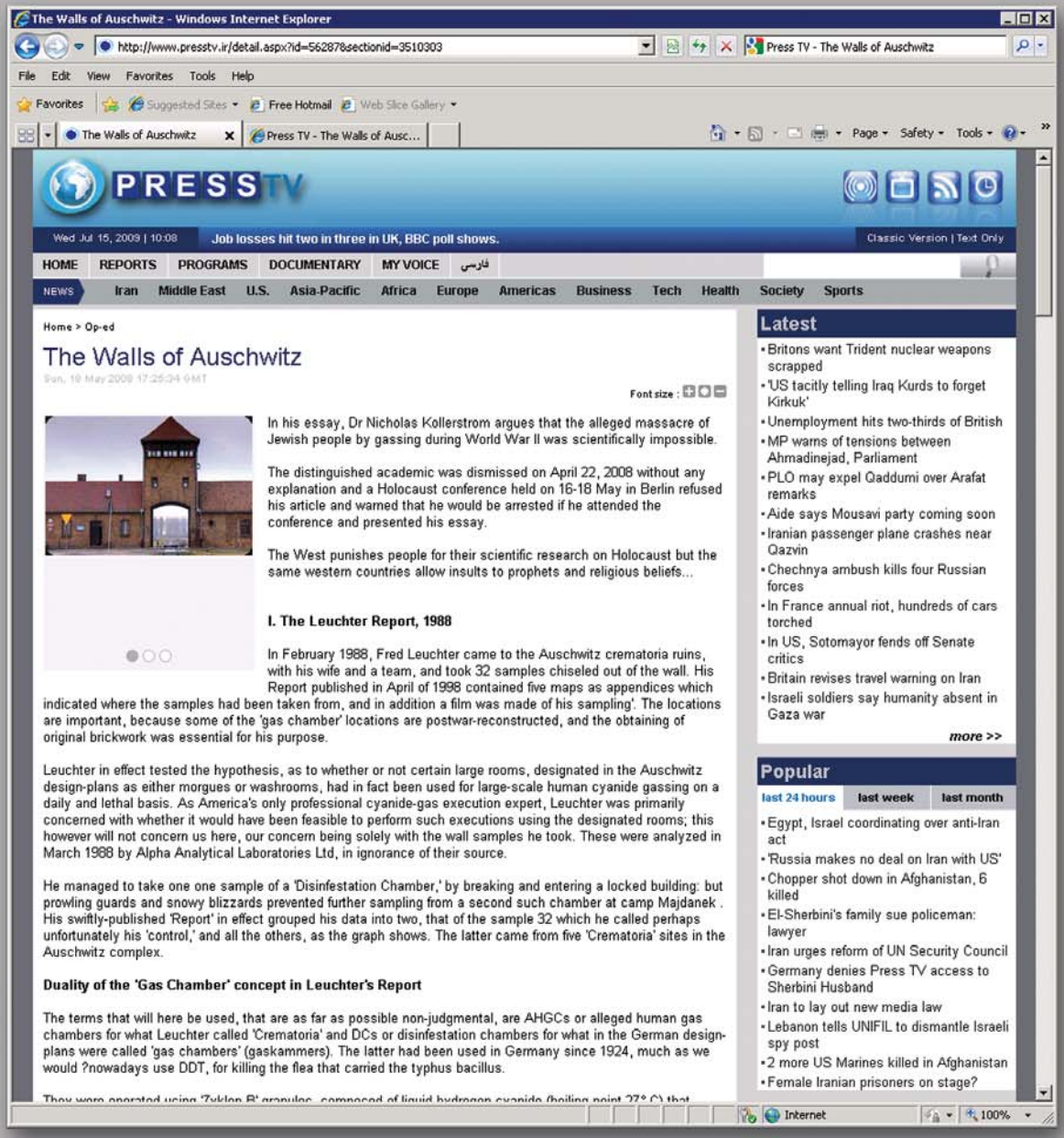
Antisemitic Discourse in Britain in 2008

Graffiti at a bus stop on Finchley Road in the heart of North London's Jewish community. The graffiti was sprayed on the night of 30 December 2008 during Israel's conflict with Hamas in Gaza and Southern Israel. It reads "KILL JEWS" and "JIHAD 4 ISRAEL". (The "4" means "for", as in the style of mobile telephone text messaging).

Contents

ISBN: 978-0-9548471-2-8

Published by the Community Security Trust. Registered Charity Number 1042391



Holocaust denial on the website of Press TV. The station is sponsored by Iran and has an office in London. Press TV is widely available via the Sky TV network. The article, and Holocaust denial, are analysed in further detail on pages 48 and 49 of this report.

Executive Summary

- Explicit antisemitic discourse, openly targeting Jews on the basis of their religion or ethnicity, is extremely rare in mainstream British media and politics.

- Explicit antisemitism faces similar social and legal prohibitions as do other forms of explicit racism and prejudice.

- Antisemitism is a concern for British Jews, but it should not be regarded as the defining or most important characteristic of Jewish life in Britain today. Nevertheless, antisemitism is an important matter that must be better understood and challenged before it worsens any further.

- Contemporary antisemitic discourse is complex and multi-faceted. It is most often revealed in language and imagery that evokes the central antisemitic allegation of a powerful and hidden Jewish conspiracy against all non-Jews; and is particularly visible in portrayals of America's pro-Israel lobby. Such discourse may well not be deliberate or understood on the part of its proponents.

- The words "Zionism" and "Zionist" are repeatedly abused by extremists from diverse backgrounds. So-called 'anti-Zionism' is increasingly common, despite its growing resemblance to historical antisemitic discourse about powerful and essentially alien Jews. This linguistic abuse of "Zionism" - and the ready dismissal of its attendant antisemitic resonance and impact - is rarely challenged, and occasionally repeated, within mainstream media and politics.

- Rhetoric against "Zionist" or "pro-Israel" lobbies fosters hostility to mainstream Jewish personalities and organisations. This is especially visible in the regular misrepresentation of Jewish concerns about antisemitism, particularly by otherwise sincere anti-racists.

- A 2008 poll of racist attitudes showed British respondents are more favourably disposed to Jews (73% positive) than to Muslims (63%), and less so than to Christians (83%). Unfavourable attitudes to Jews were admitted by 9% of respondents. This is similar to attitudes to Christians (7% unfavourable), and significantly less than towards Muslims (23% unfavourable).

- The memory of the Holocaust is increasingly abused by depictions of Israel as the successor to Nazi Germany, and of Palestinians as having replaced Jews as its victims. In 2008, this was seen in depictions of Gaza as being somehow comparable to the Warsaw Ghetto.

- During 2008, the Iranian state-backed English-language station, Press TV (carried on Sky TV featured Holocaust denial on its website, and extreme anti-Zionism in its programmes. This is a significant shift in the potential for future mass media promotion of antisemitic incitement.

- The blogging sections of mainstream media websites continue to host and spread blatant antisemitism that would not be tolerated in their print or broadcast editions.

Introduction

This CST Antisemitic Discourse Report analyses written and verbal communication, discussion and rhetoric about Jews and Jewish-related issues in Britain in 2008. It is the second study of its type into antisemitic discourse within the UK mainstream public sphere, following CST's 2007 Report[1].

This Report concentrates upon mainstream discourse that is relevant to the study and understanding of antisemitism today. To this end, the Report cites numerous mainstream publications, groups and individuals, who are by no means antisemitic, but whose behaviour nevertheless, has an impact upon attitudes concerning Jews and antisemitism.

These are not surveys of marginal or clandestine racist, extremist and radical circles, where antisemitism is common. Where such material is quoted within this report, it is usually for comparison with more mainstream sources.

The ground breaking 2006 Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism[2] noted the importance of antisemitic discourse, the complexity of defining what is (and is not) antisemitism, and urged further study of the subject. By 2008, the Parliamentary Inquiry process had led to the issuing of the first progress report of the Government's taskforce against antisemitism. It described antisemitic discourse as follows[3]:

"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 "Antisemitic Discourse in Britain in 2007" Published by CST, London. ISBN 0-9548471-1-3. http://www.thecst.org.uk/docs/Antisemitic%20Discourse%20Report%202007_web.pdf

2 "Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism". Published September 2006, London. The Stationery Office. www.thepcaa.org

3 "All-Party Inquiry into Antisemitism: Government Response One year on Progress Report". Published 12 May 2008, London. The Stationery Office. http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm73/7381/7381.pdf

Antisemitic Discourse and Antisemitic Incidents

For ease of analysis and discussion, CST distinguishes antisemitic discourse from actual antisemitic incidents[4], 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 of such violence may be emboldened by, real or imagined, support from opinion leaders and society for their actions.

Antisemitic discourse influences and reflects hostile attitudes to Jews and Jewish related issues. It can fuel antisemitic incidents against Jews and Jewish institutions, and may leave many Jews feeling isolated, vulnerable and hurt.

The purpose of this Report is to help reduce antisemitism, by enabling readers to better understand antisemitic discourse and its negative impacts against Jews, and society as a whole.

4 CST's annual Antisemitic Incidents Report is a comprehensive analysis of the scale and nature of antisemitic race hate attacks. The "Antisemitic Incidents Report 2008" and recent predecessors may be accessed via the publications page at CST's website: http://www.thecst.org.uk/index.cfm?content=7&Menu=7

Antisemitism: Context of UK Jewish life

Overview

Antisemitism should not be used as the defining characteristic of British Jewry.

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. Overt antisemitism is both illegal and socially unacceptable. Jews who wish to live a Jewish life have every opportunity to do so, be it educational, religious, cultural or political.

Nevertheless, many Jews regard themselves, and future generations, as being increasingly vulnerable to antisemitic attitudes and impacts that they perceive within anti-Israel hostility. This perception of Jewish vulnerability is worsened by the statistical evidence of antisemitic race hate incidents and crimes, which have increased significantly since the turn of the millennium and rise sharply in immediate reaction to Middle East events.

The 2005-2006 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 the rising mood of vulnerability and isolation[5].

"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 and 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

Individual Jews were present in the British Isles in Roman times, but organised settlement began after 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 the expulsion was removed by Oliver Cromwell.

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.

5 "Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism". Published September 2006, London. The Stationery Office. http://www.thepcaa.org/Report.pdf

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 substantial number of Jews of other national origins who have arrived in recent years, 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.

Jewish teenagers attending a course in personal safety and development, run by the community's Streetwise initiative.

What is Antisemitism?
Definition, Impact, Historical Background

Definition: summary

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

Antisemitism is also used to describe all forms of discrimination, prejudice or hostility towards Jews throughout history.

Antisemitism focuses upon 'the Jew' of the antisemitic imagination, rather than the reality of Jews or Jewish life

It is not necessarily antisemitic to criticise Israel or Zionism, even if the criticism is harsh or unfair. The antisemitic aspect largely depends upon:

- The motivation for the criticism: To what extent is the critic driven by the Jewish nature of Israel and/or Zionism?

- The form of the criticism: Does it use antisemitic or otherwise racist themes and motifs? The more deliberate and/or inaccurate the usage, the more antisemitic the criticism.

- Who is the target for the criticism: Are local Jews being singled out as recipients for criticism or bias that ostensibly derives from anti-Israel or anti-Zionist hostility?

'The Jew' of the antisemitic imagination

Philosopher Brian Klug has stressed the importance of the imaginary 'Jew' to antisemitic discourse, *"where Jews are perceived as something other than what they are…Thinking that Jews are really 'Jews' is precisely the core of antisemitism."*[6]

Klug depicts the antisemitic caricature of 'the 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 rewards."

Antisemitic impacts

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

Statistical evidence shows that perceived members of an ethnic or religious group can suffer hate crime attacks when public events related to that group take place. Media coverage or political comment of such public events may be entirely legitimate and overwhelmingly in the public interest; yet still spark a hateful reaction from others. This dynamic is repeated in antisemitic incident levels[7], rising in relation to public events involving Jews, Jewish institutions, or Jewish-related subjects such as Israel.

Furthermore, members of targeted groups can feel vulnerable due to public debate on matters that they perceive as being closely associated with them. This dynamic is also repeated within the Jewish community when there is public debate on Jewish related issues.

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

7 Shown repeatedly in CST's annual "Antisemitic Incidents Report". http://www.thecst.org.uk/docs/Incidents_Report_08.pdf Also, Iganski, Kielinger, Paterson "Hate Crimes Against London's Jews". Institute for Jewish Policy Research, London, 2005.

Antisemitism: historical background

Antisemitism is an important warning of division and extremism within society as a whole. It 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 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 an issue of heated debate.

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, 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.

Antisemitic ideology: Jewish conspiracy

The ideological component of antisemitism was defined by Steve Cohen, as follows:[9]

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

Antisemitism: legal definitions, Race Relations Act, and Stephen Lawrence Inquiry

The 2005-2006 All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism summarised antisemitism by reference to the Race Relations Act 1976 as follows[10]:

"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.

8 Edward H Flannery "The Anguish of the Jews: Twenty-Three Centuries of Antisemitism". First pub. 1965. Reprint Paulist Press, 2004. Robert S Wistrich "Anti-Semitism The Longest Hatred", Methuen, 1991; also Screen Guides for Thames Television "The Longest Hatred", 1991.

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 "Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism". Published September 2006, London: The Stationery Office. www.thepcaa.org http://www.thepcaa.org/Report.pdf

This definition can be applied to individuals and to the Jewish community as a whole."

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.

CST, however, ultimately defines incidents against Jews as being antisemitic only where it can be objectively shown to be the case, and this may not always match the victim's perception as called for by the Lawrence Inquiry. CST takes a similar approach to the highly complex issue of antisemitic discourse, and notes the multiplicity of opinions within and beyond the Jewish community concerning this highly sensitive and frequently controversial subject.

A poster in Golders Green advertising Barnet Council's January 2009 Holocaust Memorial Day was targeted with graffiti reading "JIHAD 4 ISRAEL". This was one of many sites in the heart of North London's Jewish community to be sprayed with graffiti during the December 08-January 09 conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza and Southern Israel. In many other instances the "Jihad" call was accompanied by "KILL JEWS". (Also: see inside cover).

British Jews

Relationship with Israel and Zionism

Modern day Israel and Zionism are, in significant 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.

As stated elsewhere in this report, CST (and other UK Jewish bodies) do not believe that it is necessarily antisemitic to criticise Jews, Israel or Zionism, even if that criticism is harsh or unfair. Antisemitism is, however, a form of racist and political activism. Because of its very nature, antisemitism thrives upon criticism of Jews, Israel and Zionism, regardless of how fair or unfair that criticism happens to be.

In recent years, Israel has become the subject of 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 anti-Israel actions as antisemitic per se.

Criticism of Israel or Zionism is not antisemitic per se. However, it risks becoming so when traditional antisemitic themes are employed or echoed. This commonly occurs when the word "Zionist" or "Israeli" is substituted where "Jew" would have previously appeared.

Calls for the actual destruction of Israel or 'Zionism' transcend both criticism and hostility. Such incitement may not be regarded as antisemitic by its proponents; but if they were to succeed, it would be profoundly shattering to the morale and self-identity of many British Jews.

Anti-Zionism:
A 'Lingua Franca' for Political Extremists

The bastardisation of the word "Zionism" is crucial to contemporary antisemitic discourse.

To many self-described "anti-Zionists", the word "Zionist" now resonates as a political, financial, military and media conspiracy that is centred in Washington and Jerusalem, and which opposes authentic local interests. Many "anti-Zionists" believe themselves to be sincerely opposed to antisemitism, but extreme definitions of "Zionism" echo previous antisemitic beliefs about 'the Jews'.

Worse still, the prejudices of conscious antisemites are reinforced by the ever-evolving anti-Zionist lexicon of words, phrases and charges. This discourse encourages antisemites, many of whom take expressions such as "pro-Israel" or "well-financed" to be coded public expressions for their own publicly restricted opinions.

Lessons from anti-racism

Israel's critics should limit the antisemitic content and impact of their behaviour by utilising the basic principles of anti-racism. 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 guise. 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.

The Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism found that:[11] *"…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."*

Continuities between antisemitism and anti-Zionism

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

- Alleging that Jewish holy books preach Jewish supremacy and that this is the basis for alleged Zionist racism.

- The image of the shadowy, powerful "Zionist" repeats the antisemitic charge that Jews are loyal only to each other, and that Jewish leaders secretly conspire to control media, economy, and government for their nefarious ends.

- Historically, Jewish converts to other modes of identity, such as Christianity, nationalism or communism, had to show that they had cast off their 'Jewishness'. Today, some people (mainly on the political left) expect Jews to declare their attitude to Israel before they will treat them decently. No other section of British society is similarly treated.

11 "Report of the All-Party Parlimentary Inquiry into Antisemitism". Finding 83.

- Dehumanising antisemitic language comparing Jews to rats, cancer, plague and bacteria is now repeated in some depictions of Israel and Zionists[12]. 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 the destruction of Israel 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 moral values survives in contemporary portrayals of pro-Israel lobbyists as illegitimate hijackers of the true will and nature of people throughout the world. It persists in some mainstream UK media depictions of American pro-Israel lobbyists.

Antisemitic impacts of anti-Zionism

Anti-Israel and anti-Zionist discourse, especially from the liberal-left, media, charities and trade unions may not in any way be inspired by antisemitism. Indeed, these activists may specifically warn against the danger of antisemitic outcomes arising from such activities: because they understand that hostile discourse about Israel and Zionism can - however inadvertently - have antisemitic impacts. Nevertheless, otherwise sincere anti-racists sometimes adopt, echo or condone antisemitic positions that are ostensibly fostered by their hostility to Israel and Zionism.

Antisemitic impacts arising from anti-Israel, and, in particular, anti-Zionist discourse, include the following:

- British Jews and British Jewish organisations fall victim to antisemitic race hate attacks over international events that are blamed upon Israel and/or Zionists. These attacks, combined with the threat of antisemitic terrorism, impact against Jewish morale, and require a security response that imposes further psychological and financial burdens.

- Providing concealment, encouragement and self-legitimisation for antisemites.

- Depicting the Jewish state as a uniquely racist or imperialist enterprise serves to threaten, isolate and demonise all those who believe that Jews have a right to statehood. Indeed, anyone who shows support for Israel or Zionism risks being defined and castigated for this behaviour, rather than gauged by any of their other actions and beliefs.

- The fostering of a reflexive hatred, fear, suspicion or bias against Jews, leading to Jews and Jewish organisations being prejudicially treated due to their supposed 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

12 For example, comment by "joe90" on 30 August 2008, at http://www.socialistunity.com/?p=2767, referring to "Zionists" at the Edinburgh Festival as *"ethnic cleansers trying to infect the world's biggest arts festival with their racist plague bacilli".*

allegedly Zionist, rather than properly engaged with in their own right.

- Contemporary antisemitism is judged by its supposed utility to Zionism and is reacted to on that basis. There is widespread contempt for mainstream Jewish concerns about antisemitism. No other minority's concerns about hate crime are treated so harshly by the self-professed anti-racism movement. Similarly, Holocaust commemoration is sometimes judged by its supposed utility to Zionism and is reacted to on that basis.

- 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 any other sector of society.

There are numerous points of comparison between traditional antisemitic themes and contemporary left wing anti-Israel and anti-Zionist propaganda. The poster above, is from Nazi Germany in 1943/44, and is entitled 'The Jew, the inciter of war, the prolonger of war'.

The cartoon left, is from 2008 and depicts (then) US President Bush Jr as a monkey to (then) Israel Prime Minister Olmert's organ grinder. The cartoonist, Latuff, is highly regarded by 'anti-war' activists and websites; and received second prize of $4,000 in the notorious Holocaust-themed cartoon competition of 2006, run by leading Iranian newspaper, Hamshahri.

This particular cartoon is from Latuff's "Tales of Iraq War" series.

Archbishop Rowan Williams:
The Lesson of Antisemitism

Religious hatred and religious offence

On 29 January 2008, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, presented the James Callaghan Memorial lecture, entitled *"Religious Hatred and Religious Offence"*[13]. This lengthy speech was a detailed philosophical analysis of freedom of speech and blasphemy laws, and illustrated many aspects on the highly complex subject of discourse and, *"the social meanings of anti-religious language or behaviour".*

The speech also included relatively brief mentions of historical and contemporary antisemitism, in which the Archbishop used the lessons of antisemitism to frame and make his point. These elements of the speech are analysed below:

Having introduced his speech, the Archbishop explained that he would *"concentrate on the borderland between the legal and the moral, in the hope of clarifying a little the social meanings of anti-religious language or behaviour".*

He then stressed the *"foundational"* role of antisemitism in the understanding of hatreds, and the continuity (*"slippage"*) between discourse and ostracism from society:

"I do so in the consciousness that we have just marked Holocaust Memorial Day: there is a sense in which the foundational form of religious hatred and religious offence in our culture has been and remains antisemitism. Its history in Europe shows how the slippage can occur from abusive words and images to assumptions about the dangers posed by a community stigmatised as perpetual outsiders to actions designed to remove them for good".

Next, the Archbishop explained how religious tradition and modern secularism can be a *"lethal mixture":*

"The lethal mixture of a Christian tradition of anti-Jewish polemic and routine humiliation – interspersed with murderous outbreaks of popular violence – and a post-Christian, pseudo-scientific philosophy of race illustrates how religious hatred can be generated by both intra-religious and secular forces".

He continued by explaining the difficulties that arise in defining where discourse moves from *"criticism"* to *"contempt"* and then to *"violence"*:

"one of the most demanding aspects of trying to make sense of this set of problems around religious offence is the clarifying of where the border lies between criticism and contempt and between contempt and violence. The history of antisemitism does not suggest that we shall find a comfortingly clear answer."

Further on in his speech, the Archbishop addressed the relationship of *"power"* to *"freedom of speech arguments"*:

"And this at last brings us to how power is at work in all this. The classical free speech arguments were largely formulated against a background of resistance to a dominant culture administered by non-accountable authorities: blasphemy functioned as one form of protest against tyranny…".

13 "Archbishop's lecture - Religious Hatred and Religious Offence". 29 January 2008 http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/1561

He explained that this notion of freedom of speech remains as *"the tribal memory"* when commentators discuss religious offence; yet the reality is that the overall context has considerably shifted. The history of antisemitism illuminates the consequence of this:

"But what is harder to cope with is a situation in which this kind of folkloric, David-and-Goliath pattern is not really applicable. Yet again, we should remember some of the history of anti-Semitism.

Some of the passionate polemic against Jewish people in the New Testament reflects a situation in which Christian groups were still small and vulnerable over and against an entrenched religio-political establishment; but the language is repeated and intensified when the Church is no longer a minority and when Jews have become more vulnerable than ever."

From this point, the Archbishop explained the need for mythology within antisemitism, and specifically the need for a mythology of Jewish power, realised today in the fantasy depiction of *"Zionism":*

"It is part of the pathology of anti-Semitism (as of other irrational group prejudices) that it needs to work with a myth of an apparent minority which is, in fact, secretly powerful and omnipresent.

It is the pattern we see in the workings of the Spanish Inquisition, searching everywhere for Jewish converts who might be backsliding; it is the myth of the Elders of Zion and comparable fantasies of plots for world domination; it is the indiscriminate attribution (not only by certain Muslims) of all the evils of the Western world to an indeterminate 'Zionism'.

A rhetoric shaped by particular circumstances has become so embedded that the actualities of power relations in the real world cannot touch it. There are many instances where the habit of imagining oneself in terms of victimhood has become so entrenched that even one's own power, felt and exercised, does not alter the mythology."

Poll of UK and global attitudes to Jews

The latest Pew Global Attitudes Project survey[14] asked respondents around the world for their views on Jews, Muslims and Christians.

In Britain, the survey showed that 73% of people are favourably disposed to Jews, whereas 9% are unfavourable. This is a considerable and very welcome gap between positive and hostile attitudes, and was surveyed as 57% being *"somewhat favourable"* to Jews; 17% being *"very favourable"*; 6% being *"somewhat unfavourable"*; and 3% being *"very unfavourable"*.

The poll was conducted in March-April 2008 by Princeton Survey Research Associates International. There were between 700 and 1,000 adult respondents in most of the countries surveyed. In Britain, the 753 respondents were surveyed by telephone.

Results provide useful indicators for both positive and negative opinions of Jews; how these opinions have changed over time; how these opinions compare with attitudes to Muslims and Christians; and how Britain compares with other countries regarding all of these factors.

19% of British respondents did not answer the question about their attitude to Jews. This compares to 1% of French respondents. As a consequence, French respondents were both more favourable and less favourable to Jews than their British respondents. It is hard to discern if the 19% British non-response rate reveals greater ambiguity of feeling; a reluctance to be seen to be antisemitic; or, (less likely perhaps), a reluctance to be seen to be philosemitic.

Bearing in mind the above caveat, the survey shows the following:

- British attitudes to Jews were marginally less favourable in 2008 (73% positive) than in 2004 (76%), 2005 (78%) and 2006 (74%).

- British attitudes to Jews are more favourable (73% positive) than to Muslims (63% positive), and less favourable than to Christians (83% positive). This shows a consistent 10% 'favourability' gap between Muslims and Jews, and between Jews and Christians.

- British hostility to Jews is the same now as in 2004 (9%) and marginally worse than in 2005 and 2006 (6% both years).

- In Britain, expressed attitudes to Jews are less hostile (9%) than attitudes to Muslims (23%), and more hostile than to Christians (7%). This suggests that expressed levels of hostility to Jews and Christians are basically similar, whereas hostility to Muslims is significantly worse.

- British respondents were less likely to answer the question about Jews (19%) than they were about either Muslims (16%) or Christians (10%) - suggesting that people hold less strong feelings about Jews; and/or do not know Jews; and/or feel more restricted in saying what they feel about Jews. If even half of this 19% are actually concealing their hostility to Jews, then hostility against Jews would be twice as bad as the survey states.

- British favourable and hostile attitudes to Jews, Muslims and Christians, are highly consistent with attitudes expressed in America and Australia. Other European countries (except France) surveyed tend to be more hostile to Jews, Muslims and Christians. Muslim countries surveyed have overwhelmingly hostile attitudes to Jews, favourable attitudes to Muslims, and mixed attitudes to Christians.

14 Pew Global Attitudes Project 2008 survey. http://pewglobal.org/reports/pdf/262.pdf

Survey results include the following:

"Please tell us if you have a very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable, or very unfavourable opinion of Jews". (Figures as given by Pew).

	Very Favourable	Somewhat Favourable	Total Favourable	Total Unfavourable	Very Unfavourable	Somewhat Unfavourable	Don't know / Refuse
Britain	16	57	73	9	3	6	19
USA	41	36	77	7	2	5	17
Australia	16	57	73	11	3	8	16
France	14	65	79	20	6	14	1
Germany	8	56	64	25	4	21	11
Spain	2	35	37	46	18	28	18
Poland	4	46	50	36	11	25	14
Russia	11	36	47	34	12	22	20
Turkey	2	5	7	76	68	8	17
Pakistan	1	3	4	76	65	11	21
Egypt	0	3	3	95	92	3	3
Indonesia	2	8	10	66	36	30	23
India	2	13	15	32	21	11	53
China	2	18	20	55	17	38	24
Nigeria	11	23	34	43	22	21	23
Mexico	3	17	20	46	23	23	35

Comparing attitudes to Jews, Muslims and Christians (figures as given by Pew)

	Attitude to Jews		Attitude to Muslims		Attitude to Christians	
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Favourable	Unfavourable	Favourable	Unfavourable
Britain	73	9	63	23	83	7
Australia	73	11	60	29	84	8
USA	77	7	56	23	87	3
France	79	20	62	38	82	17
Germany	64	25	40	50	83	12
Spain	37	46	33	52	67	24
Poland	50	36	35	46	88	8
Russia	47	34	56	32	88	7
Turkey	7	76	86	9	10	74
Pakistan	4	76	99	1	24	60
Egypt	3	95	100	1	52	46
Indonesia	10	66	95	2	51	41
India	15	32	36	56	49	37
China	20	55	20	55	22	55
Nigeria	34	43	74	20	78	17
Mexico	20	46	16	45	47	28

Antisemitic Discourse:
Misconceptions and Smears

British Jewish leaders and representative bodies, including CST, the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Chief Rabbi, have repeatedly and sincerely stated that it is entirely correct that Israel should be subject to criticism, just as any nation-state.

Despite this, some mainstream commentators and activists wrongly accuse Jewish representative bodies of dishonestly manipulating antisemitism as a smear with which to target any and all criticism of Israel. This effectively labels British Jewish representative bodies as liars and concealed front groups for Israel. As a result, British Jewish representatives are often treated with derision and contempt whenever they do actually raise concerns about antisemitism.

Each repetition of the charge that Jews abuse antisemitism, serves to reinforce antisemitic bias, as it implies that:

- Jewish communities and leaders everywhere cannot be trusted.
- Jewish concerns about antisemitism should not only be dismissed, they should also be actively opposed and exposed as a sham.
- Victims of racism deserve support, but Jews are the exception. They are unlike all others, because they cry racism in order to act as agents of a foreign government (Israel) - or a foreign ideology (Zionism) - both of which are ill-disposed towards all other nations and philosophies.
- If Jews complain about antisemitism, then it proves the efficacy of anti-Israel campaigning and the value of intensifying it.

The smear charge may be accompanied by the additional claim that politicians and journalists are too fearful for their careers and personal safety to speak out against Israel and the alleged Jewish cover-ups on its behalf. This allegation is itself partly reliant upon the antisemitic notion of an all-pervasive and all-powerful pro-Israeli conspiracy that is somehow able to keep the truth from leaking out to the general public.

Dave Brown, cartoonist, The Independent

On 3 November 2008 the Independent cartoonist, Dave Brown, wrote an article concerning cartoons that had provoked controversy[15]. The article showed a number of controversial cartoons, and included Brown's own infamous Independent cartoon[16] showing Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon campaigning for votes: by eating a Palestinian child whilst saying, *"What's wrong you never seen a politician kissing babies before?"*.

The cartoon - originally published on Holocaust Memorial Day in 2003 - had immediately provoked a furious and dismayed reaction from many Jews and non-Jews who perceived a resonance in Brown's cartoon with the important historical antisemitic "Blood Libel" allegation that Jews kill and eat non-Jewish children. Brown countered that he had meant to imply nothing of the sort, and that the cartoon had clearly included the words *"(After Goya)"* in reference to its composition being copied from Goya's painting, *"Saturn Devouring his Children"*.

Nevertheless, when republishing the cartoon nearly six years later, Brown's

15 Dave Brown "A Century of Satire, Wit and Irreverence". The Independent, 3 November 2008. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/online/a-century-of-satire-wit-and-irreverence-986844.html?action=Popup&ino=10

16 Dave Brown cartoon. The Independent, 27 January 2003.

This cartoon, by Dave Brown, sparked outrage from Jews throughout the world when it first appeared in the Independent newspaper on Holocaust Memorial Day, 2003.

In 2008, Brown recalled the controversy and implied that it had resulted from *"the Israeli Embassy"* circulating the cartoon to *"Jewish groups in America"*.

accompanying caption repeated his Goya statement, but then explained the controversy by stating, *"The following day, the Israeli Embassy complained and sent the image round to Jewish groups in America. It elicited a huge response, not all of which was bad".*

Brown provided no further explanation for the controversy. He made no mention of the concerns expressed by British Jews, nor the referral to the Press Complaints Commission[17] of over 100 complaints, including one (ultimately unsuccessful) from Ariel Sharon and the Israeli Embassy in London.

By limiting his explanation, Brown may have encouraged readers to assume that the reaction to the cartoon had been manufactured by the Israeli Embassy and unspecified American Jewish groups. This could also imply that American Jewish groups act under orders from Israeli embassies around the world.

This caption therefore not only ignored the reason for an entirely authentic local and international response, it also risked reinforcing the insidious modern day antisemitic canards that Jewish groups around the world are little more than local agents of Israel; and that their concerns regarding antisemitism are faked in order to defend Israel.

17 http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/story.asp?storyCode=22998&sectioncode=1

Johann Hari, columnist, the Independent, "Loathsome smearing"

Commentators who allege that antisemitism is being maliciously abused, often fail to adequately specify whom they are - and are not - actually charging with this allegation. Such failures risk leaving the reader with the overall impression that you must not trust Jews when they complain about antisemitism.

One particularly vivid example of this analytical failure occurred in the Independent newspaper, 8 May 2008, where columnist Johann Hari wrote an article entitled *"The loathsome smearing of Israel's critics"*[18]. Hari has repeatedly been explicit in his condemnation of antisemitism, but nevertheless believes that the term is prone to abuse[19].

The opening paragraph of his article stated:

"In the US and Britain, there is a campaign to smear anybody who tries to describe the plight of the Palestinian people. It is an attempt to intimidate and silence – and to a large degree, it works. There is nobody these self-appointed spokesmen for Israel will not attack as anti-Jewish: liberal Jews, rabbis, even Holocaust survivors."

Hari's article was premised upon angry responses that he had received to a previous piece, in which he used the themes of Israeli *"raw untreated sewage"* and *"shit"* to help explain why he could not bring himself to celebrate 60 years since Israel's creation.[20]

Hari's article named four alleged perpetrators of this *"loathsome smearing"*. These were two internet-based American pro-Israeli organisations, Honest Reporting and CAMERA; American lawyer/activist, Alan Dershowitz; and British writer, Melanie Phillips. Hari described them as *"some of the most high profile "pro-Israel" writers and media monitoring groups…These individuals spray accusations of anti-Semitism so liberally that by their standards, a majority of Jewish Israelis have anti-Semitic tendencies".*

Hari also wrote that *"Liberal Jews – the majority – are now setting up rivals to the hard-right organisations they* [i.e. those who allegedly smear] *work with, because they believe this campaign of demonization is damaging us all."*

Hari cited Melanie Philips but made no mention whatsoever of the many other diverse British groups and individuals who speak on antisemitism: such as the Board of Deputies of British Jews, CST, the Engage network and David Hirsh, and the Parliamentary Committee Against Antisemitism. Similarly, he made no mention of the American groups and individuals who speak on antisemitism: such as the Anti Defamation League and Abe Foxman, or the American Jewish Committee and David Harris. (Indeed, by stating that *"Liberal Jews – the majority – are now setting up rivals to the hard-right"*, Hari risks leading the reader to assume that no alternatives to the allegedly malicious groups and individuals currently exist.)

David Hirsh wrote to The Independent that Hari's article *"comes close to accusing anybody who is concerned*

18 Johann Hari "The loathsome smearing of Israel's critics". The Independent, 08 May 2008.

19 For example: Johann Hari "Don't let the Livingstone row blind us to the real and growing threat of anti-Semitism". http://www.johannhari.com/archive/article.php?id=571

20 Johann Hari "Israel is suppressing a secret it must face". The Independent, 28 April 2008

about antisemitism of acting in bad faith". (The letter was not published)[21].

Howard Jacobson, writing in his own Independent column[22], responded critically to Hari, saying that, *"he is mistaken in this instance – mistaken tactically and in fact – to invoke the spectre of a campaign, a front mobilised with aforethought to defame anyone who speaks ill of Israel."*

Caroline Lucas, Green Party: Jews, Israel, "universal human rights"

In some instances, those who accuse Jews or Israel of abusing antisemitism, nevertheless sincerely try to ensure that their words are not taken as a blanket condemnation, despite the 'catch all' nature of their initial remarks.

Caroline Lucas, leader of the Green Party, writing in the Spring 2008 issue of *Jewish Socialist magazine*[23], explained why the recent Green Party conference had *"controversially adopted a policy of boycott, sanctions and divestment with regard to Israel".* She explained that the policy was intended as a call to peace for both Israelis and Palestinians, and would benefit both peoples. The boycott was partly needed because Israel had hitherto hidden behind the *"incendiary claim"* of antisemitism, and the support of America:

"Financial and moral support from the United States means that Israel has been able to act with relative immunity, hiding behind its incendiary claim that all who oppose its policies are anti-Semitic".

Lucas then continued, *"This does a great disservice to the many Jewish people who support the principle of universal human rights, and who oppose the current policies of the Israeli state".*

This clarification by Lucas shows the problems that can paradoxically arise from trying to distance Jews per se from Israel. By referencing *"the many Jewish people who support the principle of universal human rights, and who oppose"* alleged Israeli policies, Lucas may leave the impression that only that minority of Jews who are actively against Israeli policies can be for universal human rights. This risks essentially branding the majority of Jews as not being in favour of universal human rights, or as actively obstructing the struggle for universal human rights because of their support or sympathy for Israel.

The suggestion that Jews cannot be assumed to favour human rights essentially divides Jews into 'good' and 'bad' categories, depending upon their attitude to Israel. It is exceptional for British citizens to first have to declare their attitude towards an overseas conflict before being considered as decent people.

21 http://www.engageonline.org.uk/blog/article.php?id=1877

22 Howard Jacobson "If there really is a smear campaign to try to silence the critics of Israel, it isn't working". The Independent 10 May 2008

23 http://www.carolinelucasmep.org.uk/2008/05/01/no-green-light-for-occupiers-jewish-socialist-magazine-spring-2008/

American Politics
and Contemporary Antisemitic Discourse

Background: Jewish power and Jewish wars

Historically, antisemitism has repeatedly alleged that leading Jews manipulate non-Jewish dupes to go to war on their behalf.

Today, only the most extreme and marginal groups would openly repeat such ugly allegations of Jewish money power, non-Jewish dupes, Jewish media control and vengeful Jews. Nevertheless the same charges – minus the word Jew – are made against the American pro-Israeli lobby.

American Politics: pro-Israel because of Jewish power?

In 2008, the American presidential election campaign showed the importance that some mainstream UK media outlets attach to the supposed role of pro-Israel power in American politics. This phenomenon had also been seen in 2007, with the excited reaction in some UK media to the publication of the book *"The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy"*.

This is certainly not to say that such discussion is not legitimate. It is entirely reasonable to discuss the relationship between America and Israel, and to question the role of the American pro-Israel lobby within this process.

The long history of antisemitism, however, suggests that care ought to be taken in how these arguments are expressed; in particular, it is important that the American pro-Israel lobby is treated in a manner that is consistent with other lobby groups: as a legitimate and normal part of the American body politic, employing essentially the same methods as other lobbies, and subject to similar constraints.

Failure to take sufficient care in this regard will help inspire antisemitic notions, such as those shown in the chain of comments with which Guardian "Comment is Free" readers responded to a Guardian editorial on the subject of Barack Obama, America and Israel (see page 28).

In the context of the American presidential campaign of 2008, Barack Obama and John McCain were depicted at various times by some commentators and media outlets as pro-Israel dupes. The accumulative effect of these depictions was to render Obama and McCain as little more than twin sides of the same pro-Israeli coin, waiting to implement Israel's will, regardless of who won the election. This echoed old antisemitic motifs of Jews controlling politicians from all sides of politics; an insidious notion that carries the implicit suggestion that Jews (or in this instance "pro-Israelis") are alien from the body politic, and are insincere turncoats.

Guardian cartoon: John McCain, USA confrontation with Iran: for Israel or Jews?

A Guardian article on 10 July 2008, entitled *"Defiant Iran tests missiles to show strength in face of US warnings"*, was illustrated by a cartoon from Steve Bell[24] that could be taken as implying that Presidential candidate John McCain was controlled by either Jews or Israel; and that America's confrontation over Iranian nuclear development was therefore at the behest of Jews or Israel.

The cartoon showed John McCain and Iranian President, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, with swords raised, soaring towards each other across the sky. In the cartoon, Ahmadinejad stands atop a

[24] Steve Bell cartoon, Guardian, 10 July 2008.

This Guardian cartoon of 10 July 2008 comments upon American warnings over Iran's nuclear programme: but what role does the Star of David symbol play on the shirt of (then) US Presidential candidate John McCain? Furthermore, is the Star of David representing Jews or Israel?

flying rocket, the shape of which is reminiscent of a nuclear explosion, but is made out of the face of the late Ayatollah Khomeini and his turban type head-covering. Ahmadinejad wears a superhero type outfit and cloak in the colours of the Iranian flag, and on his white front has a red atomic star symbol.

McCain also stands on a flying rocket, in his case reminiscent of a fighter jet derived from the face of the then President, George Bush Jr. McCain is slightly lower than Ahmadinejad, but the two are on a collision course. McCain also wears a superhero type outfit; with pants and cloak made from the Stars and Stripes of the American flag. On his blue front, however, is a white Star of David. This is similar to the Israeli flag, but not identical: as the Israeli star is blue not white, and the flag bears two horizontal white stripes. It is therefore debatable whether McCain is being depicted as being at the service of Jews or Israel as he hurtles towards war with Iran.

Guardian editorial: Barack Obama, "jacket designed by Israeli tailors".

On 24 July 2008 the Guardian published an editorial[25] about Barack Obama's visit to Israel. Entitled *"The message that matters"*, the editorial praised Obama's commitment to search for Israeli-Palestinian peace if he were elected, but criticised the extent to which his actual visit had followed Israel's agenda.

The editorial's opening paragraph was: *"When a presumptive US presidential candidate arrives in Jerusalem, he willingly dons a jacket designed by Israeli tailors. He is compelled to call the country a miracle, to visit the Israeli Holocaust Memorial Yad Vashem and to link the memory of the 6 million Jews who died in Europe to Israeli victims of Palestinian violence today.*

[25] Guardian leader 24 July 2008, "The message that matters".

It was no accident that at Yad Vashem Barack Obama met the policeman who stopped the rampage of a Palestinian bulldozer driver that injured 16 Israelis on Monday."

Unlike the remainder of the editorial, this opening paragraph is referring to all would-be presidents (rather then just Obama) who visit Israel. It is any *"presumptive US presidential candidate"* who *"willingly dons a jacket designed by Israeli tailors"* before then being *"compelled to call the country a miracle"* and visit the national Holocaust memorial.

The paragraph does not state that the candidate is now *"compelled"* to do Israel's bidding per se; rather, this is said in the context of his having to *"call the country a miracle"* and visit the Holocaust memorial. Nevertheless, the imagery evoked by this narrative is striking: it suggests that any realistic presidential candidate must beat a path to Jerusalem, where he will be *"willingly"* measured and fitted into his Israeli colours, before being *"compelled"* to do as he is told.

Political commentator, Norman Geras, analysed the editorial on his blog under the headline, *"Barack Obama and the Jewish tailors"* [26] , thereby alluding to the *"Israeli tailor"* comment recalling the stereotype of the Jewish tailor. Geras described the opening paragraph as *"oozing cynicism…foul stuff"* and a *"fetid introduction"*.

Geras further noted that whilst the Guardian may not consider Israel's post-Holocaust creation as *"a miracle"*, it is still a considerable achievement, *"that the Jewish people, after what befell them in Europe and surrounded by enemies, created a Jewish homeland…".* He continued, *"We are to believe, for example, that he* [Obama] *would not have gone to Yad Vashem just on his own steam? How does the Guardian know this? We are to believe that the Israelis have a way of getting visiting politicians to do what they otherwise mightn't? Being Jews, they'll have the knack for that, I suppose...".*

Guardian editorial: "Comment is Free" readers response – open antisemitism, and antisemitic charges recycled in modern guise

The above Guardian editorial also appeared on the Guardian's own "Comment is Free" (CiF) website. Globally, this is one of the leading websites of its type, and the sheer quantity of comments involved, and the complexity of gauging when reasonable comment breaches standards of decency, results in some objectionable material not being removed. Nevertheless, CiF's moderation policies and efforts[27] have consistently improved in recent years, as it adapts to meet the considerable challenge.

Those CiF readers' responses[28] to the Guardian editorial that were not removed by moderators include examples that illustrate how antisemitic motifs or modes of thinking endure in contemporary attitudes to Israel and America. This includes comments that are by no means clear cut examples of antisemitism, but may reflect older antisemitic ways of thinking: in particular, the charge that Jews run the media, now recast as Zionists run American media.

(NB. All spellings are as in the original postings).
The first comment, from *"halgee184"* at 12:32am, implied that the American media is under Israel's control:

26 http://normblog.typepad.com/normblog/2008/07/barack-obama-and-the-jewish-tailors.html

27 See quote from CiF editor, Matt Seaton, at http://www.thejc.com/articles/web-boosting-hate-speech%E2%80%99-says-cst

28 http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/jul/24/barackobama.usforeignpolicy?showallcomments=true

"Good editorial. I hope that Obama and his people read it. This is great much bolder comment than New York Times can ever say in matters concerning P/I [Palestine/Israel] *conflict!..." .*

The second comment, at 12:34am from *"gavinbullock"*, echoed the editorial's imagery about American presidents, candidates and Israel:

"I don't think we can expect any American president (or presidential candidate) to be even handed between the Palestinians and Israel…"

At 09:14am, *"socialistMike"* placed America as subservient to an unspecified *"global elite"* that opposes the rest of *"humanity"*. This is similar to formulations that were previously used against Jews, but are now made against so-called Zionists:

"Obama will continue to support Israel's occupation and repression. It is [sic] *the US's geopolitical interests, to have an armed, aggressive proxy in the region and there is no reason why Obama will change that…*

…I predict Obama's first war crime will come early in his presidency – he will need to reassure the global elites that he places their interests above humanity's as soon as possible."

At 11:17am, *"tehrankid77"*[29] replied to the above "socialistMike" comment about President Obama by stating that the President would be assassinated if he did not follow Israel's orders to America:

"~~socialistMike Obama will continue to support Israel's occupation and repression.~~~

I don't think he really has any choice between being assassinated or give way for more occupations and repressions in the OT [Occupied Territories]*…the guy has no choice but to take orders from uncle* [sic] *Sam's superiors in Tel Aviv!!!"*

At 12:59pm, an American contributor, *"neoc"*, repeated the notion that the US media conspires to perform Israel's bidding:

"The US media is doing a brilliant job in fostering a distorted pro-Irsael agenda. Can you imagine the NY and Washington papers writing editorials along the line of the Guardian/presenting a truthful picture of the I/P conflict?

You cannot fool all of the people all of the time though…"

At 1:44pm, *"bass46"*, took the imagery of the Guardian editorial's opening to its seemingly logical conclusion, about Israel controlling American politicians (who in turn dominate British Prime Ministers):

"Its humiliating to watch US Presidents and candidates prostrate themselves before the Israeli lobby in order to secure their electorally vital but morally dubious support. It's a little like watching UK PM's throw themselves at the feet of whoever is in the Whitehouse [sic] *in the hope of gleaning an iota of favour, embarrassing in the extreme…"*

"Bass46" posted again, at 2:23pm, and repeated the increasingly widespread claim that the Holocaust has rendered Israel psychologically compelled to re-enact the near genocide suffered by European Jews -

29 Soraya Tehrani was later asked to contribute a CiF column. The offer was withdrawn when CiF became aware that she was the same person as "Tehrankid 77", *"…we cannot have a comment contributor whose posting in threads has been subjected to moderation for antisemitism. We were not aware that this was an issue with Soraya Tehrani"*. See http://www.hurryupharry.org/2008/10/03/the-guardian-sacks-racist-blogger/

only this time as perpetrators, with the Palestinians as victims:

"…Basically, it seems that not only did the holocaust shape Israeli thinking in the immediate aftermath, but for ever more. It's a little like watching an abused child, unable to escape the conditioning created by the abuse they march inexorably towards the same fate even as they deny whats before them…"

At 3:58pm, a posting by *"littleroy"* repeated the claims of Israel running American politics, and said that his *"Professor"* had told him this. Furthermore, *"littleroy"* specified that it was *"pro-Israel Jewish Senators"* who enforced the control. (i.e. that it was not pro-Israel senators per se):

"My Professor says Israel actually runs Washington. Just have a close look at US policies. They submit everytime to dozens of pro-Israel Senators like Mr Lieberman…Now over two billion people, quarter of earth's population shout "Death to America". Professor said that US cannot maintain this level of opposition for long. It must change course: Either make Israel into 51st State, or ditch the Israelis. The burden is too great for Washington to carry".

Guardian Books Review: Obama must "genuflect"

The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is the leading pro-Israel lobby group in the USA. It is also one of America's leading lobby groups, and is often the focus of allegations that American politicians are subservient to the pro-Israel lobby's demands.

One such instance occurred in the Guardian Books section on 4th October 2008, in which Pankaj Mishra reviewed three books about *"US entanglement in Iraq and Afghanistan"*[30]. Mishra noted the importance of Israel in American attitudes to the Middle East and claimed that Israel's *"continuing expansion into the West bank is probably the greatest source of so-called Arab rage"*. He carefully charted the relationship between America and Israel, giving examples of previous presidents (including Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Reagan) disagreeing with Israeli policies.

Mishra then wrote that *"Bush Sr was actively hostile to Israeli expansionism"* and quoted his secretary of state, James Baker to make the point. Nevertheless, in doing so, Mishra accused AIPAC of now being so powerful that *"even"* Barack Obama (who had recently addressed AIPAC) must now *"genuflect"* (i.e. bend his knee in worship or reverence) before the group. This particular section of Mishra's article, within its broader context, therefore implied that AIPAC has taken control of American foreign policy in very recent years. The section reads as follows:

"His [Bush Snr.] *secretary of state, James Baker, had only blunt wisdom ("Forswear annexation. Stop settlement activity. Reach out to Palestinians as neighbours who deserve political rights") to impart to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the powerful lobbying outfit for Israel, to which even Obama must now genuflect."*

30 http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2008/oct/04/unitedstates.militarism

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

In the cartoon, a wealthy Jew uses his money whip to dominate leading Labour, Conservative and Liberal politicians. The Jew's other hand holds open a sack of coins and his belt buckle is a Star of David. The politcians cower, beg like a dog and lick the Jew's shoes.

Robert Fisk, the Independent: Obama "supine" in Israel; Biden "being set up to protect Israel".

On 30 August 2008 journalist Robert Fisk wrote an article in the Independent, rhetorically entitled, *"Why do we keep letting the politicians get away with lies?"*[31]

The article was published with a sentence from the article copied and highlighted in bold. This read: *"Biden's being set up to protect Israel while Obama looks after the transportation system in Chicago".*

Any casual reader of the Independent not reading Fisk's quite lengthy column would therefore assume that there is a link between politicians getting *"away with lies"* and the then vice-presidential candidate Joe Biden *"being set up to protect Israel"*. Worse still, Biden was being *"set up"* - by an unnamed powerbroker - whilst the then presidential candidate Barack Obama *"looks after the transportation system in Chicago".*

The Independent's juxtaposition of the headline and highlighted sentence therefore risked its readers taking an antisemitic message; namely, that the real power in American politics would be given to the person nominated to defend Israel, whilst the apparent leader would only be permitted to handle relatively trivial matters.[32]

In the actual article, however, Fisk had not personally written this offensive sentence. Rather, he quoted it as having been said to him by *"one of the Arab world's most prominent commentators"*, and had approved it with an accompanying qualification that it was *"a cruel remark with just enough bitter reality to make it bite"*. (This qualification did not appear in the highlighted section that repeated the *"cruel remark"*).

The *"cruel remark"* quoted by Fisk followed his having written of Joe Biden and Barack Obama,

"No doubt in government he'll [i.e. Biden] *be teamed up with those old pro-Israeli has beens, Madeleine Albright and Martyn Indyk, whose new boss, Obama, virtually elected himself to the Israeli Knesset with his supine performance during his "international" tour."*

Before attacking Biden and Obama, Fisk had stated in relation to a speech by Condoleeza Rice in Jerusalem, *"Once more, US foreign policy was dictated by Israel. And again, the world remained silent".*

It is not necessarily racist to say that one country's foreign policy is dictated by another country. Nevertheless, depicting presidential candidate Obama as *"supine"* before Israel's parliament (i.e. lying flat whilst facing upwards; having the palm of the hand turned upwards; lethargic passivity) invites the classic antisemitic imagery of Jews controlling the world.

John Pilger: Obama, Zionism & "worst of American power".

One week after Barack Obama's presidential election victory, the New Statesman published an article[33] by John Pilger entitled *"Don't believe the hype"*. The article was subtitled *"Barack Obama is being lauded by liberals but the truth about him is that he represents the worst of American power"*. It characterised the manner in which Zionism is becoming increasingly synonymous for some commentators with much of what they believe to be wrong with the world.

31 Robert Fisk *"Why do we keep letting the politicians get away with lies?"*, The Independent, 30 August 2008.

32 NB: Barack Obama has extensive links with Chicago, including serving as senator for the state of Illinois.

33 John Pilger *"Don't believe the hype"*, New Statesman, 13 November 2008.

Pilger's article makes no mention of Jews per se, and in its closing lines he explicitly blames *"corporate dictatorship, managed by people regardless of ethnicity"*. Nevertheless, the article showed a leading intellectual magazine explaining American foreign policy, politics and media by reference to various alleged undermining, controlling elements that run counter to the interests and wishes of the American people; malign elements that are frequently defined as Zionist, along with other loose terms.

This is not antisemitic per se, but it has distinct and worrying echoes of earlier antisemitic Jewish power motifs; and it reduces Zionism to a derogatory epithet, rather than its root meaning of being the desire for Jewish self-determination in Israel.

Pilger's article began by praising an investigative Texan journalist from the 1960s *"before corporate journalism was invented…and a mythology of liberal neutrality was spun…in tune with an establishment consensus, regardless of the truth"*. Pilger then claimed that, *"ordinary American attitudes…seldom conformed to the stereotypes promoted by the corporate media on both sides of the Atlantic"*. He cited popular support for healthcare and opposition to militarism to support this *"in spite of the burden of a form of brainwashing placed on most Americans…that theirs is the most superior society in the world…*[justifying] *the spilling of copious blood, in maintaining that superiority"*.

Pilger described the above as the *"subtext"* to Obama's *"oratory"*. He claimed that the Democrats had won their 2006 majority in Congress due to public anger with *"the bailout of Wall Street"* and being *"fed up with war"*; before castigating Obama and the Democrats for handing *"over more money to George W Bush to continue his blood-fest"*.

Pilger then briefly acknowledged Obama's election as *"historic, a symbol of great change to many"* before continuing, *"But it is equally true that the American elite has grown adept at using the black middle and management class"*. Pilger then set about proving how *"the American elite"* had *"used"* blacks: he noted that Martin Luther King had realised this, had linked black American rights with Vietnamese human rights, *"And he was shot"*. Pilger contrasted King with Colin Powell, who *"was used to "investigate" and whitewash"* the My Lai massacre, *"and was considered ideal to lie"* to the United Nations about Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. He then alleged that Condoleezza Rice continued the pattern:

"Condoleezza Rice, lauded as a successful black woman, has worked assiduously to deny the Palestinians justice."

Having thus summarised and dismissed Rice, Pilger stated that, *"Obama's first two crucial appointments represent a denial of the wishes of his supporters on the principal issues on which they voted."*

Obama's *"crucial appointments"* that denied his supporters' *"principal issues"* (i.e. war and the economy) were then explained by reference to Joe Biden and Rahm Emanuel. Biden was defined as a *"proud warmaker and Zionist"*, whilst Emanuel was a *"fervent neoliberal devoted"* to economically disastrous policies, and an *"Israel-first Zionist"* to boot.

The curious phrase, *"Israel-first Zionist"*, appears to signify that Emanuel is somehow worse than Biden (a mere *"Zionist"*). Indeed, a search of *"'Israel-first' Zionist"* on Google[34] suggests that it is most commonly used in American far right circles to allege Jewish control of America. At the very least, Pilger's readers might understand him to imply that Emanuel is a fifth-columnist. The remainder of this paragraph stated:

"The vice-president, Joe Biden, is a proud warmaker and Zionist. Rahm Emanuel, who is to be the all-important White House chief of staff, is a fervent "neoliberal" devoted to the doctrine that led to the present economic collapse and impoverishment of millions. He is also an "Israel-first" Zionist who served in the Israeli army and opposed meaningful justice for the Palestinians – an injustice that is at the root of Muslim people's loathing of the US and the spawning of jihadism."

In its entirety, this paragraph could therefore be construed:

- To cast Zionism as integral to the betrayal of American (and global) optimism for change
- To render Zionism as synonymous with warmaking, global economic collapse and impoverishment
- To blame Zionism for Muslims *"loathing"* the US and the *"spawning of jihaidsm"*

Pilger then claimed that, *"No serious scrutiny of this is permitted within the histrionics of Obama mania"*, and continued, *"This is especially marked in Britain, where America's divine right to "lead" is important to elite British interests".* He made no further mentions of Zionism, but ended the article by condemning American *"ideals"* and morality, and the media's failure to scrutinise Tony Blair, and now Obama:

"since 1945, the destruction of 50 governments, including democracies, and 30 popular liberation movements, causing the deaths of countless men, women and children…liberalism as a narrow, supremely arrogant, war-making ideology is destroying liberalism as a reality. Prior to Blair's criminal warmaking, ideology was denied by him and his media mystics…

…liberal democracy's shift towards a corporate dictatorship, managed by people regardless of ethnicity, with the media as its clichéd façade…" .

Within the wider context of the piece, the centrality afforded to Biden and Emanuel may imply that Zionism is an important component of all of the modern evils that his essay rails against. In particular:

- American and British *"corporate media"* (and their preventing *"serious scrutiny"* of everything claimed by Pilger)
- the *"brainwashing"* of Americans to believe that the *"superiority"* of their society can be maintained by *"all means…including the spilling of copious blood"*
- *"the American elite"* (and their manipulation of middle class American blacks such as Condoleezza Rice who *"has worked assiduously to deny Palestinians justice".*)
- "[American] *ideals…destruction of 50 governments…deaths of countless men, women and children"*
- the destruction of liberalism and its replacement with *"a narrow, supremely arrogant, war-making ideology"*

34 Google Internet search, April 2009, key words "Israel-first Zionist"

Alan Hart, "Zionism, the real fear of the Jews"

Former ITN and BBC journalist, Alan Hart, is a regular speaker at mainstream pro-Palestinian events, and hosts his own television show, "Hart of the Matter", on the Iranian state-backed satellite channel, Press TV (broadcast on Sky). He depicts his anti-Zionism as being fundamentally pro-Jewish, repeatedly makes a point of distinguishing between Zionists and Jews, and has interviewed numerous Jews on his Press TV programme.

The interview shown below is a striking example of how even someone who is self-determinedly pro-Jewish like Hart can, nevertheless, still evoke antisemitic conspiracy theories about Jewish money power and resultant control of politicians and media. Furthermore, whilst such allegations are relatively common against American Jews and Zionists, this interview also shows how such prejudices may be seamlessly transposed into the British context.

Hart's reputation is premised upon his broadcasting background, and his having authored a large book, published in two volumes in 2005 and 2007, entitled *"Zionism: the Real Enemy of the Jews"*[35]. The book's inside cover depicts Zionism as being to blame for an impending and catastrophic global war, yet also summarises the author's attempt to be both anti-Zionist and yet pro-Jewish (bold and italics as in the original):

"Can a Clash of Civilisations, Judeo-Christian v Islamic, be averted?

…The Zionism of this book's title is ***Jewish nationalism****…the modern state of Israel...* ***political*** *Zionism…is not to be confused with the* ***spiritual*** *Zionism of Judaism.*

Zionism: the Real Enemy of the Jews was chosen by the author as the title for this book because, in seven words, it reflects two terrifying truths of our time.

The first is that more than half a century on from the obscenity of the Nazi Holocaust ***anti-Semitism is on the rise again in Europe and America****, where most of the world's Jews live…spiritual Zionists…*

…The second, a great and tragic irony, ***is that the behaviour of political Zionism's child, Israel****, where only a minority of the world's Jews live giving substance to Jewish nationalism in action, is the prime cause of the re-awakening of the sleeping giant of anti-Semitism.*

…a ***must*** *read for all who wish to understand why, really, the countdown to Armageddon is on. And how it can be stopped."*

Hart was interviewed on 22 October 2008 by the official Iranian news agency, IRNA[36], about his book. Nevertheless, the IRNA interview reveals that Hart's apparently pro-Jewish anti-Zionism is paradoxically underpinned by notions that appear to be rooted in antisemitic theory.

IRNA entitled the interview, *"Zionism, the real fear of the Jews"*. Hart began by stressing the differences between Zionism and Judaism, and between Judaism and all Jews per se. Nevertheless, having stressed the political and recent *"colonial"* nature of Zionism, he then paradoxically stated that all of Judeo-Christian history is premised upon it:

35 Alan Hart "Zionism: the Real Enemy of the Jews", Vols 1 & 2, World Focus Publishing, Kent 2005 & 2007

36 The interview is available on many websites, including: http://www.911truth.ch/modules/news/article.php?storyid=817

"The most amazing thing about the story of Israel and Zionism is that its version of history is what the whole Judaic/Christian history is constructed on. But it's a lie from beginning to end".

Hart next warned against blaming all Jews for Zionism, and said that Zionism had preceded *"the obscenity of the Nazi Holocaust"*, having been established *"in 1897 by people who told lies even at the start"* (a reference to the first Zionist Congress). He continued, claiming that Zionists do not trust non-Jews, saying that Zionism *"has been the most successful terrorist organisation of modern times"*, and praising *"one of my dearest Israeli friends"*, revisionist historian, Ilan Pappe.

Responding to IRNA's question, *"Some make a direct link between Zionism and America?"*, the avowedly pro-Jewish Hart used discourse that is clearly rooted in antisemitic conspiracy theory: citing *"organised Jewish money"*, and *"organised Jewish vote"* as the basis of alleged *"Zionist"* lobby and money control of American politics. Hart's reply even claimed that *"The Jews"* choose to live in key areas in order *"to become organised into Zionist lobbies"*. His reply was as follows:

"You talk about a link but it is a fact that the main Zionist lobby in America, the AIPAC, is controlling the policy shots vis-à-vis the American policy making.

As part of a truth line, I should say that in American politics you cannot run for obvious [sic] *for the Lower House of Representatives, the Senate and even the White House without a great deal of money and this is a fact that American Jews, who account for only two percent of the US population, is putting up about 50 percent of all US finance. And there are so many books that have documented that American politicians are scared of offending the Zionist lobby.*

In fact its not just organised Jewish money in America, in major places such as Pennsylvania and Florida where the elections are tight, it can be the organised Jewish vote.

The Jews are mostly concentrated in such areas in order for them to become organised into Zionist lobbies. So it's the organised Zionist money which runs the American politics.

Actually, it is the totality of Zionism's influence that most shapes American foreign policy.

It is in fact true about the American media. The mainstream media are terrified of offending Zionism.

It's good news that Jews in America and Britain, even in small numbers, are beginning to speak out that the Zionist lobby is not speaking for us and does not represent our interests."

IRNA next asked *"Is the case of Zionism* [sic] *lobby in America also true in Britain?"*, to which Hart replied *"Yes it is"* and then alluded to the financial imperatives behind his previous reply, saying that Tony Blair:
"was the worst British prime minister regarding Middle East affairs. Blair like the British media and politicians is truly terrified by Zionism.

If even newspapers want to write against Zionism, their main source of income which is from selling advertising space will disappear."

Anti-Israel Boycotts and Antisemitism

Anti-Israel boycotts exemplify the highly charged debate over what is and is not antisemitic, in the context of anti-Israel activities.

For some, unique treatment of the world's sole Jewish state is itself a prima facie case of antisemitism. Boycott supporters, however, strongly deny such motivation, and often claim that the charge of antisemitism is knowingly and falsely levelled against them in order to shield Israel. Opinions are further polarised by the ensuing cycle of debate.

Most leading British Jewish representative groups (including CST) avoid categorising anti-Israel boycotts as antisemitic per se, but are extremely concerned by the actual and potential antisemitic impact of the boycotts. Enacted boycotts of Israeli people, products and culture would have overwhelmingly negative physical and psychological impacts against British Jews (such as the removal of many kosher goods), in a manner quite different to how it would impact against other British people[37].

In direct contrast to the boycotters' stated motivations, the Jewish collective memory of boycotts is that of the Nazi boycott of Jews, regarded as an important step towards the eventual Holocaust. The two boycotts cannot be equated, but British Jews fear the real and imagined link between Israel and Jews means that anti-Israel boycotts inevitably cause a degree of stigmatisation and isolation against mainstream Jewish communities. This has already been the case on campus, where Jewish students are targeted by anti-Israel campaigners, and Jewish student societies have, in previous years, faced threats of banning unless they denounce Israel and Zionism.

In summary, anti-Israel boycotts lead many British Jews to fear that their freedom is becoming dependent upon unfair reactions to an overseas conflict that is beyond their control or responsibility. The fear is compounded by the fact that boycott campaigns are led by supposedly progressive sections of society from whom Jews have previously expected protection and acceptance.

University and College Union

The often threatened so-called *"academic boycott"* by the University and College Union (UCU) has been the focus of the anti-Israel boycott debate in recent years.

Writing on the Engage website, leading anti-academic boycott campaigner, David Hirsh said of the UCU boycott debate[38]:

"Antisemitism within the UCU started to become a serious problem when people in the union began to support the campaign to exclude Israelis from British universities as a protest against Israeli human rights abuses. This campaign has dominated academic union Congresses in 2003, 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008.

It is an antisemitic campaign. There is no proposal to boycott any academics from any country other than Israel. It seeks to exclude a significant proportion of the world's Jewish academics…

Predictably the campaign for this antisemitic exclusion creates an antisemitic atmosphere within the union. The boycotters maintain that

37 Israel is a leading researcher and producer in many hi-tech fields, including computing, telecommunications and health. A boycott of these products would significantly impact across all of British society

38 http://www.engageonline.org.uk/blog/article.php?id=2058

"Jewish atrocities in Palestine go unpunished…Boycott Jewish Goods & Services". British neo-Nazi sticker c.1962, which displays both blatant antisemitism and hatred of Israel.

anyone who raises the issue of antisemitism does so in bad faith in order illegitimately to protect Israel from boycott, so the standard way of relating to Jews within the union is to treat them as though they are conspiratorial and dishonest."

Hirsh's article, posted on 22 August 2008 was prompted by the case of Sheffield College lecturer, Jenna Delich, who had posted a link to the website of former American Ku Klux Klan leader, David Duke, within a UCU online discussion forum argument about the boycott. Hirsh noted:

"Jenna Delich's emails on the activist list have already been subject to two formal complaints to the union. The UCU process judged that the evidence was not persuasive. Now the UCU is circulating links to David Duke's website on behalf of Delich."

Delich, writing in support of another pro-boycotter, had posted on the UCU list:

John, In support to your link this may be a long but also an interesting reading: http://www.davidduke.com/general/humanitarian-disaster_595.html No comment necessary. The facts are speaking for themselves.

The article on Duke's website[39] included this suggestion of a Jewish (or pro-Israeli) global conspiracy:

"Yet the Israeli government does a very good job of convincing the whole world that it is the victim in the conflict. How can this be? Israeli control of the press? Could that ubiquitous "conspiracy theory" actually be closer to a conspiracy fact?"

The article ended with a sentence that demonised Israel's leaders and spoke of them in global conspiracy terms:

"To the Israeli oligarchs, the death of Palestinian civilians is 'superb', and they feel nothing when they kill women and children…either someone does something about these sick psychopaths, or they, and their kind in Washington and around the world, will destroy us all."

On 27 August 2008, Delich was publicly suspended from the UCU online discussion list by moderator, Matt Waddup, who stated:[40]

"I have received complaints from list members about the linking by another member to a website which contains highly offensive, racist material.

I acted to suspend the posting rights of the list member as soon as the union became aware of the link, and having reviewed this and previous conduct; I have now suspended their list membership indefinitely."

Delich was subsequently defended by other UCU list members. This included an email from leading pro-boycott activist Sue Blackwell who described the offending article as non-racist and *"perfectly reasonable"*:

"…Jenna did not post a racist article nor even a link to one. She posted a link to a perfectly reasonable article which, unbeknown to her, was on a website run by a racist on which racist material appeared which she had not seen. She has apologised. Please give her a break and reinstate her. I'm sure she has learnt her lesson."

39 http://www.davidduke.com/general/humanitarian-disaster_595.html

40 http://www.hurryupharry.org/2008/08/28/ucu-boycotters-still-dont-see-the-problem/

"Zionist...pro-Israel lobby...Jewish"

The ease with which the terms *"Zionist"*, *"pro-Israel lobby"* and *"Jewish"* can be amalgamated was demonstrated by an article[41] in Third Sector, publication for the non-profit sector, including charities, NGOs and voluntary organisations.

The article, written by Rosie Walker, was an interview with John Hilary, executive director of the charity War on Want (WoW). Walker stated that Hilary would not be changing the charity's *"forthright approach"* and reported him as citing Israel to show this. Walker wrote that *"War on Want staff say they have received abusive calls from Zionists"*, before stating that two complaints by MPs to the Charity Commission about WoW's criticism of Israel had not been upheld. She then continued:

"This type of complaint, which Hilary says is part of an ongoing strategy by an organised pro-Israel lobby and the Jewish press, is of as much interest to the media as the charity's reports".

It is not clear from the article if these are Hilary's exact words, or if he has been paraphrased by the writer. This paragraph is followed by a direct quotation from Hilary, so it is likely that this preceding paragraph is not a direct quote from him.

If the paraphrasing is accurate then it suggests that Hilary has employed the terms *"Zionists"*, *"organised pro Israel lobby"* and *"Jewish press"* as if all three are fundamentally identical. If the paraphrasing is inaccurate, then the fault would seem to lie with Rosie Walker. In either case, however, the editors at Third Sector evidently see nothing wrong with amalgamating these terms. Furthermore, the phrasing risks evoking the notion of an unnatural Jewish conspiracy. This is no ordinary set of complaints: it is, rather, *"an ongoing strategy by an organised pro-Israel lobby and the Jewish press".*

The article prompted Jon Benjamin and Jeremy Newmark, respectively chief executives of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Jewish Leadership Council, to write a joint letter to Third Sector[42] stating (in part):

"...harassment from Zionists, pro-Israelis and Jewish newspapers. These terms are not interchangeable. The demonisation of Zionists, Zionism and Israel that is increasingly prevalent in parts of the third sector and NGO community can slip very easily into demonisation of Jews and mainstream Jewish institutions..."

41 Rosie Walker, "In the war zone", 30th July 2008, "Third Sector"

42 Letter, "War on Want should expect a response", 20th August 2008, "Third Sector"

National Union of Students act against antisemitic leaflet

The General Union of Palestinian Students was excluded from the April 2008 National Union of Students (NUS) conference after having distributed an anti-Israel leaflet[43] that was deemed antisemitic by the conference.

The leaflet bore the headline (in capital letters), *"why 'Jewish State' not a secular state?"* and carried two cartoons by the Brazilian anti-Israel illustrator, Latuff. The NUS conference agreed with concerns raised by the Union of Jewish Students (UJS) that the leaflet was antisemitic. In doing so, both NUS and UJS invoked[44] the European Union Monitoring Centre for Xenophobia and Racism *"working definition of antisemitism"*[45] , previously adopted by the NUS in 2007.

The students' concerns were voiced as:

- The Latuff cartoons compared Israel to Nazi Germany. This is an offensive comparison that causes hurt to Jews.

- The leaflet claimed that *"Israel can't be Talmudic and democratic at the same time"*. Israel is not a *"Talmudic"* state, and it is a double standard to claim that a Jewish state alone of all states cannot be democratic.

- The leaflet denied the right for Israel to exist as a Jewish state. No other countries are denied a similar right to exist. For example, the Organisation of the Islamic Conference lists 57 member states. It is a double standard to deny Jewish nationalism because it is Jewish, not because it is nationalist.

43 "Why "Jewish State" not a secular state?". General Union of Palestinian Students leaflet, April 2008

44 http://www.ujs.org.uk/news/c-419/jewish-students-fight-and-win-at-nus-conference-antisemitism-defeated-and-great-new-president-elected/

45 http://www.eumc.eu.int/eumc/material/pub/AS/AS-WorkingDefinition-draft.pdf

This photograph was taken on one of the many anti-Israel demonstrations that occurrred in Central London during the December 08-January 09 conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza and Southern Israel.

Abuse of the Holocaust

Background

The Holocaust was an act of industrialised genocide without parallel in human history. It remains the dominant trauma in the collective memory of Jews.

Mainstream Jewish belief in the necessity for Israel's existence (and therefore Zionism in the essential meaning of the word) are central to the Jewish response to the Holocaust. Indeed, the United Nations creation of Israel was also largely in response to the Holocaust.

The comparison of Israel to Nazi Germany is essentially antisemitic:

- It is a grotesque abuse of Jewish history and memory
- It causes direct and significant hurt to Jews
- It trivialises and essentially denies the enormity of the Holocaust
- It attempts to displace Jews as victims of the Holocaust and supersede them with Palestinians.

Furthermore, Jews who speak out against this abuse, are at risk of being decried as *"Zionists"*. In this context, the *"Zionist"* accusation effectively dismisses and condemns the overwhelming majority of Jews, whether *"Zionist"* or not.

Israel–Nazi Germany comparison

Today it is increasingly commonplace for mainstream commentators and political activists to compare Israel with Nazi Germany, or for Holocaust imagery to be used when depicting the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This is historically indefensible, and is an essentially antisemitic enterprise that bears a unique hurt for all Jews (not just Israeli or Zionist Jews), despite whatever the stated and sincerely held intentions of those who make the comparison may be.

Israel, the new and enduring Nazi Germany

The Israel-Nazi Germany comparison invites a highly damaging thought process that eases the blame for the Holocaust from the perpetrators and bystanders, and then transposes it onto the Jewish victims. Furthermore, Palestinians are increasingly depicted as today's enduring victims of the Holocaust, thereby suggesting that Israelis must be today's enduring Nazis.

Israel-Nazi Germany comparison as Holocaust denial

The Israel-Nazi Germany comparisons and analogies may lack the transparent hatred of outright Holocaust denial, but they are far more insidious and therefore deeply damaging to Jews. This is significantly heightened by the fact that on many occasions, those who make the comparison claim to be doing so as defenders of human rights, rather than as Holocaust denying neo-Nazi thugs or Islamist Jew-haters.

Nevertheless, the act of comparing Israel to Nazi Germany is itself a form of Holocaust denial, or more accurately Holocaust trivialisation, in that it diminishes the enormity of the Holocaust into something unremarkable in the global historical context of war and conflict.

Hypocrisy and singling out Jews

It would often seem that Nazi analogies are more likely to be used in the Israel context, rather than in relation to other conflicts that actually involve far greater loss of life and human rights abuses.

The impression given is that the Nazi analogies are gratuitously employed in relation to Israel, precisely because of the shock that they cause in a Jewish related context. This impression is worsened by the way in which some of those who employ such comparisons will resolutely condemn its usage in non-Jewish contexts; for example, to the branding by American or British politicians of Saddam Hussein as a new Hitler.

Campus: "From the Warsaw Ghetto to the Gaza Ghetto"

Jewish students and campaigners against antisemitism were dismayed by a meeting of the Palestine Twinning Campaign at the Students Union of Goldsmiths College, University of London, on 12 November 2008, entitled *"From the Warsaw Ghetto to the Gaza Ghetto"*. A similar meeting was held the following day at Manchester University, entitled *"The Gaza Ghetto – A talk with Suzanne Weiss"*, but the title avoided the explicit comparison (and therefore offence) of the Goldsmiths meeting and did not attract the same publicity.

The Goldsmiths meeting, and reactions surrounding it, displayed much of the complexity and polarisation about Israel, Zionism and antisemitism that may be found on many campuses throughout Britain today. It showed the increasing sense of isolation and vulnerability that is felt and expressed by many Jewish students and academics, and especially the manner in which their emotions are dismissed or scorned by anti-Israel students and staff.

Advertisements for the meeting included the claim that the speaker, Suzanne Weiss, *"will be speaking about her time in the Warsaw ghetto in Poland as a child and her experiences in the ghettos of the Gaza Strip"*[46]. The speaker is a member of a Canadian group called, "Not in our Name: Jews against Zionism". Her self-identification as a Jewish anti-Zionist - and as being a Holocaust survivor - adds to the complexity of defining when discourse about Jews, Zionism or Israel ceases to be legitimate.

Nevertheless, in this instance, a university hosted the promotion and staging of a meeting that compared the Warsaw Ghetto[47] to the Gaza Strip today. Furthermore, in the actual meeting, Weiss made no mention of ever having been in the Warsaw Ghetto. Rather, she had been born in France and had been sheltered there, despite her family having perished at Auschwitz.[48]

The meeting organisers had previously received a £200 donation from the local branch of the lecturers union, UCU, the same union that has repeatedly threatened to boycott Israeli academics. Jennifer Jones, campaigns and communications officer of the Student Union, and an administrator of the Twinning Campaign, stated:

"The Students Union supports the event and we are formally hosting Suzanne Weiss. The Goldsmiths Staff Union (UCU) also support the Palestine Twinning and are therefore supporting the event".

In response to criticism of the event, Jones trivialised the hurt that had been caused; and reduced complainants to the status of isolated *"Zionists"*. She said she hoped that[49], *"the few vocal Zionists on campus become involved in a more positive capacity to support those suffering under the occupation"*.

46 http://www.facebook.com/event.php?eid=37560722722

47 The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum cites 265,000 Jews being deported from the Warsaw Ghetto to the Treblinka death camp, and a further 118,000 dying in the Ghetto: 35,000 of whom were directly murdered by the Nazis, and 83,000 of whom perished of starvation or disease.

48 http://www.engageonline.org.uk/blog/article.php?id=2216

49 http://www.thejc.com/node/8265

David Hirsh and Mira Vogel are two leading opponents of antisemitism. Both are academics at Goldsmiths.

Hirsh wrote of Jones' response[50]:

"I hear the sense in which Jennifer Jones uses the term 'Zionist' as exceedingly threatening and it is not easy to communicate why, to a person who is unable to see why for themselves. I understand the word 'Zionists' in this context to mean 'Jews', except that it does not include a category of exceptional 'good Jews'. The category of 'good Jews' here should be understood as those Jews who are not disgusted by the designation of Israeli Jews as Nazis – those Jews who are prepared publicly to kosherize such a designation as being legitimate on the antiracist left."

Vogel attended the meeting and wrote of her unease about its content and wider context. She noted[51]:

"This idea that, while a good Palestinian can be a Palestinian nationalist, Arab nationalist or even an Islamist, a good Jew cannot be a Zionist, is a current of thought which is also familiar in the boycott campaign in UCU which many who oppose it have experienced directly. It is false and corrosive."

George Galloway and Lauren Booth, Gaza: "Concentration camp"

Lauren Booth is perhaps best known for being sister-in-law to former Prime Minister Tony Blair, but she is a journalist in her own right and has written for many leading UK publications. She is also a presenter on the Islam Channel and on the Iranian-state media outlet, Press TV.

Booth entered the Gaza Strip in August 2008 aboard one of the "Free Gaza" boats that arrived from Cyprus to publicise the Israeli and Egyptian closure of Gaza's borders. She did not, however, depart with the boats and was unable to leave Gaza for six weeks. George Galloway MP, one of Britain's leading anti-Israel critics, is also a presenter on Press TV. He interviewed Booth on Press TV during her time in Gaza and asked her[52], *"Why are they keeping you cooped up in the concentration camp called Gaza?"*

Booth replied, *"First of all I want to say thank you George for using the word concentration camp because the word prison has been applied over the past few years to Gaza and that's a lie. Because in a prison as we recognise it in the West you get three meals a day; in a prison you get visits from outsiders, from family; in a prison you get a nourishing diet and you even get hobbies and rehabilitation and here there's none of that".*

In a subsequent telephone interview with Israeli news website, ynetnews.com[53], Booth called Gaza *"the largest concentration camp in the world today. I was startled the Israelis agreed to this."* When asked about Israel's right to respond to attacks launched from Gaza, she replied,

"There is no right to punish people this way. There is no justification for this kind of collective punishment. You were in the concentration camps, and I can't believe that you are allowing the creation of such a camp yourselves.

The Palestinians' suffering is physical, mental and emotional, there is not a

50 http://www.engageonline.org.uk/blog/article.php?id=2217

51 http://www.engageonline.org.uk/blog/article.php?id=2216

52 Jonny Paul, "Booth: Gaza a massive concentration camp". Jerusalem Post 18 September 2008

53 http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3595097,00.html

family here in which someone is not in desperate need of work, shelter or food. This is a humanitarian crisis on the scale of Darfur."

Booth was subsequently ridiculed on numerous websites[54], which showed publicity photographs of her touring Gaza, including in a well-stocked food shop, contrasted alongside photographs of Darfur and Nazi concentration camps.

Booth wrote a lengthy account of her experience, published by the Daily Mail Online[55], entitled *"Marooned in Gaza: Life in the 'world's largest prison'".* Despite the headline, Booth did not refer to Gaza as the *"world's largest prison"* in the article. Rather, she repeated the earlier depictions, calling it *"this concentration camp"*.

The Guardian: Paul Oestreicher, "The legacy of Kristallnacht"[56]

On 4 November 2008, the Guardian published an article by Canon Dr Paul Oestreicher, a former chair of Amnesty International UK, marking seventy years after Kristallnacht.

Oestreicher, who's German father was *"born to Jewish parents"*, recalled his witnessing *"the great pogrom"* (Kristallnacht); and told how he and his parents managed to escape Nazi Germany, despite the refusal of countries across the world to accept Jewish refugees.

Oestreicher then wrote, *"I tell my story on this anniversary not just for its historic and personal interest, but because it brings into sharp focus the far from humane attitude of Britain, the European union and many other rich countries to the asylum seekers of today…This is not quite our 1938, but the parallels are deeply disquieting"*.

Next, Oestreicher reached the conclusion of his article. He began by portraying Israel's creation in 1948 as Holocaust survivors having expelled Palestinians (making no mention of the 1947 United Nations partition plan, nor the failed Arab attempt to destroy Israel after its 1948 declaration of independence); and then portrayed this as both a threat to world peace, and as being today's legacy of historical antisemitism and the Holocaust:

"An even sadder consequence of this story of anti-Jewish inhumanity is that many of the survivors who fled to Palestine did so at the expense of the local people, the Palestinians, half of whom were driven into exile and their villages destroyed. Their children and children's children live in the refugee camps that now constitute one aspect of the Israeli-Palestinian impasse that embitters Islam and threatens world peace: all that a consequence of Nazi terror and, indirectly, of the Christian world's persecution of the Jewish over many centuries."

Having cast Palestinians as the contemporary victims of historical antisemitism and the Holocaust, Oestreicher claimed that fear is *"bred into every Jewish bone"*, resulting in *"many Israelis"* wishing to expel Palestinians; and that this reaction denies *"all that is good in Judaism"*, repeats the behaviour of Nazi-era Germans, and threatens *"another holocaust"*:

"With fear bred into every Jewish bone, it is tragic that today many Israelis say

54 http://www.hurryupharry.org/2008/09/12/lauren-booth-in-gaza/

55 http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/moslive/article-1060229/Marooned-Gaza-Life-worlds-largest-prison-Lauren-Booth.html

56 Paul Oestreicher, "The legacy of Kristallnacht", the Guardian 4 November 2008

of the Palestinians, as once the Germans said of them: "The only solution is to send them away." However understandable this reaction may be, to do so, or even to contemplate it, is a denial of all that is good in Judaism. To create another victim people is to sow the seeds of another holocaust..."

The article then recalled how in the 1930s a British bishop had been wrongly accused of being anti-German when he called for British opposition to Hitler. Oestreicher compared this with his own position on Jews and Israel; insinuating that only a very small number of Israelis care about Palestinians, and that anyone who supports such Israelis is accused of antisemitism.

"…Today, those of us who offer our solidarity to the minority of Israelis working - in great isolation - for justice for the Palestinian people, are often accused of being antisemitic. The opposite is true. It is a tragic parallel."

By calling these accusations a *"tragic parallel"* with the British bishop and Nazi Germany, Oestreicher reinforced the notion that Palestinians are the new Jews, thereby implying that Jews are the new Nazis of the 1930s, and reinforcing his previous warning about *"sowing the seeds of another holocaust".*

These themes were then further reinforced by the two closing sentences of the article, which stated that the lesson of Kristallnacht had now moved *"far beyond"* antisemitism and German Nazis; and ended by demanding that readers acknowledge and respond to today's *"victims"* of Kristallnacht and the Holocaust :

"…Berlin's Holocaust memorial and other memorials in many German towns and villages, where once the synagogue stood, are mute reminders of what began that day. But the significance and the shame of that day stretches far beyond those who set the synagogues alight. Who, we need to ask, are the victims now, both near and far, and what is our response?"

Peter McKay, Daily Mail: Auschwitz trips to make schoolchildren "take Israel's side"

Daily Mail columnist Peter McKay claimed that Prime Minister Gordon Brown was backing trips for British schoolchildren to go to Auschwitz-Birkenau, so that they would learn to *"always take Israel's side"*. McKay explicitly stated that this was the case, rather than the publicly given reason of educating schoolchildren about the horrors of Nazism and racism.
He wrote:

"…why are British children herded around Auschwitz, for which we had no responsibility? I can see an argument for bussing German children there continuously. Except that it might encourage a new strain of the Nazi virus. There's only one reason I can think of why our children have their noses rubbed in German excrement. It's not to make sure 'this never happens again' – that's beyond their control. It's in the misguided belief that it'll make them always take Israel's side."

Denial and Trivialisation of the Holocaust

Background

Holocaust denial refers to attempts to deny the true extent of the Holocaust. This appeals to those who wish to remove the shame of the Holocaust from Nazi Germany and its collaborators in Nazi Occupied Europe; and to those who believe that denying the Holocaust will undermine the rationale for the existence of Israel. Holocaust denial also appeals to antisemites and conspiracy theorists.

In most instances, the actual content of Holocaust denial centres upon fraudulent pseudo-scientific claims that mass gassing never occurred.

Holocaust denial is not specifically banned in British law. Nevertheless, it is widely recognised as antisemitic and often contravenes race hatred legislation. Many other countries, particularly in mainland Europe, have specifically outlawed Holocaust denial, reflecting their different legal systems and particular national histories.

Antisemitic conspiracy

Those who promote or adhere to Holocaust denial require an explanation for the prevailing 'belief' that the Holocaust did occur. The explanations are fundamentally rooted within traditional antisemitic conspiracy theory:

- Jewish-controlled WWII era American, Soviet and British politicians, generals and media all conspired to fake the Holocaust. This was sealed by the Nuremberg Trials
- The successful fabrication of the Holocaust enabled the creation of Israel, and is being sustained via Jewish (now commonly *"Zionist"*) exploitation of German financial reparations and Western guilt
- Jewish (now commonly *"Zionist"*) controlled media, particularly Hollywood, ensures that the world does not forget the Holocaust. Output on the subject increases as nationalist forces arise again; and also as Israel faces heightened criticism
- Jewish (now commonly *"Zionist"*) controlled politicians introduce compulsory Holocaust education to indoctrinate future generations to defend Israel and oppose nationalism

It follows, therefore, that Holocaust denial actively promotes antisemitism. It is not possible to promote Holocaust denial, without simultaneously explaining 'belief' in the Holocaust as revealing the existence of a phenomenally successful Jewish (or *"Zionist"*) conspiracy. Indeed, some observers have stated that those who deny the Holocaust only do so because they have the desire to help perpetrate it again.

Press TV: Holocaust denial

Press TV is an English-language news station, funded by the Iranian government, and launched in 2007[57]. It is widely available, including in Britain via Sky TV. Presenters include George Galloway MP and former BBC journalists.

The Iranian government, and in particular President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, have engaged in both Holocaust denial and in ridiculing and diminishing the Holocaust. The process is repeated on the website of Press TV, which carries an essay of over 3,200 words entitled *"The Walls of Auschwitz"*[58]. This summarises pseudo-scientific studies (including the fraudulent Leuchter Report) that claim to prove that gas chambers never existed.

57 "Iran launches English TV channel" 2 July 2007. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/6260716.stm

58 Nicholas Kollerstrom PhD, "The Walls of Auschwitz - A Review of the Chemical Studies" 18 May 2008. http://www.presstv.ir/Detail.aspx?id=56287&sectionid=3510303

The essay (partly reproduced on page 4 of this report) is written by Nicholas Kollerstrom, a conspiracy theorist who had previously written another Holocaust denial essay, *"The Holocaust gas chamber illusion"* on the American far right website, CODOH[59]. (Nevertheless, Kollerstrom reportedly describes himself as an active supporter of the Green Party, Respect and CND)[60].

Kollerstrom's original article on the CODOH website appears[61] to have been *"revised"* on 24 May 2008 to remove its worst excesses. Its original form was widely quoted, in particular this paragraph[62]:

"Let us hope the schoolchildren visitors are properly taught about the elegant swimming-pool at Auschwitz, built by the inmates, who would sunbathe there on Saturday and Sunday afternoons while watching the water-polo matches; and shown the paintings from its art class, which still exist; and told about the camp library which had some 45,000 volumes for inmates to choose from, plus a range of periodicals; and the six camp orchestras at Auschwitz/Birkenau, its theatrical performances, including a children's opera, the weekly camp cinema, and even the special brothel established there."

This paragraph came to public attention in the Jewish Chronicle[63] and other media in April 2008 after Kollerstrom was interviewed by the BBC for a programme about conspiracy theories and the London underground bombings of 7 July 2005. Public exposure of this article led to University College London stripping him of his research fellowship.

It is likely that the controversy around Kollerstrom, UCL and the BBC brought him to Press TV's notice. Over three weeks later, Press TV posted its Kollerstrom article entitled *"The Walls of Auschwitz"*.

Press TV's introduction to his article is as follows:

"In his essay, Dr Nicholas Kollerstrom argues that the alleged massacre of Jewish people by gassing during World War II was scientifically impossible.

The distinguished academic was dismissed on April 22, 2008 without any explanation and a Holocaust conference held on 16-18 May in Berlin refused his article and warned that he would be arrested if he attended the conference and presented his essay.

The West punishes people for their scientific research on Holocaust but the same western countries allow insults to prophets and religious beliefs…[sic]*"*

There are no qualifying statements against Kollerstrom's subsequent essay, other than a routine legal note at the end of the screen page stating, *"The views expressed and the links provided on our comment pages are the personal views of individual contributors and do not necessarily reflect the views of Press TV"*.

59 CODOH: Committee for Open Debate On the Holocaust

60 Nick Cohen "When academics lose their power of reason". The Observer 4 May 2008.

61 http://codoh.com/newrevoices/nrillusion.html

62 http://www.thejc.com/articles/2008425671/college-rejects-shoah-denier

63 ibid

Terrorism and Antisemitism

Background: recent history of antisemitic terrorist attacks

For decades, terrorist groups have repeatedly targeted and attacked Jewish communities throughout the world[64]. Targets have ranged from commercial premises such as restaurants, to cultural centres, synagogues, and leading communal figures. Perpetrators have included neo-Nazi extremists, far leftists, Palestinian and Arab nationalists, and, in recent years, Islamist extremists. The attacks may be perpetrated by anything from a lone extremist, to a formal network operating under the instruction of a foreign sovereign state.

The impact of a successful terrorist attack against a single Jewish community can be extremely damaging. This applies not only in the physical sense of casualties and wrecked lives and buildings, but also in the psychological impact against the entire Jewish community, who may question the safety of leading their Jewish lives as they choose. In addition, such terrorist attacks may raise fears and tensions amongst the rest of society about the threat to their own security that is supposedly caused by having Jews in their midst.

Furthermore, Jewish communities in Britain and elsewhere face the psychological burden of the fear of terrorism, and the financial cost of securing the community against attack.

Often Jews will be attacked in the name of anti-Israel hatred, rather than explicit antisemitism. (For example, the murder of Jews and Israelis by supposedly *"anti-Israel"* terrorists[65] in a Jewish centre in Mumbai, India, November 2008).

The Internet has facilitated both the spread of ideological extremism and the knowledge of how to perpetrate a terrorist attack. Furthermore, in Britain today, there are many expressions of public support, sympathy or empathy for potential and actual antisemitic terrorist groups, particularly Hizbollah and Hamas[66], resulting in a greater potential for terrorist actions in support of either group.

There is widespread condemnation of both far right and Al Qaeda terrorism from all sectors of society. Nevertheless, in the case of Al Qaeda, police and senior politicians talk repeatedly of thousands of supporters and scores of would-be terrorists under investigation[67]. Terrorism from the far right is also an increasing concern, with Muslims, Jews and immigrants all facing considerable threat. In Britain, both the far right and Al Qaeda constitute active, ongoing terrorist threats that may persist for many years.

Al Qaeda

Background

In December 2001, the antisemitic terrorist threat increased significantly when Al Qaeda instructed its supporters to attack and kill Jews throughout the world. Since then, jihadist terrorists have successfully perpetrated suicide attacks against Jewish communities in Tunisia, Turkey and Morocco, causing scores of deaths. Police actions have repeatedly revealed the targeting of other local Jewish communities by similar groups throughout the world, including in Europe, North America and Australia.

Kill Jews "everywhere"

On 23 March 2008, Al Qaeda's deputy leader, Ayman al-Zawahiri, released an

64 Over 400 such attacks are analysed in CST's report, "Terrorist Incidents Against Jewish Communities and Israeli Citizens Abroad 1968-2003". http://www.thecst.org.uk/downloads/Terrorist_Incidents_Report.pdf

65 Brenda Gazzar 30 November 2008 Jerusalem Post "Lashkar-e-Taiba is behind Mumbai terror" - http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?pagename=JPost/JPArticle/ShowFull&cid=1227702367673

66 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cairo_Anti-war_Conference; http://www.cpgb.org.uk/worker/635/demo.htm; http://www.wrp.org.uk/news/1388;

67 http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/special_reports/editors/s/1022830_rise_in_number_of_terrorists

audio message entitled *"A call to help our people in Gaza"*. This called explicitly for attacks against Jews around the world:[68]

"O Muslims. Today is your day. Attack the interests of the Jews and the Americans and all those taking part in the offensive against the Muslims. Select your targets, collect the appropriate funds, assemble your equipment, plan accurately and then charge towards your targets, while placing your trust in Allah and asking him to permit you to die as martyrs and ascend to paradise…

…There is no place today for those who claim that the battlefield with the Jews is limited to Palestine, and we have to obey the call of Allah to 'fight the infidels everywhere as they fight you everywhere'…Let us hit their interests everywhere, as they hit our interests everywhere."

Zawahiri followed this on 2 April 2008 with another audio message, in the form of answering questions to Al Qaeda's media arm, As Sahab. He stressed Al Qaeda's commitment to carry out its threats against Jews:[69]

"We promise our Muslim brothers that we will strive as much as we can to deal blows to the Jews inside Israel and outside it, with Allah's help and guidance".

Hizbollah and Iran

Background

Iranian and Hizbollah threats constitute an ongoing psychological war against Israel and Jewish communities around the world.

Indeed, both parties were heavily implicated in the worst antisemitic terrorist attack in recent years. This occurred on 18 July 1994, and followed Hizbollah warnings that it had *"a longer arm"* than Israel[70]. In the attack, a suicide terrorist exploded a vehicle bomb outside the AMIA Jewish community centre in Buenos Aires, Argentina, causing the collapse of the building and the deaths of eighty five people. Two hundred others were injured. Subsequent investigations led to Argentina and Interpol issuing international arrest warrants and wanted notices[71] against high ranking Iranians and a Hizbollah suspect.

Why not "attack all the supporters of the Zionists everywhere in the world?"

On 26 January 2008, conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza and Southern Israel prompted Hossein Shariatmadari, editor of leading Iranian newspaper Kayhan International[72] to issue an op-ed threatening attacks against *"Zionists"* around the world, and against their supposed allies in America, Europe and the Muslim world:

"The slaughter being carried out by the Zionists in Gaza…savage crimes, is disgraceful for the Zionists, and for America and its European allies.

…But aren't most of the sensitive centers of the Zionists, of the Americans, and of some European states that support Israel already situated within the arms' reach of the Muslims? And aren't the Zionists [vulnerable] *and located within arms' reach of the Muslims at the four corners of the earth? What human and legal basis can prevent an attack on*

68 http://www1.nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/FeatureDocs/nefazawahiri0308.pdf

69 http://www.islamonline.net/discussione/message.jspa?messageID=117160

70 David Schenker, "Beyond Rhetoric: Hizballah Threats after the Mughniyeh Assassination" 28 February 2008. PolicyWatch #1347. Washington Institute for Near East Policy

71 http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/921608.html

72 Hossein Sharatmadari "The Defenders of the Enemy", Kayhan International 26.01.08, cited at http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP182808#_ednref1

these centers and people? Why must the savage, blood-letting Zionists and Americans be permitted to choose the field of battle as they wish?...

…America and its European and Zionist supporters must know that their support for Israel's crimes will cost them very dearly. Once they discern that this support will cost them the property and lives of their citizens, they will doubtless reconsider their support for the savage Zionists...

…Every time a movement rises up against the Zionist occupier and acts to liberate its homeland, America and its allies accuse it of terrorism, and every state that supports these movements is punished. Why wouldn't the Muslims act the same way, and attack all the supporters of the Zionists everywhere in the world?..."

"Zionists...let this war be open"

On 12 February 2008, Hizbollah director of operations, Imad Mughniyeh, was killed by a car bomb in Syria. This was blamed by Hizbollah upon Israel (which denied involvement), and a series of terrorist threats followed from both Hizbollah leaders and Iranian media.

The morning after Mughniyeh's death, Hizbollah official Ismail Sukeyir stated[73] *"Hizbollah has the right to retaliate anywhere in the world and in any way it sees fit."*

Hizbollah leader, Hassan Nasrallah, expanded upon this in his address via satellite to Mughniyeh's funeral rally, alleging that *"Zionists"* were responsible for Hizbollah's conflict with Israel now spreading from its Lebanon-Israel theatre to *"the whole world"*[74] :

"You have crossed the borders…With this murder, its timing, location and method Zionists - if you want this kind of open war, let the whole world listen: Let this war be open."

On 25 March 2008, in a rally to mark the end of 40 days of mourning for Mughniyeh, Nasrallah repeated the threats and noted the fear that they were causing[75]:

"…As for the Israeli zionists, they are scared and anxious inside Palestine and across the world. Let them stay like this and drink from the same cup they used to make us drink from. Why would anyone volunteer to pacify them?

The one who killed our commander must be punished. The killers must be punished, and they will be punished, God willing. We will choose the time, place and manner of punishment…"

In an article headlined, *"Hizbollah's new tactics"*, the Tehran Times of 19 February 2008 added its own hint of menace[76]:

"…Although Israel uses the most sophisticated surveillance in its war against the resistance fighters in the occupied territories, it is impossible for it to protect its interests all over the world.

In addition, the fact that the Zionist regime's military and intelligence agencies are on red alert will cost Israel tens of millions of dollars every day and will eventually exhaust its soldiers and spies…

…Hizbollah, whose international status has risen as a result of the 34-day war with Israel in 2006, now regards the scope of its operations to be expanded, and the future will show that Tel Aviv

73 Yoav Stern and Yossi Melman, "Syria: We condemn Mughniyah killing as a cowardly terrorist act" 13 February 2008. http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/953974.html

74 CNN website, "Hezbollah leader: Israel faces 'open war'" 14 February 2008. http://edition.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/meast/02/14/lebanon/index.html

75 Mohamad Shmaysani, "We Choose How, When, Where to Punish Murderers". Al Manar TV 25.03.08. (note: Al Manar is Hizbollah's TV channel). http://www.almanar.com.lb/newssite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=38681&language=en.

76 Hassan Hanizadeh, "Hezbollah's new tactics". Tehran Times 19 February 2008.

cannot withstand the onslaught of millions of Muslims…the experienced forces of the resistance movement will avenge the death of Mughniyeh."

A number of subsequent news reports in international media have suggested that Hizbollah has undertaken information collection against potential targets, including synagogues[77].

Denied entry to UK: Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi

Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi is the senior theologian of the international Muslim Brotherhood network. This comprises many different organisations throughout the world, including Islamist lobbying groups in Britain and Hamas in Gaza. Al-Qaradawi is based in Qatar and plays a leading role in providing theological justification for Hamas terrorism against all Israeli civilians. His 2007 publication, *Fatawa on Palestine*[78], showed the extent to which he regards Hamas terrorism as part of a wider theological and political struggle against Jews per se.

Al-Qaradawi is banned from entering the USA, and had last visited Britain in 2004 in a highly controversial trip where he was part hosted by the then London Mayor Ken Livingstone. In 2008, Al-Qaradawi applied to visit Britain for medical treatment, but was refused entry by the Home Office on the basis that[79]:

"The UK will not tolerate the presence of those who seek to justify any acts of terrorist violence or express views that could foster inter-community violence". In response, the Muslim Council of Britain criticised the Prime Minister for buckling[80] *"under immense pressure from the pro-Zionist and neo-conservative lobby"*.

"As I told you, every person you kill where you are is worth 50 of the ones killed elsewhere."[81]

Telephone instructions of terrorists' commander to the attackers at Mumbai's Chabad Jewish Centre, November 2008. Nearly 200 people died in attacks across Mumbai, India, including six at the Chabad House.

77 For example: Richard Esposito and Brian Ross, 19 June 2008, ABC News "Hezbollah Poised to Strike? Officials Say "Sleeper Cells" Activated in Canada". http://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/story?id=5203570

78 http://www.democratiya.com/review.asp?reviews_id=172

79 BBC website "Muslim cleric not allowed into UK" 7 February 2008. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/7232398.stm

80 Muslim Council of Britain press release 6 February 2008. "MCB Deplores Government Decision to Bar Sheikh Qaradawi" http://www.mcb.org.uk/media/presstext.php?ann_id=286

81 Channel 4 "Dispatches: Terror in Mumbai" programme 30 June 2009.

Mainstream Media Blogs:
Facilitating and Normalising Extremism

Background

Prior to the Internet, the distribution of extremist racist ideology in Britain was essentially an underground enterprise, requiring considerable effort on the part of its distributors and consumers. It operated in a semi-covert manner from PO Box addresses and the like, and involved little more than poorly produced hate-screeds, the circulation of which was limited to an isolated fringe of fanatics that actively sought out the material.

As recently as fifteen years ago it would have been inconceivable for such material to be facilitated by a mainstream media group or publication. Today, however, it is routinely found in the comment threads that follow articles in mainstream media blogs. These mainstream media spaces are therefore facilitating the transmission and exposure of extremist racist ideology. This is of particular importance to younger generations of media consumers, for whom the Internet can be a preferred (perhaps primary or only) source of news media.

Failure of code of conduct and moderation policies

It is extremely regrettable that many mainstream media blogs do not adequately protect themselves from racist intrusions. Worse still, because all mainstream media blogs do have codes of conduct and do remove some comments, the failure to remove other comments leaves the impression that they do not contradict the codes of conduct; they appear to be deemed acceptable by the institution.

In some cases, mainstream media blogs operate a 'pre-moderation' policy, meaning that blog moderators claim to read all submissions before they place them upon the comment thread. It is not, however, always clear to the reader if such a policy is being enacted. If extremist material appears on a site that claims to be pre-moderated, then this furthers the impression that the material is deemed acceptable.

Where mainstream media blogs do not operate a 'pre-moderation' policy, the confusion is even greater. The moderators will remove offensive material after they notice it upon the site; but how can the reader visiting an active comments thread know what remaining comments have been seen already (and therefore approved) by the moderators?

Complaints procedure

In all cases, mainstream media blogs offer readers the facility to complain about existing comments, which will then be removed if the moderator agrees with the complaint. This is a vital facility, but it is used by too many mainstream operators as a cover for their inadequate initial moderating processes. Moreover, how is the reader to know what comments have already been complained about, but have passed the moderators' consideration?

'Passing the buck' to anti-racists

By failing to proactively moderate, many mainstream media are effectively passing the onus for monitoring their own content onto third parties. If anti-racism organisations and activists were to adequately conduct this monitoring, then they would have to expend tremendous resources in reading all the comments in all the virtual media spaces: to be then followed by actually making arguments

for the removal of offensive postings to the moderators concerned.

Conclusion

Perhaps most importantly, readers of blog comment threads only see a snapshot of the thread at the time they enter it. Whether a moderator does or does not belatedly remove offensive material is irrelevant to the consumer who has already read that offensive material in situ.

The fact remains that the racism has been disseminated by a mainstream media outlet; and the reader is unlikely to return to that part of the comment thread at a later time or date to compare and contrast what has (and has not) been belatedly removed.

Blog case study: New Statesman

Geoffrey Wheatcroft reviewed five books by Jews about Zionism and Jewish identity in the Books section of the 2 October 2008 edition of the New Statesman. In his opening, Wheatcroft noted, *"The whole topic of Zionism, its causes and consequences, is a minefield. No other subject is so fraught emotionally, as well as intellectually, so rarely discussed sine ira et studio* [without anger or bias]*."*

Wheatcroft's article appeared on the New Statesman website and led to 55 comments in reply[82]. This included eight from a blatantly antisemitic blogger by the name of "platonicnumber"; six from a "New World Order" conspiracy theorist by the name of "Carl Jones"; nine from another conspiracy theorist, "gnuneo"; six from yet another conspiracy theorist, "Douglas Chalmers"; and seven from the antisemitic "fairplay". In all, 36 of the 55 comments were among these individuals, each with extreme opinions, largely disagreeing with each other; and also with other contributors who had attempted to post rational replies.

Some of the comments thread are reproduced below. (Spellings are as in the originals and all remained on New Statesman website as of April 2009). Not all the content is antisemitic per se, but it shows the complex and bizarre nature of such comment threads; the difficulties faced by those who moderate them; and how mainstream media sites, responsible for writing more balanced pieces can be overwhelmed by irrational and extremist material.

Carl Jones 02.10.08, 1915hrs *"…I don't want to focus on Israel, or Jews…they have lives to live like most other people. My focus is on elite ---- and they make up a large section of the NWO…"* (NWO – New World Order).

platonicnumber 1928hrs *"…Nothing about this so called country* [Israel] *addes up, and if we dare put all this in the context of the current economic and political woes, a more sinister picture emerges of this unsustainable colony; that the Zionist settelers would have us believe is actually a 'country'!*

Well, Israel is not a country and those of us who have been on the receiving end of its wars, its never ending hate campaigns and fear mongering, know it for what it is; an unsustainable wet dream of religious fanatics, who will go to extraordinary lengths of deception to propagate and justify their supremacist ideology."

Carl Jones 2020hrs *"Platonic number, so you should focus on London and*

82 http://www.newstatesman.com/books/2008/10/israel-jewish-zionism-jews

New York. They are the reason why Israel is what it is."

platonicnumber 2203hrs *"Carl Jones: How inventive you Zionists are when it comes to fear mongering. What am I meant to focus on London and new York exactly!?…*

…I suppose you are, clumsily, trying to imply that people who are not fans of Israel, must also harbour a destructive hatred of Western Civilisation, as embodied by the great cities of London and New York ie terrorists or potential terrorists…

…The sad thing of course, is that since the tragedies of 911 and 7/7, the 'embedded' intellectuals in our media and phony bloggers like you, have been making hay by peddling the "us and them" argument and painting a deceitful and distorted picture, in which the enemies of Israel have morphed into the enemies of the world.

Well guess what, the world is not buying it any more so go FUD some where else!" (FUD – fear uncertainty disinformation)

gnuneo 03.10.08, 0615hrs *"PN: what I think Carl meant, was that Israel was set up…for the agenda of a group of power-brokers in Washington and London…[against Palestinians, Arabs and] ALSO not in the best interests of the Jews who moved to Israel – the normal Jews, whose children have been brainwashed into a suicidal hatred of their surrounding civilisations…"*

platonicnumber 1542hrs (Responding to a pro-Israel commenter) *"…Of course this is not a new fake sob story for If one was to believe your miserable history then it seems that you have spent the last 3000 years escaping "persecution" form every civilization known to man…*

…The true persecution, is what 'embedded' Zionists in Western media, Hollywood and political organisations, have enacted against Arabs/Muslims… I wouldn't be surprised if, in current climate, I was to read a headline saying, 'Israeli scientists discover that Arabs cause cancer' !!!

And for the record, I dislike all organized religion in equal measure."

gnuneo 04.10.08, 1733hrs (Responding to a pro-Israel commenter on the subject of Arab and Palestinian violence in the 1930s and 1940s) *"…I am not at all condoning this violence…You should however note the Western Powers were fully aware that this reaction would happen, and left the Jews almost undefended – even at this stage, Israel was seen as part of the Final Solution…"*

Douglas Chalmers 05.10.08, 1334hrs *"The Jewish state was born in the shadow of the control and manipulation of the Arab world by the West. The holocaust was merely a convenience making millions of western Jewish migrants immediately available. Jews have been deliberately suckered into an "its either them or us" mentality ever since…Semites are both Arab and Jew…"Anti-Semitism" is a learned Western misnomer. So much for western ignorance about Asia, uhh…".*

platonicnumber 1848hrs *"At the risk of sounding jingoistic; who is doing the lying and who is doing the dying. In today's world it is not Zionists nor is it Jewish People.*

So lets us look at something more tangible, than the rich tapestry of delusions and distortions that you would refer to as 'history'; lets look at the present. Jewish people are by no means victims today, on the contrary, some, and I am one of them, may argue that Jewish people are the most powerful religious and political collective on the face of the earth.

For example, Zionist Jewish people have an almost exclusive control of Hollywood… This phenomenon of Zionist domination is mirrored in other US centres of political and financial power; the current White House administration-and the next administration of the soon-to-be President Obama for that matter, the Pentagon, the CIA and the Orwellian 'Department of Home Land Security' are a few examples. As an example of Zionist political control, one only needs to study the recent career set backs of Hillary Clinton and Ken Livingston, on the other side of the pond. This trend can also be perceived in the UK and France, but in a far less overt manner. Of course the subtle Zionist European approach may well be out of the window with the dawning of the age of Monsieur Sarkozy…

…[many Muslim countries] *are in, or have been in military conflict with the US or the UK, even though this is against the common interests of all of the parties involved; except Israel of course. See a trend, or as the great Billy Bragg would say: "Must I draw you a picture".*

The first thing a psychopath does is to convince himself that he is the victim; after that he is able sanction anything. And it is this psychopathic sense of victim hood that Israelis and terrorists have in common; with the exception that Israel's is phoney and far far more devious and powerful.

It is another aspect of this phoney sense of victim hood, that the Zionist led media is exploiting in 'The West'...Basically, since 911 enemies of Israel have morphed into enemies of the entire planet, if we are to believe the likes of the BBC and its plethora of professional liars…

This is done by reawakening, the thus far dormant European monster of 'Racial Superiority' and 'Racial Purity'-in 2004 a Jewish woman, Patricia Richardson (nee Feldman), won a council seat in Essex for the BNP!...

…does anyone remember in 2004/05, certain big department stores in London, who would not put up Christmas decorations, lest they offend Muslims!? Can anyone hazard a guess at what links the ownership of these companies?

…thanks to decades long Zionist driven cultural and political onslaught, the daily experience of the Zionist settler in the 1980s and 1990s Israel, has been transplanted into that of the current daily experience of many a cosmopolitan European. Israel's enemies are also The US and Europe's enemies. A few fancy moves and Israel's fight with its neighbours becomes 'The War on Terror'; absolute genius.

…The BBC is Israel's biggest friend bar none. The BBC is a formidable global instrument of Zionist propaganda; like no other… Zionist Jewish People, are not the victims. On the contrary, the real victims have a couple of things in common:

i Firstly they are soldiers, sons and daughters of citizens and subjects of countries scared out of their wits by a Zionist led media hate campaign and a bought and paid for political apparatus; all living their lives in a state of unexplainable fear and anger at home, while abroad their sons and daughters are dying in the service of the expansionist dreams of 'God's chosen people'.

ii-And on the receiving end of this Zionist whipped-up 'fear and loathing' are those perceived to be enemies or potential enemies of the Zionist state ie Arabs and Muslims…"

fairplay 06.10.08, 0942hrs, poses a number of questions to a pro Israel commenter, including:

"…why do we have labour friends of israel and conservative friends of Israel in the uk when no other "nation" gets this? Is it political and financial blackmail?...

…do you think the people in entertainment/media world are hypocrites after their crusades against south africa? do you think if they are its because they don't want to rock their paymasters boat by criticising israel?...

…if israel attack iran will warning be given by israel to the iranian jews beforehand?

why is the enemy of the west now "islam" when it never was in the past and without media intervention wouldn't be now either?

Honest questions. my jewish mates all reel off the same answers to these questions which are basically what is force fed down their throats at birth… by the way, this is not a dig. i would like a constructive discussion about it…"

Carl Jones 1117hrs: *"…The NWO would even consider using Israel as a sacrifice to further their global agenda. The anti semitic lable is used to gag anyone who questions this global agenda. The British arrest of Tobin, [ie Holocaust denial activist Frederick Toben]…LOL Europes holocaust denial laws are a joke…"* (LOL – laughing out loud).

Douglas Chalmers 07.10.08, 1041hrs *"French FM and co-founder of Medicins sans Frontieres, Bernard Kouchner, seems to be making the most of their presidency of the EU to exhort/permit Israel to launch a nuclear strike against Iran in exchange for peace with the Arab Palestinians.*

Europe may freeze this winter thanks to him and fellow Jew + Neocon puppet, president Sarkosy, uhh!..."

Carl Jones 2011hrs: "…Sarkozy is a Massad agent…Sarkozy is the NWO's direct replacement for war criminal Tony Blair LOL."

This graphic shows a typical page of CST's blog. The blog is regularly updated and is a vaulable 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://thecst.org.uk/blog**

www.thecst.org.uk

London (Head Office) 020 8457 9999

Emergency 24 hour pager 07659 101 668

Manchester (Northern Regional Office) 0161 792 6666

Emergency 24 hour number 0800 980 0668

ISBN: 978-0-9548471-2-8